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In this Issue:

Women Waging Peace
by Swanee Hunt

Certainly, some extraordinary men have changed the course of history with their peace-making. Yet women are often the most powerful voices for moderation in times of conflict. While most men come to the negotiating table directly from the war room and

battlefield, women usually arrive straight out of civil activism and—take a deep breath—family care.

The idea of women as peacemakers is not political correctness run amok. Social research supports the stereotype of women as generally more collaborative than men and thus more inclined toward consensus and compromise. Given their roles as nurturers, women have a huge investment in the stability of their communities. As UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan remarked in October 2001 to the Security Council, "For generations, women have served as peace educators, both in their families and in their societies."

Bridging the Gap

Striking examples of women making the impossible possible come from Sudan, a country splintered by decades of civil war. Women working together in the New Sudan Council of Churches conducted their own version of shuttle diplomacy. They organized the Wonlit tribal summit in February 1999 to bring an end to bloody hostilities between the Dinka and the Nuer, who agreed to share the rights to water, fishing, and grazing land, which had been key points of disagreement. The covenant also returned prisoners and guaranteed freedom of movement for members of both tribes.

Women have bridged the seemingly insurmountable differences between India and Pakistan by organizing huge rallies to unite citizens from both countries. Since 1994, the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy has worked to overcome the hysterics of nationalist and jingoistic influences by holding annual conventions where Indians and Pakistanis can affirm their shared histories, forge networks, and act together on specific initiatives.

In addition to laying the foundation for broader accords by tackling smaller, everyday problems that keep people apart, women have also taken the initiative in drafting principles for comprehensive settlements. The platform of Jerusalem Link, a federation of Palestinian and Israeli women's groups, served as a blueprint for negotiations over the final status of Jerusalem during the Oslo process. Former President Clinton, the week of the failed Camp David talks in July 2000, remarked simply, "If we'd had women at Camp David, we'd have an agreement."

Influencing Security Forces

The influence of women on warriors dates back to the ancient Greek play Lysistrata. Borrowing from that play's story, former South African President Nelson Mandela suggested at the Arusha peace talks on the conflict in Burundi that if Burundian men began fighting again, their women should withhold "conjugal rights" (like cooking, he added).

Women in Northern Ireland have helped calm the often deadly "marching season" by facilitating mediations between Protestant unionists and Catholic nationalists. The women bring together key members of each community, many of whom are released prisoners, as mediators to calm tensions. This circle of mediators works with local police throughout the marching season, meeting quietly and maintaining contacts on a 24-hour basis. This intervention provides a powerful extension of the limited tools of the local police and security forces.

Likewise, an early goal of the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace was to meet and talk with the military leaders of the various rebel armies. These contacts secured women's access to areas controlled by the revolutionary movements, a critical variable in the success or failure of humanitarian efforts in war zones. Women have worked with the military to search for missing people, a common element in the cycle of violence. Through moral suasion, local women often have influence where outsiders, such as international human rights agencies, do not.

In Colombia, women were so persistent in their demands for information regarding 150 people abducted from a church in 1999 that the army eventually gave them space on a military base for an information and strategy center. The military worked alongside the women and their families trying to track down the missing people. That influence may have allowed a female investigative reporter like Maria Cristina Caballero to go where a man could not go, venturing on horseback alone eight hours into the jungle to tape a four-hour interview with the head of the paramilitary forces in Colombia. She also interviewed another guerilla leader and published an award-winning comparison of the transcripts, showing where the two mortal enemies shared the same vision. "This was bigger than a story," she later said, "this was hope for peace."

International Collaboration

In rebel-controlled areas of Sudan, women have worked closely with humanitarian organizations to prevent food from being diverted from those who need it most. According to Catherine Loria Duku Jeremano of Oxfam International, "The normal pattern was to hand out relief to the men, who were then expected to take it home to be distributed to their family. However, many of the men did what they pleased with the food they received—either selling it directly, often in exchange for alcohol, or giving food to the wives they favored." Sudanese women work closely with tribal chiefs and relief organizations to establish a system allowing women to pick up the food for their families, despite cultural norms.

In Pristina, Kosovo, Vjosa Dobruna, a pediatric neurologist and human rights leader, is now the joint administrator for civil society for the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). In September 2000, at the request of NATO, she organized a multiethnic strategic planning session to integrate women throughout UNMIK. Before

that gathering, women who had played very significant roles in their communities felt shunned by the international organizations that descended on Kosovo following the bombing campaign. Vjosa's conference pulled them back into the mainstream, bringing international players into the conference to hear from local women what stabilizing measures they were planning rather than the other way around. There, as in Bosnia, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has created a quota system for elected office, mandating that women comprise one third of each party's candidate list, and leaders like Vjosa have helped to turn that policy into reality.

As the peace processes in Northern Ireland, Bosnia, and the Middle East illustrate, a deadlock on the exchange and release of prisoners can be a major obstacle to achieving a final settlement. Women activists in Armenia and Azerbaijan have worked closely with the International Helsinki Citizens Assembly and the OSCE for the release of hostages in the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh, where tens of thousands of people have been killed. These women's knowledge of the local players and the situation on the ground would make them indispensable in any peace negotiations to end this 13-year-old conflict.

Reaching for Political Office

In 1977, women organizers in Northern Ireland won the Nobel Peace Prize for their nonsectarian public demonstrations. Two decades later, Northern Irish women are showing how diligently women must still work not only to ensure a place at the negotiating table, but also to sustain peace by reaching critical mass in political office. In 1996, peace activists Monica McWilliams (now a member of the Northern Ireland Assembly) and May Blood (now a member of the House of Lords) were told that only leaders of the top ten political parties—all men—would be included in peace talks. With only six weeks to organize, McWilliams and Blood gathered 10,000 signatures to create a new political party (the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, or NIWC) and got themselves on the ballot. They were voted into the top ten and earned a place at the table.

The NICW's efforts paid off. The women drafted key clauses of the Good Friday Agreement regarding the importance of mixed housing, the particular difficulties of young people, and the need for resources to address these problems. The NICW also lobbied for the early release and reintegration of political prisoners in order to combat social exclusion, and pushed for a comprehensive review of the police service so that all members of society would accept it.

Women in the former Yugoslavia are also stepping forward to wrest the reins of political control from extremists (including women such as the ultranationalist Bosnian Serb President Biljana Plavsic) who destroyed their country. Zorica Trifunovic, founding member of the local Women in Black, an antiwar group formed in Belgrade in October 1991, led a meeting that united 90 women leaders of pro-democracy political campaigns

across the former Yugoslavia. According to polling by the National Democratic Institute, the grassroots get-out-the-vote work of groups such as Vox Femina (a local NGO that participated in the meeting led by Trifunovic) convinced hesitant women to vote for change. Those votes contributed to the margin that ousted Slobodan Milosevic.

In Argentina, several leaders of the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo movement, formed in the 1970s to protest the "disappearances" of their children at the hands of the military regime, have now been elected to political office. And in Russia, the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers—a protest group founded in 1989 demanding their sons' rights amidst cruel conditions in the Russian military—has grown into a powerful organization with 300 chapters and official status. U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Jim Collins described the committee as a significant factor in countering the most aggressive voices promoting military force in Chechnya. Similar mothers' groups have sprung up across the former Soviet Union and beyond—including Mothers of Tiananmen Square. These mobilized mothers are tackling the toughest, most hardened hostilities.

You've Come A Long Way, Maybe

Traditional thinking about war and peace either ignores women or regards them as victims. Despite all of the instances where women have been able to play a role, for the most part, women are still relegated to the sidelines. Part of the reason is structural: The presidents, prime ministers, party leaders, cabinet secretaries, and generals who typically negotiate settlements are overwhelmingly men.

Some encouraging signs of change, however, are emerging. Rwandan President Paul Kagame, dismayed at his difficulty in attracting international aid to his genocide-ravaged country, recently distinguished Rwanda by appointing three women to his negotiating team for the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In an unusually healthy tit-for-tat, Uganda immediately appointed a woman to its team.

Negotiators sometimes worry that having women participate may change the tone of the meeting. They're right: A British participant in the Northern Ireland peace talks noted that when the parties became bogged down in abstract issues and past offenses, "the women would come and talk about their loved ones, their bereavement, their children, and their hopes for the future." The women's experiences reminded the parties that security for all citizens was what really mattered.

The role of women as peacemakers can be expanded in many ways. Mediators can insist on gender balance among negotiators to ensure a peace plan that is workable at the community level. Cultural barriers can be overcome if high-level visitors require that a critical mass (usually one-third) of the local interlocutors be women (and not simply present as wives). When drafting principles for negotiation, diplomats should determine

whether women's groups have already agreed upon key conflict-bridging principles and whether their approach can serve as a basis for general negotiations.

Moreover, to foster a large pool of potential peacemakers, embassies in conflict areas can broaden their regular contact with local women leaders and sponsor women in training programs. Governments can also do their part by providing information technology and training to women activists through public and private partnerships. Internet communication allows women to network among themselves, as well as exchange tactics and strategies with their global counterparts.

"Women understood the cost of war and were genuinely interested in peace," recalls retired Admiral Jonathan Howe, The men were sitting around talking and chewing qat while the women were working away. They were such a positive force.… You have to look at all elements in society and be ready to tap into those that will be constructive." Women on the ground are eager to join forces. Just let them in.

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International organizations are slowly recognizing the indispensable role that women play in preventing war and sustaining peace.

- On October 31, 2000, the United Nations Security Council issued Resolution 1325 urging the secretary-general to expand the role of women in UN field-based operations, especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights workers, and humanitarian personnel.

- The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is working to move women off the gender sidelines and into the activities of the organization—particularly in the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, which has been useful in monitoring elections and human rights throughout Europe and the former Soviet Union.

- Last November, the European Parliament passed a hard-hitting resolution calling on European Union members to promote the equal participation of women in diplomatic conflict resolution; to ensure that women fill at least 40 percent of all reconciliation, peacekeeping, peace-enforcement, peace-building, and conflict-prevention posts; and to support the creation and strengthening of NGOs that focus on these issues.

Swanee Hunt is director of the Women in Public Policy Program at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. As the United States' ambassador to Austria (1993-97), she founded the "Vital Voices: Women in Democracy" initiative.

Co-author Christina Posa, a former judicial clerk at the United Nations International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, is an attorney at Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton in New York.

The web address for Women Waging Peace is www.womenwagingpeace.net

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The Fruits of War
An Editorial by Mac Lawrence

I am an unabashed opponent of the use of violence to resolve anything. It always leaves bitterness, embers of revenge. It is demeaning, dehumanizing. It heaps tragedy upon tragedy, grief upon grief. No one denies that in modern warfare there are no winners; everybody loses.

It makes sense that with so many of us on this small planet, our fate as humans depends to a large extent on our ability to get along, to work our differences out creatively.

So it is heartbreaking to see that humans still go forth with machetes to hack each other to death, with supersonic bombers to rain death from the skies, with tanks and troops to destroy and kill. It makes you wonder at the powers of fear and hate, emotions that everyone experiences but that most of the time we handle more creatively than by lashing out.

Sam Keen pointed out in his book Faces of the Enemy, that to motivate ourselves to kill, we need an enemy, one that we can personalize and demonize. The enemy can be a person: Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden, Noriega, Hitler, Khrushchev, Sharon, Arafat, George Bush. It can be a nation and its people: For the U.S. it has been England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, China, North Korea, Russia, Cuba, Iraq, Iran, Vietnam. It can be a race: Jews, Palestinians, American Indians. It can be an idea: Communism, Fascism. It can be a religion. It can be a term like “terrorists” which, depending on where you’re coming from, can apply to either side in many conflicts.

Killing other people, however, can also impact those doing the killing. Men coming back from war often suffer serious problems, some turning to suicide. Even just being there to see first-hand the tragedies of violence and death can cause warriors to reject violence, as witness the Israeli soldiers who refuse to fight the Palestinians. Those who ran the Israeli

war were wise not to let photographers and journalists see the results of their attacks on Palestinian cities—the dead, the wounded, the destruction. Even if we eventually learn the extent of the carnage, perhaps enough time will have passed that we will bury it in our minds.

By the same token, the powers in charge of the U.S. war on Afghanistan were also wise to keep reporters away from the action. Perhaps enough time has now passed that we are able to bury in our minds the "collateral damage" and the plight of the refugees. But the refugees are real, and for those who support war as a means to an end, it is important to remember what war brings. One who followed the war's aftermath closely is Marc W. Herold, Professor of Economics, International Relations, and Women's Studies at the University of New Hampshire. Following are excerpts of an article he wrote which cited 26 references, from Time.com to BBC News Online, to *The Ecologist* magazine.

U.S. Bombing and the Afghan Refugee Crisis
by Marc W. Herold

Last having eaten a meal begged more than a week ago, Bibi Gul, accompanied by her five children, says, "The sky is my roof and the earth is my floor." On Friday morning, Bibi woke to find her two-year old son Tahir cold and stiff, frozen to death in the rain of western Afghanistan. Four days later, the troops in Afghanistan celebrated the "liberation" of Kandahar city, whose fate would be returned to the warlord Gul Agha. This is the new Afghanistan, born with the forceps of U.S. bombs and missiles.

The war has magnified these tragedies and numbers, but little note is taken by the U.S. mainstream press or by the agencies of the U.S. Government. Just like the victims who perish under U.S. bombs, those dying silently are "unworthy bodies" not warranting notice. On the other hand, the UN agencies and numerous NGO's —Doctors Without Borders, Christian Aid, Action Aid, Oxfam, Feed the Children, Islamic Relief, Caritas Internationalis/Catholic Relief Services—have waged courageous and sometimes effective actions—e.g., UNICEF's measles vaccination campaign—to alleviate misery and death.

Since September 11, observers report that 4 to 6 million Afghans had left their homes, leaving Afghanistan's major cities emptied of 70-80% of their inhabitants. Many ended up at the huge Jalozai camp south of Peshawar, where there was no food, no tents, just unending rows and rows of plastic sheets. In the summer of 2001, tens of thousands of people in the impoverished central mountain region of Hazarajat were reported by aid agencies to be eating grass, leaves, and even mixing insects into their food just to survive.

Last December, reporter Christina Lamb wrote about the refugees at the Maslakh camp, 50 kilometers west of Herat, set up three years ago to harbor those escaping both drought and fighting in the north: "Most come from the northern provinces of Faryab, Ghor and Sar-e-Pul as well as Ghazni in central Afghanistan, mountainous places to which the

World Food Programme was giving food aid but stopped because of the bombing. Now their villages cannot be reached because the passes are cut off."

Lamb reported how every night as the temperature dipped well below zero, as many as 40 people die of cold and starvation, a number totaling 1,200 per month. "Many of the people were not moving. The children were not playing, not even crying, and many were too weak to walk. Some sucked at their clothes and hair, seeking nutrition anywhere. Others lay in bundles on the ground. Old women stretched out hands, fingers blackened and eaten away by frostbite.…I have been to most of the big Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan as well as many refugee camps in Africa, but I have never seen people in such harrowing conditions."

Why? The Herat, Helmand, and Kandahar provinces were subjected to intense U.S. bombing as of the middle of October, preventing relief supplies from reaching Maslakh, a fact glossed over by Western journalists. In November, Afghan refugees in Quetta [Pakistan] were dying of hypothermia, starvation, and disease. The bombing of Kandahar as of late November drove tens of thousands towards the border zones. In just three weeks, a new refugee camp comprising 1,500 tents and 9,000 persons was established near Spin Boldak by a charity linked to the royal house of the United Arab Emirates.

Those in tents were the lucky ones. The Guardian's Jonathan Steele wrote: "Along the main road, where they had been dumped by lorries and buses, were the most abject of the new poor. They sat among their bundles waiting for the strength to move into the camp. This camp was one in four set up in the border area in mid-November, meaning the bombing prompted between 50,000 and 100,000 to leave their homes to find safety."

Alex Perry, writing in Time Asia, described a similar situation in the Dehadi camp, housing 15,000 refugees, outside Mazar-i-Sharif in early December: "Temperatures will drop to 5 degrees Fahrenheit, and the filthy roadside ditch from which the refugees fetch their gray water will freeze. Imagine living with your family, brothers, sister, children, their wives and husbands and children, in a tent the size of a car trunk. Imagine that tent is waist-high made from sticks and scraps, sacks, blankets, has no floor and no sides so that the freezing wind and dust storms find it no opposition at all.…I have been begged by fathers to take their children, angrily led by the hand of a husband to see his wife lying unconscious from malnutrition, and, again and again, asked to explain why aid isn't coming. On Monday night the mere sight of my health reduced a 75-year-old man to tears."

Why isn't aid coming? Primarily two reasons, both directly derivative of U.S. actions: The fear and danger instilled in relief convoys, and the lawlessness resulting from the total breakdown of any semblance of government. Perry described the situation around Mazar-i-Sharif: "Agencies have to pay a 'tax' to a military commander around every

mountain pass. Pilfering is rife: Alliance soldiers and local aid workers divert much of the food, medicine and blankets to their families or to bazaars."

During just three weeks of January, 13,000 people poured into south-west Pakistan at the border town of Chaman. Another 40,000 were in camps on the Afghan side of the border. The fresh influx of refugees after the Taliban defeat was unexpected, noted Rory McCarthy in The Guardian. "Nearly all the refugees arriving at the camps tell the same story of violence and insecurity across huge swaths of southern Afghanistan. Aid agencies have not yet returned to Kandahar and, because of the poor security, it will be weeks before food can be distributed to the remote villages where it is needed most. Mansum, 32, who fled his village in Helmand, reported: 'The thieves came at night into our home and they looted everything we had. I tried to stop them and they beat me.…Now we don't have anything. The Taliban government was good because it was a religious government. Now the people in charge are the ones who were thieves before the Taliban came.'"

The International Federation of the Red Cross reported in February that in parts of Herat and Farah provinces, girls, some as young as 10 years old, are being "sold" as "brides" for as little as a 100-kilogram sack of flour in a desperate struggle for survival. In Jamrud, Pakistan, Afghan girls as young as 5 and up to 17, are regularly being auctioned off for $80 to $100, sold into prostitution or, if they are lucky, they join the harems in the Middle East.

A reporter wrote: "Growing ethnic tensions in regions controlled by warlords of the Northern Alliance [have led] to a mass exodus of Pashtuns southward, fearing looting, killings, mutilations, and rape. In the wake of the Taliban's fall, the new horror of ethnic cleansing carried out by the Northern Alliance is unfolding, directed against Pashtuns. Thousands of Pashtuns are fleeing from all over Afghanistan, seeking refuge in Peshawar or Quetta. Contrary to the fables spun in Western media, the women of Afghanistan today feel no safer than under the Taliban. Most retain the burqa out of conviction or fear. Most want any international peace keeping force...anything but General Dostum and the Northern Alliance. Zubeida Malik spoke with a doctor in a woman's hospital who said, 'It isn't safe for women to go out now. The Taliban were strict but at least they didn't touch us.'"

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The War Prayer
by Mark Twain

In 1905 Mark Twain wrote an article entitled "The War Prayer" and submitted it to Harper's Bazaar magazine. It was rejected as "not quite suited to a woman's magazine." In a letter to a friend Twain wrote, "I don't think the prayer will be published in my time. None but the dead are permitted to tell the truth." However, "The War Prayer" was eventually published some 18 years later. The following is excerpted from that article.

Samuel Clemens, a.k.a. Mark Twain (1835-1910), besides being the famous author of The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, was a vice president of the Anti-Imperialist League. Other notable League members were Andrew Carnegie, William James, David Starr Jordan, and Samuel Gompers.

It was a time of great and exalting excitement. The country was up in arms, the war was on, in every breast burned the holy fire of patriotism; the drums were beating, the bands playing, the toy pistols popping, the bunched firecrackers hissing and sputtering; on every hand and far down the receding and fading spreads of roofs and balconies a fluttering wilderness of flags flashed in the sun; daily the young volunteers marched down the wide avenue gay and fine in their new uniforms, the proud fathers and mothers and sisters and sweethearts cheering them with voices choked with happy emotion as they swung by; nightly the packed mass meetings listened, panting, to patriot oratory which stirred the deepest deeps of their hearts and which they interrupted at briefest intervals with cyclones of applause, the tears running down their cheeks the while; in the churches the

pastors preached devotion to flag and country and invoked the God of Battles, beseeching His aid in our good cause in outpouring of fervid eloquence which moved every listener.

It was indeed a glad and gracious time, and the half dozen rash spirits that ventured to disapprove of the war and cast a doubt upon its righteousness straightway got such a stern and angry warning that for their personal safety's sake they quickly shrank out of sight and offended no more in that way.

Sunday morning came. Next day the battalions would leave for the front; the church was filled; the volunteers were there, their faces alight with material dreams—visions of a stern advance, the gathering momentum, the rushing charge, the flashing sabers, the flight of the foe, the tumult, the enveloping smoke, the fierce pursuit, the surrender! —then home from the war, bronzed heroes, welcomed, adored, submerged in golden seas of glory.

The service proceeded; a war chapter from the Old Testament was read; the first prayer was said; it was followed by an organ burst that shook the building, and with one impulse the house rose, with glowing eyes and beating hearts, and poured out that tremendous invocation—God the all-terrible! Thou who ordainest! Thunder thy clarion and lightning thy sword!

Then came the "long" prayer. None could remember the like of it for passionate pleading and moving and beautiful language. The burden of its supplication was that an ever–merciful and benignant Father of us all would watch over our noble young soldiers and aid, comfort, and encourage them in their patriotic work; bless them, shield them in His mighty hand, make them strong and confident, invincible in the bloody onset; help them to crush the foe, grant to them and to their flag and country imperishable honor and glory.

An aged stranger entered and moved with slow and noiseless step up the main aisle, his eyes fixed upon the minister, his long body clothed in a robe that reached to his feet, his head bare, his white hair descending in a frothy cataract to his shoulders, his seamy face unnaturally pale, pale even to ghastliness. With all eyes following him and wondering, he made his silent way; without pausing, he ascended to the preacher's side and stood there, waiting.

With shut lids the preacher, unconscious of his presence, continued his moving prayer, and at last finished it with the words, uttered in fervent appeal, "Bless our arms, grant us the victory, O Lord our God, Father and Protector of our land and flag!"

The stranger touched his arm, motioned him to step aside—which the startled minister did—and took his place. During some moments he surveyed the spellbound audience

with solemn eyes in which burned an uncanny light; then in a deep voice he said, “I come from the Throne—bearing a message from Almighty God!”

The words smote the house with a shock; if the stranger perceived it he gave no attention. “He has heard the prayer of His servant your shepherd and will grant it if such shall be your desire after I, His messenger, shall have explained to you its import—that is to say, its full import. For it is like unto many of the prayers of men, in that it asks for more than he who utters it is aware of—except he pause and think.

“God’s servant and yours has prayed his prayer. Has he paused and taken thought? Is it one prayer? No, it is two—one uttered, the other not. Both have reached the ear of Him Who heareth all supplications, the spoken and the unspoken.

“When you have prayed for victory you have prayed for many unmentioned results which follow victory—must follow it, cannot help but follow it. Upon the listening spirit of God the Father fell also the unspoken part of the prayer. He commandeth me to put it into words.”

Listen!

“O Lord our Father, our young patriots, idols of our hearts, go forth to battle—be Thou near them! With them, in spirit, we also go forth from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe. O Lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the shrieks of their wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended the wastes of their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst, sports of the sun flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it—for our sakes who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! We ask it, in the spirit of love, of Him Who is the Source of Love, and Who is ever-faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Amen.”

(After a pause) “Ye have prayed it; if ye still desire it, speak! The messenger of the Most High waits.”

It was believed afterward that the man was a lunatic, because there was no sense in what he said.

Source: Mark *Twain's Weapons of Satire: Anti-Imperialist Writings on the Philippine-American War*, ed. Jim Zwick (Syracuse University Press, 1992).

A Book Review by Susan Stansbury

Hope's Edge: The Next Diet For a Small Planet
by Frances Moore Lappé and Anna Lappé

Thirty years ago, Frances Moore Lappé wrote her book Diet for a Small Planet, which helped dispel the myth that there was not enough food to feed the world. That book helped millions of people see the connection between their food choices and planetary health. However, for over one billion people on the planet, hunger persists, and our world is beset by a vast array of other social and environmental problems. What are the beliefs that keep us wedded to a social system that creates unparalleled social inequities and rapid environmental destruction? What new models are emerging that can show us the way to a more just and sustainable society? In response to these questions, Lappé, in partnership with her daughter Anna, has written a sequel, Hope's Edge: The Next Diet for a Small Planet.

The Lappés outline several myths within the dominant world paradigm which keep us hurtling down an increasingly damaging path. These myths include the perception of scarcity with the never-ending search for a technological fix, attempts to solve each issue independently rather than by looking at the whole system, and the belief that the market and experts know what's best. In order to see beyond these and other assumptions, the authors advise us to do away with "-isms" such as capitalism, communism, and socialism. They warn, "Honest hope has an edge. It's messy. It requires that we let go of pat answers, all preconceived formulas, and all confidence that our sailing will be smooth. It's not a resting point. Honest hope is movement."

However, they state, to discard old frames of reference, we need to see that something works better than the system we already have. Although not often reported in our media, new models are nevertheless emerging all around the world. Hope's Edge takes the reader on a journey to communities that have not benefited from global corporate capitalism. Seemingly left without reason for hope, these people are confronting the dominant worldview, asking new questions, and forming new alternatives for their communities.

In Belo Horizonte, Brazil, for example, the city decided that food security was a right of citizenship. By re-framing how they looked at hunger—and not merely seeing it as the inevitable and unfortunate result of people not being able to meet the demands of the

market economy—they were able to come up with many creative solutions. For instance, the city provides small organic farmers with highly visible and accessible lots on which to sell their produce, with the agreement that they sell their goods at prices determined by the city. The farmers benefit by having a good location to sell directly to their customers and the citizens have access to fresh, affordable produce. University researchers keep the market honest by reporting—over the radio, at bus stops, and in the newspapers—on where the cheapest food and basic items are throughout the city. What is the result of these many innovative projects aimed at keeping everyone fed? Chronic problems such as malnutrition, inability to focus on studying, and crime related to poverty are greatly reduced for the cost of just one percent of the city's budget. The authors cite research studies which corroborate these common-sense conclusions.

In Kenya, hunger has also driven its citizens to develop innovative solutions. Two-thirds of Kenyans live on less than two dollars per day. To exacerbate this severe lack of purchasing power, much of their once verdant agricultural land has turned to desert due to topsoil erosion, which is a direct result of deforestation. Seeing the link between deforestation and hunger, Wangari Maathai, the first woman in East Africa to receive a Ph.D. in biological sciences, decided to organize village women to plant trees for Earth Day 1977. Since then, thousands of women have joined the "Green Belt Movement" and have collectively planted over 20 million trees.

The people in Kenya have traditionally grown their own crops for food. The colonists, however, convinced the people to substitute growing cash crops for export. The results have been serious. Prices for these crops are set by outsiders, and often the cost to the local farmers for fertilizers and pesticides to grow the cash crop is higher than the selling price. No profit for the farmer, no food for the children, many of whom suffer from malnutrition. Perhaps because of the use of farm chemicals, children are experiencing new diseases. The soil is impoverished by repeatedly growing a single crop, and polluted by pesticides. The Green Belt Movement in Kenya has expanded to help bring back traditional crops using biointensive farming—an organic method that builds healthy soil. The people in Kenya are not only regaining their food security and restoring their land, but are rebuilding their culture.

Back in the United States, the Lappés visited Wisconsin where another agricultural model is emerging. Wisconsin is losing an average of three family farms a day due to big agribusiness subsidies and an inability to compete on the global market. This phenomenon is occurring throughout the country. The result is farmer suicides, bankruptcies, and broken communities. In response, citizens are starting to rebuild communities around the farm. More and more farmers are shifting to organic methods in order to protect the land, water, workers, and customers alike. Additionally, customers are buying shares of their annual produce up front from their local farmer through Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). This gives the farmer investment income at the beginning of the season and spreads the risk of farming across the community. In

some cases, members of the community are also coming out to the farm to help plant and harvest. This puts them in direct connection with both the people that grow their food and the land from which it comes.

These are just some of the many stories in Hope's Edge. However, this book is much more than a collection of inspiring stories. Interwoven with the tales of people and places is the authors' analytical voice. What thoughts are trapping each of us to live complacently with the status quo? How can we all look at the challenges on our planet and in our communities and not only envision a better world, but create it? Our government, the market, and our other social systems operate the way they do because of our collective, albeit passive, consent. It is time to look at our world with new eyes, and Hope's Edge shows us how.

Hope's Edge: The Next Diet for a Small Planet by Frances Moore Lappé and Anna Lappé Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam, New York, NY. 2002. $26.95

Bengali Lentil Soup

This recipe from Hope's Edge was inspired by recipes from Professor Muhammad Yunus and the women of Naripokkho, a women's group the Lappés met in Bangladesh. The soup will take you less than a half hour to make, and it's extraordinarily tasty and healthy.

1 cup red lentils
4 cups water
1/2 teaspoon tumeric
1 cup canned tomatoes
1 1/2 teaspoons salt
2 tablespoons vegetable oil
1/2 teaspoon cumin seeds
1/2 teaspoon yellow or black mustard seeds
2 teaspoons jalapeño pepper (1/2 small), seeded
4 cups onions (2 large), finely sliced
5 teaspoons garlic (3 to 4 cloves), sliced
1/2 cup fresh cilantro leaves, chopped

Add lentils to water in a large saucepan. Add turmeric and stir. Bring to a boil and then simmer for 20 minutes until the lentils are soft. Add tomatoes and salt, and cook for a few minutes longer. Reduce heat.

Meanwhile, heat oil in a skillet. Add the cumin seeds and mustard seeds and sauté until fragrant, for just a few minutes. Cook at a low heat and be careful not to burn the seeds. Add jalapeño, onions, and garlic, and cook until golden brown (about 10 minutes).

Add onion mixture to lentils and cook for a few minutes longer, stirring occasionally.

Remove from heat. Add fresh cilantro leaves to the lentil soup and cover to steep for a minute. Serve while hot.

For a final touch, scoop a dollop of fresh yogurt on top.
Serves 6

A Truly Sophisticated Economy Would Pursue More Than One Goal

A Personal Perspective by Beth Sawin

I have a young friend who, I think, will never eat another banana without knowing a great deal about its history.

On a trip to Belize, Hannah and other home-schooled teenagers saw monkeys, the rainforest, and Mayan villages. But the memory that seems to stand out the most vividly is of a banana plantation.

The workers at this plantation do not wear protective clothing. When the planes spraying pesticides fly over, the workers take shelter under the nearest banana leaf. “They say the chemicals make their chests hurt,” Hannah tells me.

Hannah reports that mothers bathe their babies in the tubs that the bananas are washed in, sponging off the babies with the residue of whatever chemicals make their fathers’ chests hurt.

At the store where I shop, organic bananas cost seventy-nine cents per pound. Non-organic bananas are forty cents per pound. Otherwise, the fruits look identical—bright-yellow, cheerful, innocent.

But somewhere between Central America and the U.S. almost the whole story of these bananas has been stripped away. Did the person who picked them earn a fair wage? What chemicals were used? How were they used? All that complexity is reduced to a sticker that says “organic” or “conventional” and a price tag.

If Hannah stood in the produce section and told her story, how many people in my town would bring home their first bunch of organic bananas?

None of us can act on information we do not have. The organic label doesn't guarantee that the pickers were paid enough to feed their children. The conventional label doesn't mean that pesticides were used irresponsibly. And thirty-nine cents per pound doesn't mean anything except thirty-nine cents per pound.

Once I imagine Hannah standing witness in the banana aisle, my imagination takes off. I begin to populate the whole store with providers of missing information.

Beside the cheese case, I place my friends Marsha and Gail, partners in a small cheese-making business. They could explain what you couldn't taste in their cheese. How local farmers are now benefiting from the fair price the cheese makers are paying for milk. How the high pasture where the cows graze turns a brilliant shade of green in early spring. How the milk for this cheese never traveled in a gas-guzzling tractor-trailer truck because the cheese room is next door to the milking parlor.

Their cheese is more expensive than others, but if you could see the farmers, the high pasture, and the lessened greenhouse emissions as a part of their product, you'd begin to understand that they are offering a bargain.

This missing information is so vital because a system that makes decisions based on a single variable can only fulfill a single goal. You wouldn't expect a healthy garden if you only optimized the phosphorous content of your soil. You wouldn't expect a healthy family if you made all choices based on the needs of only one of your two children.

And yet the reigning assumption in our world is that an economy that takes only price into account can still somehow deliver other goals. Under this assumption, if children are in poverty, we must have a "child-poverty crisis." If ecosystems are struggling, we must have an "environmental crisis." But these are not distinct problems. They are symptoms of a single deep crisis—the crisis of an economy operating with insufficient information and a fundamental inability to pursue any goal beyond price.

Whether we are trying to help the polar bears, an estuary, or an impoverished nation, we find ourselves pushing against the full force of an economic system that is designed to seek ways to reduce some price somewhere no matter what the consequences for people and nature. This isn't evil or malevolence. It is just a powerful, informationally-bereft system following its only decision rule single-mindedly.

Instead of exhausting ourselves pushing against such a system, perhaps it is time to redesign it.

Already we have ideas and technologies that we could experiment with. If Fed-Ex can track the exact location of any package anywhere in the world, why can't we know the history of a bunch of bananas? We can handle countless reviews of books and movies without clogging up the entertainment industry, so why can't we have reviews of the social and environmental impacts of wedges of cheese, bottles of wine, and bouquets of flowers? Why can't we estimate the true costs of products and make sure that cost shows up in the final price? Why can't we find ways to reward the efforts of careful stewards and responsible manufacturers?

People will call me naïve for suggesting such ideas. People will say that it is impossible to consciously design a more intelligent economy.

In response I simply say that we won't know it is impossible until we try. And I ask you to count up all the people who have ever wanted to do the right thing and found it impossible. Impossible because the right thing for land or people doesn't have a sufficient return on investment to satisfy shareholders, because a responsibly produced product cannot be sold for a low enough price to be competitive, or because a consumer can't tell which product was made with the future in mind.

Like water held back by a dam, this frustration represents power, and once we see how the battles we are fighting are the product of the obsolete assumptions of our economic system, we will find that power. That is when we will see the veterans of battles to save the whales working alongside the defenders of children, the developers of solar cells, the organizers of migrant laborers, and the business leader of the highest ideals.

The world has never known a coalition like that, but it is high time to find out what it could accomplish.

Beth Sawin is a mother, biologist, and systems analyst who lives in Hartland, Vermont and works at Sustainability Institute <www.sustainer.org>. Contact her at bethsawin@vermontel.net to receive a monthly column on systems and sustainability.

For Those Who Go Down to the Sea
by Bob Batchelor

In February 17th, 2002, the American Association for the Advancement of Science had its annual meeting in Boston. One of the things that came out of this meeting was a strong argument that the first component of marine ecosystems facing the possibility of total collapse over the next few decades could be fish. Two or three years ago, it was thought

that this only affected certain areas of the ocean (Newfoundland, the North Sea), but new data as well as the growing use of advanced fishing technologies suggest a much graver situation.

Productivity in the ocean is now six times less than levels recorded fifty years ago, yet fishing levels are three times greater. Catch levels have fallen by half. Fishing is now for species that were once largely considered bait or discarded from trawls. Slow-growing species like rockfish or orange roughy, which live for 150 to 200 years, are being scooped up by intensive trawling in coastal and deepwater areas respectively. Deep-sea trawling is shredding unique reefs composed of slow growing coral and byozoans. Masking the crisis is the fact that North America and Europe increasingly rely upon imports from the developing world and fisheries in international waters to supply supermarket and restaurant fish.

Driven in part by consumption, new technologies have made fish extraction even more efficient in finding the last safe havens for fish. Military techniques from submarine warfare and spying have been applied to finding deep-sea fish, including sonar mapping, spotter planes, satellite navigation, and data collection from the U.S. Geological Survey and
the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. As is the case with the oil industry, demand has made it possible to finance high-tech fishing expeditions to the most remote corners of the globe.

So what can we do?

Well, I must confess that I have never been a very good vegetarian, but it seems like it is definitely time to stop eating marine fish for the present. At minimum, one should keep a close watch on what fish are suggested for consumption. (Good resources are the Audubon Society's Seafood Lover's Guide,www.audubon.org/campaign/lo/seafood/, and the Seafood Watch Program of the Monterey Bay Aquarium, www.mbayaq.org/ This goes beyond the standard health or moral arguments presented for vegetarianism, and it begins to address the critical question of the increasing strain on food supplies and natural systems coming from a number of dimensions. We are looking at something along the lines of what happened to the great plains of the United States in the nineteenth century—the virtual extinction of the buffalo and the removal of the entire grassland ecosystem. In that case, there was an exchange—agricultural monoculture replaced the plains ecosystem. In the case of overfishing, however, nothing is replacing what will be lost, and we are talking about the largest set of ecosystems on the planet.

A number of policy solutions have also been suggested. Most of these require a major cultural change at the level of international cooperation—the kind of change that the Kyoto Protocol on global warming has highlighted. Nation-states, which are based

primarily on landed territory, have historically been ill equipped to cope with these kinds of problems.
The three most fruitful possibilities are:

1. An international agreement to cut fishing fleets and to restrict or stop intensive deep-sea trawling. This would require a dramatic rethinking of how we as humans relate to the oceans on a global scale.

2. The end of subsidies for industrial fishing. This again is another international agreement that would be tough going, although it is not without precedent.

3. The establishment of a global network of marine reserves. Some of this has already started at a national level, but it will need to be expanded and include areas where state control does not reach very effectively.

One of the good things about this kind of issue is that most people engaged in the fishing industry see the declining returns and recognize the problem. It cuts across conservative/liberal lines because survival is clearly at stake. It is also the kind of issue that could get people thinking about global problems generally and how to solve them. One of the frustrations of addressing global warming is the difficulty in distinguishing short-term patterns from long-term ones, understanding relations between natural and artificially induced cycles, and making political arguments based upon probability and consensus rather than scientific certainty. The fishing question is much clearer, and it creates the possibility of building cooperative institutions, values, and practices on both a local and a global scale in new and innovative ways. Most of our institutions are based on our relationship to the land—a function of 10,000 years of agricultural production. Fishing relates to a portion of the planet (the water), which like the atmosphere has had comparatively little attention paid to it historically.

Perhaps what is needed is to develop radically new relationships to each of these areas of the planet—the oceans, the land, the air, and we should also include the energy of the sun. In my opinion, the best way to do this would be to focus specifically on how local communities and the economic systems that sustain them relate to each of these major themes. It would also mean starting with issues like fishing and eating fish that have clear and direct impacts at both the local and global level as well as relatively obvious solutions. This could open a door onto considering the oceans more generally and building a set of ethics for living in relation to this water planet upon which we live.

Bob Batchelor is a former Director of Education at the Foundation for Global Community.

A Book Review by Joe Kresse

Soil and Soul: People versus Corporate Power
by Alastair McIntosh

This beautiful, spiritual book is about events that are happening today—ones that are so current the author gives his web address for the reader to get updates. A few ordinary people, passionate about the Hebrides Isles on which they live, are doing extraordinary things to bring back the values and dignity of a way of life disdained by those in power. In so doing, they are pointing to a healthier way of relating to the land.

This is really several books in one, all focused on the fact that some 900 families own 80 percent of Scotland's land, and the impact this power structure has on the people. The nominal story line is about the residents of the Isle of Eigg, one of the Hebrides off the northwestern coast of Scotland. Eigg had been owned by absentee English "lairds" for hundreds of years. The islanders had no property rights, and could be moved out of their homes and off the land on short notice at the whim of the owner. Naturally, most children left when they grew up, leaving the islands poor and thinly populated. The residents, assisted by the author, formed the Isle of Eigg Trust, and sought to buy back their land, which they now have successfully accomplished. The book catalogues their long journey with humor, insight, and anger at the tricks played by the power structure to keep the residents from succeeding.

Another story line is of the author's own life growing up on the Hebrides Isle of Lewis. We get a view of indigenous island life and how that life has almost disappeared over the past half century. We're also told of McIntosh's path to becoming a founder of the Centre for Human Ecology at Edinburgh University and his subsequent removal because of his "radical" actions in trying to save the islands. (His removal, however, was temporary, because the students demanded his return.) In the process of telling this story, we learn the history of the islands back to the time of King James and how the Western/Christian worldview came to devalue the close relationship to the land that the island peasant crofters (farmers) felt. As a result, people were regularly removed whenever the owners wanted lands available for their enjoyment and sport.

A third story is of the Isle of Harris (from which comes the famous tweed of that name), where an entrepreneur wants to turn the island's mountain into a super quarry. McIntosh also joins this battle. The deceit of the entrepreneur and the owner of Harris is staggering as they attempt to get the islanders to let them ruin the topography of the island in the name of "sustainable development." The London tabloids get involved in exposing the financial shenanigans, becoming, in effect, allies of the islanders. This struggle to save the mountain continues today.

In all of these first three stories, McIntosh lets us see how community organizing works, as well as what doesn't work.

The fourth major story has to do with theology, mythology, and poetics as McIntosh delves into Celtic mythology and spirituality, Platonic philosophy, Christian theology, and Enlightenment thinking, in a search to describe how the situation could have come to such a sad state and what could improve it. One of the points McIntosh makes that is increasingly relevant today is how the loss of the sacred feminine is a principal cause of our estrangement from the land.

McIntosh's website is www.alastairmcintosh.com.

Soil and Soul: People versus Corporate Power by Alastair McIntosh Autumn Press, London, 2000. $29.95

Joe Kresse heads the Foundation's Business and Sustainability team and is a frequent contributor to Timeline.

About the Meaning of Life
By Terry Grant

Life poses this challenge: What lies beyond survival?
A new way of being.
A transition from "I am" to "We are,"
A new Awareness:

We are one.
We are semi-autonomous, interdependent entities.
We are sophomoric egos enslaved by our tools and perceptions.
We are threads in a multi-colored fabric that spans both time and space.
We are neither wholly free from, nor wholly dependent upon, our ancestors and neighbors.
We are not as smart as we think; cooperation is necessary for our prosperity and evolution.
We are but a piece; our power comes from the ability to collaborate with others.
We are incomplete, unfinished, and of infinite potential.
We are an embedded process.
All is one!

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Palo Alto, California
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