

Women protest militarization after Ateal massacre
Photo: Mariana Mora



Strategizing for a Living Revolution

By George Lakey

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Otpor ("Resistance" in Serbian) began as hundreds, then thousands, then tens of thousands of young people took to the streets to rid their country of the dictator Slobodan Milosevic. Impatient with the cautious ways of many of their prodemocracy elders, the youths organized in coffee bars

image top: Florencia Vespignani





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Anti-government graffiti during Argentine uprising.
December 19-20, 2001.

and schools, posted graffiti almost everywhere, and used street actions to embarrass the regime.

From the moment Otpor began, it had a strategy. They were immensely creative in their tactics and at the same time realized that no struggle is ever won simply by a series of actions. Otpor activists

knew they could only succeed by creating a strategy that guided a largely decentralized network of groups.

Cynical outsiders were skeptical when Otpor activists claimed to have no leader, when they said that they were all leaders and shared the responsibility for their actions. What the skeptics overlooked was the power of strategy as a unifying force, taking its place beside the rebel energy and the lessons of recent history that these young people shared. Otpor activists didn't need an underground commander giving them their marching orders because they shared a strategy they believed in; they were happy to improvise creatively within that strategic framework.

Bojān Zarkovic, one of the Otpor trainers, told an audience at the A-Space (an anarchist coffeehouse) in Philadelphia about the boundless creativity of the young activists. They would virtually fill a wall of newsprint with their tactical ideas, he said, and then they would choose, in light of their strategy and also their preference for humor and pranks. The result was that Milosevic's attempt to portray them as a group of terrorists in the state-controlled media lost credibility. True, they wore black jeans, black leather jackets, and black T-shirts with a clenched fist silk-screened on the front, but their actions had humor and connected with the people. Passersby who saw them (and spread the word) debunked the media portrayal: "They're just our kids having fun and, you know, they're right about Milosevic!"

In October 2000, joined by hundreds of thousands of workers and professionals, the young people threw Milosevic out. By that time, his party was in disarray, his police in confusion, his army was split.

Late nineties Serbia was different in many ways from the situation facing activists in the United States or other countries now, but even so, Otpor's experience can stimulate our thinking. Given how many activists are tired



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of an endless round of protests that don't seem to add up to anything, Otpor activists' biggest gift to us might be their choice to unite around a strategy, to get creative about tactics, and let the strategy guide which tactics make sense and which don't.¹

An Alternative View of Power

The young people who started Otpor had a clear conception of how domination works. They saw their society as a pyramid, with Milosevic and his cronies at the top, in alliance with business owners, party leaders, and generals. The direction of power was typically top-down, and included both obvious repression (the army, police, secret police) and subtle repression like a monopoly of the media and control over school curricula. Here's where Otpor activists diverged from conventional wisdom about power. Rather than buy into the top-down version of power that Milosevic wanted them to believe, they decided instead to picture Serbian society as organized into pillars of support holding up the dictator. If the pillars gave way, Otpor believed that Milosevic would fall. Since the top power holders depend on the compliance of those beneath them to stay on top, Otpor's strategy was to weaken the compliance and finally to break it.

Here's just one example of how it worked in Serbia. One pillar of support for Milosevic was his police. Otpor systematically undermined that pillar. The young activists knew that fighting the police would strengthen police loyalty to Milosevic (and also support the mass media claim that the young people were hoodlums and terrorists). So they trained themselves to make nonviolent responses to police violence during protests. One of the slogans they learned during their trainings was: "It only hurts if you're scared." They took photos of their wounded. They enlarged the photos, put them on signs, and carried the signs in front of the houses of the police who hurt them. They talked to the cop's neighbors about it, took the signs to the schools of the police officers' children and talked with the children about it. After a year of this, police were plainly reluctant to beat Otpor activists even when ordered to do so, because they didn't want the negative reactions of their family, friends, or neighbors.

The young people joked with the plainclothes police assigned to infiltrate them and reminded the cops that everyone would get their chance to act for democracy. Through the assertive outreach of the activists, relationships were built with the police, even into the higher ranks. When the movement ripened into a full-fledged insurgency in Belgrade, many police were sent out of the city by their commanders while other police simply watched the crowds take over the Parliament building.





It wasn't easy, as one of my Otpur friends who had been beaten repeatedly told me. It was, however, simple; the strategy guided the young activists to develop creative tactics that took away one of the key pillars of the dictator's support.

Can This Work in Other Places?

One reason why the Otpor activists worked so efficiently at undermining the various pillars of Milosevic's support was because many knew that their bottom-up approach to power had already worked in other places. Consider what had happened within the lifetime of Otpor teenagers: the Philippine dictator Marcos had been overthrown by what was called "people power" in 1986; Communist dictatorships had been overthrown by people power in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland in 1989; commanders in the KGB, the Soviet Army, and the Communist Party were prevented by people power from establishing a coup in Russia in 1991; a mass nonviolent uprising in Thailand prevented a top military general from consolidating his power in 1993; the South African whites' monopoly on political rule was broken in 1994 after a decade of peoples' struggle. In all these places the power-holders found their power slipping away because those they depended on refused any longer to follow the script.

When I was trying as a young man to puzzle out this alternative view of power, so different from what is usually taught in school, I encountered Bernard Lafayette, who was then a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) staffer from the deep South. He explained it to me with a metaphor. Bernard said that a society is like a house. The foundation is the cooperation or compliance of the people. The roof is the state and its repressive apparatus. He asked me what happens to the house if the foundation gives way. He went on to ask: "How will it change what happens if more weapons are put on the roof, bigger tanks, more fancy technology? What will happen to the house then, if the foundation gives way?"

Of course, the power-holders want us to believe that power is top-down, that we must be passive, that violence is the most powerful force. What power-holders would want us to know that the power is, in fact, in our hands? That instead of being intimidated by police, military, corporate leaders, media tycoons, and politicians, if the people were to find out that we give away our power through compliance, we could take it back again through noncooperation?

The use of nonviolent tactics to force change has a deep track record which is reaching critical mass. For example, hundreds of thousands of



people of color have used nonviolent direct action in campaigns for over a century in the United States alone. (In 1876 in St. Louis, African Americans were staging freedom rides against discrimination on trolley cars, to take one of thousands of examples.) In any given week there are community-based organizations all across the United States, engaged in nonviolent action: marches, sit-ins, street blockades, boycotts, civil disobedience, and the like. Books could be written just about the unions of people of color, like the hospital workers, hotel workers, and janitors, who go out on strike as well as use other tactics. Whites in the United States, especially working-class whites, also have a long track record of using nonviolent tactics to struggle for their goals. The challenge is not so much encouraging diverse peoples to engage in nonviolent struggle when they are up against it; the challenge is to link short-run struggles to more far-ranging goals.²

Strategy = Power

My friends in Otpor would be the first to admit that a mass insurgency that brings down a dictator is not enough—not enough to establish full democracy, respect for diversity, economic institutions in harmony with the earth, or other parts of their vision. It's one thing to open up a power vacuum through noncooperation (and that is a great and honorable achievement). It's another thing to firmly establish the democratic community we deserve.

For that, the strategy must go deeper. We need to create a strategy that builds at the same time as it destroys. We need a strategy that validates alternatives, supports the experience of freedom, and expands the skills of cooperation. We need a political strategy that is at the same time a community strategy, one that says "yes" to creative innovation in the here and now and links today's creativity to the new society that lies beyond a power shift.

With the help and feedback of many activists from a number of countries I've created a strategic framework that aims to support today's activists, something like the way Otpor activists were supported by their strategy. I call it strategy for a living revolution.³

The strategy not only encourages creating new tactics and more boldness in using the best of the old, but it also helps activists sort out which tactics will be most effective. Finally, the strategy brings in the dimension of time. It suggests that some tactics that are ineffective at one moment will be just right at another. It offers an organic, developmental framework of stages over time.





An understanding of our place in the trajectory of history adds to our power. Activists from other countries have been heard to laugh at U.S. activists because we notoriously lack a sense of history. This strategy framework supports us to overcome our cultural limitation and learn to think like the historical beings that we actually are.⁴

The strategy framework has five stages: cultural preparation, organization-building; confrontation; mass political and economic noncooperation; and parallel institutions. The stages are in sequence, with lots of overlap. Like any model, this one is oversimplified in order to be more easily learned and worked with. One way to make the model more complex is to picture society as a cluster of subsocieties that respond to these stages at different rates, which means that activists might go through the first several stages over and over, so in reality we may end up more in cyclical motion than in any sort of linear progression. But for purposes of clarity in this essay, I'll present the five stages in a linear way and be glad if readers get from it a sense of movement over time.

STAGE ONE — Cultural Preparation

Some people call this politicization or consciousness-raising. I put it first because for revolutionary change we need new culture. We can't get rid of hierarchies of domination "out there" if we are still playing domination games in our own heads.⁵ As Gandhi said, we need to be the change we want to see, and that's not just an individual process, it's a collective and cultural shift.

In this stage, cultural workers of all kinds get to challenge and support us all-out as together we build a culture of resistance. It's a great time for support groups that assist us to unlearn racism, sexism, religious bigotry, and the like. Oppressed groups work to discard the internalized messages that limit them.

One of the ways that many U.S. activists are particularly limited is in the understanding of class. Classism is one of the most unexamined oppressions in the United States, and is therefore an area of cluelessness among many activists. Many times I've heard activists who would never use slurs in referring to transsexuals or Puerto Ricans joke about "rednecks" and "white trash"! Classism goes well beyond language, however; some activists' unconscious replication of the mainstream's oppression of poor and working-class people influences everything from tactics to communication style to the difficulty in forming coalitions or even meeting people on the street. Getting a grip on unconscious classism will make a huge difference in the ability of U.S. activists to work for justice.⁶



The juice in this stage is vision. The primary task of every revolutionary movement is to create a vision of what activists want instead of the status quo. Vision inspires people to join us because they can contrast it with the consumerist hat tricks that the power-holders use to distract them from planetary crisis. Vision inspires us, because it not only clarifies what we want but reminds us why we want it. Vision reduces cooptation, because its integrity is a rebuke against meaningless compromise. Vision builds unity, because tactical disagreements and personality clashes are smaller when seen against the perspective of our goals.

The container in this stage is strategy. Without a container, it's very hard to hold the juice—if I have no strategy for making a difference, why even bother with vision? Strategy is therefore linked to vision. The more we study and participate in large-scale people power, the bigger our strategy will become and the more we will notice many of its aspects already alive in the body politic. Strategy counters despair and fosters vision. Vision informs strategy. We need the juice and the container.

STAGE TWO — Organization-Building

Organization is essential for a movement, because only through organization is it possible to generate enough force to make a difference. Spontaneous moments of resistance can no more accomplish substantial change than can occasional rioting—each can be appreciated in symbolic terms but structures aren't changed.

The United States poses an amazing contradiction when it comes to organizing. On the one hand, the United States is famous in the world for its "civil society," the voluntary groups that show up on all levels. In my urban neighborhood alone we have different groups working on the schools, the park, safety, cultural festivals, protesting gentrification, and literally dozens of other good causes. People from other countries who come to my neighborhood for activist training are sometimes amazed by how mainstream it is in the United States to roll up our sleeves and create groups to achieve goals.

On the other hand, radical activists can find it tough to build organizations—our very idealism can be an obstacle. We want our groups to reflect visionary values rather than the domination games that often plague mainstream organizations. What's tough is figuring out how to both be visionary and get the job done.

Some organizational forms seem to me to be especially promising in this stage: alternative institutions, ongoing affinity groups, transformational networks, and radical caucuses.





Alternative institutions provide a great laboratory for putting vision to work. Food co-ops, presses, worker-owned enterprises, the list is large. As we consciously practice joining—both inside the alternative and outside, reaching out to the neighbors or to adjoining social circles—the alternatives can grow. We then learn to innovate systems that are both strong and democratic, highly productive and supportive of individual workers. We can support the organizational geniuses among us who, even if they aren't always warm and fuzzy, can figure out the complex connections that enable cooperation of scale and distance.

Ongoing affinity groups provide a support base for individuals to participate in a range of activities, from protesting to digging the community garden to jumping into a conflict as a human shield to protect people from getting hurt.⁷ An affinity group can choose to work on one issue or campaign for a period, adding its energy and expertise to the struggle and performing an educational role, or it can be more mobile in the interest of building human links to prepare eventual coalition-building.

Transformational networks help groups to learn from each other and give mutual aid. Movement activists have come a long way in recent decades in learning how to share critical information rapidly.⁸

Radical caucuses based on identity or politics continue to be key. I've been fortunate to be in gay caucuses and working-class caucuses where we supported each other to reduce internalized oppression at the same time as we supported each other to change the larger organization we were part of. I've also been blessed as a white person to be part of a national organization where the people of color caucus worked so effectively that it became the agenda-setter for the organizational development.

In order to work optimally, the caucus must be visible to the wider group rather than trying to work covertly. It's hard to think of any organizational style that undermines movements as effectively as covertness; movements can even move ahead more easily with steep hierarchies than they can with invisible elements within.

Adopting a discipline of secrecy may at some times and places be useful, but it is a choice that needs careful thought, especially when we consider that it is often not necessary even in police states.⁹ The most recent manifestation of covertness as an organizational style in the U.S. has been, among global justice activists, "security culture." Security culture hurts the movement in several ways.



One result of security culture is withholding trust. To win, movements need to expand. To expand, activists need to trust—themselves, each other, and the people they reach out to. When trustlessness is institutionalized, the movement can't recruit well outside its own circle. Who might be an agent, who might betray us, who cannot be relied on? The wariness is toxic because activists feed each other's fear.

Security culture also reduces the ability of direct actionists to develop and sustain alliances. Successful direct action movements learn to attract allies. The role of an ally is different from the role of a campaigner. The job of campaigners is to take the initiative and get the ball rolling; the job of allies is to come in and help push once the ball's rolling. In most U.S. cities and towns we find a lot of activists who simultaneously are campaigning on one issue and are allies to other campaigns. This flexibility works well, and helps to generate a climate that stays open to radical perspectives.

However, because security culture generates trustlessness, protesters have a hard time trusting allies. They sometimes enter a confrontation with authority politically isolated, having failed to reach out and open up the communication channels with people working on other projects. Where all this comes crashing down is at the moment of state repression, which is when allies are often most needed.

If security culture reduces the internal morale of the movement, reduces its growth potential, and hurts relationships with allies, what's the point? For one thing, secrecy makes possible certain direct-action tactics that rely on surprise, and we may be reluctant to give up those tactics. Secrecy and stealth may also appear in our movement because they strengthen the boundary between Insider and Outsider, they exaggerate differentiation.¹⁰ This is perhaps a gratuitous and unhealthy impulse and should be examined honestly.

Unfortunately, the power-holders' security agencies also understand the negative impact of secrecy on the movement, and they use it to their own advantage.¹¹ They have abundant resources to invest in spies and electronic surveillance, and the more covert we are, the more resources they can demand (thereby increasing the already obscene size of the security state). Not only does this increase the power and affluence of their apparatus, but it also justifies their putting more people in our ranks, infiltrators who help make decisions and sometimes exercise leadership. And the more aware we are of this, the more scared we become and the less we trust each other, which is wonderful from the state's point of view.





Occupation, part of the popular rebellion in Argentina.

Fortunately, we can make other choices. We can draw inspiration from the choice of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1963–1964 to organize openly in Mississippi, perhaps the most violently racist state in the United States at the time. The dangers they faced were enormous: black SNCC workers dealt with men who were police by day and KKK by night; SNCC members often lived in Freedom Houses that were unprotected in the countryside; they had no guns and everyone knew it; the federal agents refused to protect them; the Mississippi media were against them as were most clergy. SNCC knew they would be hurt, jailed, tortured, and some would die, but they were not naive in choosing their attitude toward repression.

At the very beginning of 1964's Freedom Summer, three SNCC workers were murdered in an attempt to scare away other volunteers. SNCC refused to go underground, and that choice expanded the movement dramatically, both in Mississippi and nationally, won them powerful allies, and broke the political stranglehold of racism in that state. I would challenge anyone in today's movement to study that example and then explain why our movement should practice security culture. The more powerful choice is openness.



STAGE THREE — Confrontation

Cultural preparation and organization building are periods of some revolutionary movement expansion, but those two stages are not yet about mass action with revolutionary content. The mass protests that do occur from time to time usually contain little vision of a fundamentally new society; their keynote is saying "no" to, for example, the World Trade Organization, with a lot of vagueness about the big picture.

Stage three is a giant and prolonged drama. The audience is composed of the as-yet uncommitted public. The actors are the "good guys" (us) versus the "bad guys" (police, military, corporate chiefs, vigilantes). The movement's previous outreach to the public becomes more vivid now because it is fueled by open conflict. The public is more motivated to pay attention, chew over the issues, decide whether and how to commit.

The purpose of the third stage is rapid growth of the revolutionary movement itself, to the point where enough people become involved so that it's possible to enter stage four and seriously weaken the power-holders' pillars of support.

Although there has not yet been a social movement that has moved itself through these five stages in a fully conscious way, there are plenty of examples of movements that have used a smaller-scale confrontation stage to move into mass noncooperation.¹² Otpor, for instance knew that the mass media was controlled by the forces they were against and so they organized their confrontations with that in mind. Instead of concentrating on a few large-scale protests at symbolic places, they staged countless small and brief protests. They specialized in lighthearted, mischievous actions, which usually made fun of the regime, and they held them where a maximum number of passersby would see them. The passersby would also see the police beat up the youngsters, and by the next day the word-of-mouth communication had spread far and wide. Over and over Otpor made the same point: We are not terrorists; it's the police who are violent; we want democracy. Even in a city as large as Belgrade the combination of creativity and nonviolence motivated eyewitnesses to spread the word, and as the public began to swing over to Otpor's side the graffiti and posters reinforced the shift.

The confrontation stage is tricky—many movements have lost the game in this stage. We can learn from both failures and successes of movements in the United States and around the world. The following lessons can save us a lot of grief:





Create "Dilemma Demonstrations."

The idea here is to create direct action that puts the power-holders in a dilemma: if they allow us to go ahead and do what we intend to do, we accomplish something worthwhile related to our issue. If they repress us, they put themselves in a bad light, and the public is educated about our message.

Many examples can inspire our creativity. Some campaigns to save old growth trees have set up these dilemmas. If, for example, the protesters are allowed to sit in the trees, the trees are saved. If the protesters are stopped violently, the public is educated and new allies can be won.

African-American students in the South were very creative with such tactics, for example sitting at the lunch counter asking for coffee. If they were served, racism took a hit. If they were either attacked by civilians or arrested, racism also took a hit. The students didn't even need the signs they brought in order to make their point. The power-holders were repeatedly put in a dilemma: whatever they did resulted in lost ground for the status quo.¹²

Decide specifically whom we're trying to influence.

Using a term like "the public" is too simple a way to think about strategy. "The public" includes many subgroups, some of whom are very important to the success of a campaign, some less important, and some unimportant in the short run. If we create a map of the political territory and decide whom we most need to influence in what ways, we will create tactics that more frequently have the force that's needed.

For example, a small group in the Movement for a New Society once threw a monkey wrench into a U.S. foreign policy objective by correctly figuring out whom to influence through direct action. The United States was supporting, as it often does, a military dictatorship that was killing thousands of people. In fact, in Pakistan, dictator Yahya Khan was killing *hundreds of thousands* of people in East Bengal who wanted independence. The U.S. government lied about its support, but the activists learned that Pakistani ships were on their way to U.S. ports to pick up military supplies for the continuing massacre. The group also realized that if longshoremen refused to load the ships, the U.S. government would be foiled.

The problem was, the East Coast longshoremen were, if anything, politically inclined to support the government, and wanted to feed their families. The activists repeatedly tried to persuade the longshoremen to act in solidarity with the East Bengalis, without success. It was time for direct action. The group announced a blockade of the port, and began



practicing "naval maneuvers" with sailboats, rowboats, and the rest of its motley fleet. The media gave ongoing coverage, and longshoremen witnessed on television as well as in person the strange antics of protesters who seemed to believe they could stop a big freighter with tiny boats. The tactic raised the longshoremen's motivation to listen and discuss, and they agreed that, if the activists created a picket line, the longshoremen would refuse to cross it.

When the campaign succeeded in that city, the activists took it to other port cities and finally the International Longshoremen's union agreed that their workers would not load Pakistan-bound weapons anywhere in the United States. The blockade, initiated by a small group, succeeded because the group crafted direct action tactics specifically geared not toward the general public and certainly not toward the U.S. government, but toward the part of the public that most needed to be influenced to meet the strategic objective.¹⁴

As we design campaigns focused on the World Trade Organization or capital punishment or the sex trade we need to create a political/cultural/economic map of "the public" and decide whom we want to influence in what ways. Part of our power is in making such strategic choices.

Use campaigns more often, to become proactive rather than reactive.

Sometimes a strong reaction to a move of the power-holders can be very powerful, as it was in Seattle. By mobilizing around the WTO meeting and disrupting it, tremendous gains were made. The negative side of globalization was put on the public agenda for the first time, something that all of the organizing against the North American Free Trade Agreement had failed to do. New ongoing alliances became tantalizing possibilities. The very unleashing of rebel energy was itself positive.

While reacting occasionally is one thing, remaining in a posture of reaction is something else. A synonym for continuous reaction is "disempowerment." Gandhi's first principle of strategy was to stay on the offensive. Having our action agenda dictated by where and when the power-holders decide to have their meetings is not staying on the offensive.

Campaigns put us on the offensive. A campaign is a focused mobilization of energy with a clear objective, often in the form of a demand. Successful campaigns focus on their target over time—nine months, two years, even more if they have the people resources—with a specific demand that seems achievable.





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The United Students Against Sweatshops movement has worked mostly through campaigns, which is one reason why it has met with so much success. When these students choose their objective and identify the power-holder whose position needs to change, things become clear. Who is going to oppose them most strongly? And who are their greatest potential allies? In the early part of the campaign they can open communication with allies and have them already on board by the time the campaigners start direct action.

This is not a new idea. The victories of the Civil Rights movement that are now part of our activist lore were won through campaigns—the Montgomery bus boycott, for example, or the Birmingham struggle of 1963, in which a major industrial city was disrupted in order to force the federal government to pass an equal accommodations bill.¹⁵ I sometimes think that, if it weren't for racism and the discrediting of the sixties, today's young activists would be studying all available books and videos to benefit from the brilliance of SNCC, CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The victories of the grassroots antinuclear struggle waged in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s have also been all but erased from memory by a collusion of media and the educational system. That largely successful fight against nuclear power was directed against an amazing array of power: the federal government (both civilian and military), the banks which were making major profits from loans to utilities, the utilities themselves, the huge companies like General Electric and Westinghouse which made the nuclear plants, the construction companies, and the trade unions. The struggle also had to be waged against "conventional wisdom" in the United States, which believed, in the beginning of the 1970s, that nuclear energy was safe and cheap.

There isn't room here to describe the struggle, which often used mass direct action, from testifying at official hearings to civil disobedience. The movement remained decentralized, yet each local area expanded by designing and implementing campaigns. It's well worth the study for anarchists and others who don't want centralized leadership to run social movements.¹⁶

Heighten the contrast between protesters and police behavior.

The power of the confrontation stage is in the drama. Drama in the streets is, however, different from an off-Broadway play. A sophisticated theater audience might prefer characters to be multifaceted, without a clearly defined "good guy" or "bad guy." The drama of the streets cannot be so subtle: it really does come down emotionally to "the goodies" versus "the



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baddies"—in our case, those who stand with oppressed people versus those who stand with greed, privilege, and domination.

The fence-sitters in the mainstream watching the drama in the streets are surprisingly open-minded about who are the goodies and who are the baddies. In their eyes maybe the goodies will turn out to be the protesters, and then again, maybe the police will be the goodies.

The protests at the 2000 Republican National Convention in Philadelphia provide a clear example. Some widely publicized police violence prior to the convention had damaged the image of the Philadelphia police force, while the activist organizers had done effective media outreach in the week leading up to the convention, receiving highly favorable publicity from the media. The result was that going into the first demonstrations the burden of proof was on the police to reestablish their credentials as responsible and controlled, and the protesters occupied the moral high ground. A succession of three clearly peaceful marches in three days sustained this balance, and when the group organizing the third march, the Kensington Welfare Rights Organization, was threatened with arrest, they took care not to be politically isolated and brought allies out in support. The police felt they had to back off the arrest threat, lest they confirm the fence-sitters' suspicion that the police really were "the baddies."

The second phase of the convention actions, however, reversed the roles. In the context of public fears and expectations, the police only needed to show restraint, flexibility, and control. This they did, avoiding tear gas, major pepper spray, rubber bullets, charges with or without horses. Protesters were caught without a style that would put them in stark contrast with the public behavior of the police. The blockading protesters looked . . . well . . . disruptive, and the police were helping the public by getting traffic moving again. The police chief, who had been on the defensive the week before, became a folk hero and the Philly mainstream could breathe a sigh of relief that "Our hometown police are much better than those out-of-control Seattle police, and where did these protesters come from, anyway?"

The great lesson to be learned here is that the drama of the streets cannot carry a complex analysis that requires long dissection and persuasion. The drama in street confrontations needs the simplicity of contrast between the protesters' behavior and that of the police.

The symbols used to heighten contrast depend on the situation. Black students who sat in at lunch counters in the South remained calmly seated



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at the counters while hysterical white racists hit and screamed at them. Gandhi designed a raid on a salt works in which demonstrators calmly walked across the boundary where they were beaten down by soldiers. Vietnamese monks sat in meditative positions in the streets of Hue, in front of tanks, to help bring down the dictatorship in 1963.

A few years before the young Serb activists started Otpor, some of them had tangled with the state by launching student protests. That earlier wave of activity died out, and one reason was that young cops adopted student dress and joined the protests in order to smash windows and fight uniformed police. These police provocateurs were highly effective in changing the public focus from the dictatorship to the "student violence." Learning from that experience, Otpor decided from the beginning, as a matter of policy, that anyone who looked like an Otpor member but was caught fighting the police would be assumed to be a police spy and would no longer be considered an Otpor member. Otpor felt the stakes were so high (both success in overthrowing Milosevic and the safety of their members) that the group needed to draw a line.

Again, our power lies in our choices. We can choose to design our confrontations using appropriate symbols so that the portion of the public we most want to influence will see us as the people standing up for justice.¹⁸

Take an empowered attitude toward the prospect of state repression. Obviously, the purpose of repression is to induce fear, so that people will give up on fighting injustice. The power-holders have a range of tactics up their sleeves: one example is setting a huge bail for protesters charged only with misdemeanors. Power-holders are counting on our fear to change our behavior so as to make us less effective.

That's why one of the most fundamental choices any social movement makes is what kind of attitude to have toward repression.¹⁹ It's natural for us to fear punishment, deprivation of liberty, losing our jobs. What we may not realize is that movements can make choices about how to handle threats from the state. Some movements notice that power-holders invite them to play the "Fear Game," and those movements that see through the game choose a different strategy.

For example, during the Montgomery bus boycott the power-holders decided to play the Fear Game by leaking the word that they had a list of black leaders who were going to be arrested. The leaders decided to take a powerful, proactive attitude; they went to City Hall as a group and demanded to be arrested at once. They carefully expanded their numbers

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so that, more than likely, some individuals would not be on the list and could indignantly demand to be arrested rather than be insulted by not being considered a leader! More recently, labor unions in Decatur, Illinois, made a similar move: hundreds of workers filled City Hall and refused to leave until the intended arrests were actually made.

Consider the difficulty this puts the power-holders in. If the people refuse to fear them, the power-holders have lost one of their most potent weapons! Gandhi used to say that the British were not ruling India because the British were stronger, but rather because the Indians feared them. As soon as the Indians gave up their fear, he said, British rule would crumble. And it was so.

STAGE FOUR — Mass Political and Economic Noncooperation

As I write this in the spring of 2002, Argentina is in the throes of mass noncooperation—strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience of many kinds.²⁰ Popular assemblies in the barrios not only mobilize the demonstrations but also take on local issues and concerns, for example, preventing authorities from closing down a baker who couldn't afford to pay his rent. Local assemblies urge people who own their homes not to pay property taxes but instead to turn the revenue over to hospitals in their area that need medical supplies. Poorly paid workers have been striking for months, often blockading bridges and highways as well. In February they temporarily shut down the city's oil supply by blockading the entrance to the local refinery.

The steep decline of the Argentine economy—another "triumph" of neoliberalism and the IMF—has precipitated this particular insurgency, and therefore Argentina has limits as a model. Ideally, we don't want to wait until poverty stares most people in the face (and the environment is thoroughly degraded) before mass noncooperation can be organized. All the more reason to be pursuing the first three preparatory stages as coherently and consistently as we can in order to arrive at the place where confrontation will grow into mass noncooperation.

During the confrontation stage the movement needs to grow, which is easier to do when the power-holders are busy discrediting themselves by responding violently to movement campaigns. But the period of fastest growth for the organizations will most likely occur during in the period of mass noncooperation. An atmosphere of turbulence encourages mainstream as well as radical people to seek alternative ways of getting things done. In Argentina, for example, workers are taking over some factories and operating them. "Of everything we sell," a ceramics factory

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worker said, "we divide the profits equally among all the people who work here."²¹

Neighborhood assemblies in Argentina have been formed and they typically meet weekly to agree on a list of demands and proposals for change, then bring the proposals to interneighborhood assemblies for agreement. Markets for barter have sprung up, where people trade everything from old video games to food to skilled services. No government money is allowed in these markets and credit slips are used as a kind of microcurrency. And of course there's been an explosion of Indymedia to supply the need for reliable information.²²

Clearly, the purpose of mass noncooperation (dissolving the pillars of support) is to bring down the regime. There may be property destruction involved (in Argentina, middle-class people in suits have been breaking the windows of banks), although in some contexts it is strategically unwise. (Otpor used graffiti and defaced property by changing Milosevic billboards, but decided that smashing things would play into Milosevic's hands.²³)

Since mass noncooperation can open a power vacuum, why plan a fifth stage? The heartbreaking story of the Burmese students gives an answer. When I was smuggled across the border into the jungle encampment of the Burmese prodemocracy troops in 1990, I had a chance to learn from the students who participated in the 1988 uprising. They had an amazing story to tell, one that had been largely kept from activists around the world because of the extreme isolation policy of the Burmese dictator Ne Win.²⁴ The students had staged a series of small-scale nonviolent protests in 1987, getting beaten up, arrested, and some were killed. The movement grew and the grapevine carried the message: "Rise up on 8/8/88!" The date came, and with it a social volcano erupted; hundreds of thousands and then millions took to the streets. Students occupied government offices; peasants joined workers in striking, boycotting, occupying buildings and factories. The pillars of support for Ne Win tottered and the repression failed to stop the movement. One student tactic was, when confronting soldiers with guns pointed at them, for the bravest to step in front, tear off his shirt, and demand, "If you're going to shoot, shoot me first!" The soldiers could resist only so much courage like that.

With his army beginning to sympathize with the students, Ne Win made a very clever move. He pulled his army and senior ministers out of the capitol city, and to the immense surprise of the students, Rangoon (and Mandalay and other cities) were suddenly "theirs." Jubilation was mixed with confusion: What now? To add to the confusion, Ne Win had left



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military intelligence in plainclothes in the cities with orders to foment disorder, and he also unlocked the prisons to let everyone out.

Disorder grew in Rangoon until finally came the announcement: The government had "gotten the message from the people" and would agree to free elections; in the meantime it would come back into the cities with a reformed heart, a new name, and a new mission: to restore law and order. The dictatorship returned (killing thousands of students along the way) and refilled the power vacuum.

When I told the Burmese student soldiers about the five-stage model they immediately understood where their mistake lay: Because they had not done stage one (no vision of a democratic Burma) or stage two (creating alternative institutions and cohesive organization that could move into the power vacuum opened by stage four), they were shoved aside by the regime. They learned in the hardest possible way that insurrection is not enough.

STAGE FIVE — Parallel Institutions

After working through the overlapping stages of cultural preparation, organization-building, confrontation, and noncooperation, people with shared vision have the chance to root new institutions and values firmly in the soil of the new society. The institutions will have sprung from the seeds of the organizing stage: the alternative institutions, the networks, radical caucuses, and affinity groups.



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In the fifth stage these organizations come fully into their own, as they become part of the infrastructure of the new society. In contrast to the old Leninist model in which the party seizes the state and then re-organizes society from the top down, this strategic model proposes a bottom-up restructuring, supported by the radicals who all along have been innovating organizational forms that reflect a radically democratic vision.

Picture this: the power-holders, whose legitimacy has already been eroding because of their inability or unwillingness to deal with the crises of ecology, poverty, injustice, and war, are now finding that their pillars of support are wobbly. They try to restore their power through a combination of cooptation and violence but it's too late for that now. Massive noncooperation leaves them with no option but to cede power.

This is the moment of opportunity for the visionary movement with its infrastructure of experienced organizers and facilitators to step into the vacuum and create, step by step, a new society, one that supports freedom and democracy rather than domination.

The new society is cocreated with mainstream people who have realized that the old way is no longer tenable. The radicals are not strangers to the mainstream folks, because the mainstream has seen them in caucuses within their unions and professions, alternative institutions in their neighborhoods, and affinity groups that serve as well as protest.

The affinity groups will have been growing in number and playing major roles in the noncooperation stage, and they will have gained valuable "battlefield" experience that enables them to make decisions quickly when conditions change in stage five. Because of their training and solidarity, the affinity groups could take on many of the more dangerous tasks of this final stage. With the discipline and courage they've gained, they could play a lightning-rod role regarding reactionary groups, confronting right-wing militias and others. They could help the radical caucuses occupy difficult sites, and could themselves occupy government offices of a repressive nature like the FBI and the military.

Many interventionary tactics in this stage can be carried out by matching alternative institutions to the previously existing ones. An occupation might be a temporary measure leading to the orderly dismantling of the institution itself—an intertribal revolutionary league of Native Americans would probably want to dissolve the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, for example—and in other cases the occupiers would immediately start to work in the new way they had planned for.



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While it's true that this strategic model avoids the top-down controlling function so dear to the hearts of the Leninists, it does not throw out the need for coordination. Essential services must be provided, communication must be maintained, and judgments made about the best use of limited resources in a turbulent situation. Unity requires shared information and negotiated agreements among the forces for change.

In the advanced stages of struggle, coordinating councils will be needed on local, regional, national, and transnational levels. The transformational networks, which will have been developing their technologies all along, will come into their own in this last stage. If they do their work creatively, these councils will grow organically from the struggle, as have the spokescouncils in the antiglobalization confrontations where many affinity groups come together. The job of those who sustain transformational networks will be to retain the lessons learned from these experiments, put attention to cultural differences in communication style, and assist the newly formed councils to do their job.

The councils are the bodies that form, in the last stage, the parallel "governments." (I put "government" in quotes because these bodies may not look at all like the governments we've known thus far.) In this fifth stage the people pay their taxes to the councils instead of to the governments of the oppressive order. The councils organize essential services such as traffic regulation, garbage collection, and the like. In my personal vision, the national council works with the other councils to dismantle the national government by distributing its legitimate functions to local, regional, and transnational levels. The councils can also work with the workers' caucuses, cooperatives, and affinity groups to dismantle those corporations that are worth decentralizing.

Transformation Takes Time

Even on my most optimistic days, I know that fundamental change will take time. Shifting the power from those whose greed would destroy the planet to those whose humanity would heal it gives us the chance to create anew; the power shift doesn't itself make it happen.

The power shift will at least give us a chance to support the growth and well-being of both people and planet. A movement using the strategic framework proposed here will, however, have an additional advantage: It will bring to the task hundreds of thousands of skilled people with years of practical experience in better ways of providing for the commonweal. This strategy means that a movement won't be asking the fence-sitters to gamble on a bunch of hopes and half-baked ideas. It will get the credibility



it deserves through its courage, its creativity, and its ability to be in dialogue with the people.

The young activists in Otpor, when developing their strategy, agreed to frame the choice quite simply. "The dictatorship is about death," they said. "Otpor is about life." The simple truth of our message will be just as clear.

Notes

¹ My information about Otpor is mostly from interviews with Otpor activists during my training work in the Balkans. More Otpor lessons are available in my *Clamor* magazine article "Diversity of Tactics and Democracy," available on the Web: www.TrainingforChange.org. A very useful video documentary (although it has a pro-U.S. bias) is *Bringing Down a Dictator* shown by PBS in 2002, available from Video Finders, 4401 Sunset Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027.

² For more information about the stronger inclination of people of color and of working-class people to use nonviolent action, as compared with whites and middle-upper-class people, see my pamphlet *The Sword that Heals: Challenging Ward Churchill's "Pacifism as Pathology,"* (2001) available through Training for Change and on its Website: www.TrainingforChange.org.

³ I first described this model in the book *Strategy for a Living Revolution* (New York: Grossman, 1973, and in paper by W. H. Freeman, 1973). The revision of that book became *Powerful Peacemaking* (Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Publishers, 1987), which is now out of print. This article updates the argument and responds to some current movement controversies.

⁴ I frequently call this five-stage model a "strategic framework" because it's not as specific as strategies are to be maximally useful. When I share the model with specific movement groups in various countries I find that they have the specific knowledge about their situation to "fill in the blanks" and turn the model into something more concrete for their own use.

⁵ One source of clarity on this is the work of activist, writer, and witch Starhawk. Her classic book *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1988) is a good place to start. Among other things she distinguishes between power-over (domination), power-from-within, and power-with.



A clear and inspiring book by a woman who built a grassroots organization by facing honestly the class and race divisions in our society is by Linda Stout, *Bridging the Class Divide* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

The value of human shields, also called protective accompaniment, came to widespread notice in spring 2002 with International Solidarity Network and others going to Palestine to reduce the killing on the West Bank. As an ongoing organized activity, accompaniment is only about twenty years old. For more on third-party intervention contrasted with other kinds of activism, see my *ZNet* article, "Pushing Our Thinking about People Power," reprinted on the Web: www.TrainingforChange.org. To learn about a major organization that does this work in various countries including Colombia, see the Web site: www.peacebrigades.org.

⁶ The Movement for a New Society (1971-1989) was organized specifically to be a transformational network, and even worked internationally to spur groups to learn rapidly from each other and do mutual aid. MNS activists joined campaigns, built alternative institutions, led trainings, and created New Society Publishers.

⁷ An example comes from Poland, where after many years of Communist dictatorship a radical group of workers and intellectuals decided to break with their security culture and create an open, aboveground organization for human rights. The move was a breakthrough that supported the growth of the mass Solidarity movement, resulting by the end of the 1980s in the nonviolent overthrow of the dictatorship. This is one of a long list of dictatorships that have been overthrown by nonviolent "people power," despite the state's using military repression to defend itself. Just in the past few decades mass nonviolent action has played a decisive role in ousting one-party states and dictatorships in Bolivia, Haiti, Argentina, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, the Philippines, the Baltic States, Mali, Malawi, Madagascar, and Benin, and prevented military-backed coups in Thailand and Russia. See Stephen Zunes, Lester R. Kurtz, and Sarah Beth Asher, eds., *Nonviolent Social Movements: A Geographical Perspective* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1999).

⁸ Fortunately, we can create many, many tactics that do not rely on surprise. One resource to jump-start our creativity is Gene Sharp's book *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, where he describes 198 tactics that have been used historically (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973).



¹¹ During the movement against the Vietnam War FBI documents included a discussion of the importance of making activists believe there was "an F.B.I. man behind every mailbox." During a spokescouncil meeting preparing for the protests at the Republican National Convention, an activist took a break to call an anarchist house in west Philadelphia and learned from activists there that, when they randomly took their phone off the hook, they heard the spokescouncil meeting!

¹² In *Why We Can't Wait*, Martin Luther King Jr. shares a good deal of strategy thinking in the successful Birmingham campaign. He realized that, to induce Birmingham's black community to boycott the big downtown department stores (mass noncooperation), the campaign first had to create the drama of protest marches against dogs and fire hoses (confrontation). This worked so well that the store owners, fearful of losing profits from the big upcoming Easter shopping season, swung to the side of meeting the Civil Rights movement's demands.

¹³ A new and powerful documentary look at black student strategy is in *A Force More Powerful*, which was shown by PBS in 2000; see the Web site, www.films.com.

¹⁴ This campaign, which has more to teach us about direct action than there's room to go into here, is described blow-by-blow by Richard K. Taylor, *Blockade* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1977). This campaign in solidarity with Bangladesh happened in 1971-72.

¹⁵ *Why We Can't Wait* gives the behind-the-scenes story of Birmingham and Dr. King describes the Montgomery campaign initiated by Rosa Parks in *Stride Toward Freedom* (books available in various editions). Readers interested in strategy will salivate while reading Taylor Branch's Pulitzer Prize-winning book *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988). Some useful coverage of SNCC is in the documentary *Eyes on the Prize*, available in many local libraries.

¹⁶ Behind-the-scenes strategy insights on that movement are revealed by a key participant, the late activist Bill Moyer, in his book *Doing Democracy* (Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Publishers, 2002). In his book Bill also shares his campaign design methodology, which has assisted a variety of movements.

¹⁷ The historically accurate version in the film *Gandhi* is worth watching repeatedly.

Police are sometimes sophisticated enough to be quite intentional in reducing the contrast. The Albany, Georgia, police chief defeated the African-American 1962 civil rights campaign led by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Martin Luther King by carefully restraining his police and reducing the contrast. He astutely used his police to prevent Ku Klux Klan and other forces from beating up demonstrators, again to hinder black people from gaining the moral high ground. Dr. King applied the learning from this lesson in the following year's Birmingham, Alabama, campaign, and SNCC's most dramatic use of this lesson was in 1964 in Mississippi.

To read about one choice, called security culture, go to the Web site: security.tao.ca or nocompromise.org. The article "Security Culture" states its basic assumption at the beginning: "To minimize the destructiveness of this government harassment, it is imperative that we create a 'security culture' within our movement." Some movements, operating in much more dangerous situations than the United States, Canada, or western Europe, have found that security culture maximizes rather than minimizes the destructiveness of government harassment.

¹⁸ The information about Argentina in this and following paragraphs comes from reportage in *Z Magazine*, the issues of April and May 2002: "The Argentine Rebellion" by Roger Burbach and "Rebellion in Argentina" by Ana Nogueira, Josh Breitbart, and Chris Strohm.

¹⁹ Ana Nogueira, Josh Breitbart, and Chris Strohm, "Rebellion in Argentina," *Z Magazine* (May 2002): 19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

²¹ Larger-scale property destruction may accompany stage four and even violence against people, even though the movement chose a nonviolent strategy. In the turbulence and chaos that brings new elements of the population into play, a nonviolent movement can only do the best it can. For example, on October 6, when huge crowds surrounded Parliament, Otpor couldn't prevent right-wing soccer fans from torching the government building even though Otpor thought the right-wingers' tactics were as senseless as their politics.

²² Even though it's a Hollywood film, *Beyond Rangoon* has an amazing degree of accuracy in depicting the uprising and the courage of Aung San Suu Kyi, the brilliant young woman who became the hero of the rebellion and won a Nobel Peace Prize. She has spent most of the time

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since the collapse of the insurrection under house arrest. A detailed account of the 1988 uprising is by the journalist Bertil Lintner, *Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (White Lotus, 1990).



Decolonizing The Revolutionary Imagination: Values Crisis, the Politics of Reality, and Why There's Going to Be a Common-Sense Revolution in This Generation

By Patrick Reinsborough

Patrick Reinsborough is a writer, grassroots organizer, and popular educator who has worked on a wide range of issues including forest protection, nuclear power, police brutality, urban sprawl, peace in northern Ireland, indigenous rights, and numerous local and global environmental justice struggles. He is the cofounder of the smartMeme Strategy and Training Project and the Wake Up America campaign.

If you expect to see the final results of your work, you simply have not asked a big enough question. — I.F. Stone

Introduction: Post-Issue Activism

Our planet is heading into an unprecedented global crisis. The blatancy of the corporate power grab and the accelerating ecological meltdown is evidence that we do not live in an era where we can afford the luxury of fighting merely the symptoms of the problem. As is often noted, crisis

photo top: Jason Justice

New Progressives are beyond left vs. right; they are deep green, against corporate globalization; they are from all races, classes and ages; and watch out, Democrats and Republicans, they are a larger group than you might think

The New Political Compass

by Paul H. Ray

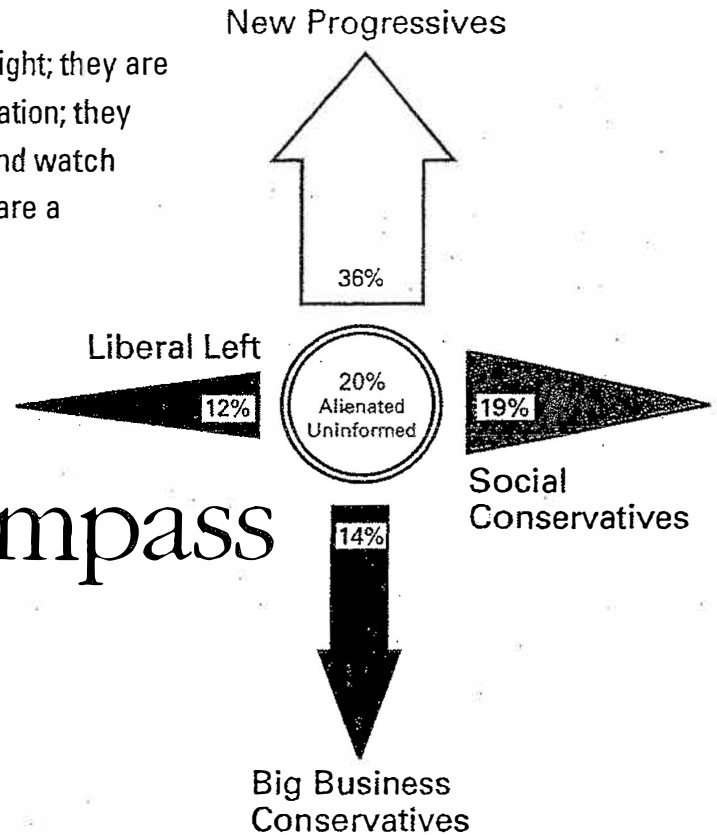
Every few hundred years in western history there occurs a sharp transformation. Within a few short decades, society—its world view, its basic values, its social and political structures, its arts, its key institutions—rearranges itself. And the people born then cannot even imagine a world in which their grandparents lived and into which their own parents were born. We are currently living through such a transformation.

Peter Drucker, Post-Capitalist Society

Today's politics is failing to deal with some of the most important issues of our time, and every one knows it. National politicians deal with the few easy issues they can handle conventionally, while a growing number of issues are not handled at all.

Most polls tell us voters want politicians to get on with dealing with the big, difficult, emerging issues of our time, such as global warming, globalization, health care, education, biotechnology, giant corporations out of control, violence around the world, and the future of their children. But our political system is not supplying what people want. Voting remains at an all time low, reflecting widespread disgust with both the absence of good ideas and the dominance of big money. Survey upon survey shows over 70 percent of voters unhappy with politics and politicians. We are looking at the political equivalent of market failure: the breakdown of supply and demand.

What is it that voters want? The answer at least in part can be found in the wave of change that is



going through western culture. A new constituency is emerging that is at home in neither the Democratic nor Republican parties. As this constituency grows, we are seeing the decline of both Left and Right, and of both political parties.

I call the new constituency the New Progressives because they reflect the concerns of the social movements and consciousness movements that have emerged over the last 40 years. Some cut their teeth in the anti-nuclear movement, others in the civil rights movement or the women's movement. Even when they weren't directly involved in a cause, they tend to sympathize with its aims, so they reflect the wave of values change that has been emerging in American life over the past few decades, which is giving rise to the subculture I call Cultural Creatives.

The easiest way to describe this emerging political constituency is to say that they are at 90-degree angles to both the liberal Left and the social conservative Right, and they are directly opposed to big business conservatism. These "New Progressives" are not "the center" or mushy middle of Clinton lore. They tend to oppose corporate globalization and big business interests, and

favor ecological sustainability, women's issues, consciousness issues, national health care, national education, and an emerging concern for the planet and the future of our children and grandchildren on it. Many of their issues are claimed by the Left, and sworn at by the Right, but their stance departs from both liberal Left and religious Right, as do business conservatives' stances.

This group is nearly invisible in the mainstream press. But the New Progressives are the biggest of the four constituencies at 36 percent of population and 45 percent of likely voters. If the New Progressives were mobilized under a single political tent, they could replace one of the political parties and dominate American politics for the next generation or more.

Left versus Right doesn't work any more

A century ago, Left vs. Right meant progressives and unionists vs. big business and maybe the Ku Klux Klan. But that was before nuclear weapons could destroy life on the planet, before the civil rights movement and women's movement, before the insurgent radicals of the religious Right came back into politics, and before saving the planet from ecological destruction and globalization became a huge issue. Both the issues and the constituencies of the US have evolved, but our political rhetoric stays frozen in century-old lingo and metaphors, and so have our political parties and our politicians.

When we add new data about values and political positions, it becomes obvious that this image of our politics is beyond inadequate, it's hopelessly wrong and misleading. With only 31 percent of the population fitting the image of Left versus Right, it simply doesn't have a future.

My data for the New Political Compass come from a 1995 values survey that included just enough political information to do this analysis. They don't cover all the issues and voter behavior we might ideally want; however, because they cover many issues, plus values and political affiliations, they do point clearly to what is emerging. The underlying structure of the data shows the opposition of liberal Left versus social conservative, crossed by the opposition of the New Progressives versus the Big Business Conservatives. The only ones left in the "center" are the politically alienated, the ignorant, and the studiously apolitical.

The New Political Compass diagram on page 47 shows that all that remains of the secular liberal Left is 12 percent of the US adult population—about 15 percent of voters. Social conservatives, including the religious Right, are 19 percent—about 22 percent of voters. Those who vote with multinational Big Business Conservatives are at 14 percent of the US—19 percent of voters.

As we might expect, there is more similarity between liberals and New Progressives and between the two kinds of conservatives. However, while they may ally from time to time, the culturally conservative, Main Street Right often opposes the Wall Street big business Right. Worldwide, the traditionalism of social conservatives and the globalism of Big Business Conservatives are often deep enemies.

Likewise, the New Progressives may look Left to the rest of the polity, but they don't identify as "Left." The New Progressives are less interested in the liberal Left's cultural struggle with the religious Right (East vs. West on the political compass) than they are with opposing the pro-globalization forces. The real "juice" in progressive politics is no longer with the class and union and rural-urban struggles of the early 1900s; instead, the growing edge is in the feminist, ecological, anti-globalization, pro-civil-rights, pro-peace, pro-health-care, pro-education, pro-natural/organic and even pro-spiritual movements that together make up the New Progressives.

As of 1995, the evolution of the four points to the compass wasn't complete, but that was seven years ago. Since then, the anti-corporate globalization movement came into existence, both in the anti-WTO-IMF-World Bank form and in the gathering in Porto Alegre of planetary democrats, where tens of thousands of people gathered under the banner, "Another World is Possible." [See update by Walden Bello on page 50.] The war against terrorism, the meltdown in Argentina, and the collapse of Enron are further delegitimizing giant corporations. As that happens, we see a strengthening of the second dimension, the New Progressives versus Big Business Conservatives or North vs South on the political compass.

The New Progressives

The reframing of reality by new social movements is key to the New Progressives' worldview. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., didn't stop at issues of voting rights or the overturning of Jim Crow laws, for example. Instead, he reminded all Americans of their love for freedom, justice, and dignity, and showed that when some Americans are degraded, all are degraded.

Betty Friedan did not limit her framing of women's issues to the glass ceiling or pay equity; she showed that a majority of humanity is excluded from public life, and diminished at home and in gender relations.

Likewise, Rachel Carson was not simply asking polluters to stay out of her back yard; she was warning of the death of nature and warning that when birds and insects die, we and our children will soon follow.

The anti-nuclear movement reframed itself to become a pro-peace movement, incorporating conflict

olution and respectful communications into everyday life. The alternative health care movement focused on overall wellness, a concept that has permeated the awareness, if not the practice, of mainstream America.

Another reframing came with the recognition of inner experience as a source of authority. Beginning with the civil rights and women's movements, this seeking of inner authenticity quickly became part of the various consciousness movements, the peace movements, the spiritual side of the ecology movement, and the liberal churches. While this inner directedness was rarely a sign of enlightenment, it did indicate an inner search; and a growing maturity.

Along with these shifts came the insistence that natural change is a valid part of the larger social change process. Most importantly, the inner dimensions of transformation were carried into political work, in the fashioning causing dissonance with the more Left, cho activists.

The New Progressives have been going from movement to movement, remaining loyal to one as they move to the next. They account for the convergence of the movements into a common worldview and set of values. The New Progressives have developed new moral codes, new explanatory analyses, and new tactics and strategies founded in this emerging worldview. As each movement grew, New Progressives eventually adopted the movement's basic stance as part of their own worldview. If, as I estimate, the New Progressives are 36 percent of adults and 45 percent of voters, they represent a huge unmet political demand.

We stand at a watershed in politics where the two sides are weaker than they have been in over a century. There's room for immense creativity around the emerging agenda of the new millennium.

The New Progressives are well positioned to work on all the other three sides: with the social conservatives around bringing civility back into public life, with the Left on social justice and ecology, and with the business Right on efficiency issues. The key will be drawing on the themes of the New Social Movements, proposing positive solutions, addressing hot-button issues that they won't touch, healing the loss of political trust that degraded politics over the past 40 years, and using processes for dialogue and mobilization that are empowering and respectful. Doing so could allow the New Progressives to set agendas that will bring values of justice, sustainability, and compassion into public life for decades to come.

Ray's report on the New Progressives is posted at the YES! website: yesmagazine.org. Paul Ray's website is www.culturalcreatives.org

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The New Progressives Speak Up

Paul Ray's data, from his 1995 survey, which show those values and opinions where New Progressives' views differ significantly from those of the total US population. Note: opinions tend to change faster than values, because they are not as deeply rooted.

Percent saying these values are

"very important" or "extremely important"	New Progressives	Total US
The belief that every person has a unique gift to offer	76%	67%
Having your work make a contribution to society	67	54
Living in harmony with the Earth	66	53
Finding your purpose in life, rather than making money	57	47
Wanting to be involved in creating a better society	54	41

Percent agreeing "somewhat" or "strongly"

	New Progressives	Total US
Business corporations make too much profit	76%	66%
It's better to protect jobs than endangered species and forests (percentage who disagree)	60	51
I'd pay more taxes to help solve our environmental problems	51	42

Percent saying these fears or concerns are

"very important" or "extremely important."	New Progressives	Total US
That we spend too much time "fixing things" after the fact, instead of finding the source of our problems	92%	81%
Violence against women and children	92	83
That pollution may destroy farmlands, forests, and seas	88	74
That women and men don't get equal pay for equal work	85	68
That our politics is getting too polarized, nasty, and gridlocked	83	73
Global environmental problems: global warming, destruction of rainforests and species, loss of the ozone layer	82	68
Pollution that may affect your health	78	66
That our current way of life is not sustainable ecologically	71	53
That more women should be top leaders in business and government	66	48
That multinational corporations increasingly control our fate	66	54

Percent who say the following statements fit their ways of seeing things?

	New Progressives	Total US
Americans should have more respect and reverence for nature	93%	83%
Humans are part of nature, not its ruler	83	75
America needs a health insurance plan that covers everyone, rich or poor, for all illnesses	81	69
We must change the way we do business to save the environment	76	63
Americans need to consume a much smaller proportion of the world's resources	72	61
Business is already asked to pay too much for cleaning up the environment (disagree)	67	59
All of life needs to be preserved, even species we don't have a use for	57	55
We need to develop a whole new way of life for long-run ecological sustainability	67	53
I agree with ecologists who see Earth as a giant living organism	65	53
Most people have too many possessions	63	56
There is no way that economic growth can go on forever in a finite world	54	43
Redwood groves are sacred	49	36

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Acts of Hope: Challenging Empire on the World Stage by Rebecca Solnit ; May 19, 2003

On January 18, 1915, eighteen months into the first world war, the first terrible war in the modern sense -- slaughter by the hundreds of thousands, poison gas, men living and dying in the open graves of trench warfare, tanks, barbed wire, machine guns, airplanes -- Virginia Woolf wrote in her journal, "The future is dark, which is on the whole, the best thing the future can be, I think." Dark, she seems to say, as in inscrutable, not as in terrible. We often mistake the one for the other. People imagine the end of the world is nigh because the future is unimaginable. Who twenty years ago would have pictured a world without the USSR and with the Internet? We talk about "what we hope for" in terms of what we hope will come to pass but we could think of it another way, as why we hope. We hope on principle, we hope tactically and strategically, we hope because the future is dark, we hope because it's a more powerful and more joyful way to live. Despair presumes it knows what will happen next. But who, two decades ago, would have imagined that the Canadian government would give a huge swathe of the north back to its indigenous people, or that the imprisoned Nelson Mandela would become president of a free South Africa?

Twenty-one years ago this June, a million people gathered in Central Park to demand a nuclear freeze. They didn't get it. The movement was full of people who believed they'd realize their goal in a few years and then go home. Many went home disappointed or burned out. But in less than a decade, major nuclear arms reductions were negotiated, helped along by European antinuclear movements and the impetus they gave Gorbachev. Since then, the issue has fallen off the map and we have lost much of what was gained. The US never ratified the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and the Bush administration is planning to resume the full-fledged nuclear testing halted in 1991, to resume manufacture, to expand the arsenal, and perhaps even to use it in once-proscribed ways.

It's always too soon to go home. And it's always too soon to calculate effect. I once read an anecdote by someone in Women Strike for Peace, the first great antinuclear movement in the United States in 1963, the one that did contribute to a major victory: the end of aboveground nuclear testing with its radioactive fallout that was showing up in mother's milk and baby teeth. She told of how foolish and futile she felt standing in the rain one morning protesting at the Kennedy White House. Years later she heard Dr. Benjamin Spock -- one of the most high-profile activists on the issue then -- say that the turning point for him was seeing a small group of women standing in the rain, protesting at the White House. If they were so passionately committed, he thought, he should give the issue more consideration himself.

Unending Change

A lot of activists expect that for every action there is an equal and opposite and punctual reaction, and regard the lack of one as failure. After all, activism is often a reaction: Bush decides to invade Iraq, we create a global peace movement in which 10 to 30 million people march on seven continents on the same weekend. But history is shaped by the groundswells and common dreams that single acts and moments only represent. It's a landscape more complicated than commensurate cause and effect. Politics is a surface in which transformation comes about as much because of pervasive changes in the depths of the collective imagination as because of visible acts, though both are necessary. And though huge causes sometimes have little effect, tiny

mes occasionally have huge consequences. Some years ago, scientists attempted to create a long-range weather forecasting program, assuming that the same initial conditions would generate the same weather down the road. It turned out that the minutest variations, even the undetectable things, things they could perhaps not yet even imagine as data, could cause entirely different weather to emerge from almost identical initial conditions. This was famously summed up as the saying about the flap of a butterfly's wings on one continent that can change the weather on another.

History is like weather, not like checkers. A game of checkers ends. The weather never does. That's why you can't save anything. Saving is the wrong word. Jesus saves and so do banks; they set things aside from the flux of earthly change. We never did save the whales, though we might've prevented them from becoming extinct. We will have to continue to prevent that as long as they continue not to be extinct. Saving suggests a laying up where neither moth nor dust doth corrupt, and this model of salvation is perhaps why Americans are so good at crisis response and then going home to let another crisis brew. Problems seldom go home. Most nations agree to a ban on hunting endangered species of whale, but their oceans are compromised in other ways. DDT is banned in the US, but exported to the third world, and Monsanto moves on to the next atrocity.

The world gets better. It also gets worse. The time it will take you to address this is exactly equal to your lifetime, and if you're lucky you don't know how long that is. The future is dark. Like night. There are probabilities and likelihoods, but there are no guarantees. As Adam Hochschild points out, from the time the English Quakers first took on the issue of slavery, three quarters of a century passed before it was abolished in Europe and America. Few if any working on the issue at the beginning lived to see its conclusion, when what had once seemed impossible suddenly began to look, in retrospect, inevitable. And as the law of unintended consequences might lead you to expect, the abolition movement also sparked the first widespread women's rights movement, which took about the same amount of time to secure the right to vote for American women, has achieved far more in the subsequent 83 years, and is by no means done. Activism is not a journey to the corner store; it is a plunge into the dark.

Writers understand that action is seldom direct. You write your books. You scatter your seeds. Cats might eat them, or they might just rot. In California, some seeds lie dormant for decades because they only germinate after fire. Sharon Salzberg, in her book *Faith*, recounts how she put together a book of teachings by the Buddhist monk U Pandita and consigned the project to the minor-good-deed category." Long afterward, she found out that when Burmese democracy movement's leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, was kept isolated under house arrest by that country's dictators, the book and its instructions in meditation "became her main source of spiritual support during those intensely difficult years." Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman, Walter Benjamin and Arthur Rimbaud, like Henry David Thoreau, achieved their greatest impact long after their deaths, long after weeds had grown over the graves of the bestsellers of their times. Gandhi's Thoreau-influenced nonviolence was as important in the American South as it was in India, and what transpired with Martin Luther King's sophisticated version of it has influenced civil disobedience movements around the world. Decades after their assassinations they are still with us.

At the port of Oakland, California, on April 7, several hundred peace activists came out at dawn to picket the gates of a company shipping arms to Iraq. The longshoreman's union had

viewed not to cross our picket. The police arrived in riot gear and, unprovoked and unthreatened, began shooting wooden bullets and beanbags of shot at the activists. Three members of the media, nine longshoremen, and fifty activists were injured. I saw the bloody welts the size of half grapefruits on the backs of some of the young men--they had been shot in the back -- and a swelling the size of an egg on the jaw of a delicate yoga instructor. Told that way, violence won. But the violence inspired the union dock workers to form closer alliances with antiwar activists and underscored the connections between local and global issues. On May 12 we picketed again, with no violence. This time, the longshoremen acted in solidarity with the picketers and -- for the first time in anyone's memory -- the shipping companies cancelled the work shift rather than face the protesters. Told that way, the story continues to unfold, and we have grown stronger. And there's a third way to tell it. The picket stalled a lot of semi trucks. Some of the drivers were annoyed. Some sincerely believed that the war was a humanitarian effort. Some of them -- notably a group of South Asian drivers standing around in the morning sun looking radiant -- thought we were great. After the picket was broken up, one immigrant driver honked in support and pulled over to ask for a peace sign for his rig. I stepped forward to pierce holes into it so he could bungee-cord it to the chrome grille. We talked briefly, shook hands, and he stepped up into the cab. He was turned back at the gates --they weren't accepting deliveries from antiwar truckers. When I saw him next he was sitting on a curb all alone behind police lines, looking cheerful and fearless. Who knows what will ultimately come of the spontaneous courage of this man with a job on the line?

Victories of the New Peace Movement

It was a setup for disappointment to expect that there would be an acknowledged cause and effect relationship between the antiwar actions and the Bush administration. On the other hand... " We will likely never know, but it seems that the Bush administration decided against the "Shock and Awe" saturation bombing of Baghdad because we made it clear that the cost in world opinion and civil unrest would be too high. We millions may have saved a few thousand or a few hundred thousand lives.

* The global peace movement was grossly underreported on February 15th. A million people marching in Barcelona was nice, but I also heard about the thousands in Chapel Hill, NC, the hundred and fifty people holding a peace vigil in the small town of Las Vegas, NM, the antiwar passion of people in even smaller villages from Bolivia to Thailand.

* Activists are often portrayed as an unrepresentative, marginal rabble, but something shifted in the media last fall. Since then, antiwar activists have mostly been represented as a diverse, legitimate, and representative body, a watershed victory for our representation and our long-term prospects. * Many people who had never spoken out, never marched in the street, never joined groups, written to politicians, or donated to campaigns, did so; countless people became political as never before. That is, if nothing else, a vast aquifer of passion now stored up to feed the river of change. New networks and communities and websites and listserves and jail solidarity groups and coalitions arose.

* In the name of the so-called war on terror, which seems to inculcate terror at home and enact it abroad, we have been encouraged to fear our neighbors, each other, strangers, (particularly middle-eastern, Arab, and Moslem people), to spy on them, to lock ourselves up, to privatize ourselves. By living out our hope and resistance in public together with strangers of all kinds, we

overcame this catechism of fear, we trusted each other; we forged a community that bridged all differences among the peace loving as we demonstrated our commitment to the people of Iraq. * We achieved a global movement without leaders. There were many brilliant spokespeople, theorists and organizers, but when your fate rests on your leader, you are only as strong, as incorruptible, and as creative as he -- or, occasionally, she -- is. What could be more democratic than millions of people who, via the grapevine, the Internet, and various groups from churches to unions to direct-action affinity groups, can organize themselves? Of course leaderless actions and movements have been organized for the past couple of decades, but never on such a grand scale. The African writer Laurens Van Der Post once said that no great new leaders were emerging because it was time for us to cease to be followers. Perhaps we have.

* We succeeded in doing what the anti-Vietnam War movement infamously failed to do: to refuse the dichotomies. We were able to oppose a war on Iraq without endorsing Saddam Hussein. We were able to oppose a war with compassion for the troops who fought it. Most of us did not fall into the traps that our foreign policy so often does and that earlier generations of radicals did: the ones in which our enemy's enemy is our friend, in which the opponent of an evil must be good, in which a nation and its figurehead, a general and his troops, become indistinguishable. We were not against the US and for Iraq; we were against the war, and many of us were against all war, all weapons of mass destruction -- even ours -- and all violence, everywhere. We are not just an antiwar movement. We are a peace movement. * Questions the peace and anti-globalization movements have raised are now mainstream, though no mainstream source will say why, or perhaps even knows why. Activists targeted Bechtel, Halliburton, Chevron and Lockheed Martin, among others, as war profiteers with ties to the Bush administration. The actions worked not by shutting the places down in any significant way but by making their operations a public question. Direct action seldom works directly, but now the media scrutinizes those corporations as never before. Representative Henry Waxman publicly questioned Halliburton's ties to terrorist states the other day, and the media is closely questioning the administration's closed-door decision to award Halliburton, the company vice-president Cheney headed until he took office, a \$7 billion contract to administer Iraqi oil. These are breakthroughs.

The Angel of Alternate History

American history is dialectical. What is best about it is called forth by what is worst. The abolitionists and the underground railroad, the feminist movement and the civil rights movement, the environmental and human rights movements were all called into being by threats and atrocities. There's plenty of what's worst afoot nowadays. But we need a progressive activism that is not one of reaction but of initiation, one in which people of good will everywhere set the agenda. We need to extend the passion the war brought forth into preventing the next one, and toward addressing all the forms of violence besides bombs. We need a movement that doesn't just respond to the evils of the present but calls forth the possibilities of the future. We need a revolution of hope. And for that we need to understand how change works and how to count our victories.

While serving on the board of Citizen Alert, a Nevada nonprofit environmental and antinuclear group, I once wrote a fundraising letter modeled after "It's a Wonderful Life." Frank Capra's movie is a model for radical history, because what the angel Clarence shows the suicidal George Bailey is what the town would look like if he hadn't done his best for his neighbors. This angel of

alternate history shows not what happened but what didn't, and that's what's hardest to weigh. Citizen Alert's victories were largely those of what hadn't happened to the air, the water, the land, and the people of Nevada. And the history of what the larger movements have achieved is largely one of careers undestroyed, ideas uncensored, violence and intimidation uncommitted, injustices unperpetrated, rivers unpoisoned and undammed, bombs undropped, radiation leaked, poisons unsprayed, wildernesses unviolated, countryside undeveloped, resources unextracted, species unexterminated.

I was born during the summer the Berlin Wall went up, into a country in which there weren't even words, let alone redress, for many of the practices that kept women and people of color from free and equal citizenship, in which homosexuality was diagnosed as a disease and treated as a crime, in which the ecosystem was hardly even a concept, in which extinction and pollution were issues only a tiny minority heeded, in which "better living through chemistry" didn't yet sound like black humor, in which the US and USSR were on hair-trigger alert for a nuclear Armageddon, in which most of the big questions about the culture had yet to be asked. It was a world with more rainforest, more wild habitat, more ozone layer, and more species; but few were defending those things then. An ecological imagination was born and became part of the common culture only in the past few decades, as did a broader and deeper understanding of human diversity and human rights. The world gets worse. It also gets better. And the future stays dark. Nobody knows the consequences of their actions, and history is full of small acts that changed the world in surprising ways. I was one of thousands of activists at the Nevada Test Site in the late 1980s, an important, forgotten history still unfolding out there where the US and UK have exploded more than a thousand nuclear bombs, with disastrous effects on the environment and human health, (and where the Bush Administration would like to resume testing, thereby sabotaging the unratified Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty). We didn't shut down our test site, but our acts inspired the Kazakh poet Olzhas Suleimenov, on February 27, 1989, to read a manifesto instead of poetry on live Kazakh TV -- a manifesto demanding a shutdown of the Soviet nuclear test site in Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan, and calling a meeting. Five thousand Kazakhs gathered at the Writer's Union the next day and formed a movement to shut down the site. They named themselves the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement.

The Soviet Test Site was indeed shut down. Suleimenov was the catalyst, and though we in Nevada were his inspiration, what gave him his platform was his poetry in a country that loved poets. Perhaps Suleimenov wrote all his poems so that one day he could stand up in front of a TV camera and deliver not a poem but a manifesto. And perhaps Arundhati Roy wrote a ravishing novel that catapulted her to stardom so that when she stood up to oppose dams and destruction of the local for the benefit of the transnational, people would notice. Or perhaps these writers opposed the ravaging of the earth so that poetry too -- poetry in the broadest sense -- would survive in the world. American poets became an antiwar movement themselves when Sam Hamill declined an invitation to Laura Bush's "Poetry and the American Voice" symposium shortly after her husband's administration announced their "Shock and Awe" plan, and he circulated his letter of outrage. His e-mail box filled up, he started www.poetsagainsthewar.org, to which about 11,000 poets have submitted poems to date. Hamill became a major spokesperson against the war and his website has become an organizing tool for the peace movement.

Not Left But Forward

The glum traditional left often seems intent upon finding the cloud around every silver lining. This January, when Governor Ryan of Illinois overturned a hundred and sixty-seven death sentences, there were left-wing commentators who found fault with the details, carped when we should have been pouring champagne over our heads like football champs. And joy is one of our weapons and one of our victories. Non-activists sometimes chide us for being joyous at demonstrations, for having fun while taking on the serious business of the world, but in a time when alienation, isolation, and powerlessness are among our principal afflictions, just being out in the streets en masse is not a demand for victory: it is a victory.

But there's an increasing gap between this new movement with its capacity for joy and the old figureheads. Their grumpiness is often the grumpiness of perfectionists who hold that anything less than total victory is failure, a premise that makes it easy to give up at the start or to disparage the victories that are possible. This is earth. It will never be heaven. There will always be cruelty, always be violence, always be destruction. There is tremendous devastation now. In the time it takes you to read this, acres of rainforest will vanish, a species will go extinct, women will be raped, men shot, and far too many children will die of easily preventable causes. We cannot eliminate all devastation for all time, but we can reduce it, outlaw it, undermine its source and foundation: these are victories. Nearly everyone felt, after September 11, 2001, along with grief and fear, a huge upwelling of idealism, of openness, of a readiness to question and to learn, a sense of being connected and a desire to live our lives for something more, even if it wasn't familiar, safe, or easy. Nothing could have been more threatening to the current administration, and they have done everything they can to repress it.

But that desire is still out there. It's the force behind a huge new movement we don't even have a name for yet, a movement that's not a left opposed to a right, but perhaps a below against above, little against big, local and decentralized against consolidated. If we could throw out the old definitions, we could recognize where the new alliances lie; and those alliances -- of small farmers, of factory workers, of environmentalists, of the poor, of the indigenous, of the just, of the farseeing -- could be extraordinarily powerful against the forces of corporate profit and institutional violence. Left and right are terms for where the radicals and conservatives sat in the French National Assembly after the French Revolution. We're not in that world anymore, let alone that seating arrangement. We're in one that for all its ruins and poisons and legacies is utterly new. Anti-globalization activists say, "Another world is possible." It is not only possible, it is inevitable; and we need to participate in shaping it.

I'm hopeful, partly because we don't know what is going to happen in that dark future and we might as well live according to our principles as long as we're here. Hope, the opposite of fear, lets us do that. Imagine the world as a lifeboat: the corporations and the current administration are smashing holes in it as fast (or faster) than the rest of us can bail or patch the leaks. But it's important to take account of the bailers as well as the smashers and to write epics in the present tense rather than elegies in the past tense. That's part of what floats this boat. And if it sinks, we all sink, so why not bail? Why not row? The reckless Bush Administration seems to be generating what US administrations have so long held back: a world in which the old order is shattered and anything is possible. Zapatista spokesman Subcommandante Marcos adds, "History written by Power taught us that we had lost.... We did not believe what Power taught us. We skipped class when they taught conformity and idiocy. We failed modernity. We are united by the imagination, by creativity, by tomorrow. In the past we not only met defeat but also found a desire for justice

and the dream of being better. We left skepticism hanging from the hook of big capital and discovered that we could believe, that it was worth believing, that we should believe -- in ourselves. Health to you, and don't forget that flowers, like hope, are harvested."

And they grow in the dark. "I believe," adds Thoreau, "in the forest, and the meadow, and the night in which the corn grows."

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Allen Hunt Badiner, Ed. Mindfulness in the Marketplace (Berkeley: Parallax, 2002).

The New Storytellers

by David Korten

THE GOAL in the New Story is to displace the corporate institutions of global capitalism with a global system of mindful market economies. The process involves gradually increasing the options the mindful market offers us as we reduce our dependence on those offered by the institutions of global corporatization. For example, I buy dry goods from the local Bainbridge Island supplier, located within walking distance from my home and run by a wonderful family who add something of their love of the Earth and our island community to every transaction. Each time I buy products from my neighbor (rather than those from large corporations), or purchase a head of lettuce at our Saturday morning farmers' market that is grown by another wonderful neighbor on her organic farm (rather than lettuce from our local Safeway corporation outlet that is grown thousands of miles away by the Del Monte corporation on a factory farm), I act to nurture the mindful market economy while withdrawing legitimacy and resources from the global corporate economy. And each time I forgo the purchase of something I don't really need, substitute a product made by my own hand, or engage in a cooperative exchange with my neighbor, I weaken my dependence on global corporate institutions. And, in most instances, I also reduce my burden on the planet.

Our task is no longer one of creating countercultures, engaging in political protest, and pursuing economic alternatives. To create a just, sustainable, and compassionate post-corporate world we must face up to the need to create a new core culture, a new political center, and a new economic mainstream. Such a bold agenda requires many kinds of expertise working at many levels of society—personal and household, community, national, and global. It requires breaking the bonds of individual isolation that leave us feeling

marginalized when in fact we may already be part of a new majority. There are thousands of useful tasks to be undertaken.

Start from Where You Are

Obviously, we are not going to bring about this transformation to a mindful economy just by buying a locally grown head of organic lettuce, though it is a useful start. We must work in many ways at many levels. The best that can be done here is to offer a general framework and a few illustrative suggestions that you may find helpful in defining a personal strategy to help starve the cancer and nurture life. There are no universal blueprints. Indeed, the one universal response to the question, What can I do? is "Start from where you are." That means making use of the resources at your command, and most important, doing what allows you to become more of who you really are.

If you are a member of a church or Dharma group, you might organize discussion groups and events to examine these issues and explore how individuals can act on them as an expression of their spiritual values. Or you might initiate a study group that deepens the group's sense of connection to place by gathering and sharing information on such things as the history of the locality where you live, the foods that are produced there, the source of your water, the distinctive characteristics of your native species, and how your local ecosystem has changed over time.

If you are a parent, you might campaign to make your local schools advertising-free zones. If you are a teacher and your school requires students to watch the teen portal Channel One, you might use it as a resource for teaching students to deconstruct advertising and propaganda messages to help immunize them against media manipulation. Or you might engage your students in projects that deepen their understanding and caring about their local ecosystems. If you teach in a university, especially in a school of business, organize a course on the moral defense and critique of capitalism to engage students in a critical examination of the issues relating to the design of an economic system.

If you are a natural networker, you might work with others to develop a guide to local organizations and initiatives for people in your locality who are looking for ways to become positively engaged. Or you might compile and publicize a directory of local, stakeholder-owned businesses. Your efforts

might even lead to the formation of new alliances among these groups to strengthen the newly emergent whole.

If you are the CEO of a large corporation, you could establish a policy that your corporation will not make political contributions or otherwise seek to influence elections or legislation. Better yet, organize the breakup and employee buyout of your corporation to turn it into a network of independent stakeholder-owned, community-based businesses. If you are an investment counselor or money manager, build a specialty in socially responsible investment and the financing of stakeholder buyouts. If you are a small business owner, build your identity as a values-led, community-based enterprise and engage in the formation of networks and alliances of like-minded businesses.

If you are a union member, campaign for applying a social responsibility screen to the investment of union pension funds, with special attention to investing only in companies that hire union workers and have good employee relations. Promote the use of pension funds to finance a labor buyout of selected corporations to convert them into stakeholder enterprises.

If you work with small farmers in a low-income country, encourage them to save and use local seeds and not become dependent on the seeds and chemicals of transnational corporations. Help them organize to resist the takeover of their lands by corporations and development projects such as those funded by the World Bank and other foreign development agencies. If you are a citizen of a low-income country, join the citizen resistance against IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programs.

If you are a politician, consider building your campaign on a pledge to take only small contributions and to support serious campaign reform.

If you are an economist, become active in the International Society for Ecological Economics and participate in building and popularizing a market economics for a living planet. If you are a lawyer, connect with one of the groups working on issues relating to the legal status of corporations and help develop a legal strategy to overturn the doctrine of corporate personhood.

If you are a resident of a low-income neighborhood, especially a racial minority neighborhood in the U.S., your community is likely to be a favored site for polluting industries, waste disposal, and the routing of new highway construction and will likely be underserved by public transportation. If existing groups are working to stop harmful projects, demand the cleanup of existing facilities, and promote public transportation suited to your community's needs,

and consider getting involved with one of them. If an effective group does not already exist, create one.

If you have talents as a speaker, develop a presentation on the relationship of the business system to the health of the environment and make yourself available to groups interested in delving into such issues. If you are a journalist, write stories about the newly emerging culture; values-led, stakeholder-owned businesses; and the many citizen initiatives moving us toward a post-corporate world—the stories that corporate PR specialists don't want told. If the publication from which you earn your bread and butter has no taste for such stories, do them on a pro bono, freelance basis for independent publications that still believe journalism has a role beyond generating advertising dollars.

If you are inclined to political activism, you might get involved in campaigns to end corporate welfare in all its many forms, strip corporations of their rights of personhood, and get big money out of politics.

Whoever you are, you have an important role in changing the system—for change will only come from the actions of millions of people, and each of us is important.

Intervene at Multiple Levels

Although the most important changes generally begin within ourselves, they must eventually be translated into changes in community, national, and global institutions. We must be mindful of the changes needed at all these levels and contribute to their realization. The basic themes, however, remain the same. Start from where you are to starve the cancer of global corporatization and nurture life.

Let's take the levels one at a time and explore some of the possibilities. Bear in mind this is a list of possibilities focused on changing the economic system. It is neither prescriptive nor comprehensive, but only a partial answer to the question, "What can I do?"

Personal and Family

At the personal and family level our opportunities to shift the energy of the economic system center on issues of consumption, where we live, and how we

obtain and use our money. The following are some specific things you might consider:

SIMPLIFY YOUR LIFE. In a capitalist economy, cutting back on consumption is a revolutionary act. Cut back on clutter and unnecessary consumption. Sort out which expenditures are really important to you and which are not. Figure out your real take-home pay after deducting taxes and the costs of transportation, clothing, and tools used in your occupation. Then calculate what you earn per hour and translate each prospective purchase into the hours of your life energy that you must devote to your job to pay for it. Each time you make a purchase, ask whether the item is worth that many hours of life energy you might be using in other ways. For greater support, form a voluntary simplicity group to share ideas and experiences.

BUY SMALL AND LOCAL. Making your purchases at small stakeholder-owned firms and buying locally produced products are also revolutionary acts against capitalism. Patronize your local farmers' market or organize a community supported agriculture (CSA) program with a local farmer. If you celebrate Thanksgiving, participate in the "Thanksgiving conspiracy," which involves planning and producing your Thanksgiving dinner based exclusively on foodstuffs produced within thirty miles of your place of residence, and encourage others in your community to do the same. In good market fashion, you are voting with your dollars. It may take some research to figure out what is produced locally and how you can adjust your consumption patterns to meet more of your needs through the market rather than through the capitalist economy, but that is part of the consciousness-raising process. Again, consider forming a support group to share your experience and information.

CHOOSE A LIFE-AFFIRMING JOB. Consider doing work that has real meaning with a values-led, community-based organization or enterprise that is contributing to the life of the community and the planet even if it is lower-paid.

KEEP INFORMED. Reach out beyond the mainstream media by becoming a regular reader of journals and books published by reliable alternative press groups that report on news and issues relating to corporate agendas.

PUT YOUR CASH IN A COMMUNITY BANK. Do your banking with an independent

bank or credit union committed to serving your community. If the banks in your community are all branches of one of the large national or international banks, ask the branch manager for the figures on how the local deposits to that branch compare with the branch's total lending in your community for local businesses and home ownership. If local deposits are substantially greater than local lending, you know that local money is not supporting the local economy. Consider banking by mail with a community bank located elsewhere. At least you will know your money is supporting someone's local market economy rather than creating economic instability in the global financial casino.

VOTE WITH YOUR SAVINGS. If you participate in the stock market, choose a mutual fund that screens investments for social responsibility or make use of an investment service or advisor who specializes in socially screened stocks. Use your ownership vote to support positive shareholder initiatives. Also, avoid consumer debt. Those who maintain debt balances on their credit cards mortgage their lives to capitalism.

REDUCE YOUR AUTOMOBILE DEPENDENCE. Living without a car is no small challenge in most American localities, and auto manufacturers, oil companies, and construction contractors all benefit from keeping it that way. We serve ourselves and all life by reducing that dependence. When deciding where to live and where to work, try to choose the location that allows you to walk, bicycle, or take public transportation to work, shopping, and recreation. In many households, just eliminating the need for a second or third car is a positive step.

FUND CHANGE. Support nonprofit organizations that are challenging global corporatization and working in favor of equity, environment, and community. Whatever your level of income, reserve a portion for charitable giving to these organizations. You can even support groups doing work in which you believe by such a simple act as signing up with a long-distance phone service that offers discounted rates and donates a portion of your payment to groups working for systemic change.

Community

At the community level, action opportunities center on strengthening the local market economy, creating a healthy livable environment, and building a sense of community based on mutual trust and caring. Contributing at this level requires that we reach out and become a part of our community's public life. The following are a few ideas you might consider:

JOIN AN INDICATORS PROJECT. If your community has a sustainability or livability indicators project, get involved. If not, consider organizing some friends to initiate one. The more people involved in dialoguing on the nature of the community in which they want to live and in selecting the indicators by which they will know when they have created it, the more likely the effort will have a meaningful impact.

The Rocky Mountain Institute (RMI) offers a variety of technical and organizational resources for increasing community sustainability. See its website at www.rmi.org for current information, or contact RMI, 1739 Snowmass Creek Road, Snowmass, Colorado, 81654-9199. For those interested in organizing a program to create a strong community economy based on the use of local resources to meet local needs, see Michael J. Kinsley, *Economic Renewal Guide: A Collaborative Process for Sustainable Community Development*. Available from RMI, it is an excellent practical guide and also includes an extensive directory of additional resources.

CREATE A DIRECTORY FOR THE MINDFUL MARKET. A barrier to supporting the mindful market economy is figuring out which products come from values-led local firms. Perhaps you have created a support group and you are developing a serious information base. Your next step might be to publish, distribute, and publicize a community directory to your local mindful market.

SUPPORT OR CREATE A COMMUNITY CURRENCY. Local currencies reduce dependence on money controlled by global banking institutions, build a sense of community, strengthen the identity of local businesses and products, and make visible the distinction between money that stays in the community and money that doesn't. If your community has a local currency, give it your support. If not, consider forming a group to establish one.

ENCOURAGE GROWTH BOUNDARIES, AFFORDABLE HOUSING, AND PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION. The move to establish urban growth boundaries to limit sprawl, reverse urban decay, create pedestrian-friendly neighborhoods, and increase the viability of public transportation is an idea whose time has come. If your community has a growth management plan designed to increase livability, consider getting involved. If not, then consider organizing support to create one. Be sure affordable housing is an element of the agenda, so that people at all income levels will have access to the improved livability of your area.

WORK FOR COMMUNITY ECONOMIC SELF-RELIANCE. There is a growing divide between localities that approach economic growth by providing subsidies to attract facilities from global corporations and those that are strengthening smaller local businesses. If these issues interest you, find out who is responsible for economic development policies in your community and get involved, either by seeking a seat on the relevant local commission or by organizing a watchdog and lobbying group to mobilize support for sensible economic policies.

National

GET POLITICAL. There is no democracy without an active citizenry. The only way we are going to bring change to our corrupted political system is through greater involvement by citizens who care about their community. Run for office and bring your values into the political mainstream. Build your campaign in part on a pledge to finance your election with small contributions and avoid obligations to big-money interests. Much of the impetus for change is coming from the local level and there are important opportunities to make a difference as a local officeholder. Furthermore, to reclaim national politics we must first build a local base. If you're fed up with the pandering to big money by the major political parties, consider joining a smaller party, such as the New Party, which is engaged in building its base on a platform of citizen democracy in both political and economic life.

USE YOUR POLITICAL FRANCHISE. Study the issues, check the voting records of your legislators or parliamentarians, find out who finances their campaigns, and use your vote to favor the politicians who are trying to serve the public interest. Let the politicians who represent you know you are watching them.

records and that you favor serious campaign finance reform that gets big money out of politics, strong environmental regulation, a living wage, strong antitrust enforcement, small- and medium-size local business, stakeholder ownership, strong unions, and a progressive tax policy. Let them also know that you oppose international trade and investment agreements that increase the rights and reduce the accountability of global corporations and financial institutions; funding for the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization; corporate subsidies; the privatization of social security; capital gains tax cuts and other tax breaks for the wealthy; bank deregulation; patents on life; and corporate intellectual property rights monopolies—to name a few issues that bear directly on the balance of power between capitalism and democracy and the market economy.

If the politicians who represent you don't represent your interests, others probably feel unrepresented as well. Consider running for national office yourself. At the national level, the action agenda centers on political education and changing the rules of the game to favor democracy and not the market economy.

GET ACTIVE IN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS AND ADVOCACY GROUPS. Although the major political parties may be hopelessly captive to big-money interests, there are many political movements and advocacy groups that are not. These groups are vehicles for mobilizing broad grassroots support behind initiatives that advance the public interest on issues such as those listed in the previous paragraphs. Pick out one or two with a strong grassroots base that align with your interests, get involved, and give special attention to campaign finance reform.

International

At the international level, a positive agenda centers on people-to-people exchange and dialogue that builds a globalizing civil society as a potent force for positive change.

GLOBAL NETWORKS. There are many global citizen organizations working in solidarity on issues ranging from voluntary simplicity to opposing international trade and investment treaties that are designed to strengthen corporate rights

and weaken their accountability. If the issues you are working on at community and national levels have an international dimension, you may want to link your local and national efforts to a related international network or alliance.

GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS. Global institutions are an especially appropriate concern of global networks. Citizen groups have come to realize that the most powerful of our international institutions are generally those—such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization—that have been created to serve and strengthen global corporatization. Groups of concerned citizens worldwide have responded with well-organized initiatives aimed at holding these institutions accountable to the human and environmental interest. There is much to be done to strengthen institutions dedicated to protecting the economic rights of people and communities. If this agenda interests you, find a relevant network and get involved.

MUNICIPAL FOREIGN POLICY. As national governments have pursued foreign policies largely alien to the values and interests of many of their citizens, a number of towns and cities have put forward their own positions on key foreign policy issues. For example, some have boycotted corporations that do business with repressive regimes, such as in Burma or apartheid South Africa. In many instances local governments around the world are reaching out to work directly with one another to prod and challenge their national governments on official positions relating to such issues as global warming, nuclear disarmament, and human rights. While national governments have been negotiating the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), aimed at virtually eliminating the ability of national and local governments to regulate international investors and speculators, a number of towns and cities in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia, and other countries have passed official resolutions declaring themselves MAI-free zones to underscore their protest against this attack against democracy.

Those who define values and progress in terms of money define international cooperation primarily in terms of financial relationships. As we awaken to life as our defining value and measure of progress, we come to see that the foundation of more meaningful international cooperation centers on people-to-people communication and the free exchange of friendship, information, and technology. We are learning that international relations are too important to be left to national governments captive to corporate interests. If your municipal

government has an active foreign policy, get involved. If not, learn what other local governments are doing and campaign to get yours involved. Give special support to initiatives aimed at strengthening the rights of peoples to protect their economic and environmental interests against predatory global capital.

Enchanted by their Sirens' song, we have yielded to the institutions of capitalism the power to decide our economic, social, and technological priorities. Intimidated by their power, we have been reluctant to see the naked truth that they bear the Midas curse, appropriating the life energies of whatever they touch to the end of making money. Finding our choices narrowed to the options global corporations find it profitable to offer us, we seek meaning where there is none to be found and become unwitting accomplices in fulfilling the deadly curse.

Given the seriousness of our situation, it may seem anticlimactic to suggest that our survival depends on something so obvious and undramatic as embracing the living universe story as our own and making mindful choices for democracy, markets, and healthy lifestyles. Perhaps we have been so busy searching the distant horizon for exotic answers to our deepening crisis that we have failed to notice the obvious answers that are right in front of us.

Or perhaps we have been reluctant to face the troubling truth that it is our voice that sings the Sirens' song. It is we who divert our eyes from the emperor's nakedness. It is by our hand that the Midas curse turns life into money. We can sing as well life's song, find the courage to speak of the emperor's delusion, and put our hands to life's service, discovering along the way more of who we truly are as we live a life-fulfilling future into being.

The gift of self-reflective intelligence gives our species a capability for mindful choice well beyond that of any other. Yet we have avoided the responsibility that inevitably goes with freedom by assuming it is not within our means. We have further diminished ourselves by developing elegant ideological arguments to rationalize our irresponsibility.

Thus, we have approached democracy as though it were a license for each individual to do as he or she wishes, when in truth it is about acting on the faith that each individual has the capacity for full and equal participation in making responsible choices mindful of the needs of all. We have approached the market as though it were a license to amass unlimited individual wealth without individual responsibility, when in truth it is about meeting basic needs through the mindful participation of everyone in the equitable and efficient allocation

of society's resources. We have treated the good life as a process of material acquisition and consumption without limit, when in truth it is about living fully and well in service to life's continued unfolding.

Whatever the barriers to our taking the step to species maturity, our era of adolescent irresponsibility is ending for the very reason that we have reached the limits of the planet's tolerance for our recklessness. It is now our time to accept responsibility for our freedom or perish as a species that failed to find its place of service in the web of life.

Start from where you are. Do what's right for you. Give yourself permission to be the one. And together we can and shall create a positive, life-friendly future for humanity and the planet.



Moving Through the Symbols

By Naomi Klein

Naomi Klein is a writer-participant in the global justice movement. She has written No Logo—Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies and Windows and Fences.

The first edition of the book *No Logo* ends with an image of activists speaking in hushed tones about their plan to build a global anticorporate movement. Then, when the book was at the printer's, something happened that changed everything: on November 30, 1999, the streets of Seattle exploded in protests against the World Trade Organization. Overnight, that hushed whisper turned into a shout, one heard around the world. This movement was no longer a secret, a rumor, a hunch. It was a fact.

Seattle took the political campaigns described in *No Logo* to a much more prominent place in the political discourse. As the mass demonstrations spread to Washington, D.C., Quebec City, New Delhi, Melbourne, Genoa, Buenos Aires, and elsewhere, debates raged in the press about police and protester violence, as well as what alternatives there are—if any—to what the French call "wild capitalism" (*capitalisme sauvage*). The issues

Photo top: David Hanks





behind the protests changed too. In very short order, college-age activists who started off concerned with the unethical behavior of a single corporation began questioning the logic of capitalism itself and the effectiveness of trickle-down economics. Church groups who had previously demanded only the "forgiveness" of Third World debt were now talking about the failure of the "neoliberal economic model," which holds that capital must be freed of all encumbrances to facilitate future development. Instead of reform, many were calling for the outright abolition of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. And ad-busters were no longer satisfied with jamming a single billboard, but were busy creating new and exciting networks of participatory media like the Independent Media Centers, now in dozens of cities around the world.

Meanwhile, the institutions that have been the primary enforcers and defenders of global neoliberal policies have been going through their own metamorphoses. The World Bank, the IMF, the WTO, and the World Economic Forum have stopped denying that their model of globalization is failing to deliver the promised results, and have begun preoccupying themselves—at least in public statements—with the paradoxes of debt slavery, the AIDS pandemic, and the billions left out of the global market.

Like so many other activists and theorists in this field, ever since Seattle exploded onto the world stage. I have been swept up in the unstoppable momentum of the globalization battles: speaking, debating, organizing, and traveling way too much. We've been doing, in other words, what movements should do—we've been moving. Often so fast that it has seemed impossible to keep up with the latest twists and turns, let alone to step back and reflect about where all this motion is leading us.

It was only after the September 11 attacks that, at least in North America, this context began to change. All of a sudden, everyone seemed to be talking about the gap between the global haves and have-nots, as well as the absence of democracy in so many parts of the world. But though the North American public was becoming more aware of the failings of the global economy—failures glossed over in the press during the euphoria of boom-time prosperity—it was suddenly much harder to transform that awareness into political action. Rather than pushing governments to change clearly faulty policies, a fearful population was instead handing their politicians stacks of blank checks, freeing them to barrel ahead with more of the same: new tax cuts for wealthy corporations, new trade deals, new privatization plans. To engage in dissent in this climate was cast as unpatriotic.



Thousands shut down the WTO in Seattle, November 30, 1999.



Tens of thousands take over a major U.S. city and transform it into a festival of resistance. Seattle, November 30, 1999.

There are other challenges that North American activists have faced since September 11. Activists began targeting corporations in the mid-nineties as a response to the fact that so much that is powerful today is virtual: currency trades, stock prices, intellectual property, brands, and arcane trade agreements. By latching onto symbols, whether a famous brand like Nike or a prominent meeting of world leaders, the intangible was made temporarily actual, the vastness of the global market more human-scale. Yet the dominant iconography of this movement—the culture-jammed logos, the guerrilla-warfare stylings, the choices of brand name and political targets—looks distinctly different to eyes changed by the horrors of September 11. Today, campaigns that rely even on a peaceful subversion of powerful capitalist symbols find themselves in an utterly transformed semiotic landscape.

This struck me recently, looking at a slide show I had been pulling together just before the attacks. It is about how anticorporate imagery is increasingly being absorbed by corporate marketing. One slide shows a group of activists spray-painting the window of a Gap outlet during the protests in Seattle. The next shows Gap's recent window displays featuring its own prefab graffiti—the word "Independence" sprayed in black. And the next is a frame from Sony PlayStation's State of Emergency game featuring cool-haired anarchists throwing rocks at sinister riot cops protecting the fictitious American Trade Organization. When I first looked at these images beside each other, I was amazed by the speed of corporate cooptation. But looking at them after September 11, the images had all been instantly overshadowed, blown away by the terrorist attacks like so many toy cars and action figures on a disaster movie set.

It could hardly have been other otherwise. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were acts of real and horrifying terror, but they were also acts of symbolic warfare, and instantly understood as such. As many commentators have put it, the towers were not just tall buildings; they were "symbols of American capitalism." Predictably, many political opponents of the anticorporate position have begun using the symbolism of the attacks to argue that these acts of terrorism represent an extreme expression of the ideas held by the protesters. Some have argued that the attacks were only the far end of a continuum of anti-American and anti-corporate violence: first the Starbucks window in Seattle, then the WTC.

Others have gone even further, arguing that free-market polices are the economic front of the war on terrorism. Supporting "free trade" has been rebranded, like shopping and baseball, as a patriotic duty. U.S. trade representative Robert Zoellick has explained that trade "promotes the values at the heart of this protracted struggle," so the United States, he

says, needs a new campaign to "fight terror with trade." In an essay in the *New York Times Magazine*, Michael Lewis makes a similar conflation between freedom fighting and free trading when he explains that the traders who died were targeted as "not merely symbols but also practitioners of liberty. . . . They work hard, if unintentionally, to free others from constraints. This makes them, almost by default, the spiritual antithesis of the religious fundamentalist, whose business depends on a denial of personal liberty in the name of some putatively higher power."



San Francisco anti-FTAA march in conjunction with the Zapatista March on Mexico City, spring 2001.

The new battle lines have been drawn, crude as they are: to criticize the U.S. government is to be on the side of the terrorists; to stand in the way of market-driven globalization is to further the terrorists' evil goals.

There is, of course, a glaring problem with this logic: the idea that the market can, on its own, supply solutions to all of our social problems has been profoundly discredited by the experience of September 11 itself. From the privatized airport security officers who failed to detect the hijackers' weapons to the private charities that have so badly bungled aid to the victims to the corporate bailouts that have failed to stimulate the economy, market-driven policies are not helping to win the war on terrorism. They are liabilities. So while criticizing politicians may be temporarily out of favor, "People Before Profit," the street slogan from the globalization protests, has become a self-evident and viscerally felt truth for many more people in the United States since the attacks.

The most dramatic manifestation of this shift is the American public's changing relationship to its public sector. Many of the institutions and services that have been underfunded, vilified, deregulated, and privatized during the past two decades—airports, post offices, hospitals, mass transit systems, water and food inspection—were forced to take center stage after the attacks, and they weren't ready for their close-up. Americans found out fast what it meant to have a public health care system so overburdened it cannot handle a routine flu season, let alone an anthrax outbreak. There were severe drug shortages, and private labs failed to

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come up with enough anthrax vaccines for U.S. soldiers, let alone for civilians. Despite a decade of pledges to safeguard the U.S. water supply from bioterrorist attack, scandalously little had been done by the overburdened U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. The food supply proved to be even more vulnerable, with inspectors managing to check about 1 percent of food imports—hardly a safeguard against rising fears of “agroterrorism.”

And most wrenchingly of all, it was the firefighters who rushed in to save the lives of the bond traders and other employees in the towers, demonstrating that there is indeed still a role for a public sector after all. So it seems fitting that on the streets of New York City the hottest-selling T-shirts and baseball hats are no longer the ones displaying contraband Nike and Prada logos, but the logo of the Fire Department of New York.

The importance of a strong public realm is not only being rediscovered in rich countries like the United States, but also in poor countries, where fundamentalism has been spreading so rapidly. It is in countries where the public infrastructure has been ravaged by debt and war that fanatical sugar daddies like Osama bin Laden are able to swoop in and start providing basic services that are usually in the public domain: roads, schools, health clinics, even basic sanitation. And the extreme Islamic seminaries in Pakistan that indoctrinated so many Taliban leaders thrive precisely because they fill a huge social welfare gap. In a country that spends 90 percent of its budget on its military and debt—and a pittance on



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education—the *madrassas* offer not only free classrooms but also food and shelter for poor children.

In understanding the mechanics of terrorism—North and South—one theme is recurring: we pay a high price when we put the short-term demands of business (for lower taxes, less “red tape,” more investment opportunities) ahead of the needs of people. Post-September 11, clinging to laissez-faire free-market solutions, despite overwhelming evidence of their failings, looks a lot like blind faith, as irrational as any belief system clung to by religious fanatics fighting a suicidal jihad.

For activists, there are many connections to be made between the September 11 attacks and the many other arenas in which human needs must take precedence over corporate profits, from AIDS treatment in Africa to homelessness in our own cities. There is also an important role to be played in arguing for more reciprocal international relations. Terrorism is indeed an international threat, and it did not begin with the attacks in the United States. As Bush invites the world to join America's war, sidelining the UN and the international courts, globalization activists need to become passionate defenders of true multilateralism, rejecting once and for all the label “antiglobalization.” From the start, it was clear that President Bush's coalition did not represent a genuinely global response to terrorism but the internationalization of one country's foreign policy objectives—the trademark of U.S. conduct on the world stage, from the WTO negotiating table to the abandonment of the Kyoto Protocol on climate change. These arguments can be made not in a spirit of anti-Americanism, but in a spirit of true internationalism.

By far the most important role for those concerned with the explosion of corporate power is to act not only as voices of opposition but also as beacons—beacons of other ways to organize a society, ways that exist outside of the raging battles between “good” and “evil.” In the current context, this is no small task. The attacks on the United States and the U.S. attacks on Afghanistan have ushered in an era of ideological polarization not seen since the cold war. On the one hand, there is George W. Bush claiming “You are either with us, or you are with the terrorists”; on the other, there is bin Laden, asserting that “These events have divided the world into two camps, the camp of the faithful and the camp of the infidels.” Anticorporate and prodemocracy activists should demonstrate the absurdity of this duality and insist that there are more than two choices available. We can spread rumors about the existence of routes not taken, choices not made, alternatives not built. As Indian novelist and activist Arundhati Roy wrote after September 11, “the people of the world do not have to choose between the Taliban and the U.S. government. All



the beauty of human civilization—our art, our music, our literature—lies beyond these two fundamentalist, ideological poles." Confronted with a deadly multiple-choice exam, the answer should be, "None of the above."

Well before September 11, there was a growing awareness in movement circles that attention needed to shift from "summit-hopping" to articulating and building these alternatives. For more than a year, the largely symbolic attacks on individual corporations and trade summits were being vocally challenged by many who feared that globalization battles—with their smashed McDonald's windows and running fights with police—were beginning to look like theater, cut off from the issues that affect people's day-to-day lives. And there is much that is unsatisfying about fighting a war of symbols: the glass shatters in the storefront, the meetings are driven to ever more remote locations—but so what? It's still only symbols, facades, representations.

In response, a new mood of impatience was already taking hold, an insistence on putting forward social and economic alternatives that address the roots of injustice, from land reform in the developing world to slavery reparations in the United States to participatory democracy at the municipal level in cities around the world. Rather than summit hopping, the focus was moving to forms of direct action that attempt to meet people's immediate needs for housing, food, water, life-saving drugs, and electricity. This is being expressed in countless unique ways around the world.

In India, it means defiantly producing generic AIDS drugs for the rest of the developing world. In Italy, it means taking over dozens of abandoned buildings and turning them into affordable housing and lively community centers. You can see the same spirit coursing through the actions of the Landless Peasants' Movement of Brazil, which seizes tracts of unused farmland and uses them for sustainable agriculture, markets, and schools under the slogan "Ocupar, Resistir, Produzir" (Occupy, Resist, Produce).

It is in South Africa where this spirit of direct action may be spreading most rapidly. Since a sweeping privatization program was instituted in 1993, half a million jobs have been lost, wages for the poorest 40 percent have dropped by 21 percent, and poor areas have seen their water costs go up 55 percent and electricity as much as 400 percent. Many have resorted to drinking polluted water, leading to a cholera outbreak that infected 100,000 people. In Soweto, 20,000 homes have their electricity cut off each month. In the face of this system of "economic apartheid," as privatization is called by many South African activists, unemployed workers in Soweto have been reconnecting their neighbors' cut-off water

and the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee has illegally reconnected power in thousands of homes.

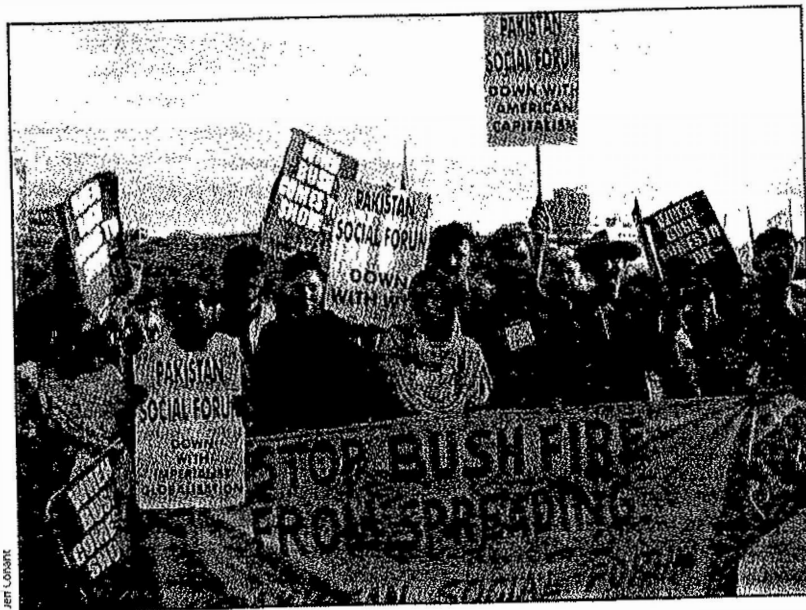
No matter where it takes place, the theory behind this defiant wave of direct action is the same: activism can no longer be about registering symbolic dissent. It must be about taking action to make people's lives better—where they live, right away.



Street theater at the World Social Forum in Mumbai/Bombay, India, January 2004.

The question now facing this movement is how to transform these small, often fleeting initiatives into broader, more sustainable social structures. There are many attempts to answer this question but by far the most ambitious is the annual World Social Forum, launched in January 2001 in Porto Alegre, Brazil. The WSF's optimistic slogan is "Another World Is Possible" and it was conceived as an opportunity for an emerging movement to stop screaming about what it is against and start articulating what it is for. In its first year, more than 10,000 people attended a week of more than sixty speeches, dozens of concerts, and 450 workshops. The particular site was chosen because Brazil's Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores, the PT) is in power in the city of Porto Alegre, as well as in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, and has become known worldwide for its innovations in participatory democracy.

But the World Social Forum is not a political convention: there are no policy directives made, no official motions passed, no attempts to organize the parts of this movement into a political party, with subordinate cells and locals. And that fact, in a way, is what makes this wave of activism unlike anything that has come before it. Thanks to the internet, mobilizations are able to unfold with sparse bureaucracy and minimal hierarchy; forced consensus and labored manifestos are fading into the background, replaced instead by a culture of constant, loosely structured, and sometimes compulsive information-swapping. Although individual intellectuals and key organizers may help shape the ideas of the people on the streets, they most emphatically do not have the power or even the mechanisms to lead them in any one direction. It isn't even, if truth be told, a movement. It is thousands of movements, intricately linked to one



Pakistan Social Forum at the World Social Forum in Mumbai/Bombay, India, January 2004



Dancers at the World Social Forum in Mumbai/Bombay, India, January 2004

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another, much as "hotlinks" connect their websites on the net. And while this network is wildly ambitious in its scope and reach, its goals are anything but imperial. This network unrelentingly challenges the most powerful institutions and individuals of our time, but does not seek to seize power for itself. Instead it seeks to disperse power, as widely and evenly as possible.

The best example of this new revolutionary thinking is the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico. When the Zapatistas rose up against the Mexican military in January 1994, their goal was not to win control over the Mexican state but to seize and build autonomous spaces where "democracy, liberty, and justice" could thrive. For the Zapatistas, these free spaces, created from reclaimed land, communal agriculture, and resistance to privatization, are an attempt to create counterpowers to the state, not a bid to overthrow it and replace it with an alternate, centralized regime.

It's fitting that the figure that comes closest to a bona fide movement "leader" is Subcomandante Marcos, the Zapatista spokesperson who hides his real identity and covers his face with a mask. Marcos, the quintessential antileader, insists that his black mask is a mirror, so that "Marcos is gay in San Francisco, black in South Africa, an Asian in Europe, a Chicano in San Ysidro, an anarchist in Spain, a Palestinian in Israel, a Mayan Indian in the streets of San Cristobal, a Jew in Germany, a Gypsy in Poland, a Mohawk in Quebec, a pacifist in Bosnia, a single woman on the Metro at 10 P.M., a peasant without land, a gang member in the slums, an unemployed worker, an unhappy student, and, of course, a Zapatista in the mountains." In other words, he says, he is us: We are the leader we've been looking for.

Marcos's own story is of a man who came to his leadership not through swaggering certainty, but by coming to terms with political doubt, by learning to follow. The most repeated legend that clings to him goes like this: an urban Marxist intellectual and activist, Marcos was wanted by the state and was no longer safe in the cities. He fled to the mountains of Chiapas in southeast Mexico filled with revolutionary rhetoric and certainty, there to convert the poor indigenous masses to the cause of armed proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie. He said the workers of the world must unite, and the Mayans just stared at him. They said they weren't workers but people, and, besides, land wasn't property but the heart of their communities. Having failed as a Marxist missionary, Marcos immersed himself in Mayan culture. The more he learned, the less he knew.



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Orin Langelie

Chiapas, Mexico.

Out of this process, a new kind of army emerged—the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN) is not controlled by an elite of guerrilla commanders but by the communities themselves, through clandestine councils and open assemblies. Marcos isn't a commander barking orders, but a subcomandante, a conduit for the will of the councils. His first words in his new persona were: "through me speaks the will of the Zapatista National Liberation Army."

The Zapatista struggle has become a powerful beacon for other movements around the world precisely because it is organized according to principles that are the mirror opposite of the way states, corporations, and religions tend to be organized. It responds to

concentration with a maze of fragmentation, to centralization with localization, to power consolidation with radical power dispersal. The question is: could this be a microcosm for a global strategy to reclaim the commons from the forces of privatization?

Many of today's activists have already concluded that globalization is not simply a good idea that has been grabbed by the wrong hands. Nor do they believe that the situation could be righted if only international institutions like the WTO were made democratic and accountable. Rather, they are arguing that alienation from global institutions is only the symptom of a much broader crisis in representative democracy, one that has seen power and decisionmaking delegated to points further and further away from the places where the effects of those decisions are felt. As one-size-fits-all logic sets in, it leads at once to a homogenization of political and cultural choices, and to widespread civic paralysis and disengagement.

If centralization of power and distant decisionmaking are emerging as the common enemies, there is also an emerging consensus that participatory democracy at the local level—whether through unions, neighborhoods, city governments, farms, villages, or aboriginal self-government—is the place to start building alternatives to it. The common theme is an overarching commitment to self-determination and diversity: cultural diversity, ecological diversity, even political diversity. The Zapatistas speak of building a movement of "one 'no' and many 'yeses'," a description that defies the characterization that this is one movement at all, and challenges



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the assumption that it should be. What seems to be emerging organically is not a movement for a single global government but a vision for an increasingly connected international network of very local initiatives, each built on reclaimed public spaces, and, through participatory forms of democracy, made more accountable than either corporate or state institutions. If this movement has an ideology it is democracy, not only at the ballot box but woven into every aspect of our lives.

All of this makes it terribly ironic when critics attempt to make ideological links between anticorporate protesters and religious fundamentalists like bin Laden, as British secretary of state for international development Clare Short did in November 2001. "Since September 11, we haven't heard from the protesters," she observed. "I'm sure they are reflecting on what their demands were because their demands turned out to be very similar to those of bin Laden's network." She couldn't have been more mistaken. Bin Laden and his followers are driven not by a critique of centralized power but by a rage that more power is not centralized in their own hands. They are furious not at the homogenization of choices, but that the world is not organized according to their own homogenous and imperialist belief system.

In other words, this is a classic power struggle over which the great, all-knowing system will govern the day; where the battle lines were once communism versus capitalism, they are now the God of the Market squaring off against the God of Islam. For bin Laden and his followers, much of the allure of this battle is clearly the idea that they are living in mythic times, when men were godlike, battles were epic, and history was spelled with a capital H. "Screw you, Francis Fukuyama," they seem to be saying. "History hasn't ended yet. We are still making it."

It's an idea we've heard from both sides since September 11, a return of the great narrative: chosen men, evil empires, master plans, and great battles. All are ferociously back in style. This grand redemption narrative is our most persistent myth, and it has a dangerous flip side. When a few men decide to live their myths, to be larger than life, it can't help but have an impact on all the lives that unfold in regular sizes. People suddenly look insignificant by comparison, easy to sacrifice by the thousands in the name of some greater purpose.

Thankfully, anticorporate and prodemocracy activists are engaged in no such fire-and-brimstone crusades. They are instead challenging systems of centralized power on principle, as critical of left-wing, one-size-fits-all state solutions as of right-wing market ones. It is often said disparagingly that this movement lacks ideology, an overarching message, a master plan.





This is absolutely true, and we should be extraordinarily thankful. At the moment, the anticorporate street activists are ringed by would-be leaders, anxious for the opportunity to enlist them as foot soldiers. It is to this young movement's credit that it has as yet fended off all of these agendas and has rejected everyone's generously donated manifesto, holding out for an acceptably democratic, representative process to take its resistance to the next stage. Will it be a ten-point plan? A new political doctrine?

Perhaps it will be something altogether new. Not another ready-made ideology to do gladiatorial combat with free-market fundamentalism and Islamic fundamentalism, but a plan to protect the possibility and development of many worlds—a world, as the Zapatistas say, with many worlds in it. Maybe instead of meeting the proponents of neoliberalism head-on, this movement of movements will surround them from all directions.

This movement is not, as one newspaper headline recently claimed, “so yesterday.” It is only changing, moving, yet again, to a deeper stage, one that is less focused on acts of symbolic resistance and theatrical protests and more on “living our alternatives into being,” to borrow a phrase from a recent direct-action summit in New York City. Shortly after *No Logo* was published, I visited the University of Oregon to do a story on anti-sweatshop activism at the campus that is nicknamed Nike U. There I met student activist Sarah Jacobson. Nike, she told me, was not the target of her activism, but a tool, a way to access a vast and often amorphous economic system. “It’s a gateway drug,” she said cheerfully.

For years, we in this movement have fed off our opponents’ symbols—their brands, their office towers, their photo-opportunity summits. We have used them as rallying cries, as focal points, as popular education tools. But these symbols were never the real targets; they were the levers, the handles. The symbols were only ever doorways. It’s time to walk through them.

Weaving Imagination and The Future in the Present

By Marina Sitrin

Marina Sitrin is a New York City-based writer and dreamer. Marina is currently the autonomous social movements in Voices of Popular Power in Argentina.

“This is as far as I can take you,” I was told in the City as we arrived at the outskirts of the direction of a hill to indicate which way the branches marked the intersection to town. I picked my way around the town center. All along the steep cobblestone wall decorated with political graffiti, I needed to stop the construction of a golf course—get out. People both tall and confident. I was greeted in the center, the zócalo, the art-filled walls in the first of a series of murals depicted businessmen, reptilian creatures in suits.

Image top: Florencia Vespignani



18 Iraq: Sanctions Worked," *Foreign Affairs*,
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Kathy Kelly, from "Other Lands Have Dreams"

Overture

I HAD ONLY A FEW DAYS REMAINING IN MY JANUARY 2002 TRIP TO IRAQ. I awkwardly asked if it would be possible to spend some time with kids who weren't suffering from illness and poverty. The next day, I was taken to the Baghdad School of Folk Music and Ballet. The children there were buoyant. Their school, one of the finest in the Middle East, taught Arab and Western classical music, dance and art. I wandered in and out of classrooms, marveling at how obviously this school "worked." In the art department, I happened upon a display of children's drawings, one of which, done with pastel magic markers and chalk, showed a jumbo jet plunging into the left hand tower of the World Trade Center.

"Do you think I could meet the person who drew that picture?" I asked the children. And then they were like their own little secret service; in three minutes they had the artist there, all of eleven years old, and he was so proud. I asked him, "Can you tell me what was on your mind when you drew that?" He squared his shoulders, and he said, "Allah wanted this to happen to people in America, so people in America understand what happen to other people when America hit them." By then his teacher had sidled up, and he saw her face, and then he said, "and we love the people in America, and we want to be their friends."

So I told him about being in New York City on September 11th. I told him about families that had carried banners that said our grief is not a cry for war, even though they themselves had lost loved ones. And then I started to tell these kids about a song that had been sung at one hundred fifty of the memorial services for people killed on September 11th. I told them it was a peace anthem that celebrated the common aspirations of people and what we experience in common with one another, and they said, "Yes madam, and why you not teach us this song?"

Well, I was in trouble, because my Arabic isn't that good and my voice isn't much better, but the director of the school, Hisham al

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Sharaf, had come and he doesn't understand the concept of not being able to do something. Within a day, he and a foreign ministry worker and our driver had gotten together and transliterated this song into Arabic and the kids were singing it to me, with the bargain that I would bring it to audiences in the United States as often as I could.

FROM: "THIS IS MY SONG" (O FINLANDIA)

LYRICS: LLOYD STONE; MELODY: JEAN SIBELIUS

*This is my song, Oh God of all the nations,
A song of peace for lands afar and mine.
This is my home, the country where my heart is;
Here are my hopes, my dreams, my sacred shrine.
But other hearts in other lands are beating,
With hopes and dreams as true and high as mine.*

*Oh hear my song, oh God of all the nations,
A song of peace for their land and for mine.*

It may sound contrived, but the fact is that the tape of school-children singing that song is the only item that survived looting and ransacking of the Baghdad School of Folk Music and Ballet after the U.S. Shock and Awe invasion of Iraq. Hisham al Sharaf came to me after the invasion had begun, after he'd tried my way to defend his school—talking, pleading with armed looters to leave it alone, or at least only to take valuables, not destroy the instruments and papers—and he had the tape in the palm of his hand. And I listened to it on a tape recorder with earphones, and I started to just sing along. Then I stopped because he was shedding tears.

Other lands have dreams. Please accept this book as testimony to the dreams of people in Iraq, people in prison. This book is dedicated to the children of Iraq.

Acknowledgements

Albert Camus concludes his essay, "Neither Victims nor Executioners" with this observation: "Over the expanse of five continents throughout the coming years an endless struggle is going to be pursued between violence and friendly persuasion, a struggle in which, granted, the former has a thousand times the chances of success than that of the latter. But I have always held that, if he who bases his hopes on human nature is a fool, he who gives up in the

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face of circumstances is a coward. And henceforth, the only honorable course will be to stake everything on a formidable gamble: that words are more powerful than munitions."

It's hard to imagine two people more committed to Camus's belief in the written word's power to combat war making than Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair, who've edited and published this book. Both work, intensely, to counter the structures and beliefs that underlie war. The thoughtful discourse enabled through Counterpunch is an indispensable resource for alternative media and education. I was frankly astonished that two people already so immersed in writing, speaking, and editing would undertake the challenge of helping me write.

Alexander Cockburn guided this book at every step and gave me the full benefit of his patience, humor and kindness. Jeffrey St. Clair, who originated the idea for this book, likewise extended his amazingly efficient helping hand and wise advice. I am glad and grateful

Much of this book was written while I stayed in small hotels in Iraq and Jordan, or while I was imprisoned in U.S. Federal Correctional Institutes. I hope better times are ahead for all who've befriended me while living with them in those hotels and prisons. I'm particularly indebted to Sean Reynolds for faithfully helping me edit each article. To Ramzi Kysia and Ed Kinane, special thanks for helping me write from Iraq. To Sr. Cynthia Brinkman and Ruth Carter, more thanks for helping me write while in prison. Don Terry's thoughtful questions have been a great help in prompting needed reflection. Tai Little's and Alya Rea's proofreading skills were indispensable. I'm deeply indebted to all my companions in the Voices In The Wilderness campaign and especially to Jeff Leys and Laurie Hasbrook who ably coordinated our efforts while I was lost in the wilderness of this book.

For initially publishing many of these essays, I'm grateful to editors of *The Progressive*, *Hope*, *Fellowship* and of the following websites: www.counterpunch.org, www.commondreams.org, www.antiwar.com, www.electroniciraq.net, www.dissidentvoice.org. Abiding thanks to Scott Blackburn for ably maintaining the Voices In The Wilderness website: www.vitw.org. Thanks also to Josh Warren-White and his colleagues at AK Press. For the remarkable creativity that comes through listening, my deepest thanks to Studs Terkel. He can best be likened to a magnificent redwood tree.

PART ONE

Catching Courage

I GREW UP ON THE SOUTHWEST SIDE OF CHICAGO IN AN AREA SAUL Bellow described as "rows and rows of bungalows and scrawny little parks." I was the third of six children. It was a secure environment. I thought Mom, Dad, the parish nuns and priests, Officer Friendly, and the crossing guards were all part of a benign cabal to keep the Kelly kids happy.

My mom and dad met in London in 1944 during the Blitz. Dad was a GI with a desk job, a sergeant who had joined the army shortly after leaving the Christian Brothers religious order in which he'd spent half his life. Mom studied nursing at a place where the students cared for children with disabilities. Prior to that she'd been an indentured servant in Ireland, where she was born, and then in England.

My mom was set to marry a British Royal Air Force pilot, who was declared missing in action. Then she met and married my dad, gave birth to my older sister Pat, and bade farewell to Dad who was shipped back to the U.S. with a boatload of GIs. Then, as mom waited for the brides to be shipped out, the pilot turned up. "Katen, I'm home!" It's a wonder any of us were born. My mother wasn't very charmed by bleak Chicago.

I don't think my parents spoke much about the war when we were kids. My brothers and sisters and I have felt like investigators, trying to pull out the details. They spoke of heading into the subways when the sirens blasted, of feeling dismay when a building was hit which they knew had civilians in it.

My mother gave birth to three children in one year (the twins, Maureen and Mike, are eleven months apart from my brother Jerry). Eventually, Maureen's crib was moved into the room Loretta and I shared. Pat had a room to herself. When all of us were living under one roof and the babies had outgrown their cribs, I ended up on the living room couch for a "bedroom," but I don't remember that being much of a bother because I was in high school, working a part-time

job in the Chicago Loop, and tired enough to fall asleep during "The Tonight Show."

Our neighborhood was a crucible for most of the social problems afflicting U.S. society in the fifties and sixties—racism, sexism, militarism, and classism. We wouldn't have heard those last three words used, but as the civil rights movement developed, the racism in my neighborhood was quite evident.

By the time I began studies at St. Paul-Kennedy High School, African Americans had moved into housing projects at Le Claire Courts on Cicero Avenue, and teenagers from families in that area had begun to attend Kennedy. My school was a "shared-time" experimental school where we attended a private Catholic school for part of the day and the local public school, one block away, for the other part. I remember expecting lunchroom riots at the public school. During my senior year, we sometimes had policemen, with dogs for hall guards. Glass bottles and ceramic plates had been removed from the cafeteria for safety. It wasn't unusual for the cafeteria to suddenly empty out into the fields outside because of lunchroom fighting between black and white students.

I remember walking past neighborhood mothers who stood on the corner outside our school shouting racial epithets at African Americans as they entered the building.

Once, during an afternoon class, white football players ran down the hall, some carrying others on their shoulders, screaming "Kill the N-----!" My teacher was working on a problem at the blackboard. She walked over to the hallway, closed the door, and finished the board work. No mention of a problem in the hallway. I had a lump in my throat and couldn't see the blackboard through my tears, but there was no way, at that point, that I would have raised my hand or my voice. I do remember a small group of us approaching the principal of the public high school to tell him that we were troubled, and I think certain teachers may have encouraged us to do so, but we were close to graduation. After the graduation turned into a near-riot scene, with racial slurs called out throughout the listing of graduates' names, I guess I was just glad to turn the page on that chapter.

At St. Paul High School, I was enamored with every one of my teachers and felt challenged and inspired by them. They were young nuns and brothers, mainly, along with a few lay teachers. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s teachings were compared to gospel passages; we were encouraged to become part of tutoring programs so that we could better understand people who were from different back-

grounds than our own. We read about Dan Berrigan, a Jesuit priest who steadily resisted the Vietnam War and U.S. nuclear weapons buildup. Berrigan said that one of the reasons we don't have peace is that the peacemakers aren't prepared to make the same sacrifice demanded of the soldiers. I wondered what it would mean to give over one's whole life, or to risk one's life, for peacemaking.

The entire school gathered one day to watch the quasi-documentary, *Night and Fog*, made by Alain Resnais. The filmmaker showed the empty Nazi death camps after the survivors were liberated. With haunting classical music in the background, a narrator explained that nothing was wasted. The film showed piles of blankets made from human hair, lampshades and drawing paper made from human skin. The cameras focused in on an efficiently designed crematorium, then showed railroad tracks leading up to one of the death camps. Did the tracks cross through villages? Did nearby neighbors smell the burning flesh? At a deep emotional level, I never wanted to be a spectator, a bystander, sitting on my hands or standing on the sidelines in the face of unspeakable evil.

Maybe I romanticize the small private school, and certainly I could have done more to become involved in the larger, more institutional public school. But I'm still grateful for the adults at the small school having broken the code of fatalism that was part of my upbringing, a fatalism that stated it was okay to talk about a problem, okay to analyze it, but if you thought you could do something about it, you were "too big for your britches." The St. Paul faculty gently but consistently showed us hero figures who acted bravely to confront injustice and cruelty and who believed in love of enemy as well as love of neighbor. Some of us also listened to discussions between our parents and these young teachers. I felt glad that my parents respected the teachers. One way the teachers earned respect was through fostering personal relationships with people from the neighborhood.

Despite my desire never to sit on the sidelines, I managed to go through most of the Vietnam War like Brigadoon in the mist. It was easy to hate the war. But I never went to a demonstration, never called an elected official to express my antiwar sentiments, never passed out a flyer, or wrote to an imprisoned resister.

I did write a long paper about initial involvement of U.S. ground troops in Vietnam, after which a little "behavior mod" kicked in—the professor liked the paper, which motivated me to read news analysis about Vietnam.

Altruism isn't a word I'd ever have used then, but I think about it now. I wanted to be a helper, wanted to fit helping into a fairly madcap schedule. There are plenty of ways to be decent and helpful in this world without ever getting involved in politics, foreign affairs, or antiwar efforts. My former husband, Karl, once told me that he felt many people are a bit like woodchucks, burrowing their way into comfortable surroundings, harming no one, helping many, and that there's not a thing wrong with such a way of life, except that we live in a world where inordinate amounts of power are concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of people whose visions and goals are deeply flawed. The metaphor helps me better understand why fine and even noble people sometimes seem disinclined to take a risk in confronting war.

Following another seminar on the Vietnam War, I attended a presentation by a representative of the Catholic Peace Fellowship, Tom Cornell, a prominent pacifist who protested the Vietnam War. He said that we could and should make a difference, that if we didn't try, who did we think would? I remember walking home, alone, and feeling a giddy sense of liberation. I found an elderly Jesuit who had visited the campus, Father Forsyth, SJ, and asked him more about the Jesuit Volunteer Corps that he'd recommended in a homily. (I had attended mass almost daily in 1974, my senior year.) He gave me application material for the JVC. I thought I'd like to go to Nome, Alaska. I was grabbing, happily, at straws. But that same week, my dad was first hospitalized for severe depression; it would have been a terrible time to leave Chicago.

Tom Cornell's literature included an order form for *Fellowship*, one of whose contributors was William Stringfellow. After reading a few of his articles, I looked for one of his books, *An Ethic for Christians and Other Strangers in an Alien Land*. Stringfellow was a lawyer and an Episcopal minister who had worked in Harlem. His scripture scholarship led directly to radical activism—no escape hatch! I remember reading Stringfellow while sitting under one of those horrible overhead hair dryers, baking my hair which was wrapped in orange-juice-can-sized rollers in one of thousands of efforts to straighten it out. Who knows? Maybe Stringfellow's stinging challenges to status quo America appealed to me because it offered a way out from under the nutty hair dryer! Anyway, the book sparked an intense desire to somehow become connected with those hero figures who were becoming more accessible by the time I was finishing a second year of graduate study.

Finally, during graduate studies at the Chicago Theological Seminary, I reached a point at which I simply couldn't continue writing papers about "the preferential option for the poor" and singing, at liturgies, "Our God Hears the Cry of the Poor." I'd been sending checks to the Francis of Assisi Catholic Worker House, a hospitality house in Chicago's impoverished Uptown neighborhood. One evening two "workers," Henry and Bob, came down to Hyde Park to check out Jimmy's Woodlawn Tap and decided to knock on my door first. I was out; they left a note encouraging me to visit the house, and about a month later I headed north with a friend who was a helper at the nearby soup kitchen. That was in the spring of 1977. I moved to Uptown that summer.

Forgive the cliché, but the grass never looked greener elsewhere. New friends in Uptown lived out the values that I'd been extolling in papers and exhorting in classrooms, and the collective determination to form a community that included street people, shut-ins, new immigrants, and whomsoever knocked on the door of the local Catholic Worker House was purely exhilarating and often tremendous fun.

Eventually Roy Bourgeois, a Maryknoll priest, moved into the neighborhood. His charisma led us to question why so many Central American refugees were fleeing their homelands. When Roy was locked up for six months after flinging blood on a poster of his friend, Rutilio Grande, who'd been murdered by U.S.-funded death squad members, it upped the ante for our own sense of responsibility.

Once, during a prayer service for Roy at my apartment, a dozen of us were crowded into a small living room when Karl Meyer, an activist who we revered, dropped in with a challenge to join him in an action protesting draft registration. It was my first arrest. As the police came to take us off to jail, I was trembling. Karl thought I was afraid—I was, but not of the police or jail. I was terrified of saying something stupid in front of him!

Karl and I were married for twelve years, and he is still my closest friend and mentor. He radicalized a generation of us who were part of the "do-gooders ghetto" in Uptown. He helped me understand that one of the greatest gifts in life is to find a few beliefs that you can declare with passion and then have the freedom to act on them. For me, those beliefs are quite simple: that nonviolence and pacifism can change the world, that the poor should be society's highest priority, that people should love their enemies, and that actions should follow conviction, regardless of inconvenience.

After several years of teaching religion and earning a Master's degree in Religious Education, I was hired to teach at St. Ignatius College Prep, a Jesuit institution and one of the top fifty schools in the country. Another faculty member, Al Schorsch, and I decided to become war tax refusers by lowering our salaries beneath the taxable income. I was earning \$12,000 and officials at the school would distribute the \$9,000 difference to other programs. I knew that I didn't want to pay for weapons. And I wasn't keen on the CIA, the FBI, the prison systems, U.S. intervention in Central America, and the almost complete failure of any governmental system to serve needy neighbors, many of them desperate, in Uptown.

One of the most important "spiritual directors" in my life has been the Internal Revenue Service. Janis Joplin's lyric, "Freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose," comes to mind. War tax refusers learn ways to become impervious to collection, and that generally means finding ways to live without owning property, relying on savings, or growing attached to a job that one couldn't leave in the event of an IRS notice about wage garnishment.

Becoming a war tax refuser was one of the simplest decisions I've ever made and one of the easiest decisions to maintain. I can't imagine ever changing my mind.

In the summer of 1985, the Jesuits gave me a professional development grant that enabled me to visit Nicaragua. The day after my arrival, close friends who were Maryknoll associates invited me to a gathering at the home of Miguel D'Escoto, the Foreign Minister who was part of the Maryknoll religious order. D'Escoto spent much of the evening outlining his plan to begin a lengthy fast "for peace, in defense of life, and against contra violence." He spoke at length about the cross, emphasizing that we must be willing to accept change and death. Then he talked about his confidence in the potential of Christians to make a difference, emphasizing that new ways and means must be tried. He spoke gently about nonviolence, his long, deep admiration for Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his clear belief that Christians must be ready to bet their lives on their beliefs. He said he hoped to initiate new methods of resistance for people who were understandably war weary. He called his offering a *chispa*, a spark to ignite prayer and fasting throughout Nicaragua. D'Escoto especially hoped that in response to this prayer and fasting Christian communities worldwide would work to end U.S. military support for the contras.

The next day, I traveled to San Juan de Limay, in the north of Nicaragua. Children there were radiant and friendly, many of them too young to understand that during the previous week U.S.-funded contras had kidnapped and murdered twenty-five people in their village. Later that summer, I joined the fast with Miguel D'Escoto and listened to stories pour forth as many hundreds of Nicaraguan peasant pilgrims gathered with him, eager to show solidarity with the priest-minister's desire to nonviolently resist contra terrorism. D'Escoto urged those of us from the U.S. to return to our homes and develop nonviolent actions there commensurate with the crimes being committed.

In 1986, in mid-semester I resigned from my job as a teacher at St. Ignatius College Prep. In a letter to the students and faculty, I wrote: "As many of you know, I spent seven weeks in Nicaragua this summer.... As a result of all that I have seen and heard, I have reached a strong conviction that the United States is doing a terrible and evil thing in financing the contra attacks against Nicaragua." I explained that I was quitting my job to devote myself full time to opposing contra aid and that I found it intolerable to be comfortably at liberty in a country where people will stand by or accede to crimes against the life of another people. I knew that being part of the nonviolent protests which Karl and I were planning would mean quitting my job and being prepared for arrest.

Don Terry, a reporter for *The Chicago Tribune*, once pressed me to list every time I've been arrested. "I don't know," I wrote to him. "When I'm in a jail cell by myself I sometimes try to remember past experiences and I nearly always fall asleep after the first dozen or so.

- five times with Karl protesting draft registration,
- twice begging Senator Percy to investigate Roy Bourgeois' disappearance in El Salvador,
- five or six times for posting pictures of victims on the Federal Building walls during the contra attacks, about a dozen or more sit-ins and die-ins at the Federal Building while more money poured into the coffers of Central American dictators, mercenaries, death squads,
- five times for planting corn on nuclear missile silos,
- at least five times for protesting at Project ELF, five times for bringing lentils and rice to the steps of the U.S. Mission to the U.N.,

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- three other protests, same site,
- twice for protests at the U.S.S Intrepid docked in NYC's harbor, once for sitting in at the Israeli consulate,
- once for sitting in at the French consulate (nuclear weapons testing in Tahiti),
- once at SOA, once for piping up after Madeleine Albright's acceptance speech when she was appointed Secretary of State,
- once for interrupting her talk at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations,
- once for knocking every ten minutes on the office doors of Northwestern University's development planners just to let them know that an Iraqi child died once every ten minutes and encourage them to reconsider inviting Ms. Albright to give a commencement address (the address was canceled, we were also fasting for 12 days),
- once with Karl for handing out fliers at a military base in Florida protesting Clinton's 1993 bombing of Iraq,
- once for blocking troops planning to leave a national guard base for duty in Honduras,
- once for climbing a wall at a PSYOPS facility in Arlington Heights,
- three times for singing alternative Christmas carols at Water Tower Place ("We Three Crooks of contra-gate, lie and steal and manipulate, what was covert became overt, head for the shredding machine.....Oh, Ohhhh, shred the documents, shred the tapes, shred the proof and leave no trace. Fawn will help us, Casey will die for us, Reagan will just forget."),
- five times for entering federal judges' courtrooms and refusing to leave until they met with us about the U.S. violation of international law in bombing Nicaragua's Puerto Corinto,
- once for refusing to sit down, before a judge, while holding up pictures of Central American victims when we were finally launching a motion after getting a case in court, once for contempt of court for refusing to do community service under the auspices of that judge and challenging him to do his community service and hear the case, once for failing to show up for a trial in Florida (the time Karl and I leafleted in front of the PX at the military base, ...works like a charm, I'm dozing off).

Don also asked me about arrests in other countries.

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- the Israeli occupied West Bank,
- twice (Jericho and Ramallah); I've been flung around a bit by Israeli soldiers and intentionally "just missed" by their bullets,
- a Croatian military commander detained six companions and me for several hours, threatening us with deportation, but eventually let us go,
- likewise, a Haitian military commander detained several Christian Peacemaker Team companions and me for several hours, but then released us with orders to never hand out literature or speak in public about political issues. We then began a silent fast, sitting on a park bench in the town plaza. If someone approached us we'd put a finger to our lips and shake our heads. Everyone knew exactly why we were there. One old woman came up to us and did a quick little dance, threw back her head and laughed. "Yes, I know," she said, "some demons are only cast out by prayer and fasting,"
- Italian police detained us at Aviano, in the summer of '93, outside the U.S. Air Force Base there, for trying to chain ourselves to the fence, but they let us go. We fasted for the next seven days, urging the U.S. pilots not to fly bombing missions over former Yugoslavia.

I returned to teaching in the fall of 1987, working at Prologue High School, an alternative school for youngsters in my own neighborhood. Prospective students had to prove that no place else would allow them to enroll. The students, numbering about fifty, were members of rival gangs. At the end of each year, we planned more funerals than graduations, since at least three young people would have been killed by drive-by shootings and other gang violence. When my colleagues told me that Shawn Powell, a student who was exceptionally bright but plagued by traumas of growing up in a dreadfully troubled home, had been shot dead, I knew that I couldn't continue my work without taking a stronger stand against policies that allotted billions of dollars toward weapons buildup while young people in blighted urban areas could barely survive their teen years.

For the next twelve months, I joined activists from Chicago, Milwaukee, Madison and Kansas City to plan "Missouri Peace Planting." We were determined to plant corn on many of the 150 nuclear missile silos that surrounded Kansas City, Missouri, as a way to demonstrate that land was meant to grow corn and wheat and never to harbor weapons of mass destruction. That summer, before heading to Kansas City, I would bike out to abandoned industrial lots

in Chicago to practice scaling fences. I'm not very limber and couldn't bear the thought of being caught on the barbed wire atop a missile silo's fenced enclosure. On August 15, 1988, fourteen of us carried out the action at various missile silo sites, simultaneously. I planted five kernels of bright pink corn at the missile silo, just what I could fit in my pocket, and hung two banners, "Disarm and Live," and, "You Can't Hug A Child With Nuclear Arms."

After hanging the banners, I sat on the cement lid over the nuclear weapon. Mist was rising from the ground, birds were chirping, crickets creaking. Then I heard a vehicle in the distance, racing along the country road. Arriving in a cloud of dust, three soldiers clambered out of a U.S. military jeep with a machine gun mounted on top. The soldiers wore camouflage, with helmets, combat boots, and walkie-talkies. They surrounded the perimeter of the site and crouched down. One said into his walkie-talkie: "All personnel please clear the site." I would do anything they said, at that point, as we weren't at all sure how they might react. (Our presence might not have been a surprise—we'd notified Whiteman Air Force base, in west-central Missouri, that we would engage in nonviolent civil disobedience at nuclear missile silo sites at some point over the summer.) "Raise your arms. Step to the left. Step to the right." They opened the gate, instructed me to walk out of the site, handcuffed me and then told me to kneel down. Two of the soldiers took off in the military vehicle—maybe they needed to check a manual to see what came next (as this was new for all of us)—leaving one soldier, standing behind me, with his gun aimed at my back.

After a short while, I began talking to him, looking straight ahead. I told him a bit about what motivated my friends and me to do this. I told him about students I'd taught at Prologue High School. I talked about homeless and hungry people in my own neighborhood and cited some statistics about the cost of nuclear weapons. I said that we were concerned for children and families in the Soviet Union as well, and that we hoped our actions would help children in his family too. Then I asked him if he thought the corn would grow.

"I don't know, ma'am," he said, "but I sure hope so." When I asked him if he'd like to say a prayer, he said, "Yes, ma'am." So I recited the Peace Prayer of St. Francis, "Lord, make me a means of your peace, where there is hatred let me sow love, where there is injury, pardon, ...sadness, joy ...grant that I may not seek so much to be consoled as to console, to be understood as to understand, to be loved as to love,

for it is in giving that we receive, it is in pardoning that we are pardoned, it is in dying that we are born to eternal life."

"Amen."

And then: "Ma'am, would you like a drink of water?"

"Oh, yes, please, thank you."

"Ma'am, would you tip your head back?"

I wish I'd turned around so that I could see what happened next. Was there a flask attached to his belt? I don't know—I just know that he poured water into my mouth. He must have used both hands to give me that drink of water. We didn't disarm the nuclear missile silo sites of Missouri that morning, but one soldier took a risk and put down his gun to perform an act of kindness for a perfect stranger.

I was sentenced to a year in prison for planting corn on nuclear missile silos. I emerged from prison with an even greater resolve to remain faithful to Miguel D'Escoto's *chispa*.

In 1990, as it seemed increasingly likely that the U.S. would declare war on Iraq following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, I volunteered to join the Gulf Peace Team, an international encampment of peacemakers on the Iraq side of the Iraq-Saudi border. "You can't be a vegetarian between meals," quipped Amman Hennacy, a co-founder of the Catholic Worker movement. "And you can't be a pacifist between wars."

I went there as a convinced pacifist, wanting to express a vigorous opposition to the war. We were at the border for the first fourteen days of the air war, and then Iraqi officials evacuated us to the Al Rashid hotel in Baghdad. Four days later, after a bomb struck a lot adjacent to the hotel, Iraqi authorities again evacuated us—this time to Amman, Jordan.

I stayed there for six months. When I returned to the U.S., most people seemed to have forgotten about Operation Desert Shield. I returned to teaching and, during vacations, participated in several more peace team efforts. In the summer of 1993, after I returned from a peace team effort in Croatian controlled Bosnia, my dad moved into my apartment and I became a full-time caregiver for him.

I loved my father very much, but initially I was dismayed over what seemed a likely end to my involvement in peace teams, as I could barely manage a part-time teaching job and still be available for my dad. As it turned out, however, our small apartment eventually became "headquarters" for an unusual international experiment in peacemaking.

By 1995, several of us realized that the Gulf War over which we'd been willing to risk our lives had never ended. It had changed into a kind of war that is more devastating, more brutal than even bombardment. Reports were emerging from Iraq that showed that hundreds of thousands of children under age five had died during the most comprehensive state of siege ever imposed in modern history.

In December, 1995, several people who had been in Iraq before, during, and after the first Gulf War met at my apartment in Chicago to devise a nonviolent challenge to the U.N./U.S. economic sanctions. Calling ourselves "Voices in the Wilderness," we issued a letter to U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno on January 15, 1996, declaring that we would break the sanctions as often as possible by bringing medical relief supplies and medicines to children and families in Iraq. We were informed by the U.S. Treasury Department that if we continued with our plan we would risk 12 years in prison and a one million dollar fine. We thanked the Treasury Department for the clarity of their warning, asserted that we would be governed by the law of love, and invited U.S. officials to join us. That was the beginning of a campaign that sent seventy delegations to Iraq. I traveled there twenty-six times.

Voices in the Wilderness has always been "headquartered" in the three-bedroom apartment where I live. Caregiving for Dad became a natural part of Voices work as volunteers came to live at "Voices" and help develop the campaign. My Dad felt great affection for these activists. Typically, any volunteer's first stop after entering our door was at Dad's bedside to say a good word, hold his hand, and see if he needed anything. Appreciative bonds grew between Voices workers and my siblings. We sometimes joke, when asked how Voices was funded, that we embezzled from my Dad's Social Security check. But no one doubted, least of all my Dad, that the last years of his life were marked by unexpected and very welcome friendships.

My father died in May 2000. We never quite sold him on the idea of pacifists going to war zones, but at the end of his life he was convinced that wars should be abolished. I feel stubborn in my own belief that, although we would need to become many more than we are now, the efforts to send unarmed peace activists into zones of conflict are an arrow pointing to a viable alternative to war-making.

Consider, for instance, the small Christian Peacemaker Team which I joined in the summer of 1995, in Haiti. Had our team, which lived in a small town in the southern finger of Haiti, been copied one hundred times over, throughout Haiti, I think the violence being

wreaked on Haitian people could have been diminished. I was only there for three months, but others who were there for a longer stay recorded the Haitian commandant saying: "I am ashamed and embarrassed that it was left to the foreigners on the hill to preserve the peace and security of this region." And how did we do that, we foreign women? We had Birkenstock shoes, spiral notepads, pens, and sleeping bags. Every morning we woke up and walked as far as we could and took notes from anyone who wanted to tell us of fears, anxieties, abuses that they were nervous about or that had actually happened. As it turned out, the militia folks in that area who had been threatening their neighbors didn't want to be on our list.

Every week we would use a ham radio to get those messages back to the United States, and from there send it via e-mail across the entire network of Christian Peacemaker Team people who were primed to act on these reports. It's significant to me that the funding for that team was almost nil. And though the Haitians did welcome the U.S. military when it came, our way would have worked if there had been enough of us to make a larger difference.

I've seen peace teams make mistakes. I've been a part of making many of those mistakes. I can arrange them topically, geographically, chronologically, so you and I can learn from them. I think we must continually explore the potential for going into situations of violent conflict, going in massively, going in before the deterioration is so great that people are ready to kill and torture and punish the ones who at one point have been their neighbors. How would resources ever become available to help create teams of people who could accomplish this massive intervention? Could we cut just one percent of our military budget and put it directly into creating such teams of people ready to go into situations of conflict to bring peace?

One of the greatest disappointments in my life is that we were unable to be a *chispa*, a spark that would ignite a nationwide demand to end the suffering of Iraqi civilians under the economic sanctions. Seventy Voices in the Wilderness delegations traveled to Iraq and returned with the images and stories of ordinary Iraqis, most of them children, bearing the brunt of punishment under economic sanctions. Those sanctions didn't cause Saddam Hussein to miss a meal—why didn't our efforts to break the economic sanctions and to return with "embargoed" stories of what we had seen and heard ignite "actions commensurate to the crimes being committed?"

When pictures emerged from Abu Ghraib prison in 2004, showing the torture inflicted on Iraqi detainees, those images became iconi-

cally embedded in people's consciences around the world and within the United States. Had we been able to present to U.S. people the conditions endured by vulnerable and innocent people in Iraq, especially children, under the economic sanctions, I don't believe those sanctions would have withstood the light of day.

...

DURING THE 1980s, I LOOKED FORWARD TO ANNUAL VISITS FROM TWO heroes of mine, Ernest Bromley and Maurice McCracken. They would stop in Chicago en route to nonviolent direct actions planned by the Jonah House community in Washington, D.C. Because these two veterans of civil rights struggles, antiwar movements and numerous disarmament actions practiced near total non-cooperation with arresting authorities, they were heading into difficult straits each time they joined in the Jonah House events. At times they were treated brutally by police officers. Mac had been dragged by his hair and prodded with an electric stun gun. Ernest nearly died when he refused food and water in a Washington, D.C. lockup. I remember shyly asking Ernest, soon after I'd first met him, "Don't you ever feel afraid?" "Oh, now, don't let anyone ever tell you they don't feel fear," said Ernest, folding his arms and crossing his long legs. "Everybody feels fear," he said. "Courage is the ability to control your fear." "Ernie's right," Mac added. "And, you see, we catch courage from one another."

In the days just before the Shock and Awe bombardment began, Iraqi friends at the Al Fanar Hotel, in Baghdad, shook their heads and smiled when I told them that a hardware store in my Chicago neighborhood had run out of duct tape, plywood and plastic as people, panicked by supposed threats to U.S. security, rushed to reinforce their windows in advance of a U.S. attack against Iraq. My neighbors in Chicago had been consumers of an astonishing marketing campaign, designed to sell the U.S. war against Iraq. They were convinced that Iraq posed an imminent threat to their safety. As early as September 2002, publicists for the Bush administration began "selling" the war. They knew how to manipulate and hyperinflate people's fears.

In Baghdad, shortly before the war, even I and fellow Iraq Peace Team members were deeply disconcerted as we huddled around a short-wave radio, on the balcony of the Al Fanar hotel, listening to Secretary of State Colin Powell detail twenty-nine instances of "evidence," supposedly uncovered by U.S. intelligence, that Saddam

Hussein's regime possessed weapons of mass destruction. We had believed the reports of chief U.N. weapons inspector Hans Blix and former weapons inspector Scott Ritter, both of whom stated that the tasks of disarming Iraq were near completion. It seemed then that U.S. intelligence had sufficient proof to undermine those claims. Now, the U.S. weapons inspection teams have left Iraq, and none of the weapons of mass destruction we were told to fear have been found.

Ernest and Mac's advice is more timely than ever. What if U.S. public opinion hadn't been so vulnerable to fears which prompted majority approval for the war? What if the U.S. public hadn't allowed such fears to suppress valid questions and cautions? Suppose the vast majority of the U.S. public had rejected the possibility of isolating our country as a nation to be feared for following a "go it alone" policy based on threat and force. Suppose public opinion had clamored for linkage with allies who wanted to seek nonviolent means to further disarm Iraq. What if U.S. media had steadily covered the scandal of using economic sanctions to target Iraq's most vulnerable people—the poor, the sick, the elderly, and the children?

Courage is the ability to control your fear and courage is contagious. I'd add to those definitions an additional truism that can help dissolve fear: treat other people right, and you won't have to be afraid of them.

Each Voices in the Wilderness delegation treated people in Iraq with respect and warmth. Overwhelmingly, Iraqis we met responded with hospitality, friendship, generosity, and unfailing good will, in spite of the fact that we hailed from countries, the U.S. and the U.K., which insisted on maintaining the sanctions against them. Even when the U.S. repeatedly bombed innocent civilians in the so-called "no fly" zones, we returned from trips to Iraq unable to answer the question "why do they hate us so much?" and instead wondering "why do they love us so much?"

But how long can you expect people to keep extending a hand of friendship when, in return, they're pummeled by siege, bombardment, and an abusive occupation?

During the U.S. bombing in March and April of 2003, I saw how children suffer when nations decide to put their resources into weapons and warfare rather than meeting human needs. All of us at the Al Fanar hotel learned to adopt a poker face, hoping not to frighten the children, whenever there were ear-splitting blasts and gut-wrenching thuds. During every day and night of the bombing, I

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would hold little Miladhah and Zainab in my arms. That's how I learned of their fear: they were grinding their teeth, morning, noon, and night. They were far more fortunate than the children who were survivors of direct hits, children whose brothers and sisters and parents were maimed and killed.

Now, as occupying forces, coalition soldiers are understandably fearful when they face a population wearied and angered by the relentless suffering they've endured. The best way forward would be to find the courage to admit that the U.S. made a colossal mistake. And then to look for ways to rectify the situation by showing Iraqis that the U.S. is willing to close its bases, issue timetables for troop withdrawal, assist with clean-up in Iraq of depleted uranium, cluster bombs, landmines and other unexploded weapons, and pay restitution to Iraqis who suffered loss as a result of the past 14 years of economic and military warfare waged by the U.S.

Reconstruction of Iraq should be funded by the U.S. and its allies, but directed by and for the benefit of Iraqi citizens. Iraqis should be employed to rebuild Iraq and paid a living wage. Finally, the U.S. should renounce any effort to create, in Iraq, a puppet government with strings attached to the U.S. national interest. In 2004, the U.S. spent 67 billion dollars on force protection and maintenance for the U.S. military while allocating 20 billion dollars for reconstruction. Suppose those sums were reversed and a priority had been placed on giving jobs to Iraqi companies as the main recipients of assistance for reconstruction. That would have been a step in the direction of treating Iraqi people fairly. If they had reason to trust us, we might have less reason to fear being there.

My friends, Ernest and Mac, died within two weeks of each other, in the winter of 1997. We can still catch courage from them, and from the many people who stood shoulder to shoulder with them, clamoring for civil rights and human rights. But to catch on to their brand of courage, we'll need to slow down and use that time to think about the truly frightful relations the U.S. has created with other countries whose resources we want to control and exploit. Coming to grips with the unsustainability of our economic and social patterns is difficult. Most of us probably feel a real fear of changing our lifestyles in ways that allow us to live more simply, consuming less and wasting less.

We can catch courage from one another to make those changes. By doing so, we can feel heartened, not threatened, by the simple truth that most of the time, if you treat people right, you don't have to be afraid of them.

The stories that follow tell about interactions between very ordinary people, from Iraq and the U.S., who caught courage from one another during a time of war.

CHAPTER 1.2

Peace: The Goal and the Way

Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen

Conflicts exist at all levels, within and between individuals, communities, countries and cultures. Conflicts are natural. They are experienced by people of every background, culture, class, nationality, age and gender every single day. What is important, is not whether conflicts themselves are *good* or *bad*, but how we deal with them.

War culture and *war-provoking* responses to conflicts focus on *conflict the destroyer*. Conflicts are seen as a struggle between good and evil, black and white, zero-sum, where the victory of one is based upon the defeat of the other, and one actor's gain comes only at the expense of another actor's loss. What peace researchers, peace workers and others have worked over several decades to promote is an alternative culture, and an alternative approach to dealing with conflicts – one based on *conflict the creator*, recognizing the positive, constructive and creative opportunities available in any conflict situation.

The distinction can be likened to that between *dukkha* and *sukha* in Hinduism. *Dukkha* is suffering, destructive, negative, damaging – a state of violence/disease – while *sukha* is bliss, perfect happiness, nirvana – a state of peace/health. A further illustration can be taken from the Chinese symbol for crisis, itself a combination of two other symbols: danger and opportunity. Crisis, or conflicts, can be understood as containing both possibilities: a) the deterioration of a situation or relationship to a negative, destructive dynamic bringing harm to one or all of the actors involved, and/or b) an opportunity to reach towards a higher, more constructive, positive goal, working to transcend and overcome contradictions within a system, relationship or culture.

Another assumption often made is that 'conflict' and 'violence' are one and the same. This stems from the belief that conflict and violence are indistinguishable, that violence is the only (and/or best) method of addressing conflicts, and that the only way to deal with confrontation or difference is to 'win', 'destroy' or 'beat' 'the other', and to 'take revenge' when one has been wronged. The recognition that there are different ways of dealing with conflicts,

and that violence is only one possible approach, one based on a *war culture* and *violence-provoking* response to difficult situations, is vital if we are to search and find more creative, more constructive and more viable approaches to dealing with conflict which seek to address and transcend the underlying contradictions which are often at the root of conflicts between individuals, communities, countries, cultures, and within every single one of us.

A difficulty which results from automatically associating *conflict* with *violence* is that people may assume that, if there are no direct or open acts of violence, there must be no conflicts. This leads to journalists, politicians, 'experts' and others waiting until violence has broken out before focusing on or trying to find a solution to a conflict. If a conflict has already reached the point of violence, this is perhaps the clearest sign that it has been mismanaged, poorly addressed or simply ignored until the situation has deteriorated to a destructive level.

For this reason, the 'violence triangle' was developed by Johan Galtung, pointing to the distinction between three separate types or forms of violence, all of which are closely interrelated.

The first of these, *direct violence*, refers to *physical acts of violence* such as a man beating his wife, children fighting at school, or soldiers going to war. One of the clearest and most obvious types of violence, beamed into our homes and brought to us daily in many different forms, *direct violence* is itself only one possible form of violence. In one of its most extreme forms, *war*, direct violence has resulted in the deaths of 40 million people since 1990, nearly equal to the number of those killed in the Second World War. If we were to add to this the number of people killed in the world in the last decade through direct *intra*-personal (suicide) and direct *inter*-personal (murder, infanticide) violence, the number would be at least two or three times as high. Direct violence also includes such categories as abuse, rape, battery.

The second corner of the violence triangle, *structural violence*, can often be far more difficult to recognize and understand. This is the violence built into the very social, political and economic systems that govern societies, states and the world. It is the different allocation of goods, resources, opportunities, between different groups; classes, genders, nationalities, etc., because of the structure governing their relationship. It is the difference between the possible/optimum, and what is. Its relationship to *direct violence* is similar to that of the bottom nine-tenths of an iceberg, hidden from view, while only the tip juts out above the waterline.

Examples of structural violence are apartheid, patriarchy, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, the former state authoritarian regimes of Eastern Europe, and today's global imperialism/capitalism (frequently termed globalization, globalism). In terms of lives lost,

misery and human suffering, *structural violence* is by far the more devastating and destructive of the two forms of violence explored so far. The approximately 30 million people killed each year from hunger are only one of several extreme expressions of structural violence. The US\$1 trillion spent each year on the production of armaments and weapons (the equivalent of US\$2 million per minute), instead of on schools, health, nutrition, social infrastructure and development, is itself the result of a structure of violence (and clear political decisions by corporations and governments) which favours the production of instruments of death over investment in the creation or improvement of life.

The third form (or aspect) of violence is *cultural violence*. On one level, this can be taken to be those aspects of a culture that *legitimize* or make violence seem an *acceptable* means of responding to conflict. That violence is 'normal', 'OK' or even 'macho' is an expression of *cultural violence*. The degree to which violence has begun to pervade almost every aspect of our cultures -- particularly music, television and a great deal of popular literature -- is an expression and a form of *cultural violence* (and not simply a reflection of 'the world we live in' as is often suggested).

At a deeper level, however, the concept of *cultural violence* is important in understanding how a community or individuals view themselves in relation to themselves, to 'others', to their community, and the world, and how this may affect our responses to conflict. Whether or not a nation or group believes itself to be 'chosen' (by God, History, Race, Nation, Civilization, Gender or the Market), superior to 'the Other', viewing the world as black or white, a struggle of good against evil, zero sum, with only one possible outcome, win/lose, will affect whether it chooses to respond violently or constructively when faced with conflict. 'Dehumanization' of the Other, making them seem somehow 'less', 'unworthy', and ascribing to them entirely negative, self-serving or even 'evil' motives are also components of cultural violence. Racism, xenophobia and the cultures of imperialism, patriarchy and neoliberalism are all expressions of this (though often also the result of insecurities and fears on the parts of those who promote them). The Dualism-Manicheism-Armageddon formula expresses this well. A further indicator can be found in a community or nation's 'collective memory', focusing upon shared myths, together with moments of trauma or glory, which are celebrated in its history.

No culture is entirely black or white, entirely violent or peaceful. Just as there are elements of *cultures of violence* within almost every culture in the world, so there are elements of *peace culture*. Rather than black/white, the Chinese symbol of yin and yang is more appropriate for this conception of the relationship between *cultures*

of peace and *cultures of violence*. When applied to religion, this can help us recognize that the differences between the *hard* (a wrathful, revengeful, *God the destroyer*, together with judgement, excommunication, and wars against infidels and heretics) and *soft* (the meek shall inherit the earth, turn the other cheek, kingdom of heaven on earth and within every single one of us, do unto others as you would have done unto yourself, he/she who walks with peace, walk with him/her) aspects *within* a religion are often greater than the differences *between* different religions (or even cultures).

As a side-note, the distinction between ideology and cosmology is important. Ideology can be understood as those systems of thought and frameworks of understanding consciously constructed and adhered to in order to formulate our understanding(s) and interpretation(s) of the world (or our community or Self), how it is, and how it should be. Cosmology, however, exists at a deeper level. Again, the nine-tenths of the iceberg beneath the surface, out of sight, is an appropriate metaphor.

Cosmology is akin to our 'collective subconscious', to borrow from Freud and extrapolate from the individual to the community. Cosmologies, also known as *deep cultures*, are made up of those 'assumptions' and unquestioned beliefs passed on to or inherited by people as members of a community. They are our underlying values, which provide the soil from which our 'conscious' values are developed/expressed. Some of the examples provided above when exploring cultural violence can be taken as clear expressions of assumptions which often fall under the category of a people's or community's *cosmology*. Making these assumptions clear, and understanding how they affect and influence our actions and decisions, is a precondition for being able to change them and an important step in working to promote peaceful and constructive approaches to the transformation of conflicts.

These three categories, *direct*, *structural*, and *cultural*, can also be useful when thinking about peace, helping us to identify:

1. direct acts in support of peace and conflict transformation such as dialogue, active non-violence and non-violent struggle, and the refusal to surrender to or to allow injustices, oppression, and violence/cruelty to take place;
2. structures that provide for the needs of all members of a community, providing opportunities for individuals and groups to develop to their full potential, not exploiting, oppressing, or denying rights to any one or group of individuals; and
3. cultures of peace which promote peace as a value, which respect and celebrate differences and which protect/promote the political, civil, social, economic, and cultural rights of all *individuals, communities, and groups, and which are inclusive* (by

choice and dialogue rather than by force), *rather than exclusive in vision*.

These are only some examples. Dialogue and further reflection can provide many more.

Another important tool for understanding conflicts, also pioneered by Johan Galtung, is the *conflict triangle*. This time, the three points of the triangle are A (attitudes), B (behaviour) and C (contradiction).

Attitudes refer to how parties to a conflict *feel* and *think*, how they perceive 'the Other' – with respect and love or contempt and hatred – their own goals, and the conflict itself. Behaviour refers to how parties to the conflict *act* in the conflict – seeking common interests and constructive, creative action or seeking to inflict loss and pain on 'the Other'. Contradiction refers to the actual issue(s), and what the conflict is about. Perceptions of the contradiction or issues at the root of the conflict often differ between parties to the conflict. More often than not, they are almost entirely obscured and hidden, as parties and actors – including the media – on all sides prefer to focus upon *attitudes* and *behaviour*, either their own (usually portrayed in a positive light) or the Other's (usually portrayed in a negative light).

In discussions with participants and parties to conflicts in dialogues and training programmes around the world, some of the *attitudes* (both cognitive and emotive) which people often describe themselves as having when in a conflict include: blaming the Other, seeing their actions as the 'cause', and feeling 'fear', 'hatred' or 'insecurity'. Behaviour in conflicts, particularly where structural and cultural violence are rife, is often violent, seeking to reach a desired goal or goals through force, or to enforce/impose one's views upon another. This is further promoted through most mainstream or 'realist' interpretations of the concept of power, the ability to force another to act in a certain way. Power *with* or power *for* are completely ignored or excluded, as a war culture *focus* on *power over* (and with it, the concepts of domination – physically, socially, economically, and discursively – control, rule by force and 'might is right') is accepted as normal. The contradictions underlying conflicts, and what the conflicts are actually about, are (or at least can be) numerous, with any one conflict often involving several contradictions or issues, and with several conflicts often overlapping and intertwining within any one space or time. What is important – indeed, what is crucial if any approach to peace-building and constructive conflict transformation is to be successful – is that the issues and contradictions be identified and addressed in a way that leaves all parties feeling included in the solution, and

which doesn't deny, ignore or reject the basic needs of any involved.

Ideologies and philosophies have developed which address each of these different 'points' of the conflict triangle.

In a simplified form:

The Liberal Focus – on attitudes/belief systems. The answer to conflicts lies in getting people to love each other, making parties/actors more 'civilized', enlightened, reasonable.

The Conservative Focus – on behaviour/action, seeking to suppress action seen as negative, threatening to the system, through law, imprisonment, by putting more police on the streets, and more 'criminals' into jail.

The Marxist Focus – on structures, seeing the solution to conflicts in transforming structures of violence, injustice and exploitation.

The problem that may arise: exclusivity, focusing on any one of the corners to the exclusion of the others. One possible solution/approach: both/and rather than either/or, a good approach for conflicts and peace in general. This is done by organizations such as TRANSCEND, the ICL/Praxis for Peace, and the Peace, Action Training and Research Institute of Romania, amongst others, which recognize that conflicts can (and do) arise at any of the three points, and can be reinforced, escalated and also transformed and diminished, at any of the three points. Constructive and lasting transformations of a conflict must address all three corners of the triangle – attitudes, behaviour and contradiction – if they are to have any chance of success.

A basic formula for *peace by peaceful means*:

- for attitude(s): *empathy*
- for behaviour(s): *non-violence/peace struggle*
- for contradiction(s): *creativity*

There's a problem with this: our education and upbringing often do not equip us for the task. History classes *focus* on wars, violence and the history of elites (emperors, kings, queens, generals, presidents) and treaties (often to end wars started by emperors, kings, queens, generals and presidents); the media focus on violence and decisions taken by elites, and often those supporting war are labelled 'extremists', denying a focus to alternative visions, options, choices, proposals to transform the conflict(s) peacefully and those working for peace rather than violence, and structures and cultures which (re-)enforce hierarchy, the power of elites (generally middle-aged men), exploitation, inequality, militarism, and violence.

The challenges are certainly there, and may often be daunting, even overwhelming (leading to apathy, pessimism, disempowerment, and the belief that 'I/we can't do anything about it'). The history of wars in recent years, decades, centuries provides ample evidence of what occurs when these *contributors to violence* are left unaddressed, unchallenged. What is necessary, therefore, is to address them, to *transcend* violence-provoking and violence-enhancing approaches to conflict/life, and to equip ourselves, to *empower people* ('I/we can!') with the tools, skills and knowledge, not to mention structures (or lack of them) and cultures to promote peace.

Conflict the creator over conflict the destroyer.

An important tool for this: Diagnosis-Prognosis--Therapy. Borrowed from health/medicine, emphasizing the relationship between health and peace -- the desired goal -- with disease/violence -- that which is to be avoided, prevented, transcended. *Diagnosis* involves analysis and mapping of the situation/conflict. Who are the actors? What are their goals/needs/interests? This should be done for all the actors/parties; no one should be excluded. This also involves analysis using the A-B-C triangle -- attitude, behaviour, contradiction -- for all the actors involved in the conflict, and the D-S-C triangle -- direct, structural and cultural violence -- for the conflict itself. What is important? That the mapping of the conflict be as thorough and complete as possible. Complexity rather than simplification is preferred, with the more actors and interests involved the greater the opportunity to come up with a creative approach to transforming the conflict. Go beyond the simplistic, war-culture/textbook explanation of conflicts, which tends to:

1. reduce the number of actors to 2: A and B;
2. reduce explanatory factors to 1: the 'bad' side's evil or strategy;
3. reduce attitudes to 'white'/'black', 'good'/'evil';
4. present a Manicheistic vision of the struggle: Good vs. Evil;
5. reduce the 'Other': dehumanization, demonization;
6. personify the conflict: Iraq to Saddam Hussein
Somalia to Mohamed Farah Aideed
Yugoslavia to Slobodan Milosevic
Romania's problems to Ceaușescu
Terrorism to Osama bin Laden
7. reduce methods of struggle/dealing with conflict: to violence (D, S, C)
8. reduce the possible outcomes: win/lose; either/or.

A good diagnosis should contain as complete a mapping as possible of a) the conflict *formation*, and b) the conflict *history*, or

the life of the conflict. The first, the conflict *formation*, should include all actors and parties to the conflict, not just those within a country/conflict zone. An analysis of the wars in Bosnia which focuses only on the Serbs, Muslim, and Croats, without addressing the involvement of outside powers (the US, Germany, EU, Russia, Iran, etc.), is simplistic and cannot lead to a full understanding and analysis of the conflict or what pushed it in the particular directions (i.e. violence) that it took. Analysis of the conflict formation, therefore, should include all parties and actors involved in the conflict. This also means *peace actors*, and those affected by the conflict, not simply those *fighting* or using violence to pursue their goals. *Peace actors* should be identified, as well as *violence actors*, with groups/individuals in one category often in the other as well -- with those using violence potential actors for peace, and those working for peace potentially party to violence. Conflict *history* involves the entire history or life of the conflict, not simply the beginning and ending of violence. What are the roots of the conflict? What is its history? How did it reach the stage it is at now? It is important that *how parties to the conflict view the conflict history* be respected and understood, though it should not lock the peace worker into or prevent looking at different interpretations/analysis. What matters is that the parties/actors to the conflict do not feel that their perspectives/opinions have been dismissed, something all too common in most conventional approaches to 'peace'-making.

Prognosis -- Where is the conflict going? What might happen? Given our diagnosis of what the situation is, what are the possible futures, outcomes? This can be important for recognizing both the potential damage/devastation which can be caused by not addressing a conflict constructively, as well as visions, ideas and possibilities for conflict outcomes.

Therapy is, in many ways, the most important and the greatest challenge. For a particular therapy or therapies to the conflict to be successful, they must be based upon good *diagnosis* and *prognosis*. Just as in health, good therapy, what should be undertaken to return to or go towards health/peace, must be based on good diagnosis of what the disease/cause of violence is, or what is preventing, or standing in the way of, health. Therapy is the proposals, ideas, suggestions for how to transform the conflict creatively, non-violently and constructively, to secure the needs of all actors/parties to the conflict. They are the strategy/vision or road map, of how to get from here (violence, conflict, non-peace), to our desired goal, *peace*. Therapies, however, cannot be imposed upon a conflict from above (leaders, elites, politicians, generals) or outside (outside leaders, elites, politicians, generals). They must be based upon developing real and concrete proposals that will be

meaningful to those involved in the conflict and those living in communities affected by conflict. Part of successful therapies must be to *make peace practical*, to develop strategies/actions to transform the conflict which will be meaningful for people in their everyday lives, which will be based upon participation, mobilization and empowerment for peace, rather than simply serving to reinforce structures of domination and control by elites. Therapy, therefore, must be creative, and appropriate to the conflict.

One of the best ways to arrive at this is through dialogue, or rather, not just one dialogue, but thousands, at every level of society, repeated over and over again, coming up with as many ideas, and actions, for peace as possible. What is then needed is to act, and to keep acting, building, working, to empower ourselves, our communities, and the world, for the promotion of peace by peaceful means, refusing to surrender to the logic of violence, to accept violence, or to practise violence against others. A struggle in which peace is both the goal and the way.

PART 1

Towards a Theory and Practice of Peace by Peaceful Means

What's Buddhist About Buddhist Social Activism?

by Seth Segall

“Just what is it that is specifically *Buddhist* about Buddhist social activism?” Are we only Buddhists who just happened to be social activists before we discovered the dharma, and are we simply looking to carry on our social activism under the banner of our new religious identity? Or, on the other hand, can social activism be something that grows organically out of the wisdom and compassion developed through the Buddhist path? If so, is this kind of spiritually based social activism identical to, or different from, the spiritually based social activism espoused by the Friends, the Unitarians, the Mennonites, or the Catholic Workers? Is there something specifically Buddhist that we bring to the progressive movement? Are there particular social issues that fall naturally within the purview of Buddhist social activism (e.g., diversity issues within our sanghas, the civil war in Sri Lanka, the Chinese occupation of Tibet), or are our issues identical to those of other activist traditions (e.g., the uses of American power in the world, criminal justice reform, and racial, economic, and sexual inequality in our society)? Do we have a specific doctrine relating to economic, political, and social issues, or, as Buddhists, do we eschew “isms” as attachments to the “thicket of views”?

Our Buddhist Peace Fellowship chapter met recently at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, to explore these questions. It was an opportunity for us to examine the presuppositions that had drawn us together to establish our BPF chapter. In true Buddhist fashion, we treated the questions as koans—questions that open one up to discovery rather than close one down with answers. I left the meeting feeling touched, stimulated, and grateful for the conversation. Afterwards, I found myself continuing to engage with the key question: Just what, actually, was Buddhist about Buddhist social activism? These are the thoughts that came to me in the process:

1) **Buddhist practice is nondual.** It allows no space of separation between self and other. The dichotomy of working on the self but withdrawing from the world, or working on the world but bypassing the self, is antithetical to Buddhism. Since everything is connected, when I change myself, I change the world; when I change the world, I change myself. How could it be otherwise?

2) **Everything that happens happens right here, immediately, in one's own experience.** This is true whether the happenings are bodily sensations and personal emotions, or the remembered images of Abu Ghraib prison, or one's reactions to listening to President Bush on the nightly news. All of these are mental objects that call for an equal degree of mindful attention, wise reflection, and skillful response. All are part of Buddhist practice.

3) **Buddhist practice is continuous.** There is no dichotomy between the sacred and the profane; there is not one realm that belongs to Caesar and another that belongs to a deity. Nothing is excluded from Buddhist practice. We practice all the time, whether sitting on the cushion, talking with friends, shopping at the mall, or voting in the booth. Every moment is a moment of continuous, seamless practice. Social action is a realm of practice no different from meditation or sutra study.

4) **Buddhist practice is universal.** No thing is left out; no one is excluded. We apply our practice to all people: the good, the bad, and the ugly. We include animals and plants within our practice, too. We are not against anyone: we are not against soldiers, criminals, capitalists, landlords, Republicans. No one is left out of our caring and concern. We say, “May all beings be happy.” That is our practice.

5) **We are not struggling against people but against processes: greed, aversion, and delusion.** We work ceaselessly with these three poisons, whether they occur within us or within George W. Bush. We no more despise George Bush for his greed, aversion, and delusion than we do ourselves. George Bush is just a collection of the five aggregates, the same as we are.

The war in Iraq, for example, is the outcome of innumerable causes and conditions which include, but are not limited to: the history of British colonialism in Iraq; the ways in which modernity impinges on traditionally organized societies; the changing nature of the world order in the age of globalization and multinational corporations; the historic relationship between the Bush family and the house of Saud; the role Christianity played in helping George Bush overcome his drinking problem; the role that social class

QUESTION MARKS

This is not a quiz! We offer these questions as springboards to discussion.

- ★ How does being Buddhist affect the way you think about your responsibilities as a citizen?
- ★ How does your participation in the democratic process relate to the precepts?
- ★ How do we maintain a nondualistic perspective if we decide to campaign for particular candidates?
- ★ What feelings arise for you when you think about people who intend to vote for President George Bush in the next presidential election?
- ★ What feelings arise for you when you think about people who intend to vote for Senator John Kerry in the next presidential election?
- ★ When judgment and despair around politics arise, how do you relate to them through your Buddhist practice?
- ★ How do you, as an engaged Buddhist, help build a government that is not based on greed, hatred, and delusion?
- ★ How do you practice right speech when talking about politics?
- ★ How do you choose between voting for somebody you believe in and voting for somebody you think could win?
- ★ As Buddhists, do we have a responsibility to create a dialogue between political extremes?
- ★ What would a government that fully supported the liberation of all beings look like?
- ★ What radical actions, consistent with your Buddhist practice, would you take in response to a government whose policies you find harmful?
- ★ Does a renunciate life in a monastery or nunnery contribute to the democratic process?
- ★ Would the Buddha vote?

has played in shaping George Bush's consciousness; the geopolitical consequences of the dependency of industrialized societies on petroleum; the greed of oil companies, and companies that produce the goods and services needed for war; Saddam Hussein's sociopathic personality structure, which is itself a consequence of genetics and past experiences; the rise of neoconservative thought in reaction to the New Left of the 1960s; the post-9/11 fear of terrorism; and so on, ad infinitum. George Bush and Saddam Hussein did not create the war, but the karma of the world flows through their actions in an unbroken chain. We are here to be yet another influence in the great sea of causes and conditions. We are not here to control the world; no one ever does that. We are here to ceaselessly witness and ceaselessly practice. Our practice includes being present to suffering, being a friend to those forgotten, and being unafraid to speak our truth (with a small "t") to those with power.

6) **Buddhist practice is not overly attached to outcome.** When we sit on the cushion and we are not enlightened, we do not become discouraged and change our practice. When we demonstrate for peace and war breaks out, we do not become discouraged and change our practice. Not getting the outcome we want does not invalidate the value of working for peace. In her concept of the Four-Fold Way, educator, author, and cultural anthropologist Angeles Arrien (www.angelesarrien.com) urges us to 1) show up, 2) pay attention, 3) tell the truth without blame or judgment, and 4) be open, but not attached, to outcome. This is the dharma, in short. Buddhist practice is about being here, being mindful, and speaking truthfully, again and again, without discouragement. Practice is, as Suzuki Roshi once said, making one's "best effort on the moment forever." If one can be deeply present, like Avalokiteshvara, and see the suffering of the world, if one can show up with the intention to relieve suffering whenever one encounters it to the best of one's abilities, if one can include every being within the circle of one's care and compassion, and if one can avoid anger and disillusionment when suffering does not always abate despite one's best efforts, then one is engaged in a social activism that also epitomizes Buddhist practice.

This is what is Buddhist about Buddhist social action. ♦

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