

Beyond War Study Guide

Readings and Preparation

for

Session 8

Synthesis:

To put together...composition or combination of parts or elements so as to form a whole.

War is not inevitable,

...and we must know what we want instead.

Then we must go after what we want--we must educate ourselves to know what is possible...

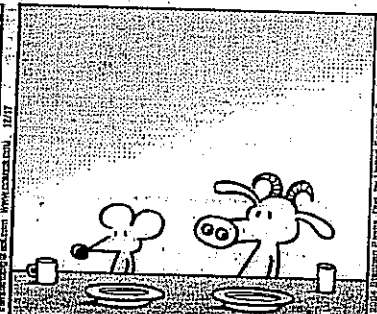
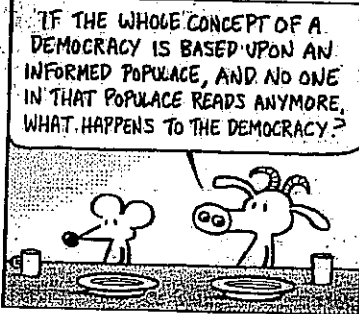
and then we must work to achieve it.

Gayle Landt

Rarely do we find men willing to engage in hard, solid thinking. There is an almost universal quest for easy answers and half-baked solutions. Nothing pains some people more than having to think.

Martin Luther King Jr.
Strength to Love 1963

PEARLS BEFORE SWINE



Since wars begin in the minds of men...

That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed.

That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

That the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation of their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;

That the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

from the UNESCO Constitution (1945)

You never change things by fighting the existing reality.

To change something, build a new model that makes the existing model obsolete.

Buckminster Fuller

When spider webs unite, they can halt even a lion.

Ethiopian Proverb

The hope of humanity lies in weaving a series of spider webs in order to halt the lion of war.

Bill Ury

Reading List for Session 8

Essential Reading

- Synthesis
- Focus Questions and Activities for Session 8
- The Foundational Ideas of Beyond War
- The Personal Implications of the Foundational Ideas
- Through My Enemies Eyes
- Four Categories of What Peoples and Nations Can Do Instead of War
- The Challenge of Terror
- Excerpts from Getting To Peace
- Ten Roles of a Third Side
- The Witness: Paying Attention to Escalation
- Case Study of "The Witness" columns by Nicholas Kristof
- Case Study of "The Provider" AND Appropriate Foreign Aid: "For Devout Muslims, Aid Muddies Loyalties"
- Evolutionary Politics

Optional Reading

- Deeper Causes: Exploring the Role of Consciousness in Terrorism

Synthesis

Session 8

In this, the second to the last session of this Beyond War Study Series, it is time to ask "So how does all this add up?"

We have explored Beyond War, the organization, the history and structure of social change, and how to talk to people who think war is a good idea or inevitable. We have read and discussed the new reality that war is obsolete, and listened to the pouring of 10,000 bb's and thought about what they represent. Then we turned our attention to the solution: a new way of thinking, and we explored how it can be based on three Foundational Ideas that will lead to clear thinking and constructive action, even when the situation is tense and many are afraid. The Personal Implications of the Foundational Ideas provide a map out of "fight or flight" reflexes and access to clear thinking by citizens and decision makers. The expansion of these implications to international relationships will lead to sane and constructive national policies.

We spent two sessions reading and thinking about "the means are the ends in the making" and about what peoples and nations can do instead of war. We considered existing examples that can be used as models and which can be supported and expanded upon in order to build a world where conflicts can be resolved nonviolently, a world beyond war.

In this session, ideas from previous sessions are reconsidered and presented within more real life examples. We consider a powerful personal example of oneness and the use of the personal implications in Troy Chapman's "Through the Eyes of My Enemy." Other readings expand that grounding to encompass groups and national relationships. Excerpts from Bill Ury's Book Getting To Peace describe building on progress that has already been made in conflict resolution. His "roles of the third side" could be sorted into the "four categories of what peoples and nations can do instead of war" that we use in Beyond War.

Nicholas Kristof's columns provide a case study of "the witness." Kristof's connection with and writing about Mukhtaran Bibi in the international media can be seen as an example of a conflict resolution process. Kristof wrote, readers responded, the U.S. government responded, the government of Pakistan responded. This courageous and irrepressible woman is again free to do her important work.

David Rhode's article "For Devout Muslims, Aid Muddles Loyalties" is an example of appropriate foreign aid that meets the needs of ordinary people and increases the security of the United States. This activity would be listed as "the provider" role of the third side that Ury describes. The point of comparing these two categorizations is to realize that there are many nonviolent methods to build a world beyond war, and

many ways to describe them. This vast territory of nonviolent participation must become of intense interest to many citizens--we have to want a world beyond war, have some idea of how to construct it, and advocate for its creation.

Not only must "we the people" be sufficiently educated, but we must also take the time to explore and love constructive ideas and be grateful for the chance to work with others to promote those ideas. We will find sustainability in promoting these ideas in community. We must emerge from the many losses of September 11, 2001 determined to work to prevent such events in the future both in North America, and around the world.

Education *is* action. Citizens, groups and nations cannot advocate for effective replacements for war unless we know what these methods are, and what criteria to use in evaluating the possibilities.

Focus Questions Related to the Readings for Session 8

1. Is war inevitable? What does thinking have to do with it?
2. Does Troy Chapman's "Through My Enemy's Eyes" describe a new way of thinking? Is it congruent with Beyond War's Foundational Ideas? Why or why not?
3. How did you respond to John Paul Lederach's article "The Challenge of Terror"? What do you think about his metaphor of terrorism as a virus? If terrorism can be seen through the metaphor of a virus, do you think that the "four categories of what peoples and nations can do instead of war" can be seen as effective, systemic responses?
4. Bill Ury describes the roles of a "third side." Do you see that these roles might fit into the "four categories"?
5. What does Dennis Kucinich have to say about "evolutionary politics"? What was your experience when you read this article and thought about his idea for a "Department of Peace"?

Focus Activities Related to the Readings for Session 8

1. Engage in at least two conversations about building a world beyond war this week using the ideas in Sessions 2-6. You may wish to focus on one or two elements at a time while you experiment.
2. Write notes as you do this session's readings and notice any integration of the ideas so far. Be prepared to share them during the discussion of the readings.

With the unleashed power of the atom everything has changed, save our modes of thinking, and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophe.

Albert Einstein 1946

The Foundational Ideas of Beyond War that are
the basis of a

“new mode of thinking:”

War is Obsolete

We All Live on One Planet
We are One

The Means are the Ends in the Making

These Personal Implications are the individual's response to the Foundational Ideas of Beyond War:

- I will resolve conflict. I will not use violence.
- I will not preoccupy myself with an enemy. I will maintain an attitude of goodwill.
- I will take initiative and respond to conflict within these Foundational Ideas and Personal Implications even when others are confused or lost in their fight or flight reflexes.
- I will work together with others to build a world beyond war.

Through My Enemy's Eyes

TROY CHAPMAN

Sentenced to die in prison 16 years ago, I set out on a path to find and live within the truth. Having just turned 21, I had spent the previous nine years on an insane roller coaster of addiction, violence, and despair. The death of another human being in a bar fight and my sentence of 60–90 years were the tragic and too predictable end of the road I'd been traveling. In passing this sentence the judge said, "There's no hope that you can ever be rehabilitated."

No hope. If he was right, there was no point in going on, and I quite logically considered taking my own life. But in the end I determined that the judge could not be right and I would live. I don't mean I decided merely not to die, but to really be *alive* from that point on, to embrace life and find some meaning and truth I could live by and for. That was the beginning of a journey that would take me to a place I think of as the "third side."

It began with me. I had to honestly confront and condemn what I'd become, what I'd done, and my whole perception of reality. I became obsessed with the question of what went wrong and how to set it right.

Over the next few years I began to read—the Bible, Dostoyevsky, Gandhi, Camus, Dickens, Steinbeck—anything I could get my hands on. I took up meditation, began observing myself and others and writing down anything that seemed important.

I was being pulled by the future but also pushed by the past. My crime, and later my sentence, stood at the center of all my examinations. Slowly I came to understand my need for redemption and true atonement. I realized

that nothing could atone for what I'd become better than simply turning away from it with my whole being, and this is what I did. I repented in action I changed. This decision opened up a new turn in my search for truth. I began to look outward again, to re-examine the world around me, but now I look from this new place within myself.

It sounds as if these are two different pursuits—looking in and looking out—but really they're not. Understanding community and my role in it was simply the next step in my own healing.

I wanted to know if the origins of my insanity were completely within myself or was I, at least in part, a product of a sick culture. Having confronted myself thoroughly I could now ask that question objectively, not looking for excuses or trying to diminish my own accountability, but simply and sincerely, looking for the truth.

I looked at my fellow prisoners, the insane things they'd done to get her I looked at the prison itself, our "solution" to violence, and saw it to be just more of the same thing it was designed to respond to. I looked at the growing insanity *outside* prison, the despair, rage, addiction, denial, lies, and deceit.

And I knew that I couldn't maintain the integrity of my search without admitting that while something had definitely gone wrong *in me*, something was also very wrong in our culture. To deny or overlook this would be like finding hundreds of three-eyed toads in a pond and never thinking to check the pond for its contribution to the phenomenon. The individuals who are going spiritually insane in droves in our culture are not coming out of a void. As I began to wake up I found myself concerned for these individuals and for us as a whole. I was developing social consciousness, which soon turned into social activism.

My activism was an extension of my spirituality. When I stood up for some cause, such as prisoners' rights, I felt it was an expression of morality. "I fought the system" by writing grievances, filing things in court, and writing to the media. When my jailers retaliated by tearing up my cell, destroying my work, or transferring me to another prison, it wasn't something I liked, but I considered it a mark of my success and evidence of *why* I was fighting. I was a warrior on the "right" side of the matter.

This view served me for a while, giving me a sense of moral order. But my continuing inward growth demanded a corresponding outward growth—change in my view of the world. It started with the recognition that my acti

ism wasn't very different from my earlier anger. In fact, my anger had crept back in, only now it was wrapped up in the sense that I was doing good and fighting evil. I hadn't gotten rid of my anger at all, only justified it. I still had enemies, was still locked in opposition to them, and I still wanted to win, to destroy them. I'd moved from seeking my enemies' physical destruction to seeking political, intellectual, social, and philosophic destruction, but it was still about enemies. My activism, like my previous thinking, was very dualistic.

Over time this dualism gave way to my hunger for simple goodness. The catalyst for this change was nothing more noble than exhaustion. I was simply tired of being angry all the time, tired of waking up every morning to a battle. I needed some rest. This need led me away from easy moral certitude. I developed the ability to see things through the eyes of my enemies. I saw in them the same fear that had so long governed me. The same confusion, the same grasping for security, the same hunger for love. I saw their humanity, and this ruined me as a warrior.

When a warrior begins to see the enemy as a human being, he begins to hesitate, to wonder if there's another way than war. He is no longer fit for battle and if he doesn't leave the field he will be taken from it by the very people he sympathizes with.

But is this the end of activism? For a while I thought it was, for who can be an activist without decisively taking sides? How could I fight against prisons when I empathized with the jailers?

I knew that if I'd been in their circumstance I would probably have done the same thing. If things had been different and I'd ended up being Joe Citizen instead of Joe Criminal, I would not have exhibited any more wisdom, foresight, or sense of the big picture than these prison builders. I knew that in some sense, they *were* me.

I had arrived at the third side.

I had spent most of my life splintering the world up into two sides, then fighting to defend one against the other. It was a game in which there were strategies, a clear objective, a field of play, and an opponent. The game has rules and no matter which side we're on, we're bound by the rules. The poet Rumi pointed to something beyond this game when he said, "Out beyond ideas of wrong-doing and right-doing there is a field. I'll meet you there."

When I began to see myself in others—even in my enemies—I found

myself heading for Rumi's field. Here the game is not a game. No one wins unless and until everyone wins. The line between victim and perpetrator no longer runs between "I" and "Other." It now runs right through the center of my soul. I am both, as we are all both.

What then is left to fight for? Where does an out-of-work activist go? Well ... God is hiring and God is on the third side. Not the prisoner's or the jailer's side. Not the pro-choice or the pro-life side. Not the Left or the Right.

The third side is that little-represented side of healing. It's the side that cares as much about the enemy as the friend, that says love is the only justice, the only victory there is. It does not want anyone destroyed. It does not want to win if someone else must lose. It wants something much larger than winning and losing.

But what's larger than winning? Especially when we're fighting for the "right" cause? Well, I've watched the game of winning and losing from both the inside and the outside. From inside each win seems like a step forward, but when we get outside the game we see that it's circular. People have been playing this game forever, yet good isn't any more pervasive in our world than it was a thousand years ago. "Activists" back then certainly thought the "big win" was just around the bend. They believed they were moving forward, just as we believe we're moving forward, just as a hamster inside a wire wheel believes *he* is moving forward.

But where is the evidence? Do our Right/Left debates ever produce anything useful to humanity? Is it really the "enemies" fault that the world's in the shape it's in, or is it partly *our* fault? What's the motive behind our activism? Is it truly a love of goodness or do we engage in battle in order to distract ourselves from the hard work of love, from the bitter pill of looking at ourselves?

Asking myself these questions I realized that enemies always serve a purpose. The war relationship is a symbiotic one in which the enemy on one side serves some need within the enemy on the other side, even while both protest this fact and claim they only fight because they have no choice.

I realized I do have a choice. Indeed, the freedom to choose how to respond may be the only total freedom we have. The world outside isn't within our control, but this freedom always is.

One of the first times I exercised this control a man was trying to walk me off the sidewalk. This is common in prison as scared and angry young men

try to show how tough they are. Having dealt with similar situations for years, I'd always seen them in terms of two choices: back down or go on the offensive. This time another option suddenly occurred to me.

I still remember the confusion in the man's eyes as I stepped off the sidewalk, touched his elbow, and said, "How's it going?" I stepped aside, but I didn't back off. I engaged him, but on a different playing field. He was at a loss and simply mumbled some reply and kept walking.

But I had told him in a language we both understood, "I have no need of an enemy," and I've been telling the world that ever since. Whenever I catch myself thinking of someone as an enemy I ask, "What in me am I trying to avoid or distract myself from?" Inevitably I find my own impotence, my own frustrations, my insignificance, my sense that nothing I do will ever really matter. Ultimately I find my own mortality and the seeming futility of most human endeavor. I find my own self-absorption, my resistance to setting myself aside and truly caring about the other.

Does this mean that I have no work to do but inner work? Not at all, but it does mean that I must face myself. Part of facing myself is responding to the injustice and destruction of our world. Why? Because it's *mine*, and that is really the essence of third-side thinking.

Denying ownership of the insanity "out there" is the root of all violence. Dualistic activism isn't really a step away from this denial, only a more sophisticated expression of it. To step to the third side we must truly own those aspects of our world that we hate most.

Will war, violence, injustice, greed, and all the rest magically disappear if we own them and embrace this kind of activism? I can say only this: they will end *in me*. I will continue to step off the sidewalk, but I won't avert my eyes. Quite the contrary. I will confront you with a bigger vision of your own humanity. I will throw hope in the face of the enemy, and I will subvert anger with sanity and humor.

I have no delusions that pie-in-the-sky "love" will change our world. If I know anything from my years in prison, it's that evil is a real thing. However we explain it theologically or philosophically, there is behavior that is toxic to the planet and to other human beings, and it must be dealt with. I'm not talking about giving those who act out this behavior a hug, then calling it good. That's old-style "liberalism," and it's been as destructive to our world as its now popular counterpart, so-called conservatism. These two represent a

false choice between ineffective permissiveness and arrogant intolerance.

We can and must move beyond such false choices to a place where love and justice not only balance one another, but are, in fact, *one thing*. A place where confrontation and good will—even good *humor*—sit together comfortably; where holding people accountable is considered a complement, not an opposite, to helping them. The only conflict between these many "opposites" is within our own minds, and that is where reconciliation must occur.

With each inner reconciliation we create a new option, a *third* option where before there were only two, locked in eternal conflict. We create, then are able to stand, on the third side.

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The categories below include responses of peoples and nations that are congruent with the Foundational ideas and Personal Implications of Beyond War:

- Nonviolent conflict resolution processes

such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa and nonviolent diplomacy

- Appropriate foreign aid

such as work by the Peace Corps and the Central Asia Institute

- International Law

such as the Antiballistic Missile Treaty and the Treaty to Ban Land Mines

- Cooperation and collaboration between peoples and nations

such as protection of aging nuclear stockpiles in the former Soviet Union and eradication of polio

The Challenge of Terror

John Paul Lederach, who has worked for nearly 20 years "as a mediator and proponent of nonviolent change in situations around the globe where cycles of deep violence seem hell-bent on perpetuating themselves," shares from his experiences some observations he believes are relevant to the current situation.

1. ALWAYS SEEK TO UNDERSTAND THE ROOT OF THE ANGER:

The first and most important question is how do people reach this level of anger, hatred, and frustration? Explanations that they are brainwashed by a perverted leader who holds some kind of magical power over them is an escapist simplification and will inevitably lead us to very wrong-headed responses. Anger of this sort—what we could call generational, identity-based anger—is constructed over time through a combination of historical events, a deep sense of threat to identity, and direct experiences of sustained exclusion. This is important to understand because our response to the immediate events has everything to do with whether we reinforce and provide the soil, seeds, and nutrients for future cycles of revenge and violence. We should be careful to pursue one and only one thing as the strategic guidepost of our response: Avoid doing what they expect. What they expect from us is the lashing out of the giant against the weak, the many against the few. This will reinforce their capacity to perpetrate the myth they carefully seek to sustain: That they are under threat, fighting an irrational and mad system that has never taken them seriously and wishes to destroy them and their people. What we need to destroy is their myth, not their people.

2. ALWAYS SEEK TO UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF THE ORGANIZATION:

In situations of deep, sustained violence there is one consistent purpose about the nature of movements and organizations who use violence: Sustain thyself. This is done through a number of approaches, but generally it is through decentralization of power and structure, secrecy, autonomy of action through units, and refusal to pursue the conflict on the terms of the strength and capacities of the enemy.

One of the most intriguing metaphors I have heard used is that this enemy of the United States will be found in their holes, smoked out, and when they run and are visible, destroyed. This may well work for groundhogs and for trench and maybe even guerilla warfare, but it is not a useful metaphor for this situation. And neither is the image that we will need to destroy the village to save it, by which the population that gives refuge to our enemies is guilty by association and therefore a legitimate target. In both instances the metaphor that guides our action misleads us because it is not connected to the reality. This is not a struggle to be conceived of in geographic terms—physical spaces and places, that if located can be destroyed, thereby ridding us of the problem. Frankly, our biggest and most visible weapon systems are mostly useless.

We need a new metaphor, and the image of a virus comes to mind because of its ability to enter unperceived, flow with a system, and harm it from within. This is the genius of people like Osama bin Laden. He understood the power of a free and open system, and has used it to his

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benefit. The enemy is not located in a territory. It has entered our system. And you do not fight this kind of enemy by shooting at it. You respond by strengthening the capacity of the system to prevent the virus and strengthen its immunity. We must change metaphors and move beyond the reaction that we can duke it out with the bad guy, or we run the very serious risk of creating the environment that sustains and reproduces the virus we wish to prevent.

3. ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT REALITIES ARE CONSTRUCTED:

Conflict is, among other things, the process of building and sustaining very different perceptions and interpretations of reality. This means that we have at the same time multiple realities defined as such by those in conflict. In the aftermath of such horrific and unmerited violence that we have just experienced, this may sound esoteric. But we must remember that this fundamental process is how we end up referring to people as fanatics, madmen, and irrational.

In the process of name-calling, we lose the critical capacity to understand that from within the ways they construct their views, it is not mad lunacy or fanaticism. All things fall together and make sense. When this is connected to a long string of actual

experiences wherein their views of the facts are reinforced (for example, years of superpower struggle that used or excluded them, encroaching Western values of what is considered immoral by their religious interpretation, or the construction of an enemy-image who is overwhelmingly powerful and uses that power in bombing

campaigns and always appears to win), then it is not a difficult process to construct a rational world view of heroic struggle against evil. Just as we do it, so do they. Listen to the words we use to justify our actions and responses. And then listen to words they use.

The way to break such a process is not through a frame of reference of who will win or who is

stronger. In fact the inverse is true. Whoever loses, whether tactical battles or the "war" itself, finds intrinsic in the loss the seeds that give birth to the justification for renewed battle. The way to break such a cycle of justified violence is to step outside of it. This starts with understanding that TV sound bites about madmen and evil are not good sources of policy. The most significant impact that we could make on their ability to sustain their view of us as evil is to change their perception of who we are by choosing to strategically

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respond in unexpected ways. This will take enormous courage and courageous leadership capable of envisioning a horizon of change.

4. ALWAYS UNDERSTAND THE CAPACITY FOR RECRUITMENT:

The greatest power that terror has is the ability to regenerate itself. What we most need to understand about the nature of this conflict and the change process toward a more peaceful world is how recruitment into these activities happens. In all my experiences in deep-rooted conflict, what stands out most are the ways in which political leaders wishing to end the violence believed they could achieve it by overpowering and getting rid of the perpetrator of the violence. That may have been the lesson of multiple centuries that preceded us. But it is not the lesson from the past 30 years. The lesson is simple. When people feel a deep sense of threat, exclusion, and generational experiences of direct violence, their greatest effort is placed on survival. Time and again in these movements, there has been an extraordinary capacity for the regeneration of chosen myths and renewed struggle.

U.S. leadership [is correct] that this will be a long struggle. What is missed is that the emphasis should be placed on removing the channels, justifications, and sources that attract and sustain recruitment into the activities. What I find extraordinary about the recent events is that none of the perpetrators was much older than 40 and many were half that age. This is the reality we face: Recruitment happens on a sustained basis. It will not stop with the

use of military force; in fact, open warfare will create the soils in which it is fed and grows. Military action to destroy terror, particularly as it affects significant and already vulnerable civilian populations, will be like hitting a fully mature dandelion with a golf club. We will participate in making sure the myth of why we are evil is sustained and we will assure yet another generation of recruits.

5. REORGANIZE COMPLEXITY, BUT ALWAYS UNDERSTAND THE POWER OF SIMPLICITY:

The key in our current situation that we have failed to fully comprehend is simplicity. From the standpoint of the perpetrators, the effectiveness of their actions was in finding simple ways to use the system to undo it. I believe our greatest task is to find equally creative and simple tools on the other side.

SUGGESTIONS

I believe three things are possible to do and will have a much greater impact on these challenges than seeking accountability through revenge.

1. Energetically pursue a sustainable peace process to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Do it now. The United States has much it can do to support and make this process work. It can bring the weight of persuasion, the weight of nudging people on all sides to move toward mutual recognition and stopping the recent and devastating pattern of violent escalation, and the weight of including and balancing the process to address historic fears and basic needs of those involved. If we would bring the same energy to building an international coalition for peace that we

have pursued in building international coalitions for war, particularly in the Middle East; if we lent significant financial, moral, and balanced support to all sides that we gave to the Irish conflict in earlier years, I believe the moment is right and the stage is set to take a new and qualitative step forward.

This type of action is precisely the kind of thing needed to create whole new views of who we are and what we stand for as a nation. Rather than fighting terror with force, we enter their system and take away one of their most coveted elements: the soils of generational conflict perceived as injustice used to perpetrate hatred and recruitment. I believe that monumental times like these create conditions for

monumental change. This approach would solidify our relationships with a broad array of Middle Easterners and Central Asians, allies and enemies alike, and would be a blow to the rank and file of terror. The biggest blow we can serve terror is to make it irrelevant. The worst thing we could do is to feed it unintentionally by making it and its leaders the center stage of what we do. Let's choose democracy and reconciliation over revenge and destruction. Let's do exactly what they do not expect, and show them it can work.

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2. Invest financially in development, education, and a broad social agenda in the countries surrounding Afghanistan, rather than attempting to destroy the Taliban in a search for bin Laden. The single greatest pressure that could ever be put on bin Laden is to remove the source of his justifications and alliances. Countries

like Pakistan, Tajikistan, and yes, Iran and Syria, should be put on the radar of the West and the United States with a question of strategic importance: How can we help you meet the fundamental needs of your people?

The strategic approach to changing the nature of how terror reproduces itself lies in the quality of relationships we develop with whole regions,

peoples, and world views. If we strengthen the web of those relationships, we weaken and eventually eliminate the soil where terror is born. A vigorous investment which takes advantage of the current opening, given the horror of this week shared by even those who we traditionally claimed as state enemies, is immediately available, possible, and pregnant with historic possibilities. Let's do the unexpected. Let's create a new set of strategic alliances never before thought possible.

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3. Pursue a quiet diplomatic but dynamic and vital support of the Arab League to begin an internal exploration of how to address the root causes of discontent in numerous regions. This should be coupled with energetic ecumenical engagement, not just of key symbolic leaders, but of a practical and direct exploration of how to create a web of ethics for a new millennium, a web of ethics that builds from the heart and soul of all traditions and that creates a capacity for each to engage the roots of violence that are found within their own traditions. Our challenge, as I see it, is not that of convincing others that our way of life, our religion, or our structure of governance is better or closer to Truth and Human Dignity. It is to be honest about the sources of violence in our own house and invite others to do the same. Our global challenge is how to generate and sustain genuine engagement that encourages people from within their traditions to seek that which assures the preciousness and respect for life that every religion sees as an inherent right and gift from the Divine, and how to build organized political and social life that is responsive to fundamental human needs.

Such a web cannot be created except through genuine and sustained dialogue and the building of authentic relationships, at religious and political spheres of interaction, and at all levels of society.

Why not do the unexpected and show that life-giving ethics are rooted in the core of all peoples by engaging a strategy of genuine dialogue and relationship?

Why not do the unexpected and show that life-giving ethics are rooted in the core of all peoples by engaging in a strategy of genuine dialogue and relationship? Such a web of ethics, political and religious, will have an impact on the roots of terror far greater in the generation of our children's children than any amount of military action can possibly muster. The current

situation poses an unprecedented opportunity for this to happen, more so than we have seen at any time before in our global community.

A CALL FOR THE UNEXPECTED

In summary, to face the reality of well organized, decentralized, self-

perpetuating sources of terror, we need to think differently about the challenges. If indeed this is a new war, it will not be won with a traditional military plan. The key does not lie in finding and destroying territories, camps, and certainly not the civilian populations that supposedly house them. Paradoxically that will only feed the phenomenon and assure that it lives into a new generation. The key is to think about how a small virus in a system affects the whole, and how to improve the immunity of the system. We should take extreme care not to provide the movements we deplore with gratuitous fuel for self-regeneration. Let us not fulfill their prophecy by providing them with martyrs and justifications. The power of their action is the simplicity with which

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they pursue the fight with global power. They have understood the power of the powerless.

They have understood that melding and meshing with the enemy creates a base from within. They have not faced down the enemy with a bigger stick. They did the more powerful thing: They changed

the game. They entered our lives, our homes, and turned our own tools into our demise.

We will not win this struggle for justice, peace, and human dignity with the traditional weapons of war. We need to change the game again. □

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We are a nonprofit, educational foundation whose mission is to discover, live, and communicate what is needed to build a world that functions for the benefit of all life.

The following excerpts are from William Ury's book Getting To Peace, Transforming Conflict at Home, at Work, and in the World (Viking Penguin 1999).

Coauthor of Getting To Yes, a book that has revolutionized thinking about conflict resolution in the last twenty-five years, Ury is an anthropologist and seminal thinker of our times. Both of these books are worth reading in their entirety. Buy them if you can, or if your library doesn't have them, advocate for acquisition!

Toward a Comprehensive System

Conflict today poses the same challenge that fire once did. Before the twentieth century, fire was one of people's greatest fears. In a few minutes, a fire raging out of control could destroy everything--houses, crops, fields, and lives. Cities, with their closely placed buildings, posed the worst danger. When Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicked over a lantern in 1871, it began a fire that consumed most of Chicago. Yet, for all its evident danger, fire was long regarded as a natural and inevitable tragedy, part of human fate.

That is no longer true today in modern cities. Thanks to building regulations and fireproof materials, emergency exits and smoke detectors, and fire fighters and trucks--in short, a comprehensive fire prevention system--urban dwellers live largely free of fear of fire.

We have an analogous opportunity today when it comes to preventing destructive conflict. We can give up our belief in its inevitability, and learn step by step how to prevent, resolve, and contain it. The ten roles of the third side constitute a comprehensive system for transforming conflict into cooperation. Our challenge is to create such systems in every social domain--from our families to our organizations, from our neighborhoods to our nations, and from our interpersonal relationships to our world.

If we prove successful, schoolchildren may wonder one day why serious conflicts ever escalated into wars. They may be astonished why we did not take the simple precautions necessary to prevent conflagration. They may puzzle over why people did not see that whatever an effective system might cost in time and effort, its price is but a pittance compared to the exorbitant cost of destructive conflict.

The Opportunity

If the challenge is great, so is the opportunity...A reexamination of the evolution of human conflict offers little cause for despair. For the great bulk of our time on earth, coexistence has been more the norm than coercion. Human beings are just as capable of living in peace as they are of living at war with one another. Getting along is perhaps even more rooted in human nature than is fighting to the finish. We are Homo Negotiator.

How we get along turns out to be heavily influenced by the conditions under which we live. When our main resource is an expandable pie, when relationships are horizontal, when governance is democratic, when the third side is strong and exit is an option, it is easier to learn to get along. Those conditions, absent for much of the planet during the last five thousand years--the period we know as history--are returning with the Knowledge Revolution.

The logic of conflict is shifting from win-lose toward a choice between lose-lose or both-gain, partly because knowledge is an expandable pie and partly because knowledge has made the weapons of destruction ever more terrible and available.

A key dilemma remains how to resolve serious differences without resorting to domination or force. As we have seen, the alternative to negotiation need not be destructive escalation; it can instead be the systematic use of the emergent will of the community. Other than take sides or do nothing at all, another option exists for those who surround the conflicting parties: to take the third side.

We know that the third side can work because it already does--some of the time. In Kenneth Boulding's words, "What exists is possible." The task remaining is to take the success stories and make them the norm. Plenty of obstacles remain but none are insurmountable. There is no longer any *good* reason for war.

So to return to the question with which I began this inquiry: Is it possible for human beings to prevent war at home, at work, and in the world? I am not saying it will happen. I am not saying that it is probable. I am simply saying that it is possible, *humanly* possible.

The answer to the question then is: "Yes, *if*." "Yes, *if*" we learn the lesson; "yes *if*" we seize the opportunity before us; "yes, *if*" we do the hard work; "yes, *if*" we take on the new responsibility of the third side. The "if," in other words, depends on us.

TEN ROLES OF THE THIRD SIDE

WHY CONFLICT ESCALATES

WAYS TO TRANSFORM CONFLICT

PREVENT

Frustrated needs



1. THE PROVIDER

Poor skills



2. THE TEACHER

Weak relationships



3. THE BRIDGE-BUILDER

RESOLVE

Conflicting interests



4. THE MEDIATOR

Disputed rights



5. THE ARBITER

Unequal power



6. THE EQUALIZER

Injured relationships



7. THE HEALER

CONTAIN

No attention



8. THE WITNESS

No limitation



9. THE REFEREE

No protection



10. THE PEACEKEEPER

These roles, and the following page with a partial description of "The Witness" are from *Getting to Peace Transforming Conflict at Home, at Work, and in the World* by William Ury, Viking Penguin 1999

The Witness: Paying Attention to Escalation

In the Amish farm country west of Philadelphia, the corrupt city police chief and his cronies had finally run down the honest cop in hiding who had uncovered their involvement in drug trafficking. After a dramatic cat-and-mouse hunt around a barn, the police chief caught up with the hero and forced him to give up his gun by threatening to kill the Amish woman he loved. The chief was about to dispatch the honest hero to his Maker--when suddenly, all around there loomed a dozen solemn bearded faces of Amish farmers. They did not say a word but simply watched. A long moment elapsed as the police chief looked at them, realizing that he could neither kill his intended victim in front of witnesses nor kill the witnesses. He reluctantly put down his gun.

This scene from the popular movie *Witness* captures the power of ordinary community members to contain violence. The Amish farmers were present as the third side in perhaps its most elemental form, seemingly doing nothing, but in fact playing the critical role of Witness. Like the Amish, we are all potential Witnesses.

Watch Out for Early Warning Signs

We've got cops and clergy out there, visiting thirty-six schools and countless homes, trying to identify gang wannabes," says Boston Police Commissioner Paul Evans, speaking about community efforts to stop gang violence. "We didn't have to wait for three or four homicides before realizing that we had a problem with the Bloods and the Crips gangs."

As Commissioner Evans recognized, destructive conflict does not just break out but escalates through different stages, from tension to overt conflict to violence. By watching carefully, we can detect warning signals, which, if acted on, can save lives.

...perhaps the single most important action we can take is to pay attention to danger signals.

NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

Raped, Kidnapped and Silenced

went out of her way to enroll the children of her attackers in the schools, showing that she bore no grudges.

Readers of my column sent in more than \$133,000 for her. Mercy Corps, a U.S. aid organization, has helped her administer the money, and she has expanded the schools, started a shel-

A group of Pakistani-Americans invited Ms. Mukhtaran to visit the U.S. starting this Saturday (see www.4anaa.org). Then a few days ago, the Pakistani government went berserk.

On Thursday, the authorities put Ms. Mukhtaran under house arrest — to stop her from speaking out. In phone conversations in the last few days, she said that when she tried to step outside, police pointed their guns at her. To silence her, the police cut off her land line.

After she had been detained, a court ordered her attackers released, putting her life in jeopardy. That happened on a Friday afternoon, when the courts do not normally operate, and apparently was a warning to Ms. Mukhtaran to shut up. Instead, Ms. Mukhtaran continued her protests by cellphone. But at dawn yesterday the police busted her off, and there's been no word from her since. Her cellphone doesn't answer.

Asma Jahangir, a Pakistani lawyer who is head of the Human Rights

Commission of Pakistan, said she had learned that Ms. Mukhtaran was taken to Islamabad, furiously berated and told that President Pervez Musharraf is very angry with her. She was led sobbing to detention at a secret location. She is barred from contacting anyone, including her lawyer.

"She's in their custody, in illegal custody," Ms. Jahangir said. "They have gone completely crazy."

Even if Ms. Mukhtaran were released, airports have been alerted to bar her from leaving the country. According to Dawn, a Karachi newspaper, the government took this step, "fearing that she might malign Pakistan's image."

Excuse me, but Ms. Mukhtaran, a symbol of courage and altruism, is the best hope for Pakistan's image. The threat to Pakistan's image comes from President Musharraf for all this thuggish behavior.

I've been sympathetic to Mr. Musharraf till now, despite his nuclear negligence, partly because he's cooperated in the war on terrorism and

partly because he has done a good job nurturing Pakistan's economic growth, which in the long run is probably the best way to fight fundamentalism. So even when Mr. Musharraf denied me visas all this year, to block me from visiting Ms. Mukhtaran again and writing a follow-up column, I bit my tongue.

But now President Musharraf has gone nuts.

"This is all because they think they have the support of the U.S. and can get away with murder," Ms. Jahangir said. Indeed, on Friday, just as all this was happening, President Bush received Pakistan's foreign minister in the White House and praised President Musharraf's "bold leadership."

So, Mr. Bush, how about asking Mr. Musharraf to focus on finding Osama, instead of kidnapping rape victims who speak out? And invite Ms. Mukhtaran to the Oval Office — to show that Americans stand not only with generals who seize power, but also with ordinary people of extraordinary courage.

No wonder the Pakistan government can't catch Osama bin Laden. It is too busy harassing, detaining — and now kidnapping — a gang-rape victim for daring to protest and for planning a visit to the United States.

Last fall I wrote about Mukhtaran Bibi, a woman who was sentenced by a tribal council in Pakistan to be gang-raped because of an infraction supposedly committed by her brother. Four men raped Ms. Mukhtaran, then village leaders forced her to walk home nearly naked in front of a jeering crowd of 300.

Ms. Mukhtaran was supposed to have committed suicide. Instead, with the backing of a local Islamic leader, she fought back and testified against her persecutors. Six were convicted.

Then Ms. Mukhtaran, who believed that the best way to overcome such abuses was through better education, used her compensation money to start two schools in her village, one for boys and the other for girls. She

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ter for abused women and bought a van that is used as an ambulance for the area. She has also emerged as a ferocious spokeswoman against honor killings, rapes and acid attacks on women. (If you want to help her, please don't send checks to me but to Mercy Corps, with "Mukhtaran Bibi" in the memo line: 3015 S.W. First, Portland, Ore. 97201.)

A government goes nuts.

The New York Times

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With Friends Like This . . .

During a joint press conference last December, President Bush praised the visiting Pakistani president, Pervez Musharraf, for prosecuting "those who would inflict harm and pain" on the Pakistani people. "There is nobody more dedicated in the protection of his own people than President Musharraf," Mr. Bush said.

That line may need to be run through the teleprompter again. At a time when Pakistan is supposed to be going after Al Qaeda terrorists who make merry within the country's borders, our colleague Nicholas Kristof reports that Mr. Musharraf's government has instead arrested a victim of sanctioned gang rape for planning a visit to the United States. Mukhtaran Bibi was sentenced by a tribal council to be gang-raped because her younger brother supposedly had relations with a woman from a higher caste. After the rape by four men, she was forced by village leaders to walk home nearly naked in front of a jeering crowd.

Ms. Mukhtaran was unbowed. She testified against her persecutors in court, started two schools in her village, established a shelter for abused women and bought a van that is used as an ambulance in the area. She has also spoken out against honor killings, rapes and other attacks on women.

Her guts in daring to oppose the feudalistic elements of rural Pakistani society earned her invitations from all over the world, including from the

Asian-American Network Against Abuse of Women, which asked her to visit the United States this Saturday. But before she could get here, General Musharraf's government arrested her. Pakistan also released her attackers, who had been in prison since they were convicted of raping her. Pakistani newspapers report that the government, bizarrely, is worried that Ms. Mukhtaran might malign Pakistan's image if she is allowed to go abroad — as if it has not taken care of that rather ably by itself.

The Bush administration has made nice with General Musharraf in the joint interest of anti-terrorism campaigns. Christine Rocca, the assistant secretary of state for South Asian affairs, said in Congressional testimony yesterday that America is "dismayed" at the abuse of Ms. Mukhtaran, and that administration officials would pursue the matter during the course of the day. Let us hope this one goes straight up to Ms. Rocca's boss, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. It makes no sense for the United States to accept the kind of behavior from friends that it would not tolerate from enemies.

Being allies with Pakistan should go beyond just selling F-16 fighter jets to General Musharraf in the hope that he will one day get serious about finding Osama bin Laden and stop allowing recruiters for the Taliban to operate in Pakistan. It should also include pressing Pakistan to adopt minimum standards of human rights.

A Free Woman

After the Pakistani government tired of kidnapping Mukhtaran Bibi, holding her hostage and lying about it, I finally got a call through to her.

Pakistani officials had just freed Ms. Mukhtaran and returned her to her village. She was exhausted, scared, relieved, giddy and sometimes giggly — and also deeply thankful to all the Pakistanis and Americans who spoke up for her.

"I'm so thankful to everyone that they keep a woman like me in mind," she said fervently. Told that lots of people around the world think she's a hero, she laughed and responded: "God is great. If some people think I'm a hero, it's only because of all those people who give me support."

President Pervez Musharraf's government is still lying about Ms. Mukhtaran, saying that she is now free to travel to the U.S. Well, it's true that government officials removed her name from the blacklist of those barred from leaving Pakistan, but at the same time they confiscated Ms. Mukhtaran's passport.

Let me back up. Ms. Mukhtaran is the indomitable peasant whom I first wrote about in September after visiting her in her village. Three years ago, a village council was upset at her brother, and sentenced her to be gang-raped. After four men raped her, she was forced to walk home nearly naked before a jeering crowd.

She then defied tradition by testifying against her attackers, sending them to prison, and she used compensation money to start elementary schools in her village. She herself is now enrolled in the fourth grade; a measure of her passion for education is that the day after the government released her, she was back in class.

Ms. Mukhtaran is using donations

The peasant faces
the president, in a
contest of wills.

(through www.mercycorps.org) to start an ambulance service and a women's shelter, and she is also campaigning against honor killings, rapes and acid attacks that disfigure women. But President Musharraf, defensive about Pakistan's image,

cover up rather than uproot.

So when Pakistani officials learned that Ms. Mukhtaran planned to visit the U.S. this month, they detained her and apparently tried to intimidate her by ordering the release of those convicted for her rape. This wasn't a mistake by low-level officials.

Mr. Musharraf admitted to reporters on Friday that he had ordered Ms. Mukhtaran placed on the blacklist. And although Pakistan had claimed that Ms. Mukhtaran had decided on her own not to go to the U.S. because her mother was sick (actually, she wasn't); the president in effect acknowledged that that was one more lie. "She was told not to go" to the U.S., Mr. Musharraf said, according to The Associated Press.

"I don't want to project a bad image of Pakistan," he explained.

I sympathize. From Karachi to the Khyber Pass, Pakistan is one of the most hospitable countries I've ever visited. So, President Musharraf, if you want to improve Pakistan's image, here's some advice: just prosecute rapists with the same zeal with which you persecute rape victims.

Ms. Mukhtaran says she can't talk about what happened after the government kidnapped her. But this is what seems to have unfolded: In Islamabad, government officials ferociously berated her for being unpatriotic and warned that they could punish her family and friends. In particular, they threatened to have the father of a friend fired from his job.

Fittingly, the government is facing its own pressures. Government officials have denounced Pakistani aid groups for helping Ms. Mukhtaran, and Mr. Musharraf added that they were "as bad as the Islamic extremists." So now the aid groups are threatening to pull out of their partnership with the government.

Mr. Musharraf has helped in the war on terrorism and has managed Pakistan's economy well. But in my last column, I reluctantly concluded that he is "nuts," prompting a debate in Pakistan about whether this diagnosis was insolent or accurate. After Mr. Musharraf's latest remarks, I rest my case.

On Friday, Ms. Mukhtaran told me that one of the prime minister's aides had just called to offer to take her to the United States. It seems Mr. Musharraf wants to defuse the crisis by allowing Ms. Mukhtaran a tightly chaperoned tour of the U.S., controlled every step of her way.

"I said, 'No,'" she said. "I only want to go of my own free will."

Hats off to this incredible woman. President Musharraf may have ousted rivals and overthrown a civilian government, but he has now met his match — a peasant woman with a heart of gold and a will of steel. □

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New York Times June 2005

For Devout Pakistani Muslims, Aid Muddles Loyalties

U.S. Doesn't Seem So Much an Ogre

By DAVID ROHDE

BASSIAN, Pakistan, Oct. 24 — Asmat Ali Janbaz's explanation for the American military helicopters flying over this isolated mountain valley last Thursday afternoon was familiar.

Mr. Janbaz, who lives here and who describes himself as an Islamic hard-liner, contended that the Americans were not ferrying injured earthquake victims to safety; instead, they were secretly establishing an American military base in northern Pakistan to encircle China.

"This is the mission!" he declared triumphantly. "Not to help the people of Pakistan."

Yet after Mr. Janbaz departed, something extraordinary happened. Here in a mountainous corner of northern Pakistan long thought to be a center for militant training camps and anti-American sentiment, three men dismissed his theory and heartily praised the United States for aiding victims of the Oct. 8 earthquake, which killed more than 53,000 Pakistanis.

"People don't believe such things; people only believe in what they are seeing," said Manzur Hussain, a 36-year-old hospital worker whose brother, sister and two sons died in the earthquake. "People who give them aid, they respect them."

While it is too early to reach firm conclusions, anecdotal interviews with earthquake survivors in this picturesque mountain district, known as Mansehra, suggest that American assistance may be improving Pakistanis' perceptions of the United States — an image that has been overwhelmingly negative here since the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq.

For years intelligence reports from India, the United States and some Pakistani politicians have said Mansehra was the site of several camps where young recruits were trained to fight American forces in Afghanistan and Indian forces in the disputed territory of Kashmir. One of the four young men who carried out the July 7 bombings in London was also thought to have visited a religious school, or madrasa, in Mansehra last year.

Muhammad Farid, a homeopathic doctor in the devastated town of Balakot, said he still deeply disagreed with the American invasion of Iraq and other policies. But the quick dispatch of American military helicopters and European search and rescue teams surprised him.

"It has changed our opinion about the United States," he said, adding that hard-line clerics' descriptions of debauched foreigners have proved untrue. "They have been accusing all these people of spreading immorality, but these are the people who came to save our lives."

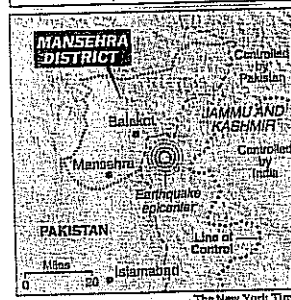
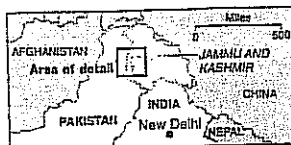
Pakistani officials cautioned that any relief-related change in perceptions would be limited. The international aid may sway the perceptions of moderate Pakistanis, particularly well-educated city dwellers, they said, but it is unlikely to sway militants.

"Even if paradise is delivered to them, they'll keep abusing us, the Americans and the Jews," said a

Absar Alam contributed reporting from Bassian and Muzaffarabad, Kashmir, for this article.



The remains of the Balakot market, which was leveled by the quake on Oct. 8, are now rotting along the river.



The Mansehra District has long been antagonistic to Westerners.

close aide to President Pervez Musharraf, a military ruler who has maintained a secular government and who has survived at least three assassination attempts from suspected Islamic militants. "This is going to take a long time."

Another factor is that the praise for the aid effort here is not restricted to the Americans; it is working for the militants, too.

In Mansehra, the earthquake is reported to have destroyed several jihadi training camps, but militant groups still appear to be active. During the past two weeks, the groups have started sophisticated relief efforts, delivering goods and medical care to victims. In some towns and isolated hamlets, survivors have praised militants for providing them with aid days before Pakistani and foreign rescuers arrived.

Al Qaeda, whose senior leaders are thought to be hiding several hundred miles to the southwest along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, also joined in. In a videotaped message released on Sunday, the group's No. 2 leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, urged Muslims to help earthquake victims.

"I call on all Muslims in general, and I call on all Islamic humanitar-

ian associations in particular, to move to Pakistan to provide help to their Pakistani brothers, and that they do it quickly," Agence France-Press reported him as saying. "All of us know the vicious American war on Muslim humanitarian work."

Mr. Janbaz, the self-described hard-liner, echoed those sentiments in an interview in Bassian, a village just outside Balakot. He painted the American relief effort in sinister terms and identified himself as a member of the Movement to Enforce the Law of Shariah, a banned militant group that dispatched volunteers to fight American forces in Afghanistan in 2001.

"America is a cruel usurper regime that has occupied Afghanistan and Iraq," he said, while several Pakistanis listened to him. "It is good to fight them."

But he appeared to have few takers around Balakot, a town of 150,000 people that appears to have suffered most of the 13,285 deaths in the Mansehra district.

On the town's main thoroughfare, where virtually every building has collapsed into a heap, men trudged home last week with blankets and other supplies they had received from the British aid group Oxfam.

One item was a can of vegetable oil with a large decal on it declaring it to be a gift of the U.S.A., part of \$54 million in food, tents, medical supplies and other aid provided by the Americans.

Gulam Haider, a 35-year-old bus driver whose son, sister and uncle were killed, said that before the earthquake he had thought of the United States as a "killer." He said he now wondered if there might be some explanation for why the United States invaded Iraq.

"Maybe America is not doing it without any reason," he said. "Maybe there is some reason."

Mr. Farid, the homeopathic doctor, gave a tour of Balakot that was a rolling nightmare. On his left, he pointed out a girls' school where, he said, 40 children died. On his right, he pointed out a boys' school where 100 boys died. In another school, his three sons, ages 13, 9, and 6, all perished.

Aid from overseas and from militants alters political equations in a remote district.

Mr. Farid said many poorly educated Pakistanis in this isolated area believe that any white aid workers they see are Americans, when in fact they are not. At the same time, he credited American helicopters and foreign search and rescue teams with coming to aid at the bleakest hour.

Two weeks after the earthquake, Mr. Farid, a thin, nervous man who talks endlessly about everything but his sons, can still list the order in which nine foreign rescue teams from Europe, the Middle East and East Asia arrived. He said the French arrived first and helped him find the body of one of his sons, altering his image of foreigners forever.

"When these teams were here, people realized," he said. "That has been the turning point."



Photo: Bob Hammond

Evolutionary Politics

Last month, as the debates began in Congress about authorizing the President to go to war against Iraq, Representative Dennis Kucinich, (D-OH) visited the Global Community offices in Palo Alto to address a standing-room-only audience.

Kucinich noted that the world view which allows us to consider such actions as attacking Iraq dominates our current thinking. But this world view is obsolete, he said, and needs to be replaced by a more realistic view.

“We are in a period of chaos,” Kucinich said, “which is driven by fear, by control, by power, by secrecy, mistrust, fragmentation, isolation, and by policies which use the lexicon of unilateralism and of preemption.

“But that world view—that system—cannot stand. That system is falling apart—we’re seeing its last gasp right now. We are in the midst of an evolution in politics. We’re not seeing the beginning of a new empire, because that’s ridiculous. What we are seeing is this old energy playing itself out in the world. And with its disintegration we will see a new integration; chaos will yield to harmony.”

Kucinich believes that this political evolution can occur fairly rapidly. He noted that biological evolution throughout history has not always taken place at a

steady rate. “Fossil records show that evolution has been static for most of the time, but the state of equilibrium is punctuated by rapid change that occurs suddenly over a brief period of time. Discontinuity between two generations has far-reaching consequences for conscious evolution and for societal change. When an evolutionary stage reaches its limitations and begins to decline, it creates disruption, chaos, and social disorder. In the decline state, an evolutionary system cannot change incrementally, it has to transform into a new evolutionary entity by conscious evolution.”

One such rapid transformation, Kucinich noted, was the birth of America in 1776. It was not just an American revolution, he pointed out, but an evolution in

continued on next page



Photo: Bob Hammond

human consciousness, an event that created a new form of government for this country, and for the world. We need to imagine and work for such a sudden shift today. One way to help bring about the change, he said, is to talk with others about the world we envision, to bring others together to dialogue, to bring back the kind of community that as a nation we've known in the past. Our words will help create the kind of world we want, Kucinich believes.

"It's a conscious effort. We have to call it forward. That's the power of consciousness—to call it forward.

"The world is multidimensional. The new vision is an holistic one that understands the power of intention and the power of cooperation, of mutuality, of trust, of seeing the world as one. That vision then becomes our outer reality. Ours is the ability, through our consciousness, to create peace, to create love. The organ of transformation is the human heart because there is nothing—no weapon ever made—that is more powerful than a human heart.

"Our Founders, and those who followed in that spirit, had an understanding of America's connection to something transcendent. We need to recreate the America of our dreams, an America that is a country of peace, a country that stands for human rights, that works for total nuclear disarmament, that leads the way to abolish biological and chemical weapons, that works to achieve cooperation

in protecting our global environment, that works to achieve cooperation in international law through an international criminal court, that works to abolish all land mines, that works for a small-arms treaty. We need to confirm America's purpose through cooperating with a community of nations, with the understanding that our country's role always has been to be a light to the world."

Conflict and Change

When asked a question regarding the inevitability of conflict, Kucinich replied: "Some people in Washington today buy into that theory. The danger there is one of a self-fulfilling prophecy because if you put your consciousness in the direction of conflict, you're quite likely to get that conflict. Instead, we need to make nonviolence an organizing principle in our society for domestic as well as international policy. Internationally, we need to focus on intervention and mediation, and celebrate what Franklin D. Roosevelt called 'the science of human relationships.'

"One view of history is that events happen and we're just bystanders—these forces somehow don't yield to human involvement. Another view is that we can intervene—that's why we're here. We can change things. Through knowledge and love, we create the world anew every day. The cold, flat, and often dead dictums of history need to be given an infusion of compassion and energy to create new possibilities."

Dealing with Anger

When asked if he experiences anger when working for peace, and if so how he handles it, Kucinich responded: "When you're involved in political action, there is always a conflict in experiencing negativity at the same time you're trying to do something positive. All of us have that experience. The difference is not being angry, because negativity is really an intent that somehow gets embedded in anger. It's hard not to be angry: Our country is about to wage an immoral war in Iraq. But if we can avoid getting hooked by the anger—try not to judge the individuals involved, but keep our eyes focused on creating that world that we desire—then there's hope. You bring that hope to the moment because you are claiming the essence of your own humanity. Each of us has the power to change someone else's thinking, and as we approach that moment—inspired and with compassion—chances are we may well change people's thinking."

The System and Power

When asked about his reaction to being in Washington, Kucinich said: "One of the surprises I had when I first got to Congress was about my stereotypes about Washington. I found that there are a lot of thoughtful men and women in Washington. They're very skilled and very bright and very caring. The problem is the system; it's something that can be almost overwhelming. You get into Washington and you become part of the system. You see this

huge bureaucracy, the structure of the buildings; everything says, I'm here, I'm part of the system.

"That system has almost a specific gravity and you can get caught in it—particularly with respect to power. In Washington people are sometimes confused by the power that's embedded in the structure of government. If you come to Washington seeking power, you're in trouble because you have to have that sense of power before you get there. It's confusing when people are elected to an office by a process which seemingly confers power on them, then find that winning that office didn't give them power. Then they feel powerless—powerless to stop even a war. That's the paradox. So there are many good people in Washington and it's just the system."

Local Politics

"The work that I do as a practical matter in politics begins with going to people's homes, going door-to-door—either myself or having others do it—and talking to people. We need to start a new conversation

One way to help bring about change is to talk with others about the world we envision, to bring others together to dialogue, to bring back the kind of community that as a nation we've known in the past. Our words will help create the kind of world we want.

continued on next page

in this country. In some ways we've lost that capacity. Our politics removed itself from the grassroots years ago when federal campaigns began relying on TV to communicate the message. Activities that were aimed at going directly to people began to change, and the emphasis was 'raise the money so you can get on TV.'

"In its terminal stage, it's reflected in members of Congress spending four days a week on the phone at the party headquarters in Washington and not having time to participate in the debates. Because they're raising money so they can get on TV. And they seldom see their own constituents. I repeat: They're good

people—it's a bad system. So we need to go back to door-to-door, talk to our neighbors, have that conversation over the fence, reach out to each other again. That's how you do it. People talking to people. People on the phones calling about something. When a real person calls you about something that's going on in the community, it registers."

Building Community

Kucinich continued: "Today we have the electronic Town Hall—Web chats, Web pages, e-mails—that enable us to connect with each other. That's a real power today. And if you extend the old grassroots campaigning to the Web,

A DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

Congressman Kucinich has drafted a bill (HR 2459) to create a Cabinet-level Department of Peace in the U.S. government to address underlying causes of war and violence and propose structural changes in our institutions and society.

Kucinich: "There are successful programs out there being done by nongovernmental organizations that are helping build understanding among diverse peoples. The Department of Peace would not only help those programs, but would seek to develop new programs internationally that would deal with problems of scarcity, of human security, of want, sickness, poverty, all of those elements that can serve as combustible materials for social conflict. It would have people right on the scene, to train, to mediate, and to show people there's another way.

"Nongovernmental organizations should not be the only ones doing this kind of good work. It really ought to be a focus of our government which currently spends \$400 billion a year for what's called defense. But it really doesn't defend this country in the way that we need defending, which is a defense of our basic values, a defense of human rights, a defense of the power of compassion, a defense of the power of love, a defense of the power of interconnection, the power of wholeness. We have the ability and the resources to do that. So the Department of Peace would have that mission in foreign policy.

***You can change anything.
There is no institution in a democratic society
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you can have a national campaign on almost anything. That helps build a sense of community, which is some of what we've lost in this so-called modern society where people bowl alone, and eat alone, and watch movies alone, and do their banking alone. It's by capturing that sense of community that we become empowered, that we become once again 'We the People' as a conscious, collective expression of our hopes and aspirations. As we reconnect as a community, that's when we start to affirm some of our basic rights. What is the right to assemble? We have to celebrate it by coming together. What is freedom of speech, except that someone stands up and expresses a point

of view in a community meeting. We have to exercise those freedom muscles again, and then we strengthen our country.

"How it works out depends on our own willingness, our own belief, our faith in ourselves that we can make a difference. We lose that at times. We see these big institutions and think that they're impenetrable, not accessible, we can't move them: 'I can't do anything about that. I make a phone call and it goes into the wastebasket—nobody cares.' Not so. You can change anything. There is no institution in a democratic society that is beyond our reach. If we have faith in ourselves, then we can have faith in our country." □

"Domestically, it would look at the whole range of challenges in our society. We live with a sociopathology of violence which we have just come to expect as commonplace: violence in the home—spousal abuse, child abuse; violence in the community—gangs, police-community relations, racial violence, violence against gays. These symptoms suggest that we don't have a grip on violence in our society. Yet, through education, we can find a way to show children that they can learn how to deal with their feelings, that they can get help if they're having trouble, that they can learn peace-sharing, mutuality, reciprocity, and how to be a human being.

"It's easy to advocate for peace. It's much tougher to be the peace that you advocate. The hymn says 'Let there be Peace on Earth and let it begin with me.' In this new peace movement that we speak of we have to help each other find that peace in our own lives. A great place to practice is in the home. If you're in a loving relationship, you learn about the challenges every day of trying to keep the peace. Those relationships are a gift because they show us how we work out conflict in our own lives, how we negotiate, how we resolve. If we're advocating peaceful change, we can do it as an individual, certainly, because each of us has an enormous power. But we can also do it as a community because the synergistic power of a community, as you know, is awesome."

A complete text of HR 2459 is available on the website: www.house.gov/kucinich

Optional Reading

for

Session 8

DEEPER

CAUSES

EXPLORING THE ROLE OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN TERRORISM

JOHN E. MACK

IT SEEMS DIFFICULT in these heady times of action to seek beyond evil to its roots, much less to the sources of the very idea of evil in the way that human beings seem programmed to think. But seek we must; otherwise a world we have trouble understanding may, finally, crash around us with all of the shock, disruption, and loss of life that we experienced in the destruction of the Twin Towers.

The words of wise leaders have cautioned us about the need for a fundamental shift in thinking and perception. Former Czech President Vaclav Havel and Albert Einstein are two such figures. Havel, in his February 1990 address to the United States Congress, spoke of the "antiquated straitjacket of the bipolar view of the world," and stressed that "without a global revolution in the sphere of human consciousness, nothing will change for the better in the sphere of our being as humans." Einstein warned repeatedly that without a fundamental change in human thinking, our species would drift toward ultimate catastrophe.

The search for the understanding, knowledge, and insight that such wisdom demands may seem "soft" in a time of radical patriotism, polarization, and simplification.



But it may be that only a profound shift in how we perceive the world—in consciousness itself—can, in the end, create a secure and just civilization in which opportunity is available for all, and no one is left out.

October 21, 2001, on the radio program *Me and Mario*, former New York governor Mario Cuomo said, "This may get me into trouble [indicating his awareness of how unpopular any effort to understand seemed to be in the jingoistic climate of that moment], but the only way to solve the terrorist problem is to change the minds of those who practice terrorism." Cuomo is on the right track, I think, but it is not likely that the minds of the terrorists themselves will change, nor is it only terrorists whose thinking is problematic. The need to "change minds" must apply to all of us who would prefer to avoid trying to face the fact that terrorism does not arise in a vacuum, nor from some inchoate reservoir of evil out of which particular bad people may spontaneously emerge at certain times in history.

The proper place to begin our effort to understand (*not excuse*), it seems to me, is with the question of causation. For no matter how loathsome we may find the acts of "fanatics," without understanding what breeds them and drives them to do what they do in a particular time and place, we have little chance of preventing further such actions, let alone of "eradicating terrorism."

We can think of three levels of causation, each calling for solutions or responses appropriate to its own level. These might be called 1) Immediate causes—in this case, the purposive actions of men or women who are willing to die as they destroy other lives in the process; 2) Proximate causes—the human pain and socioeconomic breeding ground of such desperate behavior; and 3) Deeper causes—deriving from the nature of mind, of consciousness itself.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

At the most immediate level, the cause of the recent events is obviously the actions of people governed by implacable hatred, who are willing to sacrifice their own lives in the process of killing others without regard for those they destroy. The natural, perhaps inevitable, response to such actions is to find out "who did

it," stop others like them, and punish their supporters. This involves gathering intelligence, and a military campaign. Military action may produce real successes, but focusing exclusively on this level of the problem, while ignoring or giving too little attention to the deeper levels, may result mainly in provoking still greater antagonism that spawns more terrorism, and, in the long run, bringing about a widening war without doing anything about what gave rise to the hatred and aggression in the first place.

PROXIMATE CAUSES

Listening to the pronouncements of President Bush and other American leaders in the weeks after the events of 9-11, one could get the impression that the rage that leads to the planning and execution of terrorist acts arises from a kind of void, unconnected with history, without causation other than pure evil fueled by jealousy. Yet it is not difficult to discover that the present conflict has complex historical and economic roots. It has grown out of the affliction of countless millions of people in the Middle East and elsewhere who perceive themselves to have been victims of the policies of a superpower and its allies that have little concern for their lives, needs, or suffering; and to the actions of multinational corporations that, in the words of Indian writer Arundhati Roy, "are taking over the air we breathe, the ground we stand on, the water we drink, the thoughts we think." For these millions, a figure such as Osama bin Laden, whom we see only as a mass murderer, can become a hero because he moved beyond helplessness to action against the seemingly indifferent and invincible oppressor.

It is inconceivable that terrorism can be checked, much less eradicated, if these causes are not addressed. This would require, at the very least, a re-examination of government policies that one-sidedly favor Israel in relation to the Palestinians (not to mention our support of Saddam Hussein against Iran before he set off a conflict a few years later). It would require further help with the growing refugee problem, and a turning of our attention to the toll that poverty and disease are taking in the Middle East and other parts of the globe. These may not be the conditions under which the terrorist leaders themselves have lived, but they create

the reservoir of misery, hurt, helplessness, and rage from which the foot soldiers of terrorism can be recruited.

The role of the United States in creating these conditions can be debated, but as a superpower that consumes a major portion of the Earth's resources, there can be little doubt that not only are we seen in many parts of the world as responsible for them, but we are looked to, along with other privileged Western nations, to do much more to help in their solution.

Certainly there is much more that could and has been said about the causes of terrorism that I am calling "proximate," but the principal focus of this article is different. I am concerned here with what might be thought of as more fundamental causes, the roots of terrorism that derive from mind, from consciousness itself, and from the institutions that express its purposes and intentions.

DEEPER CAUSES

WORLDVIEWS. Political psychology, or the application of psychological understanding to political phenomena, should begin with a consideration of worldviews. A worldview is an organizing principle or philosophy, a fixed way of thinking or habit of mind. Worldviews are similar to ideologies but broader in scope. (Ideologies derive from worldviews, but are more specific, usually having to do with particular social, political, and economic systems.) A worldview might be thought of as a kind of mental template into which we try to fit events. Without some sort of worldview, which can also be thought of as a lens through which to see the world, we would feel even more helpless, unable to orient ourselves in a world that has become increasingly complex and unsettling. Worldviews tend to be rather rigidly structured, and are able to withstand a huge amount of information that is difficult, if not impossible, to fit into them. When faced with data that might appear to challenge a worldview, or reveal it to be dysfunctional, most of us, most of the time, will construe a situation, or reconstrue the facts, rather than modify the worldview.

DUALISTIC THINKING. In relation to the events of 9-11, and to the terrorist threat they represent, we have

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a chance to observe two largely contradictory worldviews. One might be thought of as the dualistic, dichotomizing, or polarizing habit of mind. The dualistic mind divides the world into conflicting polarities—good and evil, God and the Devil, for or against, friend or enemy, deserving or undeserving. (This is particularly important in providing the assumptive underpinning for perpetuating racial and socioeconomic differences). The dualistic mind fragments, seeing separation and difference more easily than unity and connection. The polar-

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izing mind is not incapable of love, but such love is restricted in its application to one side, leaving the lover free to hate a designated enemy.

A second worldview holds tightly to the ideal of universal love and oneness. This worldview has its own rigidities, and can be inappropriate when applied uncritically to a situation that defies its precepts.

But I will focus here on the first, for it is expressions of dualistic thinking in the form of blindness to diversity, obliviousness of the effects of inequalities of resources, and a lack of concern for the vast suffering that prevails on this planet that have given rise to the present dangerous crisis. The polarizing mind will always be with us because it is the mind

of instinct and survival. But it is also the mind of revenge and war that must be transcended if we are to survive as a species. In the months following 9-11, the proponents of dualistic thinking on both sides ("This is a war of good against the evildoers," or "We must destroy America, the great Satan") have had a lock on public discourse, as committed patriots have heaped scorn upon those that do not fall into line, while cheerleaders of terrorism exhort their followers to commit further acts of violence.

NATIONALISM. Political and religious institutions have a powerful role in shaping and perpetuating dualistic thinking. Nationalism, the emotional attachment to the idea of one's own country or nation, is a particularly powerful augmentor of dualistic thinking. For the nation state has usually carved out its boundaries at the cost of other peoples' lives ("natives," "aboriginals"), and nationalistic supporters stay in denial of unsavory elements of the nation's history while glorifying the conquests that brought the country into being.

Although nationalists tend to resist looking at the harmful actions in their nation's history, nevertheless they may unconsciously fear that retribution for the crimes of the past lies just across the next border. Patriotism is the emotional partner of nationalism, brought forth most intensely when the country or nation is threatened. Patriotism tends to be dualistic, for usually it is mobilized by political leaders to counter a real or perceived threat, but it does not have to be so narrow. Patriotism can be wedded to generosity, courage, loyalty, and love of country, although it can also give way to extreme divisiveness, blindness to complexity, and hatred of the "other."

RELIGION. Religion, as theologian Paul Tillich and others have noted, deals with spiritual or ultimate human concerns, such as the source of life and death, our highest values and selves, the roots of evil, the existence of God, the nature of divinity and goodness, whether there is some sort of life after the body has died, the idea of the infinite and the eternal, defining the boundaries of reality itself, and the possibility of a human community governed by universal love. Religious assumptions (atheism and agnosticism are themselves forms of religious belief) shape our minds from childhood, and for this reason religious systems and institutions have had, and continue to have, extraordinary power to affect the course of human

history. If anyone ever questioned this, the present crisis should put such doubts to rest. On each side the faithful have been rallied by religious slogans and exhorted to destroy the evil enemy. The language of crusading and of religious warfare is all about us.

There have been efforts recently to "let religion off the hook." Jesus, it is said, preached of love, and Islam opposes the killing of innocents, but it is not that simple. For, as former Paulist priest James Carroll has written, dualistic language is readily found in religious texts. Messages of universal love and peace coexist in the Bible and in the Koran with contrasting statements. "Our noblest impulses," he writes, "come inevitably intertwined with opposite inclinations." Messages of universal love or of division and exclusion, of lasting peace or of holy war, can all be found in the Bible and the Koran: It is a matter of selection and interpretation. Religion and religious institutions can serve to polarize and stimulate violence, or to unite and transcend it. Religious leaders bear a huge responsibility in the present crisis, and can play a critical role in moving beyond it.

PUBLIC DISCOURSE. At this turning point in history, probably nothing less than a radical reorientation of mind and an authentic mastery of the psychology of violence can offer any hope for the future of human life on this planet. The accumulated hurts are so deep, the consequent rage so intense, the ignorance of their roots so prevailing, and the technological means of destruction so sophisticated and so readily available, that, as President Bush stated in his December 11, 2001 address to the Citadel (a military academy in South Carolina), a relatively few determined killers can now plan and execute projects of annihilation that can end life as we know it. There is no guarantee that a profound psychospiritual sea change, a transformation of mind and heart, can prevent this, at least in time. But I cannot see how anything short of this offers the possibility of survival for our species.

The transformation I write of here must, of course, start with attention to what I have referred to above as proximate causes. These include the unconscionable inequalities in the distribution of resources, the unmet material needs of much of the world's population, and the strong's continuing political oppression of the weak, who will inevitably turn into terrorists and dictators in desperation, if not for justice and relief, at least for an outlet for their

rage and frustration.

My focus, for purposes of this article, is different. The quest for understanding that can lead us out of our present catastrophic morass begins with the recognition that knowledge of the ways of the mind in the arenas of political conflict is relevant and useful. Political psychology is a relatively new field, but one to which not only academic psychologists and social scientists are being increasingly drawn, but also diplomats and other political professionals.

The dualistic mind is not by nature self-reflective and, inasmuch as it attributes good to its own motives and actions, it will find the opposite of good in the other. Negative or aggressive ideas and feelings that are not consistent with this positive self-regard must be pushed away, or projected outwards and attributed to the enemy. A vulnerable and frightened public can all too easily be enrolled into this dangerous way of thinking. Psychologists, social scientists, spiritual leaders, and political professionals (as well as government and other institutional leaders who understand this basic truth), have a responsibility to do whatever they can in their speaking and writing to change the public conversation so that the role of one's own group in the creation of political conflict can be acknowledged and examined, and new possibilities brought forth to create a genuine global community.

TRANSCENDING THE DUALISTIC MIND

Once we begin to look at the private aggressor or terrorist in ourselves, and, as a nation, begin to look publicly at our own contribution to creating the hostility of which we find ourselves the target, other kinds of knowing become possible. Then we can begin to look at how the mind deals with differences, and is prone to the creation of enemies, especially when our very existence appears to be threatened. Then we can begin to look beyond mere tolerance to true knowing of the other. Only the mind that has recognized and integrated or transcended its primitive dualistic habits can begin to identify

with the suffering and rage of geographically distant peoples. Only then can we see the aggression and ignorance that underlies our dominance and neglect, and perceive our own role in the creation of victims far from our own shores.

EMERGING POSSIBILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Even as we face unprecedented peril from the forces that divide us, there is emerging in science, religion, psychology, and technology possibilities that may bring us back from the edge of destruction. Certainly the internet and other information systems offer the possibility of worldwide interconnection, although these have yet to realize their potential for transcending duality and enmity. But, more fundamentally, we are now witnessing a coming together of science, psychology, and spirituality after centuries of ideological and disciplinary fragmentation. Both modern physics and depth psychology are revealing to us a universe in which mind and matter appear intimately related. The very notion of separation seems to be a kind of illusion, and all that we can perceive around us is connected by resonances, both physical and nonphysical, that can make the possibility of universal justice, truth, and love more than just a utopian fantasy.

At the heart of this possibility lie what in the Western secular world are called “non-ordinary” states of consciousness, but in the world’s great religious traditions is variously called primary religious feeling, mystical oneness, connection with the ground of being, or universal love. For a person in this state of consciousness, neglect of the needs of others, the toleration of great suffering, the killing of innocents (“collateral damage”), the making of war itself, or the desecration of the Earth’s environment is virtually unthinkable. At the heart of these states of consciousness or being is a potential extension of the self beyond its usual boundaries. Thus these states make possible the identification with other beings or objects, wherever they are located, and with the Earth itself.

Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh calls this quality of conscious interconnectedness “interbeing.” It is what

Frederic Brussat and Mary Ann Brussat had in mind when, after the events of September 11, they adapted his poem “Please Call Me by My True Names” to read, “I am a loyal American who feels violated, and vows to stand behind any military action it takes to wipe terrorists off the face of the Earth,” and “I am a boy in a faraway country rejoicing in the streets of my village because someone has hurt the hated Americans,” and “I am a doctor in a hospital treating patients burned from head to toe who knows that these horrible images will remain in my mind forever,” and “I am a stone in the graveyard of Trinity Church covered with soot from the buildings that once stood proudly above me, death meeting death.” The sequence is long, taking in all beings, including the terrorists themselves.

TOWARD A CONSCIOUSNESS OF INTERCONNECTION

It is no longer just Buddhist monks or other holy people and religious leaders who are undertaking the practices that create a consciousness of interconnection. A great shift in consciousness is taking place, even as the threat of annihilation grows around us. In the United States and throughout the world, a vast and growing movement to return to ancient traditions is arising, creating new forms of psychospiritual practice that can bring about the extension of empathy and the possibilities of knowledge beyond ourselves, the kind of knowledge of which Thich Nhat Hanh and his students write.

This is taking place in several ways. For instance:

- the revitalization of established religions, enabling them to be more relevant to the challenges of our time;
- the recognition that strong intuitive powers, sometimes crudely called “psychic” abilities, are, at root, not psychopathological as they have sometimes been regarded in the mental health professions, but, if used appropriately, shortened avenues to transformation, understanding, and love;
- the increasing commitment of millions of people to various forms of individual and group spiritual practice;
- the proliferation of large- and small-group experiential modalities that open consciousness and break down the

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barriers to connection and love;

- increasing recognition of the power of extraordinary experiences (such as spontaneous spiritual epiphanies, unanticipated traumas that lead to personal transformation, near-death experiences, and so-called extraterrestrial encounters) to shatter the boundaries of the ego, expand identity, and open us to empathy, love, and relationship;

- the emergence of new sociopolitical forms and institutions (such as the NGOs at the United Nations, and the emerging power of citizen diplomacy), which enable a wider range of professionals and ordinary citizens to take part in the processes and practices of international relations and relationships.

The United States is in a particularly strong position to take a leadership role in this transformation of consciousness. We are a pluralistic society with a long experience of living with diversity. The relative security that our privileged isolation has provided has given us the luxury of freedom, even though it has left us unprepared to deal with the terrible assault upon our nation that occurred in September, 2001. Yet this very safety and freedom has allowed us to become strong and creative in developing a practical understanding of the human psyche. We are jittery in the face of our new vulnerability, especially since we seem to receive alternating messages to beware of new attacks, but to go on living as if all were normal. But as we have been pioneers in creating a new political form—a democracy that has inspired the world in its discovery of the power that resides in diversity, and a unity that can transcend differences—we could also lead the world in developing the transformation of consciousness that could lead the human species away from the brink of disaster.

CONCLUSION

Humanity seems to be at a turning point. We are experiencing a kind of race to the future between the forces of destruction and creation. The preservation of our lives and possibilities will come not from the strategies of terrorists, nor from the bombs of the self-righteous. This can happen only through a great awakening, a worldwide shift of consciousness that can transcend the habits of dualism, and enable the citizens of the Earth to become a genuine family of people and peoples, in which each of us can come to feel a responsibility for the welfare of all. As Gandhi once said, “We must be the change.”

The original, longer version of this interview appeared in The Psychology of Terrorism, Vol. 1 (Praeger, 2002).



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