

Book Reviews: Understanding A Globalized World

In the last year, a number of authors have addressed issues of terrorism, globalization and the relationship between the West, including the United States, and the rest of the world. For this theme section on the 21st century, six teachers reviewed books that may be useful to social studies colleagues.

- **Benjamin R. Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy* (New York: Ballantine Books 2000; 1995).**
- Caleb Carr, *The Lessons of Terror A History of Warfare Against Civilians: Why It Has Failed and Why It Will Fail Again* (NY: Random House, 2002).
- Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
- Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Between Islam and the West* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Fredrik Logevall, ed., *Terrorism and 9/11: A Reader* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2002).
- Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson, eds., *Rethinking Globalization: Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World* (Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools, 2002).

Jihad vs. McWorld

by Kenneth W. Leman

On September 12, 2002, I was barely two weeks into my student teaching assignment. Throughout that day, the students in my classes wondered about the horrific events of September 11th with a question which has since been on the lips and in the minds of many Americans. "Why", they asked, "would anyone hate the United States so much as to do these things?"

In the newest edition of his book *Jihad vs. McWorld*, political scientist Benjamin R. Barber attempts to address this question within a larger context of world events. According to Barber, the antipathy which propelled the murderous acts of the September 11th terrorists is fueled by the reactions of people throughout the world to the spread of a Western-dominated, consumerist, secular, global economic system, a system which he calls "McWorld". The resistant, sometimes violent, response to McWorld, a response which draws its support from disintegrating tribal societies, displaced and marginalized work forces, citizenry of currently repressive or former Communist countries and reactionary religious fundamentalism, he calls "Jihad." Barber believes that as long as McWorld grows unchecked, Jihad in some form or other will emerge in response and threaten people, cultures and the social, civic and economic systems upon which they depend.

Barber's book does not offer an American-bashing message nor does he suggest that "we had it coming". He supports armed responses to terrorist acts, arguing that they are often perpetrated by anarchic nihilists for whom destruction is a goal and negotiation of grievances will never be an option. Yet, the author's primary concerns are ones which Americans and other world citizens would do well to consider as our planet enters a new phase of both benefit and conflict. As Barber puts it, we are currently in a "war between modernity and its aggrieved critics." He further explains and warns "that democracy is caught between a clash of movements (McWorld and Jihad), each of which for its own reasons seems indifferent to freedom's fate, and might suffer grievously. It is now apparent, as we mount a new military offensive against Jihad (understood not as Islam but as militant fundamentalism) that democracy rather than terrorism may become the principle victim of the battle currently being waged."

In a wide ranging and well-documented discussion, Barber describes how the rise of multinational corporations has resulted in a world in which global business has unequally distributed capital, goods, services and jobs based largely on a myopic focus on profit, market share and control of resources. This disequilibrium brings not only marked spheres of wealth and poverty, but also supernational business power unrestrained by sovereign nation-states. It is this capitalism "out of the box" which controls wealth and its production, not civic government, and has put a homogenous, Western-American stamp on consumption of consumer goods and services, communications, entertainment and culture throughout the entire world. In response to this "McWorld", Barber states that there is a worldwide "Jihad" reaction (including in the United States) to this new world of secular, crass consumerism - a reaction which calls for a return to old ways, to isolationism, ethnic insularity and xenophobia, and to rejection of democracy, civil freedoms and the modern nation-state.

Jihad vs. McWorld is strongest in its examination of examples of how Western economic and cultural dominance have failed to promote, and sometimes inhibited, the spread of democratic reform throughout First,

Second and Third World countries. Barber is especially convincing when discussing the former Communist Eastern Europe countries struggling attempts to build new governments and economies, the violent reaction of the Islamic world to the spread of Western secularism, the systematic increase of wealth under undemocratic governments such as China's, and the growth of political and religious reactionism within America to our own country's changing economy and shifting moral, racial and religious values.

Barber's arguments sometimes suffer from conclusions that are too sweeping. I believe he overstates the relationship between world conflict and the McWorld-Jihad tension to the exclusion of all other factors. The issues which he raises are complex and it would be hard to present to Social Studies students the idea that most of the world's troubles can be laid to the excesses of McWorld and the backward looking reaction of Jihad.

In *Social Science Docket, Winter-Spring, 2002*, I discussed websites that focus on globalization. Below, I list additional material teachers can consult as they examine multiple perspectives on the battle between *Jihad vs. McWorld* and its impact on the world.

The Lessons of Terror

by Norman Markowitz

Caleb Carr is a military historian who believes virtually all warfare from ancient Rome to September 11, 2001 included aspects of terrorism. He calls his solution to the present international crisis "progressive war." Its essential features include: "refusal to target civilians, constant offensive readiness, the ability to achieve surprise, an emphasis on discriminatory tactical operations, and the strength to act alone, if necessary, in order to vigorously tend to our security." Its key component is a policy of "preemptive military offenses" against terrorists and "the states that harbor, supply, and otherwise assist them" (13). Carr believes that these "strategies, tactics, and policies have been confirmed by two thousand years of hard experience, experience that must finally overcome prevarication that passes for caution" (256).

In this book, Carr defines terrorism as "warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable" (6). He criticizes both the atomic bombing of Japan at the end of World War II (181) and the "carpet bombing of North Vietnam and the pervasive use of napalm" (194) during the War in Vietnam as acts of military terrorism. Carr also claims that "warfare against civilians, whether inspired by hatred, revenge, greed, or political and psychological insecurity, has been one of the most ultimately self-defeating tactics in all military history" and "must never be answered in kind" (6).

A problem, however, is that Carr does not distinguish between acts of terrorism and atrocities committed against civilians that are associated with traditional warfare. I believe his failure to do this undermines his arguments and limits the usefulness of the book. Carr literally fights his way through history, chronicling the barbarities of great empires, Christian, Muslim, Aztec, and those who rose against them, denouncing everyone for their savagery and their military inefficiencies. He also has a tendency to read history selectively while making grandiose assertions without sufficient supportive evidence. The Crusades of the Middle Ages are no more a cause of contemporary issues of terrorism than the 14th century battle of Kosovo was to the Yugoslav Civil War of the 1990s. These sweeping connections give the book an ahistorical quality that threaten his thesis.

Carr has an interesting discussion of the traditional Christian and Muslim religious definitions of warfare. But his explanations focus on theological claims and ignore that religions are complicated social institutions and power structures, not just belief systems. Christianity undermined the Roman Empire, an empire of slaves and provinces conquered by Rome's legions, with its doctrines of peace. However, once it was instituted as the state religion, the Church supported the empire, superseded and subordinated "pagan" belief systems, provided a philosophical defense for "just wars," and gave practical aid to temporal rulers who often came from the same families as church leaders. Similarly, Islam, which spread rapidly by military conquest in the seventh century, defined "just wars" in ways that benefited military rulers who fought in "defense of the faith."

When discussing revolutions, Carr is dismissive of guerrilla tactics used by colonized people since the American War for Independence and the revolutionary violence of mass popular uprisings in France and Russia. He fails to distinguish between their behavior and the state-sponsored terrorist acts of repressive regimes which were often supported by British Intelligence forces and the CIA. Carr's analysis almost always favors the exploiters and oppressors, particularly the British Empire. In Palestine, he describes the British as "the protector" of the Jews. In

India, he ignores its role in setting the stage for the civil war of the late 1940s that created the Muslim separatist state of Pakistan.

Carr is so determined to make his case and justify proactive military intervention by the United States around the globe that he ignores or misinterprets the social, economic and political forces that shaped the modern world. An explanation of terrorism and war needs to address how the rise of commercial capitalism in the 16th through 18th centuries served as the basis for the colonization of the Western Hemisphere; the role of colonialism and imperialism in creating and/or exacerbating the ethnic and religious rivalries that produce cycles of violence and counter-violence; and how the huge disparity in wealth and power between industrialized countries and the rest of the world contributed to imperialism, world war, and a globalization that benefits the few at the expense of the many. I find Eric Hobsbawm's histories of the modern world, *Age of Empire*, and *Age of Extremes*, insightful and infinitely more valuable for teachers.

Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke of "positive peace," peace with social justice, as the answer to violence and war. Finding regional economic and political solutions to the conflict in the Middle East, South Asia, Africa, and Latin America based on fair labor standards, international planning to raise standards of nutrition, employment, education, housing and health care, is the only vaccine against the social diseases that the bin Ladens of the world prey upon. Working through the United Nations and its sister social agencies to develop a global policy that fosters equality, rather than working with and through the IMF and World Bank to foster inequality in the name of "free markets" is the only long-range social answer to the poverty and oppression that constitutes both the cause and the effect of the violence that is endemic against civilians throughout the third world. I believe a foreign policy based on "positive peace" is the best answer to Carr's call for "progressive war," which is another name for unilateral military intervention of the kind that characterized the British Empire in the past and many United States military actions in recent decades.

"Empire" Strikes Back

by John J. McNamara

The tragedy of September 11, 2001, clearly demonstrates that the United States is a target of terrorism. Dramatic developments in technology during the last several decades provide disaffected groups with access to destructive power that was once only available to national governments. Problems in remote parts of the world that previously could have been ignored, now have a significant impact on the quality of American life. The United States is no longer safely ensconced behind its ocean fortress and nuclear shield. Indeed, the whole idea of "nation," as a distinct military, economic, social, cultural and political unit may no longer have the same meaning.

Barriers and boundaries that once existed have been dismantled by "globalization." The First, Second, and Third Worlds have become "one and inseparable." A paradox of this new world order has been increasing disorder that has made it necessary for the United States to both exercise global leadership and to pursue collective cooperation among the world's nations. Into this crucible of insecurity and uncertainty, "Empire" strikes back!

Empire is the title of a provocative book by political scientists, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. They assert that although the European imperialist regimes have collapsed since the end of World War II and the opposition of the Soviet Union and its allies to capitalist world markets has disintegrated, a new variety of "Empire" has arisen from these ruins and formed another global order.

While the empires of the past relied on the force of occupying armies, territorial domination and economic exploitation by national (usually European) states, "Empire" in today's world focuses on the "globalization" of economic markets, cultural exchanges, and communication circuits. The primary factors of production and transaction, namely goods, money, people, and technology, move with increasing fluidity across national boundaries, and nation states have significantly less power to regulate their flow and impose their authority even within their borders of influence.

The basic thesis of the authors is that a new global form of sovereignty has emerged; what they call "Empire." In contrast to traditional imperialism, "Empire" establishes no territorial center of power and is not constructed with fixed boundaries or barriers. The sovereignty of nation-states has declined and yielded to a "decentered and deterritorialized" apparatus of rule that incorporates the entire global realm with open borders, hybrid identities, and plural exchanges. In short, the distinct national colors of the traditional imperialist map of the world have blended

and merged into a “global rainbow.” The world market has been transformed by the communication and technology revolutions and has “globalized” beyond the capacity and purview of nation states.

The authors contend that this new global sovereignty draws its strength from Western belief systems and institutions, such as the republicanism of the United States Constitution with its concepts of guaranteed individual rights, the pursuit of happiness, and expanding frontiers. In their view this transformation should be welcomed for the passage to “Empire” and increased “globalization” offer new opportunities for the forces of liberation.

Hardt and Negri envision a democratic popular movement toward a form of global communism committed to greater economic, political, and social democracy and equity throughout the world. Although this struggle of the multitude will cause global discomfort and instability, as exemplified in the protests against global finance and trade, against the abuses of child labor and women, and the threats of global warming, the authors applaud these disruptions as part of an effort to overcome international exploitation.

The authors suggest three demands that should be placed on the agenda of the “multitude”: the global right to immigration (global citizenship); the global right to a social wage, and global collective ownership of the means of production (which includes both the means of producing and circulating goods and services). The achievement of these goals will be the end of “Empire.”

Hardt and Negri see these changes as possible because “Empire” requires increased coordination and communication. Communication is to Hardt and Negri what production was to Karl Marx, the central activity of society necessary to achieve social development. Like production, communication requires labor to produce goods and deliver services. Hardt and Negri assert that “the central role previously occupied by the labor power of mass factory workers in the production of surplus value is today increasingly filled by intellectual, immaterial, and communicative labor power.” Through their commitment, resistance, and struggle the democratic demands and desires of the global multitude can be achieved. In their visionary Neo-Marxist view, Hardt and Negri offer the reader a theoretical framework and a toolbox of ideas how to meet the global challenges of emerging “Empire.”

The challenge for social studies educators is to analyze and assess this concept of “Empire,” integrate its insights into our understanding of history, apply it to the complex whirl of world events, and then find a way to refigure the global history curriculum. Defining key questions is probably the best way to begin. How should the United States function within this new global order? Should it assume and can it afford the role of international policeman? If it does, has the United States donned the mantle of imperialist power that was previously worn by the European powers? Is it a paradox of power that the United States should pursue collective cooperation with other nations in order to lead the fight against global terrorism? Does the United States have a mission to share and spread its democratic values and republican form of government with other people and nations? Can terrorism be best fought with the “soft power” of economic and technological assistance as well as humanitarian programs rather than the “hard power” of military might? Should the United States exercise its commercial and economic to further the cause of global human rights?

These questions pose relevant and vital issues for students’ critical thinking and class discussion. Indeed, American policymakers as well as students need to reevaluate the proper role of our nation, and even the idea of nation, in the world today. As Obi- Wan, Luke and their allies learned after an initial victory in *Star Wars*, *The Empire Strikes Back!*

What Went Wrong

by Kenneth Kaufman

Is the pen mightier than the sword? According to the father of the modern Turkish Republic, Kemal Ataturk, the pen indeed posed a mightier threat to the world of Islam. In 1925 Ataturk argued that “the Turkish victory of 1453 (over the remnants of the Byzantine Empire), and the conquest of Constantinople,” reinforced the “resistance of the men of law . . . in Turkey” to “the printing press which had been invented at about the same time. Three centuries of observation and hesitation were needed . . . before antiquated laws and their exponents would permit the entry of printing. . .” To the Ottoman sultans, masters of the Muslim world, printing the Holy Koran was a desecration of holy words and printing was forbidden in their empire.

Bernard Lewis, author of *What Went Wrong, Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (2002), is a professor at Princeton University. For Lewis, the failure of Islamic leaders to understand the true threat against it in the 15th century continues to affect Islam’s position in the world today. It lies behind the frustration and anger that

emerge in the Islamic world as its perceived enemies continue to triumph. Lewis believes the key problem in the Islamic world is whether it can incorporate modern technology and science without abandoning the Koran and traditional religious beliefs.

This book was already in the process of being published before the September, 2001 attacks by the al Qaeda network in the United States and does not specifically address them. However the work, an anthology of European lectures given by Lewis, does examine the long sequence of events that lead up to the attacks. It starts with the 7th century advent of Islam on the Arabian peninsula. Lewis believes the rush out of the desert created a religion with an economic, political, and, social framework similar to that of the early Christian church and the ancient Jewish Torah. Religious and political leaders, however, found themselves confronted by the need to govern millions of people in an empire that stretched from the Indus River to the border of France.

The solution to their problem was the creation of a caliphate, an office designating official successors to Muhammad. It was established to insure justice, provide secular leadership and defend the religious law. The caliph's powers grew immensely with the spread of Islam and by the 16th century, the sultans of the Ottoman Turkish Empire and in Iran were recognized as the premier defenders of Islam.

At first the Caliph's appeared to have the upper hand in their battle with the non-Islamic world. By 1683, the Ottoman Turkish empire extended from Mesopotamia to Spain and from the Nile River to the banks of Danube River. But from that point on, the Islamic world faced a series of devastating defeats at the hands of an industrializing and increasingly imperialistic Christian Europe. Only recently, by insisting on the divorce of religion from state, has the nation of Turkey been able to enter the modern military, economic and technological world.

A major issue raised by Lewis is whether Islamic nations and leaders that reject a secular alternative will ever be able to satisfy the needs and aspirations of their populations. He suspects that frustration will continue to grow as the standard of living in the Islamic world not only slips further behind Europe and North America, but falls behind Asian societies as well. Lewis believes that change cannot be forced on the Islamic world from the outside, but will depend on whether the Islamic masses are willing to embrace modernization.

Terrorism and 9/11

by Doug Kramer

On September 11, 2001, the expression "9/11" entered the American lexicon as a symbol for an event that may have changed life in the United States forever. On that day, feelings in this country ranged from extreme disbelief, to confusion, pain, fear, and anger. Time may calm our emotions, but only knowledge will reduce our confusion. To help us better understand the issues, Fredrik Logevall (2002) has assembled a collection of twelve readings that discuss "terrorism" and the meaning of 9/11. Logevall's intent in this brief book (less than 150 pages) is to give students and teachers "a better grasp of the roots of the current conflict and a surer sense of the obstacles that stand in the way of genuine and lasting resolution of it."

Logevall focuses the discussion of terrorism on one central theme. He believes it represents a battle over "hearts and minds" in the Islamic world. The selections are designed to provide an overview of how this battle developed ("A Brief History of Terrorism," "The Roots of Muslim Rage," "Afghanistan: Graveyard of Empires") where we stand now, ("The Compatibility of Islam and Democracy," "How the US Helped Midwife a Terrorist," "Osama bin Laden, An Interview," "Buried Alive," "Jihad vs. McWorld," "The Counterterrorist Myth," "Pakistan and the Taliban") and what lies ahead ("They're Only Sleeping," "The Globalization of Islam"). The readings offer a well-rounded view of the conflict, though some are much more useful to teachers than others.

The strength of this book lies in the selections that describe how terrorists, Osama bin Laden in particular, and governments interact. Milton Bearden calls an essay on the "Great Game" in Central Asia, "Afghanistan: Graveyard of Empires." This is an excellent reading for a Global History class. Bearden discusses the history of the region from Alexander the Great through the Taliban in a piece that is clear and easy to read. Geographical connections are incorporated along with references to other writers, including Kipling. It concludes with the collapse of Soviet power in the region at the end of the Cold War and the emergence of Afghanistan as a magnet for the disenfranchised, religious fundamentalists and potential terrorists. Logevall includes an interview with Bin Laden. Although it is not that informative, it does offer as close a glimpse of Bin Laden as we have at the moment.

There are several other articles that could be helpful in the high school classroom. Benjamin Barber's "Jihad vs. McWorld" is an excellent analysis of cultural conflict in the contemporary world. "Buried Alive" by Jan Goodwin

describes the Taliban's treatment of women. Goodwin tries to separate the teachings of Mohammed from the abuse that she sees taking place under the guise of Islam. She quotes several Islamic experts to demonstrate that "there is no compulsion in Islam" that requires the covering of a woman's face or prohibiting education for women. Her indictment of the Taliban is summed up, "Obviously, the Taliban's military prowess far exceeds their knowledge of Islam." In addition to the obvious human rights issue, this article highlights the contradictions and hypocrisies that are rife in the battle for "hearts and minds" in the Islamic world. The United States initially stayed aloof from protests against the mistreatment of women because of the concerns of Unocal, a large and influential oil company that wanted to develop ties with the Taliban in order to exploit the energy resources of the region.

Logevall tries to offer readers a glimpse into what awaits in the future. "They're Only Sleeping" and "Pakistan and the Taliban" argue that the fall of the Taliban did not eliminate either the causes or likelihood of further terrorist acts. The most disturbing article for me was "The Counterterrorist Myth", which analyses the CIA's operations in Afghanistan, particularly its inability to infiltrate or monitor radical organizations in the area.

I believe the primary weakness of the book was in efforts to demonstrate an historical connection between Islamic religious fundamentalism and terrorism. Bernard Lewis, in "The Roots of Muslim Rage", raises many questions but he fails to offer or prove any thesis as to why there is a "Muslim Rage" in the world today.

Rethinking Globalization

by Nick Santora

"Think globally, act locally." This term was coined by Rene Dubos, an eminent biologist, when he served as an advisor to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972. According to Dubos, what we do in our own surroundings affects the whole world. What we buy, wear, eat, and throw out affects poor people throughout the world.

These frequently overlooked connections are thoroughly documented and examined in *Rethinking Globalization: Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World* (Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools, 2002), a series of essays, photographs, cartoons, poems, and lesson plans edited by Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson. Bigelow teaches social studies at a high school in Portland, Oregon. Peterson teaches social studies at an elementary school in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. They are both editors of *Rethinking Schools*, a prominent and socially conscious newspaper for teachers that also publishes educational materials. Issues discussed in this book include colonialism, multiculturalism, overpopulation, world hunger, child labor, sweat shops, environmental degradation, free trade and the grossly uneven distribution of wealth throughout the world. The "Resources" chapter alone is worth the price of the book. There is a large and delightfully varied list of songs, videos, books, journals, organizations and websites that provides a cornucopia of resource and research material for students and teachers alike.

The strength of *Rethinking Globalization* is in the many creative and meaningful lesson plans included in the collection that support the articles. The book employs a number of parable-like demonstrations. A lesson on Poverty and World Resources by Peterson and fellow teacher Susan Hersh instructs children to distribute chips on a world map according to population. They are guided by a World Population and Wealth-by-Continent chart denoting a continent's population and wealth in terms of Gross National Product. Groups of students are then assigned one of the seven continents. Chocolate chip cookies, representing a continent's wealth, are given to them. When they realize the less populated continents are receiving the most cookies, they regroup for discussion of what the inequality of wealth means in terms of people's lives. Who decides how wealth is distributed? Is wealth distributed fairly "within" a particular continent or nation? Students are assigned follow-up research on related topics including the role colonialism played in the wealth disparity; how current policies of United States corporations and the United States government affect people in poorer nations, and the role of played by agencies such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

For one of my favorite lessons, Bill Bigelow brings a soccer ball into his classroom and asks students to describe what they see. At first they are puzzled. However, the words "Made in Pakistan" and the knowledge they have gained about working conditions in poor countries prompts their imagination. As a culminating activity, students write short essays on the questions "Who built this soccer ball?" or "If this ball could talk, what kind of things would it be able to tell you?" One student imagined herself as the soccer ball worker, underpaid and overworked. She wrote: "I sew and sew all day long to have these balls shipped to another place where they represent fun. Here, they represent the hard work of everyday life."

The editors of *Rethinking Globalization* continually implore teachers to allow students to empathize with the human lives that are behind the sneakers they wear and the shirts and jeans they throw on before they run downstairs for breakfast. Peterson and Bigelow have students go home and find items ranging from T-shirts to pants, skirts, shoes, Barbie dolls, baseballs, and toys. For each item, they list the brand name and where it was made. Next, using information from the Internet and other sources, students find specific information about the companies involved. What wages do they pay? Who works in their factories? What are the conditions of work? What are the environmental conditions of their production?

The sub-title of this book, "Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World," will inevitably cause cynical eyes to roll. There are those who will automatically dismiss Bigelow and Peterson as left wing advocates bent on pushing a biased syllabus. To their credit the two editors confront this issue head-on. They present a case for a distinction between a biased curriculum and a partisan one. Unlike a curriculum intent on promoting a particular position, partisan teaching invites diversity of opinion. Though the book does not provided equal time to proponents of corporate-driven globalization, their views are available to teachers and students at a number of different websites and students are encouraged to examine them, albeit critically.

The most important job of a social studies teacher is to instill in young people the strong belief that they can possess great thoughts, invent theories, analyze evidence, and make their personal mark in a world that has become more complex. By encouraging students to examine global injustice, seek explanations, and become activists, Bill Bigelow, Bob Peterson and their fellow contributors to this scholarly and instructional work make a valuable contribution to social studies education and should be highly commended. This book belongs in every elementary and high school classroom.

Rethinking Globalization: Teaching for Justice in an Unjust World, edited by Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson, is available from Rethinking Schools for \$18.95. It can be ordered on line at www.rethinkingschools.org or call 800/669-4192.

Additional Resources for Understanding a Globalized World

VIDEO: Frontline, *In Search of Osama bin Laden*, (2001), Boston: WGBH-PBS Home Video (56 min.).

Frontline, *Looking for Answers*, (2000), New York: PBS Home Video (60 min.).

BOOKS:

Berger, Peter L., (2002). *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden*. New York: Free Press.

Bodansky, Yossef (2001; 1999). *Bin Laden: The Man Who Declared War on America*, Roseville, CA: Prima.

Buchanan, Patrick J. (1998). *The Great Betrayal: How American Sovereignty and Social Justice Are Being Sacrificed to the Gods of the Global Economy*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Castro, Fidel (2000). *Capitalism in Crisis*. Melbourne, Australia: Ocean Press.

Coleman, Fred (1996). *The Decline and Fall of the Soviet Empire*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Friedman, Thomas L. (2000). *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*. New York: Anchor Books.

Glenny, Misha (1999). *The Balkans: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers 1804-1900*. New York: Viking.

Huntington, Samuel (1998). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Longworth, Richard C. (1998). *Global Squeeze: The Coming Crisis for First-World Nations*. Chicago: Contemporary Books.

Parenti, Michael J. (1995). *Against Empire*. San Francisco: City Lights Books.

Rashid, Ahmed (2000). *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. New Haven: Yale University.

Said, Edward (1996). *Covering Islam*. New York: Random House.

Sjursen, Katrin, ed. (2000). *Globalization*. New York: H.W. Wilson.

PERIODICALS

Bhagwati, Jagdish (2002, Jan-Feb). "Coping With Antiglobalization: A Trilogy of Discontents," *Foreign Affairs*.

Dollar, David and Kraay, Aart (2002, Jan-Feb). "Spreading the Wealth," *Foreign Affairs*.

Howard, Michael (2002, Jan-Feb). "What's In a Name?: How to Fight Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs*.

High School-level Activity - Voices from the Past Discuss the Meaning of War

Instructions: Examine each quotation carefully. Identify the main idea(s) of the author. Which statements come closest to your views? Explain. Which statements do you fundamentally disagree with? Why? Select one statement and explain how it helps you understand international events at the start of the 21st century.

- Thucydides, Athenian historian (471?-401? B.C.): “War is a bad thing: but to submit to the dictation of other states is worse . . . To you who call yourselves men of peace, I say: You are not safe unless you have men of action at your side.”
 - Voltaire, French philosopher (1694-1778): “War is the greatest of all crimes; and yet there is no aggressor who does not color his crime with the pretext of justice.”
 - Benjamin Franklin, American statesman (1706-1790): “I wish to see the discovery of a plan, that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without cutting one another’s throats. When will men be convinced, that even successful wars at length become misfortunes to those who unjustly commenced them, and who triumphed blindly in their success, not seeing all the consequences.”
 - Karl von Clausewitz, Prussian general (1780-1831): “War is regarded as nothing but the continuation of state policy with other means. . . Philanthropic souls might easily imagine that there is an artistic way of disarming or overthrowing our adversary without too much bloodshed and that this was the way the art of war should seek to achieve. However agreeable this may sound, it is a false idea which must be demolished. In affairs so dangerous as war, false ideas proceeding from kindness of heart are precisely the worst.”
 - William Sherman, United States general (1820-1891): “There is many a boy here today who looks on war as all glory, but, boys, it is all hell. You can bear this warning voice to generations yet to come. I look upon war with horror.”
 - Mark Twain, American writer (1835-1910): “There were two ‘Reigns of Terror’; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred millions; but our shudders are all for the “horrors” of the minor Terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak; whereas what is the horror of swift death by the ax compared with lifelong death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty, and heartbreak?”
 - Emily Balch, United States, Nobel Laureate, 1946 (1867-1961): “Nationalism has proved excessively dangerous in its divisiveness and its self-adulation. It has given us an anarchic world of powerful armed bodies, with traditions steeped in conquest and military glory, and of competing commercial peoples as ruthless in their economic self-seeking as in their wars.”
 - V. I. Lenin, Soviet revolutionary leader (1870-1924): “Imperialism . . . is capitalism dying. . . . Imperialist wars, i.e., wars for the mastery of the world, for markets, for bank capital and for the strangulation of small nations, are inevitable under such a state of affairs.”
 - Albert Einstein, scientist (1879-1955): “The development of mechanical methods of warfare is such that human life will become intolerable if people do not discover before long a way of preventing war . . . Only the absolute repudiation of all war can be of any use here. . . Anybody who really wants to abolish war must resolutely declare in favor of his own country’s resigning a portion of its sovereignty in favor of international institutions. . . Peace cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding.”
 - Eleanor Roosevelt, American spokesperson (1884-1962): “Wars frequently have been declared . . . because public opinion has been influenced through the press and through other mediums, either by the governments themselves or by certain powerful interests which desire war.”
 - Dwight Eisenhower, United States general and President (1890-1969): “I hate war as only a soldier who has lived it can, only as one who has seen its brutality, its futility, its stupidity.”
 - Joseph Goebbels, Nazi official (1897-1945): “War is the most simple affirmation of life. Suppress war, and it would be like trying to suppress the process of nature.”
 - Alva Reimer Myrdal, Sweden, Nobel Laureate, 1982 (1902-1986): “Our immediate striving must be aimed at preventing what . . . is the greatest threat to the very survival of mankind, the nuclear threat.”
- Society of Friends, 1952: “War leads to a vicious circle of hatred, oppression, subversive movements, false propaganda, rearmament and new wars. An armament race cannot bring peace, freedom or security.”

Talking with Children about War, Peace and Hope

by Judith Y. Singer

In *The Fellowship of the Ring* by J.R.R. Tolkien (1954: 50), Frodo laments, "I wish it need not have happened in my time." His friend Gandalf replies, "So do I and all who live to see such times. But that is not for them to decide. All we have to decide is what to do with the time that is given us."

Since the attacks on the World Trade Center and on the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, many of us who are parents or teachers have been so fearful that we have been unable to think about what to say to children about these events. Months have passed, and some of us still see the planes colliding with the World Trade Center in our mind's eye. Some of us hear planes flying overhead, and we imagine them crashing into our own homes. How can we talk with children when we have so much difficulty managing our own grief and fear? What should we say to them? What is our responsibility to the children?

Nobody imagined that such devastation could come to the United States. On the other hand, people around the world have been, and continue to be, victims of ongoing wars and destruction. Atomic bombs dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, by the United States, instantaneously killed hundreds of thousands of people and gradually killed thousands more. For more than a decade, children in Iraq have starved or died from untreated illness as a result of a U. S. embargo intended to bring Saddam Hussein to his knees. Families in Bosnia have become refugees, fleeing from burning homes and uncertain that they will ever be able to return. Palestinians and Israelis maintain a level of violent retaliation which is mind-numbing. In parts of Africa, children as young as twelve are drafted to be soldiers in conflicts that have been raging in their countries for decades. These children have known nothing but war. Children in Afghanistan, already vulnerable to loss of limbs from land mines left over from a protracted conflict between the Soviet Union and U. S. supported rebels, are now caught in the middle of a new war, the U. S. war on terrorism.

What should we say to our children? Do they need to know that terrible things are happening to children around the world? Is it terrible only when the bomb is in our own front yard? Do we want children to see themselves as citizens of the world, intent on putting a stop to wars for all children?

Many people maintain that support for peace is misguided at this time because the U. S. was attacked. They believe that war will make us safer. But one lesson of the attacks on September 11, is that no one can expect to be secure in this world while children starve, bull-dozers flatten homes, and young men are denied dreams of a future. Still, responsible educators and psychologists argue that after the terrorist attacks, the main thing children need to know is that they will be safe. These educators emphasize that children need opportunities to talk about their fears, that children need reassurance that they can still depend on the adults who care for them to protect them.

Reestablishing safety is no small matter in a world in which so many adults feel threatened. At the same time, I believe that children need more than safety from us; they also need hope. They need to know that things can change, that war and hunger can end. They need our reassurance that war is always wrong, because in a war neither side is thinking about the children. They need to believe that they can make a difference in the world. If we don't help children articulate their desire for a better world now, how will they become adults who envision a better world?

Children need to know that there are adults who seek to end war and there are political leaders who believe that wealthy countries like the United States should be providing more aid to improve education and health for the world's poorest people. As the little girl in *Peace Crane* proclaims, we need "a world without borders, a world without guns, a world that loves its children."

I believe we have a responsibility to create opportunities for children to talk about how war and peace affect children and to promote symbols that call for peace. The books which follow provide such opportunities. Each book tells a story of war from the perspective of a child. Each offers an image or symbol of peace: an origami crane from Japan, lanterns to commemorate those who died in Hiroshima, goldfish that survive the war in Bosnia, a day when the children speak out against the bombing in Jordan, a butterfly's kiss as a symbol that life continues in Nazi-occupied France, a mother's love.

These stories provide ways of beginning a conversation about war and peace with children and helping them develop an urgency about the importance of valuing human life. The images depicted in some of these books are

frightening and may be disturbing to children. However, children are exposed to disturbing images regularly, seldom with any adult guidance. We need to help them understand that war is not a video game.

An added benefit of using books like these to stimulate conversations with children is that it helps adults to move beyond their fears as well. As always, the process of building hope is reciprocal. As we act to provide hope for children, they in turn become a source of hope for us. These stories will help children and the adults who care for them to talk about difficult and terrible things. They inspire readers with possibilities for hope in dark times. Both the children and the adults who share these stories with them are able to see themselves as participants in building hope.

Hiroshima No Pika by Toshi Maruki (1980). New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books.

Seven year old Mii and her parents were having breakfast at the beginning of what began like a normal day in Hiroshima. It was April 6, 1945. “Then it happened. A sudden, terrible light flashed all around. The light was bright orange--then white, like thousands of lightening bolts all striking at once.” Much of this story of the impact of the atom bomb on the people of Hiroshima is told in the illustrations of this book: people piled on top of one another, their clothing burned from their bodies; people fleeing flames, trying to reach one of Hiroshima’s seven rivers to escape the terrible heat. Her mother somehow carries Mii’s injured father on her back, holding tightly to Mii’s hand, while Mii clutches her chopsticks in the other hand. Four days later, Mii was still holding onto her chopsticks. In Hiroshima, August 6 is commemorated each year with a lantern festival. Each lantern is inscribed with the name of a loved one who died because of the atomic bomb that was dropped on this city. The lanterns are set afloat on one of Hiroshima’s rivers. In addition to honoring the dead, the lanterns symbolize a commitment to peace. “It can’t happen again, if no one drops the bomb.”

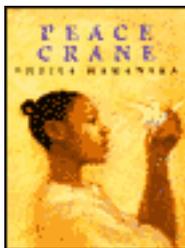
Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes by Eleanor Coerr (1977). New York: Puffin Books.

Ten years after surviving the bombing of Hiroshima, Sadako, a lively, cheerful, twelve year old girl looking forward to running with her junior high school racing team, develops Atom Bomb sickness (leukemia). After she is hospitalized, a friend makes Sadako an origami crane to help lift her spirits. In Japanese culture, the crane is a symbol of life and health. Sadako decides she will fold one thousand paper cranes in the hope that the gods will then grant her good health. Although Sadako did not succeed, her struggle became a symbol of hope for children in Japan and all around the world. A monument erected in Sadako’s memory bears the inscription: “This is our cry, this is our prayer; peace in the world.”



Peace Crane by Sheila Hamanaka (1995). New York: Morrow Junior Books.

A young African-American girl recalls the struggle of Sadako, and she appeals to the Peace Crane to help stop the violence in her crime-ridden neighborhood. She calls out, “Peace Crane, are you flying still? . . . If I make a paper peace crane from a crisp white paper square, if I fold my dreams inside the wings, will anybody care?” In her imagination, the little girl flies with the Peace Crane all over the world, calling on all people to be part of “a world without borders, a world without guns, a world that loves its children.” A particularly compelling feature of this book is the way the author depicts a common bond between an African-American child needing hope and a hopeful Japanese child long dead. Their differences of race, generation, class, and culture are supplanted by a common desire for peace.



The Butterfly by Patricia Polacco (2000). New York: Philomel Books.

Monique befriends a Jewish girl, Sevrine, whose family is being hidden from the Nazis in her mother's basement. In the middle of the night, the girls share stories and an affection for Monique's cat, Pinouff. Monique brings Sevrine a butterfly, a papillon, whose fluttering wings against her skin feel "like the kiss of an angel." During the day, while Sevrine hides, Monique is terrified by the Nazi "Tall Boots" who drag away her friend, Monsieur Marks. A Nazi soldier crushes one of Monique's beautiful butterflies in his fist. In this story of courage and resistance to the Nazis, Monique helps her friend escape, and the butterflies become a symbol of hope that life will continue.



Sami and the Time of the Troubles by F. Heidi & J. Gilliland. Illustrated by T. Lewin (1992).
New York: Clarion Books.

Sami is a Lebanese boy living with his family in the basement of his uncle's house in Jordan. He tells us, "My name is Sami, and I live in the time of the troubles. It is a time of guns and bombs. It is a time that has lasted all my life, and I am ten years old." Despite the war, Sami's family struggles to achieve normality whenever they can. On days when the guns and bombs are quiet, Sami goes outside with his little sister and his mother, while his uncle and grandfather go to work. When the bombs fall, the family seeks safety in his uncle's basement, surrounded by carpets and other objects from their house, "because my mother says there must be nice things to remind us of the good days." Sami's grandfather tells stories to pass the time. He talks about happier times and about the "day of the children. . . a day when the guns had stopped . . . Hundreds and hundreds of children started to march. They carried banners and flags, they carried signs, and the words written on them said: Stop. Stop the fighting." The signs were painted in English, in French, and in Arabic. Sami tells his grandfather, "We can have another day of the children." His grandfather replies, "Yes. It is time. Maybe now the ones who fight will hear, maybe this time they will listen."



Gleam and Glow by Eve Bunting (2001). Ill. by Peter Sylvada. San Diego: Harcourt.

In war-torn Bosnia, families are fleeing their homes, seeking safety from a terrible war. In this story, two children, Marina and Viktor, wait with their mother for their father to come home from the fighting. Viktor looks after Marina, saying, "She's only five and doesn't know much. I'm eight, and I know a lot." The family watches refugees fleeing past their home for many weeks, hearing stories of gunshots and burning homes.

One traveler gives the children a bowl containing two goldfish which he can no longer carry on his back. Marina lovingly cares for the fish for three days, until their mother decides that they, too, must leave before the soldiers come. Viktor decides to put the goldfish in their pond, hoping that there they might survive a day or two longer. With help from other refugees, the family manages the long walk to the border where they find the safety of a refugee camp. Here their father finds them, and after many months they learn that it is safe to return home. All along the way home, they see only destruction. "We saw no houses, no farms, no animals along the way, just rubble and great holes where the bombs had fallen." When they reach home, their house is gone. Marina runs to the pond to find signs of Gleam and Glow. "And there was our pond, as shimmery and dazzling as melted gold. It was filled with countless fish. Mama pressed her hands to her heart. 'Gleam and Glow and their children and their children's children,' she said."

Potatoes, Potatoes by Anita Lobel (1967). Great Britain: World's Work Ltd.

This book tells about a mother who tries to protect her two sons from war by building a wall around her house and potato field. Unfortunately, when her sons grow up, each longs to see the world beyond the wall. They become enamored of the soldier's uniforms. One runs off to join the army of the east and wear a red uniform, while the other joins the army of the west and wears a blue uniform. Eventually, the young men tire of war. They are hungry and tired, and they miss their mother. Each brother, remembering the potatoes, leads his hungry army to his mother's field. "Potatoes, potatoes! The soldiers shout . . . Let us break down the wall and get the potatoes." This leads to a terrible battle, at the end of which the farm has been destroyed, and the young men, believing their mother is dead, begin to cry. But their mother is not dead. She tells her sons and all the other soldiers, "Even though you have ruined my house and my field, I still have enough potatoes in the cellar to feed all of you. But before I

will give you even one peel, you must promise to stop all the fighting and clean up this mess and go home to your mothers.”

