PEACE SCHOLARS and conflict resolution experts have been studying the process of reconciliation for many years. But until recently, the importance of compassion has not been identified as an aspect of this work. Sometimes defined as "the capacity to suffer with" combined with the desire to relieve suffering," compassion is most commonly held as a spiritual ideal, not an applied approach to social healing. And yet, according to award-winning peace scholar Judith Thompson, compassion may be a powerful agent in peacebuilding and conflict transformation.

"Unlike empathy, which can manifest as empathic joy or sorrow, compassion is specifically a response to the suffering of others and engages us in ways which affirm connection and relatedness across difference." As primary researcher and convenor of a three-day exploration of Compassion and Social Healing at the BRC in September 2002, Thompson engaged approximately 25 veterans and survivors of some of the world’s most violent and intractable conflicts. She wanted to know how compassion might be nurtured and in what conditions compassion was most likely to arise. She wanted to consider connections and disconnections between compassion and justice. And she wanted to know if compassion had the power to break cycles of violence and retaliation.

"In the past, I’ve spoken of the four-C’s: Compassion, Community, Commitment, and Courage,” Thompson said. “What I have learned by working closely with people all over the world, beginning with my work in founding Children of War, is that all four of the four C’s have to be present for social transformation to occur on a broad scale.”

The four-C’s were remarkably present throughout the two-and-a-half day seminar during which participants from...
In the fall of 2001, Representative Barbara Lee (D-CA) cast the sole vote in Congress against the unlimited use of military force in response to the 9/11 attacks. On January 26, 2003, Congresswoman Lee will deliver the Jeanette Rankin Lecture at Wellesley College, the second annual lecture of the Women's Lecture Series on Human Values that the BRC launched in February 2001 in partnership with the Wellesley Centers for Women.

This series honors women in history and in contemporary times who have taken courageous stands for the sake of basic human values. The 2003 lecture on nonviolence honors Lee and another congresswoman who took a solitary anti-war stand, Jeannette Rankin (1880-1968). I hope you will join us to honor the courage and humanism of Jeannette Rankin and Barbara Lee. (If you want to be sure you're on our email list to receive a flyer, write to events manager Beth Zimmerman, bzimmerman@brc21.org.)

Patti Marxsen, BRC's publications manager, came to me months ago to express her wish that this issue of our newsletter could meet the need for deeper understanding as people grapple with the complicated emotions evoked by the first anniversary of the September 11th attacks. Neither of us knew then how very complicated these emotions would be, as we now face the further prospect of a U.S military attack in the Middle East as part of our post-9/11 reality. After reading this newsletter, I hope you agree with me that Patti's wish has come true through the numerous contributions and perspectives offered here. This issue's wide-ranging content casts light on global history (the guest interview with Nur Yalman), illuminates the role of compassion in the process of social healing (the work of Judith Thompson covered in our lead article), examines the dangers of the retributive mind-set so embedded in our justice system (Carolyn Boyes-Watson on restorative justice), and reminds us of the role of spirituality in our lives (Masao Yokota on the healing power of dialogue).

In light of current events, I was particularly struck by Carolyn Boyes-Watson's statement: “When we listen to victims and examine their search for healing and wholeness, we begin to understand that the meaning of justice is far more complex than mere punishment of the offender.” This profound “journey toward justice” described by Carolyn resonated for me when I read the September 11th statement of the Families for Peaceful Tomorrows, all of whom lost loved ones in the attacks of September 11th. Their words ring true and clear, echoing with moral authority: “We believe it is time to stop dropping bombs and to start paying attention. To start asking difficult questions. To start listening to a multitude of voices. And to start exploring — and using — effective alternatives to war.” You'll find this essay among the latest postings to our Web page, Perspectives on Terrorism and Nonviolence. Please note that we've included a retrospective selection of excerpts from this page in the center of this issue of our newsletter, for those who may not be familiar with it.

The coming months will no doubt provide us all with many opportunities to take an even closer look at what Professor Nur Yalman calls the “violent edge” in American society, which we exhibit both at home and abroad. Facing this edge, we’ll be called upon to manifest the full healing power of dialogue and compassion with which each of us is endowed. Gandhi’s shining example of nonviolence empowers us in this time of darkness. “I have all along believed that what is possible for one is possible for all,” he said.

Sincerely,

Virginia Straus, Executive Director

If you'd like to receive email notices of new postings to our Perspectives on Terrorism and Nonviolence, please send your email address to Kevin Maher, kmaher@brc21.org. The page is found at www.brc21.org/resources.html.
In a post-September 11th world, no one can doubt that the search for justice is one of the most powerful desires of the human heart. But do we know what we are searching for? We cry and fight for justice, but do we know what we need in order to feel satisfied and whole after we have been harmed? I believe most Western democratic societies are woefully (and willfully) ignorant about the complex human experience of justice. The small but vigorous movement towards restorative justice is a hopeful sign that we may, at last, be ready to learn.

Most Americans think of punishment as the essence of justice. The United States has the largest penal system in the world delivering the indignities and pains of incarceration to roughly two million American citizens, mostly poor people of color. But does this mean we have justice? Many Americans are profoundly dissatisfied with the “justice” of our criminal justice system. Ask the average person on the street and s/he will bitterly complain that the criminal justice system does not work. Yet s/he will also tell you that punishment is necessary. This will happen not because people are particularly vengeful or retributive, but because if one person harms another, most people believe that the individual at fault should not be allowed to walk away as if nothing happened. Even if incarceration doesn’t work, we reason, some kind of justice is better than no justice at all.

The real problem is that the American criminal justice system offers only one kind of justice: retributive justice. And retribution is only a small part of what justice truly is. In fact, vengeance may be the least important aim of justice. When we listen to victims and examine their search for healing and wholeness, we begin to understand that the meaning of justice is far more complex than mere punishment of the offender.

A key question in the search for justice is “What do victims want?” Above all, victims want information: they want to know the truth about what happened; they want the offender to admit what s/he did and to acknowledge it was wrong; and they often want to know more about the person who harmed them and to understand what led them to this behavior. Very often victims want assurances that this won’t happen again, either to themselves or someone else. They may want their property repaired or their belongings returned, but material restitution is often secondary to the satisfaction of knowing that whoever was in the wrong is taking steps to make things right. Simply put, victims want to see real changes in the offender.

But victims also are looking for responses from the community in their search for justice. They want society to condemn the act as wrong and not blame them for what happened. They want a sense of safety and moral order restored. They want the individual offender to be accountable, but they also often want the community to deal with the social conditions that generate crime. They do not want the same thing to happen over and over again with different names and faces. In their search for justice, victims are rarely focused solely on what has happened in the past: their quest is for a better future.

What many victims are searching for is a kind of justice now widely referred to as restorative justice.

Restorative justice is not new. It is, in fact, very old. The rediscovery of the principles of restorative justice is taking place in New Zealand, Canada, Australia, the U.K., and the U.S. Victim-offender dialogue, family group conferencing, reparative and accountability boards, and peacemaking circles bring victims, offenders, families, and communities together with justice professionals in search of a different kind of justice. Restorative justice is a small, but rapidly growing, grassroots movement. With approximately 3% of the U.S. population currently under the supervision of the correctional system, it’s time to rethink how we achieve “justice for all.” By responding to the needs of victims, offenders, and communities, restorative justice offers hope for the future.

— Carolyn Boyes-Watson, Ph.D.
Center for Restorative Justice, Suffolk University

Want to learn more?

Women’s Lecture Series on Human Values
Cosponsored by Wellesley Centers for Women and the BRC

The Jeannette Rankin Lecture on World Peace by Congresswoman Barbara Lee

Barbara Lee cast the sole vote in Congress against the unlimited use of military force in response to the 9/11 attacks.

Sunday, January 26, 2003
4:30 - 6:30 PM
Wellesley College
Watch for your flyer in the mail!
Compassion and Social Healing Explored
continued from page 1

Northern Ireland, South Africa, Rwanda, Cambodia, the Middle East, Guatemala, the former Yugoslavia, Southeast Asia, Hitler’s Germany, and the United States gathered in a circle. Much of the dialogue involved the sharing of stories: stories of genocide, lost loved ones, and even lost childhoods. This process created a depth of trust and compassion among the participants themselves. Gradually, themes and insights emerged, pointing the way to what Thompson calls “participatory knowledge” of suffering, forgiveness, and reconciliation. One Buddhist participant observed that like the emblematic lotus flower rising from the mud, a kind of community emerged that was at once beautiful and fragile.

Among the insights, there was a general consensus that forgiveness is a complex process that must involve both the victim and the perpetrator. “Forgiveness is not glib and cheap and easy,” said Episcopal priest Michael Lapsley who lost an eye and both hands to a letter bomb attack in 1990 as a result of his work in opposition to apartheid. “The Greek word for forgiveness is the same word as untying a knot, atalaima,” he added.

“Everyone has the capacity for transformation and redemption,” said Pat Clark, executive director of Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and an active member of Murder Victims’ Families for Reconciliation. Her story of how a black murder victim’s mother was able to forgive the Ku Klux Klansman who killed her son moved many participants to tears.

Some attributed the capacity for compassion to family upbringing, others to spirituality. In some cases, compassion had been unlocked by an encounter between victim and perpetrator, as each realized the burden of injustice on both sides of the divide. Among many provocative exchanges, a group discussion about the “power of the victim to liberate the perpetrator” was particularly intriguing. Later in the process, the nature of evil was explored: is it autonomous or embodied in human choices? Both views were aspects of the discussion between the daughter of an Auschwitz survivor and a formerly enthusiastic member of Hitler Youth.

“Most of our gatherings at the BRC are on a more dispassionate, intellectual level,” said BRC executive director, Virginia Straus. “What was so powerful and so transformative about this gathering was the way we all learned so much by sharing profound emotional experiences.”

On Sunday afternoon, September 22, 2002, over 100 members of the public joined selected participants for a discussion forum on Compassion & Social Healing. Hizkias Assefa, Svetlana Broz, Dumisa Ntsebeza, and Sulak Sivaraksa offered brief presentations that reinforced one of the key themes from the seminar: the importance of humanizing the “other.”

Assefa, an Ethiopian living in Kenya who is founder of the African Peacebuilders Network and professor of conflict studies in Eastern Mennonite University’s Conflict Transformation Program, confirmed that compassion can, indeed, break the cycle of violence. He recalled a story of his efforts to bring three warring factions in Nigeria together for dialogue. Once one faction had promised to come to meetings, regardless of whether or not others showed up, the dynamic changed and dialogue became possible.

Svetlana Broz, granddaughter of Yugoslavia’s former premier, Josip Tito, was working as a cardiologist in Sarajevo when she became immersed in the stories she was hearing of courageous people who were helping others. Her book, Good People in Times of Evil, documents the stories of those who crossed lines of ethnicity to save neighbors, friends, and strangers during the recent wars in the Balkans.

Dumisa Ntsebeza is a distinguished lawyer and was one of South Africa’s most prominent anti-apartheid activists. In 1995, he was appointed as a Commissioner on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission where he became the head of both the Investigative Unit and the Witness Protection Program. Although he was imprisoned and tortured during the apartheid era, he has made a conscious decision to direct his energy toward peace and reconciliation, rather than revenge.

Sulak Sivaraksa spoke of the importance of action. He is one of the major contemporary exponents of socially engaged Buddhism and has founded rural development projects as well as many non-governmental organizations dedicated to exploring, in Siam (Thailand) and internationally, alternative models of sustainable, traditionally rooted, and ethically and spiritually based development.

For an in-depth interview with Judith Thompson that includes further insights into her research, please go to www.brc21.org/resources.html
The Earth Charter and the Earth Summit

Many groups and individuals had hoped for UN endorsement of the Earth Charter as an outcome of the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg, South Africa, August 26-September 4, 2002. An alternative goal was a specific mention in the final Political Declaration of the meeting. While the Earth Charter was neither officially endorsed nor specifically mentioned in the final draft of this document, those who attended WSSD remain enthusiastic.

According to Earth Charter Steering Committee Co-Chair Steven Rockefeller, the Earth Charter had “a direct and significant influence” on the Johannesburg summit. He noted the following statement in Paragraph 6 of the Political Declaration which, he suggested, echoes the Preamble of the Earth Charter: “From this [African] Continent, the Cradle of Humanity, we declare, through the Plan of Implementation and this Declaration, our responsibility to one another, to the greater community of life and to our children.”

More importantly, the true aim of the Earth Charter effort is to continue to expand the list of nations, groups, and individuals who are committed to its principles as a foundation for a sustainable global society. To date, over 8,000 organizations representing 100 million people worldwide have endorsed the Earth Charter.

An alternative type of outcome pursued at WSSD was an Earth Charter Partnership involving governments, NGOs, and businesses. The Earth Charter Initiative succeeded in developing such a partnership and securing approval by the Summit. Joining this partnership entitled “Educating for Sustainable Living with the Earth Charter” are the governments of Costa Rica, Honduras, Mexico, and Niger, as well as UNESCO, and thirteen NGOs.

For further information please review www.earthcharter.org and www.worldsummit.org.za

Education for Sustainable Development

A proposal by Daisaku Ikeda to establish a UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development was included in the Global Implementation Document for adoption at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD). The “new decade” would begin in 2005, following the close of the current UN Decade for Human Rights, and focus on three goals:

• To learn and deepen awareness of environmental issues and realities.
• To reflect on our modes of living, renewing these toward sustainability.
• To empower people to take concrete action to resolve the issues we face.

To read the proposal, go to www.sgi.org/wssd/04propos/top.htm

Thoreau Institute and the Boston Research Center Introduce the Earth Charter to Young People

An Introductory Workshop for Youth cosponsored by the BRC and the Thoreau Institute took place in Concord, Massachusetts, on July 17, 2002. Dumisani Nyoni, Youth Coordinator for the Earth Charter Youth Initiative and the Youth Employment Summit, was invited by Jayne Gordon of the Thoreau Institute to lead a discussion with a group of high school students from the Boston Youth Program.

To motivate discussion, Nyoni began by asking each person to name “something you love.” He also asked the group to list five things “in your community or in the world that you think are urgent and need to be taken care of.” The students responded by naming terrorism, the Bush administration, government corruption, hate crimes, war, poverty, and famine.

Educating Democracy

On October 23, 2002, the Women’s Action for New Directions (WAND) Educational Fund and the Coalition for a Strong UN (CSUN) collaborated on an inspiring event hosted by the BRC. As the first of WAND’s 11th Annual Fall Speakers Series, What Every American Needs to Know About the United Nations focused on the functions of the UN, the numerous opportunities for improving and strengthening the U.S. relationship with the UN, and an understanding of why the role of the UN is so vital to the current world situation. Speakers included Sayre Sheldon, WAND president emerita and WAND’s delegate to the UN; Elise Boulding, peace scholar and Quaker activist; and Nancy Wrenn, co-chair of the Coalition for a Strong United Nations (CSUN) and developer of a workshop about the UN for students and citizens-at-large. For further information, please contact www.wand.org.
PM: I’d like to start by just asking you about your own journey. Could you share with us some of the experiences and motivations that brought you to your interest in cultures, religions, identity, and the condition of humanity?

NY: I was brought up in Istanbul, Turkey, which is a very cosmopolitan and very complicated place in the middle of many cultures and continents: Europe, Asia, Africa. I had a German governess and before that I had an Austrian governess, both of whom taught me German. My mother and father also spoke French. And at school I had English. That involvement with languages early on, including Turkish of course, inspired an interest in other cultures and how they relate to each other.

PM: When did you first get a chance to do the fieldwork of anthropology?

NY: Cambridge University gave me a good background and, later, I worked on my Ph.D. in Sri Lanka. I spent several years there in very out-of-the-way places and that was wonderful because it really opened my eyes to the riches of Asian cultures and civilizations. I went back to Cambridge where I was elected as a fellow of one of their old colleges, Peterhouse. Then I returned to Turkey. Meanwhile, I had an invitation from a research center in California. I was still very young and the idea of California was … paradise.

PM: Has this study of anthropology turned out to be what you thought it would be when you were first embarking on your career?

NY: I had not realized how very exciting it was going to be. It has, indeed, turned out to be the most interesting and the most fascinating study because it deals with the immense variety of human experience and human behavior, human thoughts, and human imagination.

PM: Your field, social anthropology, is all about how humans interact with one another, how we structure our societies, and work out our differences. As Americans reflect on our post-9/11 stance in the world—which has been militaristic and often mistrustful of foreign cultures—I’d like to know if it’s valid to suggest that the policies in democratic states typically mirror the values of the culture?

NY: Yes and no. The degree to which the best American values are expressed in the American government would be a controversial question because democracies have very positive aspects—a desire for equality, hospitality, openness to immigrants—but they also have some negative aspects. That is to say they lend themselves to mass manipulation. Also, there is a violent edge to American society and, regrettably, some of the American reactions to terrorism have tended to go in an extremely violent direction.

PM: What is the source of this tendency toward violence?

NY: The metaphor of ‘control’ is an aspect of American society. We see this when it comes to controlling crime, especially in black neighborhoods which are vigorously policed. After all, there are other ways of handling social problems. We could give much more attention to education, to improving the lives of the poor, to improving the lives of the racially disadvantaged people in a much more serious way.

PM: How does this controlling instinct play out in the international arena?

NY: The metaphor of controlling other people through police action is something that the U.S. has been willing to do in many parts of the world. And it is a method that doesn’t work terribly well when you don’t understand what is going on in these other places. That’s my criticism of the kind of violent reaction we have had to the Taliban regime and the Palestinian matter.
**PM: What could we have done differently in response to the Taliban regime?**

**NY: I would have preferred to have had much more international involvement from liberal Islamic societies—all of which indicated that they were very unhappy with what was going on—to help us put pressure on this nasty regime. I think we might have achieved the same thing in the end. We might even have achieved a somewhat more stable Afghanistan. At the moment, Afghanistan looks very unstable and the instability has affected Pakistan and India, both of which are nuclear powers who have deep differences over the fate of Kashmir.**

**PM: It sounds like you’re saying that our ‘violent edge’ draws other peoples and regions into our way of resolving conflicts. Is this how the ‘metaphor of control’ operates?**

**NY: Yes. The violent reaction has had widening effects both in the region of India and Pakistan, which is very dangerous, and also in the Israel-Palestine affair. Since September 11th, we have witnessed the Israelis using the same excuse as the United States to declare their own “war on terrorism.”**

**PM: Has this period since 9/11 taught Americans anything about how we operate as a society?**

**NY: There has been a blind following of the desire to get revenge, to get even with these nasty fellows. At the same time, I think we’re beginning to see quite a lot of thoughtful material coming out in some publications, such as the *New York Review of Books*, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Post.***

**PM: What do you think accounts for that shift toward a more thoughtful approach?**

**NY: This has been a very profound trauma for America. This cocoon in which we were living, this beautiful sense of security, this isolation from the rest of the world—isolation by two great oceans and by a very friendly north and a somewhat friendly south—has allowed Americans to feel that they are on a charmed continent. It’s not too surprising that it has taken time for Americans to assimilate the threat of terrorism. I don’t think other societies have had that kind of shock in the midst of a period in which they felt so secure.**

**PM: Were you as shocked as the rest of us?**

**NY: For those of us who had been watching the terrible things that were taking place in the Middle East, it came as no surprise whatsoever. I was growing fearful of where we might be heading with the kind of tensions that were rising in the Middle East. I thought the most desperate reactions might be expected, even nuclear reactions could be expected.**

**PM: So it could have been worse?**

**NY: It could have been much worse. And it is possible that it might be worse yet, unless the root cause of this is settled.**

**PM: What is the root cause?**

**NY: I do think the root of the problem has to do with racism. And the root of racism has to do with the way so many countries, including the United States, have regarded Muslims and Arabs in the past. That is to say, they have always considered these people to be second-rate persons. Once Britain and France took over the Arab countries at the end of World War I, they did not really consider their interests. When you look at the historical background, it is quite clear that Jews and Muslims existed for centuries in great peace together all over the Middle East. Jews have contributed immensely to the civilization of Islam: they contributed to music, to the arts, to literature. Everything got turned around after World War II, for it was then that the European problem of racism—racism against the Jews, anti-Semitism—was transferred to the Middle East.**

**PM: How do we reconcile the rich history of Islamic culture with the violent acts that have now become associated with Islamic societies?**

**NY: The kind of terror and militancy we are seeing in Islam today has to do with something very particular, a particular problem in the Middle East that has been festering for almost all of the last century—that is to say the problem of Palestine.**

**PM: Knowing and understanding all the pieces of the situation as well as you do, if you could have given Ariel Sharon advice in 2002, what would you have said to him?**

**NY: I would have said make peace, not war. I would have said give up those settlements and make an arrangement with these people.**

**PM: A two-state solution?**

**NY: Yes, though I think we must maintain hope that we can have complex states in which human rights are respected, rather like the direction in which the European Union is going. This can happen when very different people from divergent cultures come together around certain high ideals, as in the United States where we have the high ideals of the Constitution.**

*continued on page 12*
SHORTLY AFTER THE TERRORIST ATTACKS of September 11, 2001, many of us began to notice a narrow focus in the mainstream media. As an open-ended “war on terrorism” ushered in a new era in American foreign policy, there was little room for analysis of root causes or thoughtful consideration of long-term solutions. And yet, all over the world, knowledgeable voices from many vantage points were striving to be heard. Since the Fall of 2001, the BRC has been working to amplify those voices with regular postings in the Resources section of our Web site. The selection of excerpts below offers a few examples. For complete commentaries and further information, please visit our Perspectives on Terrorism & Nonviolence at www.brc21.org/resources.html.

Terrorism and Nonviolence
SEPTEMBER 13, 2001
ARUN GANDHI, M. K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence
We must acknowledge our role in helping to create monsters in the world, find ways to contain these monsters without hurting more innocent people, and then redefine our role in the world. I think we must move from seeking to be respected for our military strength to being respected for our moral strength.

We Need the Rule of Law, Not the Rule of War
SEPTEMBER 15, 2001
JAMES CARROLL, The Boston Globe
Our supreme patriotic gesture in this crisis has been a nearly universal call for war, and indeed, the growing sentiment for war, fueled by the rhetoric of our highest leaders, may soon be embodied in a formal congressional declaration of war. Before we go further, we should think carefully about why we are heading down this path and where it is likely to lead. Do the rhetoric of war and the actions it sets in motion really serve the urgent purpose of stopping terrorism? And is the launching of war really the only way to demonstrate our love for America?

The Algebra of Infinite Justice
SEPTEMBER 27, 2001
ARUNDAHATI ROY, Activist & Author, New Delhi, India, The Guardian
Terrorism as a phenomenon may never go away. But if it is to be contained, the first step is for America to at least acknowledge that it shares the planet with other nations, with other human beings who, even if they are not on TV, have loves and griefs and stories and songs and sorrows and, for heaven’s sake, rights. Instead, when Donald Rumsfeld, the U.S. defence secretary, was asked what he would call a victory in America’s new war, he said that if he could convince the world that Americans must be allowed to continue with their way of life, he would consider it a victory.

You Won’t Win With Words Alone
OCTOBER 14, 2001
RAGHIDA DERGHAM, Al Hayat
[Engaging the vast majority of moderate Arabs and Muslims as committed partners in the war against terrorism is possible if America rethinks its attitude toward the Arab and Islamic worlds. That means adopting rhetoric that does not appear condescending; establishing a new approach to moderates, including influential Muslim scholars and clerics; reforming relationships with governments in the region; and above all redirecting U.S. foreign policy.

No Glory in an Unjust War on the Weak
OCTOBER 14, 2001
BARBARA KINGSOLVER, LA Times
We need to take a moment’s time out to review the monstrous waste of an endless cycle of retaliation. The biggest weapons don’t win this one, guys. When there are people on Earth willing to give up their lives in hatred and use our own domestic airplanes as bombs, it’s clear that we can’t out-technologize them. You can’t beat cancer by killing every cell in the body—or you could, I guess, but the point would be lost. This is a war of who can hate the most. There is no limit to that escalation. It will only end when we have the guts to say it really doesn’t matter who started it, and begin to try and understand, then alter the forces that generate hatred.
Letter to President Bush  
DECEMBER 6, 2001  
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS  
On a policy level, it seems that the United States would well serve both its own national values and the world community by setting an example in conducting trials in view of the world. Such an undertaking would be important not only to achieve justice in respect of grave crimes, but could also have an educative effect on the international community at large. By keeping most aspects of trials out of the public domain, the United States would be forgoing an opportunity to demonstrate the imperative of human society based on the rule of law, the very destruction of which the terrorists who conducted the 11 September attacks sought to achieve.

The World After September 11  
DECEMBER 8, 2001  
NOAM CHOMSKY, from a speech delivered at AFSC-Tufts “After September 11: Paths to Peace, Justice & Security” Conference  
It is only in folk tales, children’s stories, and the journals of intellectual opinion that power is used wisely and well to destroy evil. The real world teaches very different lessons, and it takes willful and dedicated ignorance to fail to perceive them.

The UN: A Conversation with Winston Langley  
DECEMBER 14, 2001  
BRC Interview with KRISTEN GWINN  
What we need to do, if we wish to conquer terrorism, is understand those underlying conditions of powerlessness, conditions which feed and support the belief that some are losers and some are winners. These conditions create a world that is structured in such a fashion as to promote a fundamental condition I’m going to call a “zero-sum game.” In other words, what one individual gains is precisely what another loses.

We Won’t Deny Our Consciences  
JUNE 14, 2002  
Statement Signed by 70 PROMINENT AMERICANS, The Guardian  
There is a deadly trajectory to the events of the past months that must be seen for what it is and resisted. Too many times in history people have waited until it was too late to resist. President Bush has declared: “You’re either with us or against us.” Here is our answer: We refuse to allow you to speak for all the American people. We will not give up our right to question. We will not hand over our consciences in return for a hollow promise of safety. We say, not in our name. We refuse to be party to these wars and we repudiate any inference that they are being waged in our name or for our welfare. We extend a hand to those around the world suffering from these policies; we will show our solidarity in word and deed.

Bat Shalom Director  
Terry Greenblatt speaks to the UN Security Council  
MAY 7, 2002  
TERRY GREENBLATT, Bat Shalom  
This month Israeli and Palestinian women have once again jointly declared what a just and sustainable peace must look like. I look around this room and, but for ourselves, I do not see any women/see too few women. And I cannot but be aware of the failure of both our local leadership as well as you, the international community, to productively navigate our peoples on a path towards peace. How much of the reason for this is the absence of women in this room, in the countless rooms where decisions are made that affect the daily lives of Israeli and Palestinian men, women and children? I cannot help but be aware that the slim glimmers of hope in this terrible situation have consistently been provided by the grassroots women’s peace activists on both sides. Given this dismal history of past performance, it is unthinkable not to include women, large numbers of women, in the upcoming peace process.

— Edited by Kristen Gwinn

FURTHER READING...  
Noam Chomsky. 9-11. (Seven Stories Press, 2001)  
John L. Esposito. Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam. (Oxford University, 2002)  
Daisaku Ikeda. The World is Yours to Change. (Asahi Press, 2002)  
Arundhati Roy. Power Politics. (South End Press, 2001)  
Howard Zinn and Anthony Arnowe, Eds. Terrorism & War. (Seven Stories Press, 2002)
Literature and the Moral Imagination

continued from page 1

Coles illustrates how literature cuts across gender, race, and class lines, as well as time and space.

Like many teachers who have witnessed the transformative power of literature, Coles attributes lasting benefits to profound engagement with stories. “Again and again, instructed by novelists, students remind themselves of life’s contingencies; and in so doing, they take matters of choice and commitment more seriously than they might otherwise have done,” he states.

But the real point of it all, according to most humanistic educators, including Coles, is to connect high-quality literature to the student’s own moral imagination as the world within and the external world meet on that mysterious terrain called “the literary experience.” In her seminal work written in 1938, Literature as Exploration, New York University Professor Emerita Louise Rosenblatt argues that literature is anything but external, authoritative, and fixed. Her “transactional” approach recognizes a give and take between the text and the unique, subjective experience that each reader brings to it. According to Rosenblatt, the teacher’s goal should be to help the student build trust in personal experience through the study of literature. Most importantly, Rosenblatt urges, we must teach literature so that the student engages emotionally with the text to such a degree that a literary experience, so critical to igniting the moral imagination, occurs.

Is this what schools are doing? In some cases, the answer would be a resounding “yes,” but in other cases, dog-eared classics taught in isolation from students’ real-world lives form the basis of the language arts and literature curriculum. How might some of the more progressive thinking on literature-based learning transform the study of literature and, at the same time, address other important aspects of global citizenship education: self-awareness, cultural awareness, interdisciplinary connections, and conflict resolution skills?

In her book entitled Educating Moral People: A Caring Alternative to Character Education, Nel Noddings enlarges the connection between literature and the moral imagination by insisting that it encompass critical thinking. “I want to argue, first, for the use of stories in developing the capacity that might safely establish a starting point for critical thinking and the philosophical study of morality and ethics,” she says at the beginning of a section entitled “The Power of Stories.”

Taking this point a step further, it seems evident that in order to connect literature to the moral life of students in a global society, we need to make sure that our students encounter literature written out of a wide range of cultures: Indian, Asian, Caribbean, African, and Middle Eastern. We might also follow Noddings’ suggestion of interdisciplinary studies with literature playing a central role. She proposes thematic units built around love or friendship, for example. The unit on love might include Shakespeare’s Romeo and Juliet and Hawthorne’s The Scarlett Letter, both of which offer excellent opportunities for a study of intolerance. Noddings even proposes that love be studied in tandem with violence and explicitly argues for the inclusion of women’s lives and traditions in all interdisciplinary endeavors.

One “real life” value of literature is its application to conflict resolution, a critical skill in a global society. At Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Stories is a K-8 initiative that utilizes literary narratives and fictional characters to address how problems were solved, and might have been solved. Literature-based learning publishers such as Sundance Publishing have developed impressive curriculum materials to help students and teachers think their way through literary works with a heightened level of awareness. Sundance Publishing’s curriculum entitled ReACT (an acronym for “Reading And Critical Thinking”) addresses the “Thinking Process” first and then moves on to “Literary Analysis.”

Literature is so much more than a means of testing reading levels or entertaining young people. With creativity and critical thinking on both sides of the desk, it could become a lifelong resource for new generations of global citizens. While creating an environment in which a meaningful experience with literature can occur still rests with teachers who understand the possibilities of stories in the context of their students’ lives, we all have a responsibility, and an opportunity, to expect the best from our schools in this vital area of learning.

— Patti Marxsen

FYI: Another article on literature and global citizenship by Patti Marxsen will appear in the November 2002 issue of KOLOR, an international journal edited by Johan Leman of the Catholic University of Leuven (Belgium). The article entitled “Shedding Light on Darkest Africa: Global Reading for Global Understanding” reviews the literature of Africa over the past 100 years and suggests books and stories appropriate for young people. For information on subscribing to KOLOR, or to obtain a copy of the November issue which focuses on Ethnicities in Flow, please contact Professor Leman at kolor@foyer.be.
Before we talk about “the healing power of dialogue,” we have to carefully define the meaning of “healing” and of “dialogue.” For me, healing in this context means healing the wounds of separation inherent in modern society. We are separate from nature and animals. We are separate from society and other people. We have misunderstood the real meaning of individual responsibility by creating lives of isolation.

When Daisaku Ikeda founded the BRC in 1993, he gave a talk at Harvard University in which he encouraged everyone to engage in dialogue with an open mind. He also said that dialogue is open-ended and we must develop our skills in order to be capable of dialogue. Patience is needed but that is not the most difficult thing; what can be more difficult is developing an appropriate attitude, a deep awareness of others. This is what allows us to create real harmony.

In her book entitled Educating Moral People (Teachers College Press, 2001), Nel Noddings says, “Dialogue is the most fundamental concept of the care model.” This statement points to the close connection between dialogue and caring, between dialogue and our ability to understand others, which comes, primarily, from listening. Nel Noddings is deeply aware of the human sensitivity involved in dialogue, and she is deeply aware of the power of that sensitivity to heal wounds.

But listening and caring are not enough. Sometimes we give food or money to suffering people. But this does not necessarily mean we understand other people’s feelings. It means I understand my feelings: I feel sorry, I care, I want to do something about it. Before you can really care, you must understand other people’s feelings so that we understand them and see ourselves as they see us.

We should also listen to nature. We can learn from nature in many ways and this knowledge allows us to restore life force and harmony. I think this is something that Western culture may have to learn from Eastern culture, this sense of oneness with nature. This awareness comes from a kind of communication with nature.

Internal dialogue is also important because sometimes we are also separated from ourselves. When we engage in self-reflection, we think of our past self, of the present self, and of the future self. We should never be satisfied with the self that exists at this moment. It is better to reflect and ask questions: Are my current thoughts correct or is there deeper meaning to draw out of this? Am I growing? Am I contributing enough? Comparing ourselves with our past selves and our ideal selves, rather than with others, helps us grow. When we understand ourselves, we are in a good position to listen to and understand others.

— Masao Yokota
President, Boston Research Center

Global Dialogue and Peace Building

An international symposium focused on dialogue as a necessary step in peacebuilding was cosponsored by the Boston Research Center, the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research, Simon Fraser University, and Soka University in Tokyo on July 12, 2002. The keynote speaker was Professor Tadashi Takamura, director of the Peace Institute of Soka University. Other presentations included a paper by Robert Anderson, director of the Dialogue Institute at Simon Fraser University, on “Economic Cooperation and Peacebuilding.”

A list of participants is below:
Robert Anderson, Director of the Dialogue Institute at Simon Fraser University
Donna J. McInnis, Associate Professor, Department of English Literature, Soka University
Tadashi Takamura, Director of the Peace Institute of Soka University
Virginia Straus, Director of the Boston Research Center
Majid Tehranian, Director of the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research
Milton Wong, Chancellor of Simon Fraser University
PM: Do you believe that Israeli and Palestinian societies will be able to find common ground?

NY: Right now, of course, all bets are off. Everything is so shaken up that one wonders what sort of society can exist there. But the future for the Israelis must involve coming to terms with the fact that, while their cultural traditions are European, they live in a Middle Eastern environment; they will have to make friends with the people around them. They will have to make some adjustments, and maybe even some sacrifices. The most important sacrifice they must make, in my opinion, is that they should get out of those settlements, which they have no right to anyway.

PM: What can the United States do to encourage an era of peace and stability in this region?

NY: The United States is in a very difficult position because there is a very powerful internal dynamic which does not recognize the significance of the Palestinian cause and is, at the same time, geared to supporting the most extreme kinds of Israeli actions.

PM: It’s troubling for many Americans to be in a position of endorsing our current Middle East policy. Do you imagine that our policy might change?

NY: It will be very difficult for it to change and this is the reason why the matter appears to be terribly intractable. The United States is the only power with the keys to a solution, and yet the keys are in the pocket of the President and he will not, or is not able, to bring them out.

PM: America has supported the Israeli government to such a huge extent that we are, clearly, in the thick of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But do we hold the keys that would unlock a solution to the threat of global terrorism as well?

NY: As long as the United States supports Israel so strongly, a position which makes life impossible for the Palestinians, it is very difficult for the Palestinians and their circle of supporters—first of all the Arab states—to take a position in which they criticize those who are supporting their cause. Bin Laden is, effectively, supporting the cause of the Palestinians, the Arabs, against the colonial powers. This becomes a very compelling argument.

PM: So you’re saying that the Palestinian cause remains central to all of the Arab states and to the problem of global terrorism.

NY: Yes. And worse, I think the Palestinian cause is bringing about something that is totally unexpected which is a kind of national consciousness among Arabs. So far, the Arabs have been totally divided; they have been totally diverse in their governments, attitudes, relations with the West, and with each other. But this cause is bringing the Arab people together. In time, we are going to see much more of a national consciousness emerge among the Arabs, which is going to be much more difficult to handle all around, for Israel especially, but also for the United States.

PM: Do you see a contradiction in America’s declaration of a “war on terrorism” and our support for what the Palestinians experience as terrorism on a day-to-day basis?

NY: That is exactly what the Palestinians think. But of course, it is ironic that the Israelis think the same thing in a parallel way and regard Palestinians as terrorists.

PM: If we’re all terrorists, what does terrorism mean?

NY: The United Nations spent a lot of time trying to figure out what terrorism is and they didn’t reach any conclusion. Then there was a meeting of the Islamic countries and they tried to come to an agreement, and they didn’t come up with anything. It cannot be easily defined.

PM: I read an article recently by a Women’s Studies professor, Catherine McKinnon, who proposed that domestic violence be understood as a form of terrorism.

NY: I would entirely agree with that. Domestic terror is the worst kind of terror because it’s very intimate terror. One of the things one sees as an anthropologist is the terrible treatment of women in culture after culture after culture. That really must change through education.

PM: You’ve said elsewhere that we need to be better governed on ‘spaceship Earth.’ What would better governments look like? Could you make a few suggestions?

NY: Well, I am very much in the mind of the principles of the French Revolution: liberty, equality, brotherhood.

PM: Let’s not forget, those revolutionaries were terrorists too.

NY: Well, yes, Robespierre said that terror was a form of virtue, to his eternal misfortune. But a good society, a well-governed society, is one in
We are pleased to announce the publication of...

**Subverting Greed: Religious Perspectives on the Global Economy**

The Center’s newest book entitled *Subverting Greed: Religious Perspectives on the Global Economy* (Orbis Books 2002) was launched at the American Academy of Religion conference in Toronto, November 22-25, 2002. Coeditor Paul F. Knitter was on hand, along with representatives from Orbis Books, as over 100 scholars gathered to celebrate the publication of this interfaith dialogue on the impact of corporate-driven globalization. Following this gathering, Professor Knitter traveled to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, where he and coeditor Chandra Muzaffar introduced the book to an international conference entitled “The Challenge of Globalization: Towards a Shared Universal Spiritual Moral Ethic.” The conference was sponsored by the International Movement for a Just World, of which Muzaffar is the president. Chapter titles and authors are listed below:

**Preface:** Virginia Straus

**Foreword:** Daisaku Ikeda

**Introduction:** Paul F. Knitter, Professor of Theology Emeritus, Xavier University

**Chapter 1:** Igbo and African Religious Perspectives on Religious Conscience and the Global Economy by Ifi Amadiume, Dartmouth College

**Chapter 2:** Religious Conscience and the Global Economy: An Eastern Perspective on Sociospiritual Activism by Swami Agni Vesh, Activist and Chair of the United Nations Trust Fund on Contemporary Forms of Slavery and the Bandhua Mukti Morcha (Bonded Labor Liberation Front)

**Chapter 3:** Pave the Planet, or Wear Shoes? A Buddhist Perspective on Greed and Globalization by David R. Loy, Bunkyo University, Chigasaki, Japan

**Chapter 4:** A Confucian View of the Global Economy by Zhou Qin, National University of Singapore

**Chapter 5:** Judaism and Economic Reform by Norman Solomon, Member of the Faculties of Theology and of Oriental Studies at Oxford University

**Chapter 6:** God’s Household: Christianity, Economics, and Planetary Living by Sallie McFague, Vancouver School of Theology

**Chapter 7:** Globalization and Greed: A Muslim Perspective by Ameer Ali, University of Western Australia

**Conclusion:** Chandra Muzaffar, President, the International Movement for a Just World

Professors who would like to consider *Subverting Greed* for course adoptions may request a complimentary examination copy by contacting the Publications Department at the Boston Research Center via email, pubs@brc21.org, or via our Web site, www.brc21.org. Book orders must be placed through Orbis Books by calling 1-800-258-5838 or by visiting the Orbis Web site, www.orbisbooks.com.

**Global Citizenship Book Becomes a “Work-in-Progress”**

An impressive slate of contributors is hard at work on the Center’s forthcoming book, *A Test of Character: Educating Global Citizens in America*. In addition to a substantive Introduction by editor Nel Noddings, the educators/scholars listed below will also be contributing chapters to the Perspectives section of the book. Another section, entitled Resources, will provide a directory of innovative programs for globally-minded teachers to learn about and incorporate into their classrooms. Nicholas C. Donohue, commissioner of education for the New Hampshire Department of Education, will write an Introduction to the Resources section:

- **Place-based Education to Preserve the Earth and its People** by Nel Noddings, Stanford University Professor Emerita
- **Schools and Communities: Local, National, and Global Identities** by Gloria Ladson-Billings, University of Wisconsin

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Book Talk
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• What Do We Teach When We Teach History? Cultures of War and Cultures of Peace Inside and Outside of the Classroom by Michael True, Assumption College
• Gender Issues in Global Perspective by Peggy McIntosh, Wellesley Centers for Women, Wellesley College
• The Worldwide Cry for Meaning: Dealing Openly with Religious and Spiritual Differences in Secular Classrooms by Robert Nash, University of Vermont
• Teaching Conflict Transformation: Complexity, Ambiguity, and Non-adversarial Dialogue by Nancy Carlsson-Paige of Lesley University and Linda Lantieri of Educators for Social Responsibility

Guest Interview
continued from page 12

which people feel they have equal chances to find fulfillment and where there is a sense of justice. How do we achieve that in the world? I believe that this idea of human rights—the rights of individuals—must be respected throughout the world. And I must add that this is a highly idealistic, highly impractical position.

PM: How might your idealism become reality?
NY: The way to begin is by supporting institutions like the International Criminal Court (ICC). We also need to think about human rights in regional terms, because there are sufficient cultural differences between regions and their concepts of human beings and their concepts of what is proper and what is acceptable. We need to encourage the United Nations to begin to develop regional courts of human rights.

PM: How would this work?
NY: The European Union has now a Court of Human Rights to which citizens of different countries can appeal. It passes judgments and exacts punishments which are payments from governments involved. I know of this because Turkish citizens have been applying to the European Court of Human Rights and they have been getting justice. They are getting the Turkish government to pay them for the miseries that have been visited upon them.

Step by step, we’ll get to a larger concept of a supreme court of human rights within the context of the United Nations. I think it would be extremely shortsighted of the U.S. to think that its tremendous military power is good enough, that we don’t need the international institutions. We need international institutions now more than ever.

PM: And yet the ICC entered into force on July 1, 2002, without the support of the U.S. It’s an embarrassment.
NY: I agree. It has been an embarrassment for my colleagues at Harvard Law School. And as I travel throughout the world, I am asked about this. People are absolutely stunned.

PM: If you could gather 100 leaders in a room together and initiate a dialogue, what would you ask them to talk about?
NY: Human rights, the rights of each individual human being. André Gide once said that the individual is the most irreplaceable of beings. A moment’s thought indicates how true this is. Therefore, individual rights are absolutely vital and extremely precious.

PM: Can one envision peace without human rights?
NY: No.

PM: So we have to start there...
NY: I think so, yes. And I think the United States is in a particularly good position in this respect because notwithstanding all that we have heard about how much people hate Americans, the U.S.—with its wonderful Constitution, with its wonderful record of welcoming people to this country and giving them the opportunity to flourish—has been a beacon of liberty and hope for peace for the rest of the world. It pains me to see that this immense source of good will is being lost.
The Mission Statement of the
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The Boston Research Center for the 21st Century is an international peace and justice institute that fosters dialogue among scholars and activists on common values across cultures and religions. We seek in this way to support an evolving global ethic for a peaceful twenty-first century. The Center collaborates with universities and citizen groups to sponsor symposia, conferences, lectures, and other dialogues that bring attention to constructive ideas for the development of civil society and peace cultures worldwide. Focal points of the Center’s work include human rights, nonviolence, environmental ethics, economic justice, education for global citizenship, and women’s leadership for peace. The Center was founded in 1993 by Daisaku Ikeda, a Buddhist peace activist and President of Soka Gakkai International (SGI), a religious association with members in 181 countries.

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We’ve heard and read many “experts” on the world situation since that terrible morning over a year ago when approximately 2,500 people were killed in terrorist attacks on America. And yet it’s clear that no journalist, scholar, politician, economist, or religious leader has all the answers. In fact, it seems that no one individual from any walk of life is in a position to fully comprehend the complexity of our post-9/11 predicament. If ever we needed a synthesis of many minds and hearts, it is now.

Every article in this issue speaks to this need for collective response and collective action. Whether we focus on the healing power of dialogue, the importance of compassion, restorative justice, “subverting greed,” or global citizenship education, we are ever mindful that it will take many people and many endeavors to repair our broken world. The selection of Perspectives on Terrorism and Nonviolence highlights a few eloquent voices who have spoken out with courage and with hope for the future. As usual, our intention is to heighten awareness of the possibilities for peace as a way of affirming your own path of hope and action.

— Patti Marxsen
Publications Manager

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— Patti Marxsen
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