

Boston Research Center for the 21st Century

NEWSLETTER : SPRING/SUMMER 2001 : NUMBER 17

CHANGE THE WORLD!

DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES ON GLOBAL JUSTICE

ON FEBRUARY 2-3 OVER 180 SCHOLARS and activists gathered at the BRC to assess the promise and purpose of the global justice movement. *Change the World!: Building Post-Seattle Alliances for Economic Justice* was a multi-generational conversation and an open forum on the future.

Philippine activist, scholar, and author Walden Bello zeroed in on the failure of global institutions in his Friday night keynote, while journalist Naomi Klein's rhetorical question loomed over the Saturday sessions: "Is

the movement a collective hallucination, the Internet come to life, or a response to the privatization of every aspect of life?"

On Friday night Bello's keynote address took aim at global economic institutions: the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank. He explained that participants in the movement are "united by one thing, their opposition to the expansion of a system that [has] promoted corporate-led globalization at the expense of justice, community, national sovereignty,

cultural diversity and ecological sustainability."

Prior to Bello's presentation, Boston College student Mark Pedulla set the stage with powerful first-hand observations of life in Central America. He spoke of his friend who, because of a newly privatized healthcare



Walden Bello

continued on page 8

IKEDA PROPOSAL RETHINKS THE MISSION OF EDUCATION



Daisaku Ikeda with school children in Japan.

EDUCATION IS AT THE HEART OF GLOBAL ethics. And yet how to go about educating children is a topic of constant discussion and debate throughout the world. Phase I of Daisaku Ikeda's provocative proposal is designed to address what he describes as "education in crisis." Building on the legacy of Tsunesaburo Makiguchi (1871-1944), Ikeda charges society-at-large with a host of weaknesses in the educational system. "There is no future for a society that has lost sight of the fact that education is its true mission," he says.

On the matter of discipline, which he describes as "a flight from learning," Ikeda urges his readers to think of children as "a mirror of society." In order to bring learning in line with the expectations and needs of society, Ikeda advocates a revised curriculum and less government interference with schools. To teachers everywhere he sends a message that many will appreciate: "If we are to truly change school education, empowerment of teachers must be a component." *continued on page 11*



Inside:

<i>Elise Boulding Honored</i>	page 3
<i>Beyond Consumerism</i>	page 4
<i>Guest Interview</i>	page 6
<i>Amartya Sen</i>	page 10
<i>Partnership Economics</i>	page 11
<i>Buddhist-Christian Dialogue</i>	page 12
<i>Book Talk</i>	page 13

The BRC Focuses on Economic Justice

The Boston Research Center's 2001 Conference and Lecture Series was entitled *Economics for Human Well-Being: Advancing a People's Agenda*. The two conferences and two public lectures addressed a range of issues related to economic justice and are summarized in this newsletter. The full text of conference keynotes by Walden Bello, Juliet Schor, and Riane Eisler are available online under 2001 Events at www.brc21.org.



The first half of 2001 represents a culmination of over seven years of intensive effort for the BRC... and a new beginning. When the Center was established in September 1993, we announced our mission: to promote consensus-building dialogue on global ethics. We have pursued this goal chiefly through educational conferences and lectures that have drawn on diverse voices to focus attention on four fundamental values: human rights, environmental security, nonviolence, and economic justice.

This spring, we held the last of our biannual series on global ethics, a thought-provoking examination of what is proving to be one of the most critical issues for a peaceful world in the 21st century — economic justice. With help and inspiration from conference collaborators Charlie Derber, Mike Prokosch, and Juliet Schor, and the excellent coordination skills of BRC event staff Karen Nardella and Beth Zimmerman, we attracted nearly 700 participants to four public events.

What have we learned from these biannual series on global ethics? First of all, we've realized how critically important the Earth Charter is to all the values we have been exploring. The Earth Charter is a people's treaty that articulates a comprehensive set of ethical principles to guide social, economic, and environmental attitudes and behaviors in the 21st century. This is why the BRC's future work on global ethics will turn toward the practical goal of building networks for the Earth Charter, especially among youth groups, the inheritors of the planet.

We've also learned how critical the voice of women is to the creation of a culture of peace—a culture in which the seeds of Earth Charter ethics can find hospitable soil. We will continue, therefore, to focus on women's leadership for peace. Early next year we will inaugurate a series of Women's Lectures on Human Values, in collaboration with Wellesley College, to honor American women in history and contemporary times who have stood up and taken courageous action for a better future

Another facet of our work over the next several years will build on BRC founder Daisaku Ikeda's recent education proposal. As you will read in this issue, he calls for a paradigm shift in regard to education, a shift that would have society serve the needs of education, not the other way around. During the next phase of the Center's activities, we will work toward such a paradigm shift. In doing so, we expect to draw inspiration from American educators and thinkers with similar visions, including John Dewey, the father of modern education, and Transcendentalists Emerson and Thoreau.

As we develop concrete projects actualizing these goals—in support of the Earth Charter, women's leadership, and a new vision of education—our guiding methodology takes a leaf from the theme of our first economic justice conference this year: coalition-building. As we look to the future, our challenge will be “to build networks for global citizenship and shared values.” We look forward to working with you as partners in this great task.

Virginia Straus, Executive Director

ECONOMIC JUSTICE SERIES REPORT AVAILABLE THIS SUMMER

A conference report of *Economics for Human Well-Being: Advancing a People's Agenda* will be available this summer. The report includes in-depth accounts of the proceedings and the full text of keynote addresses by Walden Bello, Juliet Schor, and Riane Eisler, as well as a paper by Amartya Sen. To order your copy, please send a written request to the BRC Publications Department, 396 Harvard Street, Cambridge, MA 02138 or by contacting pubs@brc21.org. We will bill you for \$5.00 when we send the report.



ELISE BOULDING HONORED BY PEACE STUDIES ASSOCIATION

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Alicia Cabezudo of Columbia University, Virginia Straus, Elise Boulding, and Ambassador Chowdhury gather after the morning panel on "Institutional Contexts of the Culture of Peace."

THE PEACE STUDIES ASSOCIATION partnered with the Peace and Justice Studies Program at Tufts University on March 30-April 1 to explore a range of ideas contained in Elise Boulding's most recent book, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History* (Syracuse University Press, 2000). A lively slate of speakers was assembled for the two-day event by PSA president Paul Joseph of Tufts.

On Friday night, Cora Weiss of the Hague Appeal for Peace spoke of one of Elise Boulding's key messages: "Listening is the beginning of peace." Weiss honored the many facets of "Elise the feminist... Elise the pacifist ... Elise the prophet" and went on to emphasize that "gender equality must be central to a culture of peace." Social psychologist Herb Kelman of Harvard's Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution focused his remarks on interactive problem-solving. After posing the question, "How does the concept of a culture of peace relate to conflict resolution?" he supported Elise Boulding's definition of a culture of peace as a place that is "safe for conflict." Professor Kelman described this

further as a group or society that promotes diversity and seeks to balance a variety of needs.

Dessima Williams of Brandeis University also spoke of "peaceable diversity" and stressed the link between peace and justice. "Peace education is sterile unless we think about the relationship of peace and justice," Professor Williams said.

On Saturday morning, the emphasis turned to Institutional Contexts for a Culture of Peace with a three-person panel. Ambassador Chowdhury of the Bangladesh Mission to the UN focused on UNESCO and his work on the UN Decade for the Culture of Peace (2000-2010). "There are no small contributions to peace," he said. "They all add up."

Professor Alicia Cabezudo of Columbia University recalled a dramatic incident that took place 24 years ago when, as a young teacher, she stood with her students and watched a book burning carried out by her government in Latin America. It was that experience that motivated her to become a peace educator.

Virginia Straus spoke of how the process of creating the Earth Charter reflected many of Elise Boulding's key principles of peace culture: listening, faith in micro-level processes, the

empowerment of civil society, and the necessity of balancing human needs for autonomy and bonding. Straus emphasized the value of the Earth Charter as a peoples' treaty, pointing out that, "The Earth Charter could become a stepping stone for a renewed UN in which global civil society takes its place as an equal partner with the governments of the world, acting as a co-shaper of international law and policy." She also praised ground-breaking governments like Costa Rica and the Russian Republic of Tartarstan where the principles of the Earth Charter have been embraced and are being translated into "zones of peace culture."

The morning panel was followed by break-out sessions led by Michael True of Assumption College, Kathleen Weiler of Tufts University,



Peace Studies Association president Paul Joseph of the Tufts University Peace and Justice Studies Program.

and Greg Mason of Gustavus Adolphus College. After lunch, Elise Boulding conducted one of her well-known "Imaging Workshops" with assistance from Gordon

Fellman, chair of Peace and Conflict Studies at Brandeis University. The afternoon continued with several special interest sections. For example, Richard Johnson and Naresh Dadlich led a discussion comparing Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of peace culture with that of Elise Boulding. ■

Focus: EARTH CHARTER The Boston Research Center has supported the Earth Charter process from the beginning by hosting consultations, publishing books, and promoting the dissemination of information. The final draft of the Earth Charter is now complete and is expected to be presented to the UN for endorsement in 2002. To learn more about the Earth Charter or participate in building grassroots momentum for UN endorsement, check www.earthcharter.org or contact the BRC and request a copy of the current Earth Charter brochure.



BEYOND AMERICAN CONSUMERISM

CONSTRUCTING A TRANSFORMATIVE POLITICS



Juliet Schor explains the social impact of consumer values.

THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE economic justice series began with a keynote address by Juliet Schor entitled, “Toward a New Politics of Consumption.” Schor is well-known for placing the controversy over consumerism in a broad social context, as she has in her books, *The Overworked American*, *The Overspent American*, and *Do Americans Shop Too Much?* As a well-known economist, social critic, and acting chair of the Women’s Studies Department at Harvard University, Schor brings an interdisciplinary perspective to her work and is not shy about posing uncomfortable questions: Is growth inevitable? Are current American patterns of consumption ecologically viable? Should consumer issues be a matter of public debate?

Schor’s position, particularly on the link between consumerism and environmental degradation, is clear: “To support the average American lifestyle, 500 pounds of natural resources are moved or used up each day for every American, and this excludes water,” Schor says. Furthermore, she is quick to explain

that green technology is essential but not sufficient to deal with American consumerist habits, which are characterized by insatiability.

Her keynote laid out the core values of consumerism: novelty, a built-in bias toward private ownership of things that could be shared, the desirability of globalization, and what she described as “see no evil/hear no evil” product information that allows consumers to ignore the social and environmental impact of their decisions in the marketplace. “The dynamics of our consumption patterns,” Schor emphasized, “are unsustainable and the globalization of consumerism will be catastrophic.”

Elaborating on the relationship between patterns of consumerism and use of time, Schor referred to the erosion in free time for families and communities that has occurred in America in recent years. “People are time poor, sped up, and out of control,” she said, adding that our “default option” is to upscale with the herd.

Referring to the findings of some sociologists, Schor reported that materialism accounts for a range of emotional and physical problems, from depression to physical addictions. Consumerism must be addressed in a far-reaching social context, she insisted. “We need to broaden the discussion to include: What makes a good society?”

Among the quiet value shifts that are occurring, Schor mentioned the voluntary simplicity movement, downshifting, and a growing group of “cultural creatives” consisting, primarily, of women like the late environmental writer and activist Donella

Meadows. In closing, Schor stressed that a transformative movement must be cross-cultural and cross-class. “Most importantly,” she said, “it must be about more, not less: more nature, more security, more joy, more equality, more time.”

Juliet Schor’s keynote was followed by a provocative triologue moderated by Boston College professor of communication Elfriede Fürsich. In addition to Schor, speakers included University of Florida professor of English James Twitchell and Harvard Business School assistant professor of marketing Douglas Holt. Dr. Twitchell suggested that the ad culture is doing the job that literature and politics used to do by providing stories that give lives meaning. Twitchell, the author of *Lead Us into Temptation: The Triumph of American Materialism*, brings a cultural historian’s point of view to modern marketing. “We’re not after the thing but the aura, the meaning,” he stated, as he explained the lure of consumerist values.

Douglas Holt’s view diverged slightly from that of James Twitchell. Rather than look to products as sources of meaning, Holt believes that marketers appropriate meaning from popular culture then build that



André Norman of the Ella J. Baker House in Dorchester spoke in place of The Reverend Eugene Rivers.

meaning into product marketing with clever associations. “The system has learned that it’s easier to look to public culture as the wellspring of values and to weave these values into the products,” he explained.

Schor resisted the notion that products bring real satisfaction or meaning to human lives. “A deficit of meaning is driving these [anti-consumerism] movements. There is a very widespread hunger in this country for meaning,” she said.

The larger question of the economic justice of consumerism led to strong and opposing views. According to Twitchell, there is an inherent “fairness” in consumerism because it’s up to individuals to decide if they want to do what is necessary to get



Closing comments at the conference with Professor Douglas Holt (Harvard University), Professor James Twitchell (University of Florida), Mr. André Norman of the Ella J. Baker House, Professor Elfriede Fürsich (Boston College), and Professor Juliet Schor (Harvard University).

the “stuff” they want. Juliet Schor objected, refusing to accept “fair” as an accurate depiction of what occurs when access to employment is not fair and economic opportunities are not fairly distributed. “Fairness and equity must be at the heart of any progressive vision,” she said.

In the open discussion, BRC executive director Ginny Straus asked whether a new transformative politics would seek to curb advertising. Dr. Schor, who would not want to interfere with free speech, admitted to a fantasy: a media not funded by advertising.

A brief report on the AIDS in Africa Project by Rajiv Rawat keyed into the discussion on consumerism with an update on the Global Day of

Action project. This demonstration took place to support South Africa in a climate of growing frustration with pharmaceutical companies who were sued three years ago for blocking access to AIDS drugs in an effort to protect patents and profits. “In the past three years, 400,000 people have died of AIDS in South Africa,” he reported.

As the afternoon progressed, Felice Yeskel, co-founder and co-director of United for a Fair Economy, addressed “Building a Movement for Economic Justice: The Personal and the Political,” by speaking out of her childhood experience. As she described the profound effect the reality of social class had on her, she explained that, as a student, she never invited anyone from school to her home. “Children know when they’re poor,” she said.

Yeskel went on to define economic inequality as a problem for our democracy, a destabilizing force in our economy, and a contributor to a breakdown in the social fabric of civil society. She invited the audience to focus on successful social changes that have already occurred to help us fight our feelings of hopelessness. “Change takes sacrifice. Investing in the possibility of change is a complete act of faith,” she said. “One of the most important things each of us can do to achieve economic justice is to become a messenger of hope.”

Providing a concrete example of individuals uniting to effect change, Boston Mobilization’s Roni Krouzman spoke of the success experienced by the Boston University students who have joined together to promote more affordable housing in Boston where 135,000 students compete for 28,000 dorm rooms. The group has attended zoning board meetings and is working with tenant organizations to make a difference.

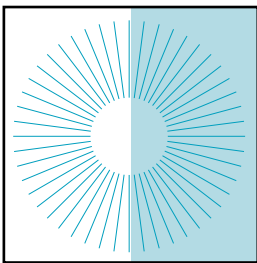
Reverend Eugene Rivers, pastor of the Azusa Christian Community in

Dorchester, Massachusetts, was scheduled to speak in the afternoon but could not participate due to an unexpected conflict. In his place, he sent his associate, André Norman, director of operations of the Ella J. Baker House in Dorchester. Norman’s remarks emphasized the need for education and brought an entirely different approach to the question of consumerism. “When you grow up poor, you just plain don’t have,” he said. “Talking about consumerism is a luxury. If I had a magic wand, I would free the poor.”

Norman works with young men who are coming out of prison and trying to build a future. “What about the have-nots who want?” he asked, implying that it is easy for people who are comfortable to tell others they shouldn’t be seduced by a consumerist culture. “What does down-scaling mean to someone who has a Lexus? Would you give up sending your kids to good schools?”

In the final exchange of views, moderator Elfriede Fürsich urged those present to learn about the economic and corporate power behind the media and how this power drives values and expectations in the marketplace. James Twitchell suggested that in spite of its superficiality, consumerism can actually have an equalizing effect. “Maybe the world of ‘stuff’ does have some redemptive power,” he pondered aloud. Juliet Schor declared Twitchell’s interpretation of meaning “a precarious one” while Holt suggested that “one provocative possibility is rebranding the values around brands. We as customers can demand those values [that we want].” André Norman returned to the desire for personal and collective transformation that had motivated the conference with a sense of humor and a serious point: “I deputize you as activists. You can make a change.” ■

—Helen Marie Casey



RECASTING GLOBALIZATION

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VITTORIO FALSINA joined Harvard's Center for the Study of World Religions in January 1999 as a visiting professor. Since then, he has taught courses at the Harvard Divinity School entitled "World Religions and Globalization: Ethics of Resistance and Change" and "Religious Ethics and International Political Economy." Currently, Dr. Falsina is the project director of Recasting Globalization: Religion, Culture, and Ethnicity, a three-year research project based at the Center for the Study of World Religions. A native of Italy and former Warren Weaver Fellow at the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Falsina holds a Ph.D. in Ethics and Society and an M.A. in International Relations, both from the University of Chicago. BRC newsletter editor Patti M. Sides recently interviewed Dr. Falsina.

What are the goals of your research project?

Something is missing from the current discussion about globalization, mainly the dimensions of religion, culture, and ethnicity. We tend to speak about globalization as an economic factor, but globalization is having a major impact on many other aspects of society. Starting with this

wider view, we have conceived a project that aims to fill a gap in the literature and contribute to the discussion about globalization. Secondly, we hope to provide in-depth information to religious organizations and businesses, as well as government leaders. And finally, we want to provide an ethical compass to reorient the process of globalization toward a more human, sustainable, peaceful globalization.

Why is this kind of information valuable?

We believe that by making in-depth information available to key stakeholders of globalization, we might help them to lower the threshold of mistrust and to open the path to cooperation. According to findings provided by the literature on international relations, the decisive factor promoting cooperation is the provision of high-quality information about other players' beliefs, intentions and norms of behavior. For example, every firm that tries to set up a branch in a foreign country—which is more and more the case in a global economy—has to make a risk assessment. Today, risk assessment officers have no knowledge of the local culture, of religions, or of local initiatives. How can they possibly interact with people in the region? You understand how major this deficiency is when you have operations in places like Indonesia losing their investments overnight because of ethnic strife and religious struggles.

Are you saying that part of the goal of this research project is to assist multinational corporations in their desire for more secure investments and more reliable profits?

We want to be helpful to corporations but not, as you suggest, by helping them to secure business in the way they

usually do it. We want to change the culture of doing business by creating a bridge of communication and cooperation between different cultural approaches to business. This is what we mean by recasting globalization in new terms by putting the economy where it belongs, in the whole context of human relations. It is a serious mistake to consider the global economy as a self-contained system independent of societies and their individual agents. Economies are socially constituted.

Business is not the only sector of society you are focused on, is it?

Not at all. Our project has identified seven areas of society corresponding to the interests of key stakeholders in globalization: academia, business, government, civil society, labor, media, and gender. What is unique about the project is that it will study how religion, culture and ethnicity—which we identify as the key "independent variables"—affect the basic sectors of society under conditions of globalization. Nothing like this has been done before. This is a truly multi-disciplinary project.

Structuring your project and coordinating such broad expertise sounds challenging. Can you describe your methodology?

We started by testing the value proposition of the project, asking, "What are we doing?" and "Who will benefit?" and "How can we be useful, to corporations for example, but in an intelligent way?" Nancy Nielsen, who at that time was vice-president for communications at the *New York Times*, joined our project and tested its objectives with key people in major multinational corporations, such as McDonald's and American

Express. Many stories of difficult clashes with religious and cultural sensitivities emerged.

We came to the conclusion, according to our plan, that we needed a multi-faceted team of experts from different fields to address these questions. The Harvard Divinity School will be at the core of the project, but to study how Islam is affecting business, civil society, the media, labor, and gender issues within the context of globalization in a particular region, we needed other perspectives.

We invited seven research-based centers within Harvard University to join us, such as the Harvard Business School; the Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy; the Hauser Center for Non-Profit Organizations; and the Kennedy School of Government. We have asked each center to donate a research fellow for our team. Some have already accepted while others are still in the process of negotiation. The Principal Investigators of this project are Professor Lawrence E. Sullivan, who directs the Center for the Study of World Religions, and Professor David Little, director of the Center for the Study of Values in Public Life.

We decided to focus on five broad religious and cultural traditions: Islam, Christianity, Confucianism/Buddhism, Hinduism, and Judaism. Within each tradition, we have selected three or four countries that show a high level of global interaction and are large enough to lend themselves to comparisons that will produce valid indicators and predictable scenarios.

We are planning to begin the first case study of Islam and globalization in Indonesia and, possibly, in Turkey, and Egypt. A research team composed of Harvard fellows and researchers from local universities in these countries will collect data on each sector of our project. The structure of the project will allow case studies to overlap. The study of all five religious traditions will be completed in three years.

How does your project address the gap between rich and poor? Do you envision this work leading to opportunities for equity and empowerment?

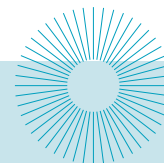
It is certainly known that globalization has enhanced the divide between rich and poor; one can easily take the view that globalization is bad. But I'd like to suggest another way of looking at it. We often speak of globalization in ideological terms, as if we can picture "globalization" as a single factor that is actually acting, like a force that drives inequity.

My approach to globalization is to de-ideologize the term, and attempt instead to measure the major trends that are responsible for the intensification of global interconnections. What we need to know is the extensity, intensity, velocity, and impact of these global trends. This applies to international trade, capital flows, exchange of information, or even to cultural and religious symbols. Our study is strongly committed to face the questions of inequity, injustice, and sustainability from an ethical perspective, but on the basis of empirical data in order to avoid ideological simplifications.

How are world religions responding to globalization today?

There are certainly groups of people, such as the Muslim bloc or the Chinese bloc or people in Southeast Asia or Africa who look at globalization and say, "What is this? This is not how we live. This is not our world. And this is driving out our way of life, our traditions." One aspect of our project is a desire to give voice to people from those parts of the world that usually are not heard on a global scale.

What is already happening is a revival of religious activism in different countries. The increasingly prominent role played by religion in public affairs contrasts with the predictions expressed in the theories of secularization, modernization, and develop-



"Religious leaders cannot escape the fact that their mission is not only the spiritual mission of liberating individuals, but also a mission to be responsible to local and global society."

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ment formed in the 1970s. According to these theories, all societies would secularize through the Western processes of industrialization, technical specialization, and urbanization. Contrary to these predictions, religions have taken up a public role in many societies, especially in developing countries. This can be negative, as we saw in the Balkans with the mobilization of religion for political causes that we did not understand. At the same time, there is a positive engagement of religions aimed at reorienting globalization. We have seen this in the formation of religious NGOs to support issues such as human rights, debt relief, stewardship for the environment, corporate responsibility, and many others causes.

Are some religions more socially engaged than others?

The kind of social engagement I am describing is typically born from the Judeo-Christian traditions which have a long-standing history of systematic ethical reflection on socio-economic and political interactions. And yet there are other examples, such as engaged Buddhism, which is one of the most exciting examples of how religions can actually change. As Chris Queen pointed out in his book, *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, this is a very late phenomenon dating back only 50 years and resulting from a kind of East/West learning experience. We now have the Dalai Lama speaking out for world peace, world

continued on page 14

Change the World!

continued from page 1

system, found it more economical to sell bootlegged CDs on the streets of Nicaragua than to continue a career as a nurse. He also told the story of a young protestor who was murdered.

Pedulla's poignant experiences were followed by Bello's sweeping critique of global economic institutions entitled "Crisis of Legitimacy: The Revolt Against Corporate-Driven Globalization." Citing numerous studies and sources that included Meltzer Commission findings, he

agenda" should not be interpreted as a commitment to democracy, he warned, especially given that worldwide poverty increased throughout the 1990s, and 80 percent of World Bank resources are devoted to countries with positive credit ratings.

Sharpened by his recent participation in the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, Bello's vision encouraged the deconstruction of institutional power and a process of "deglobalization" that places the economy within local communities to avoid dependence on external financial mechanisms. "It is time to abort this arrogant globalist project of mak-

not the problem; it's the strings and conditions suctioned onto it." She spoke of the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre where 10,000 people had gathered the week before to celebrate grassroots democracy. "We have to rethink the movement and who it represents," she said. "The global has to go local and the local has to go global."

Charlie Derber brought an historical point-of-view to the debate, describing how the "corpocracy" has replaced formerly democratic systems with "unaccountable institutions." He interpreted the current movement as "a second wave of global populism,"



Tess Browne



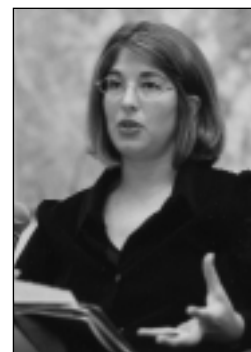
Mike Prokosch



Jia Ching Chen



Charlie Derber



Naomi Klein

systematically critiqued the status quo. As director of Thailand-based Focus on the Global South, Bello pointed to the Asian financial crisis and divisions between the U.S. and the European Union, arguing that these institutions of global economic governance are in the midst of a "crisis of legitimacy." Furthermore, he charted a clear course for the future: "They should be abolished if they have become fundamentally dysfunctional," he said. "Can we really say that the IMF can be reformed to bring about global financial stability, the World Bank to reduce poverty, and the WTO to bring about fair trade?"

Bello explained how the current crisis opens the door to reform, but expressed vehement opposition to reform within the system, such as the World Bank's efforts to reach out to NGOs. A mere "expansion of the

ing the world a synthetic unity. It is time to herald instead an internationalism that is built on, tolerates, respects, and enhances the diversity of human communities and the diversity of life," he said.

The momentum of Bello's remarks propelled the first Saturday morning session which addressed the structure of the global justice movement. Mike Prokosch of United for a Fair Economy moderated the panel entitled "Organized Chaos or Chaotic Organization?" which featured Boston College sociology professor Charles Derber, award-winning author and journalist Naomi Klein, and JustAct youth organizer Jia Ching Chen.

Naomi Klein delivered a series of scathing assessments of the reality of globalization: "It's not about trade, it's about *using* trade to support turbo capitalism," she said. "Global trade is

not unlike the Progressive Era (1879-1920) that occurred in America as "Robber Barons" were amassing huge profits. He also identified contradictions within the global justice movement that defy historical comparison, such as the global scope of the movement and its defiant decentralization. Rejecting the idea that the movement might become a political party, he suggested a need for structure. "We need to find some organizational structures and link to mainstream organizations in the labor movement or the environmental movement," he said.

Youth activist Jia Ching Chen presented an in-the-trenches perspective that resisted the kind of structural organization Derber espoused. He echoed the Zapatista slogan of "one NO and many yeses" as he described a movement of many forces and con-

stituencies. “How can we create a movement and a vision that supports grassroots work like the Zapatistas have done?” he asked. “We need a space for the pluralism to emerge.”

The second Saturday session featured a panel discussion entitled “Race and the Global Justice Movement” moderated by Gabriel Camacho, president of the Massachusetts Chapter of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement. Tess Browne, organizing coordinator of the Mass Action for Women Audit, encouraged the audience to think of today’s globalization as an extension of the colonialism initiated by the West half a millennium ago. While the Seattle protests at the end of 1999 may have, in the words of one participant, “put the white face of legitimacy” on the global justice movement, Browne described economic justice as a battle that people of color have been fighting for centuries. “Who bears the burden?” she asked, then emphasized the fact that the status of women and children suffers the most under the rules mandated by the IMF. Chen’s remarks focused on his experience with a delegation of 50 young people of color at the WTO meeting in Seattle. He explained how they had played “a key role” in broadening understanding of the movement.

After lunch, the theater group Class Acts presented a satirical skit



Mini-conferences at *Change the World!* involved attendees in face-to-face discussion.

entitled “Race to the Bottom” that hilariously dramatized many of the abstract concepts that had emerged during the sessions. This popular skit was followed by an inspirational “case study” on a coalition of organizations called the Boston Global Action Network (BGAN). With workplace activist and author Tim Costello adding his insights to the mix, BGAN members Cassie Watters, Matthew Borus, Amy-Simone Erard, and Basav Sen shared their various struggles, achievements, and aspirations as members of BGAN.

In the closing summary, one idea seemed to stand out: the way forward for global justice is through coalition building, dialogue, and a profound respect for diversity among races, genders, and generations. Poet and activist Dennis Brutus cautioned the

audience to avoid elitism by depending too heavily on the Internet for organizational structure. Conference co-organizer Charles Derber commented that after listening to the “wisdom of the young people here,” he once again felt “comfortable trusting people under 30,” and Elise Boulding received a round of applause for her call for an intergenerational “partnership between the over-80’s and under-20’s.” Klein urged participants to engage in the “challenge of popular education” and to remain positive. “Optimism is a form of activism too, because optimism is contagious,” she said. This idea was echoed by Bello who brought a new twist to a popular quip by stating. “Rather than a pessimism of the intellect and an optimism of the will, we need an optimism of the intellect and an optimism of the will.” ■

— Adam Gamble

WORLD SOCIAL *What?*

The World Social Forum (Fórum Social Mundial) is an international arena for the promotion of human rights, social justice, and sustainable development. Starting this year, it will take place annually in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, during the same late-January period as the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. Since 1971, the World Economic Forum has been sponsored by a Swiss

organization that serves as a consultant to the United Nations. It is financed by more than one thousand corporations. By contrast, the World Social Forum provides a space for building economic alternatives, exchanging experiences, and strengthening North/South alliances between NGOs, unions, and social movements.

BRC speakers Walden Bello and Naomi Klein were among the 10,000 participants in the 2001 World Social

Forum. Dr. Bello’s Focus on the Global South was one of 150 organizations to endorse the document, Porto Alegre Call for Mobilization.

The World Social Forum was barely mentioned in the American press, though international news agencies like the BBC or Le Monde Diplomatique provided detailed coverage.

For further information, go to www.forum-socialmundial.org.br



DEVELOPMENT AS FREEDOM

A CONVERSATION WITH AMARTYA SEN



Amartya Sen

HOW CAN societies increase quality of life and economic prosperity? Is freedom an end in itself, or is it the principal

means of achieving development? Which measures are appropriate as we assess development efforts?

According to Amartya Sen, issues of economic development cannot be detached from the full context of human life. In his most recent book, *Development as Freedom* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1999) he offers a thorough analysis of how the “irreducible interdependence of different types of freedoms in human life” compel us to approach development from a position which values freedom above all. On April 3, Amartya Sen came to the BRC to share this provocative point of view with a standing-room-only audience of over 200 people.

The thesis he outlined in his talk is stated clearly in the preface of his book: “There is a deep complementarity between individual agency and social arrangements. It is important to give simultaneous recognition to the centrality of individual freedom and to the force of social influences on the extent and reach of individual freedom. To counter the problems that we face, we have to see individual freedom as a social commitment. This is the basic approach that this work tries to explore and examine... expansion of freedom is viewed, in this approach, both as the primary end and the principal means of development.”

In a brilliant career that began in India with a keen interest in theories of social choice, Professor Sen has brought fresh insights to the forefront of his profession for over 40 years. He is The Master of Trinity College at Cambridge University in England, and Lamont University Professor Emeritus at Harvard University. His widely published work on the social contexts of poverty and famine led to the Nobel Prize for Economic Science in 1998. He is, among other things, responsible for the startling and irrefutable observation that no famine has ever occurred within the framework of a democratic government.

Among the key points of his talk was the importance of understanding the interlinkages between five different types of “instrumental” freedoms: political freedoms, economic opportunities, social opportunities, openness or transparency guarantees, and protective security to ensure a safety net to all members of the population. As he focuses on these five types of freedoms in his book, Professor Sen points out that their ability to reinforce one another should be considered in the creation of development policies. Interestingly, the impetus for *Development as Freedom* was a series of seminars he conducted at the World Bank in 1996. Since then, the ideas expressed in those seminars have helped to shape World Bank policy.

While the word “freedom” appears frequently in Amartya Sen’s discourse, his definition of development might be described as the process of removing “unfreedoms” that inhibit or limit an individual’s ability to improve his or her condition. He expressed his view that, “The market is not evil, but you have to enhance many other

opportunities to make use of the market economy.” In Sen’s view, a free market represents precisely the kind of opportunity that has the potential to lift individuals and societies out of poverty, especially when viewed in a broad context that goes beyond products and services to encompass the marketplace of ideas, information, labor, and enhancements to public services such as education and access to healthcare.

In the introduction to *Development as Freedom*, he makes his position clear: “It is hard to think that any process of substantial development can do without very extensive use of markets, but that does not preclude the role of social support, public regulation, or statecraft when they can enrich—rather than impoverish—human lives.”

Professor Sen’s appearance included a lively question-and-answer session focused on a range of issues from racial inequality to American consumerism. Among the questioners was Bruno Tardieu of the Fourth World Movement who credited Professor Sen with pro-



Students from the JFK School of Government were eager to meet Professor Sen.

viding an intellectual framework in which to view hunger within its social context. Tardieu also raised the issue of the importance of giving voice to poor people.

“This is extremely important,” Professor Sen replied. “One can think of many situations where pockets of

continued on next page

hunger survive in very rich countries. And it is true, what you suggest, that many of the deprived families are families who have very little interaction with others.”

Professor Sen also offered his views on many other issues:

On human dignity: “One of the characteristics of human beings is that we adapt to deprivation. Growing up in India, I was struck with how people create happiness in their lives, even in the most adverse economic and social surroundings. We admire the person who does this, but we do not ignore the deprivation.”

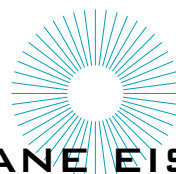
On consumption: “The important thing is not to blame the market but for each of us to make intelligent decisions in the marketplace.”

On conflicts among different kinds of freedom: “Insofar as some freedoms are more important than others, this has to emerge from ourselves. That is a very important issue.”

On Enlightenment: “Sometimes people will say that the idea of ‘enlightenment’ is a western idea, overlooking the fact that Buddha means enlightened one and that the idea that you have to examine what your values are has been just as much valued in other cultures. That issue is present just as much in social dialogue about what freedoms are important as it is in individual reflection.”

In *Development as Freedom*, Professor Sen expresses a deeply humanistic perspective that speaks to scholars, students, and social activists: “With adequate social opportunities, individuals can effectively shape their own destiny and help each other. They need not be seen primarily as passive recipients of the benefits of cunning development programs. There is indeed a strong rationale for recognizing the positive role of free and sustainable agency—and even of constructive impatience.” ■

— Patti M. Sides



RIANE EISLER

ON PARTNERSHIP ECONOMICS



Riane Eisler

“IT’S INTERESTING isn’t it, that we usually don’t think of economics and caring in the same breath?” This was the first of many thought-provoking questions posed by Riane Eisler

as she challenged perceptions of the current economic system in her talk entitled, *Toward an Economics of Caring*. Drawing on examples from the near and distant past, Eisler examined the relationship between economics and human relations, stressing the advantages of partnership over dominator models of social organization.

She demonstrated that these two basic models underlie the many different kinds of social organization. One common manifestation of the “dominator model,” patriarchy, ranks one half of humanity over the other. By contrast, she proposes that a “partnership or mutual respect model” of caregiving should become more highly-valued in human society.

“I am speaking of a system that will support caregiving and that will also support the meeting of our basic human needs; not only our material needs but our emotional and spiritual needs.”


She went on to explain that in a dominator society like ours, the work of women is systematically devalued. Furthermore, caregiving is primarily associated with women. Because of a system of valuation that does not take the work of the female half of humanity into account, our socio-economic system is distorted by

unrecognized contributions and hampered by a host of unmet needs.

In her latest book, *Tomorrow’s Children*, Eisler illustrates ways in which we can change the system of valuation through education in order to move toward the partnership model. She writes, “Among other features of ‘partnership education’ there is complete gender balance woven into the entire educational fabric, the entire learning tapestry.”

In closing, Dr. Eisler challenged the audience to think of ideas for economic inventions to make caregiving more visible, such as publicly financed training for caregiving. “I think that we need to move to a time where not just cosmeticians, the people who do your nails, have to get some type of training, but also people who do care giving... It will pay for itself a thousand-fold.” ■

— Leeta White



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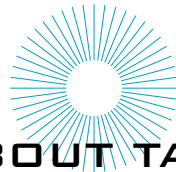
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HOW TO TALK ABOUT TALKING TOGETHER

.....
A REPORT FROM THE SOCIETY FOR BUDDHIST-CHRISTIAN STUDIES

DIALOGUE. IT BUILDS BRIDGES OF mutual understanding and empathy across the divides of self and other. It extends the sometimes-fumbling hands of language across realms of religion, culture, and gender. It aims to create a synthesis of understanding, deepened and enriched by disparate views and experiences. Central to this pursuit is our framework for understanding “the other,” either as an equal from whom we have much to



Terry Muck, Virginia Straus, and Miriam Levering at AAR 2000.

learn, or as a lost soul in need of salvation/enlightenment. In the arena of inter-religious dialogue, how does tradition inform our efforts to understand others?

These issues were addressed on the outskirts of Nashville, Tennessee, last November in a room overlooking the winding waterways of the Opryland Resort. Beneath a fifteen-story glass dome overlooking a New Orleans-style collection of shops and restaurants, the Society for Buddhist-Christian Studies took up the theme for the year 2000 annual meeting at the American Academy of Religion conference: *Beyond the Usual Alternatives? Buddhist and Christian Approaches to Other Religions*.

Miriam Levering of the University of Tennessee, opened with an East Asian/American Buddhist approach which tested the classic positions known as inclusive, exclusive, and pluralist against the views of such divergent Buddhist teachers as the 12th Century Chinese Ch’an teacher Ta-Hui and the contemporary Buddhist teacher Thich Nhat Hahn. Levering pointed out that Buddhists typically evaluate another religion or lineage by analyzing its three component parts:

- *Teachings*, which may be evaluated on a spectrum from skillful and fully liberating to unskillful and hampering liberation;
- *Practice*, the contemplation and training intended to actualize the teachings;
- *Realization*, the quality of the person’s actual insight into and interaction with life that is the outcome of their practice.

It is in the area of realization, the personal religious awakening that transcends specific traditions, where some Buddhists find the greatest chance for common ground with other traditions. This is illustrated in Thich Nhat Hahn’s work, *Living Buddha, Living Christ*, where he asserts, “It is not words or concepts that are important. What is important is our insight into the nature of reality and our way of responding to reality.”

In his presentation on the Christian approach, Terry Muck of Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary questioned “The Paradigm,” the three-fold classification of Christian approaches to other religions: inclusivism, exclusivism, and pluralism. Muck argued that these categories had become

loaded with pejorative meanings and are no longer sufficient to address complex theological issues. Rather than reject “The Paradigm” outright, Dr. Muck called for a less ideological and more instrumental use of the three labels to describe specific beliefs and judgments, not the totality of a person’s outlook. Muck argued that such instrumental usage of terms might lead to less stereotyping and more substantive dialogue about the complexities of inter-religious issues.

As the Buddhist respondent, BRC executive director Virginia Straus introduced alternative approaches to religious difference, as reflected in the more recent scholarship, which place greater emphasis on the *process* of engaging with difference by understanding a religious belief on its own terms. This view approaches differences among beliefs and world views as areas of exploration, not problems to be solved. After her introduction Straus turned to the issues of salvation and dialogue, noting that the missionary impulse had been the driving force for Christians to engage in cross-cultural dialogue. She urged that this salvation impulse be maintained and transformed by “...moving beyond the rather hard-hearted question of who’s saved and who’s not.” Straus argued for a larger view: “Christians might see that in earthly terms, everyone needs saving ...from ignorance ...from destruction ...and from danger.” She advocated an inter-religious dialogue leading to a consensus on global ethics, thus freeing people to work together toward economic justice, preventing warfare, and halting the destruction of the biosphere. ■

— Bill Aiken



BOOK TALK

SUBVERTING GREED TAKES SHAPE

CONTRARY TO ECONOMIC THEORY, Third World countries have not been lifted out of poverty by a robust world economy. While policy questions have focused on international economic institutions, there is a larger, ethical issue underlying the debate. How do we define economic justice in a climate of globalization? What role should religious leaders and practitioners of religious traditions play in rethinking a global society? It is this intersection of economics, morality, ethics, and religion that forms the focus of the BRC's forthcoming book, *Subverting Greed: Religious Conscience and the Global Economy*.

Designed as an interfaith "dialogue" to address the role of religion in global economic justice, *Subverting Greed* is well underway with an impressive slate of contributors selected by co-editors **Paul Knitter** of Xavier University and **Chandra Muzaffar** of the International Movement for a Just World (JUST). A final essay by well-known feminist economist **Radhika Balakrishnan** will summarize and synthesize the issues addressed by the seven contributors, each of whom is a practitioner of the religious tradition they write about:

Ameer Ali teaches in the Department of Economics at the University of Western Australia. He will write from the Islamic tradition. His most recent book is entitled *From Penury to Plenty: Development of Oil Rich Brunei, 1906 to Present*.

Ifi Amadiume is a professor of religion and women's studies at Dartmouth College. Her most recent book is *Daughters of the Goddess, Daughters of Imperialism: African Women Struggle for Culture, Power, and Democracy*. She will write from the indigenous African Igbo tradition.

David Loy's deep experience with Buddhism combined with his global perspective will inform his essay from the Buddhist tradition. He teaches on the Faculty of International Studies at Bunkyo University in Japan and his books include *Non-Duality: A Study in Comparative Philosophy* and *A Buddhist History of the West: Studies in Lack*.

Sallie McFague taught for 30 years at Vanderbilt University School of Theology prior to her retirement last spring. She is now serving as Distinguished Theologian in Residence at the Vancouver School of Theology. Her most recent book is *Life Abundant: Rethinking Theology and Economy for a Planet in Peril*.

Norman Solomon is an Orthodox Rabbi currently teaching at Oxford University's Oriental Institute. He has played a large part in interfaith dialogue and will contribute the essay from the perspective of Judaism. His book entitled *Judaism and World Religion* addresses economic issues, among a range of themes.

Swami Agni Vesh serves as chair of the United Nations Trust Fund on Contemporary Forms of Slavery and the Bandhua Mukti Morcha (Bonded Labor Liberation Front). His most recent book is entitled *Swami Agnivesh: Religion, Spirituality, Social Action, A New Agenda for Humanity*. He will write from the Hindu tradition.

Zhou Qin is a young scholar teaching at the National University of Singapore who recently completed her dissertation under the supervision of Tu Wei Ming at Harvard's Yenching Institute. She will write from the Confucian perspective.

Subverting Greed: Religious Conscience and the Global Economy will be published by Orbis Books in 2002 as part of their Faith Meets Faith Series. ■

BRC BOOK NOTE

Subverting Hatred: The Challenge of Nonviolence in Religious Traditions (Orbis 1999) was adopted for use in 18 American colleges and universities in the year 2000.

WORDS WORTH REPEATING



Ecological economics sees land very differently: it is more like our "mother" than our "property." It is the source of our being, the one from whom we can never be weaned, and the one that we must now take care of. These two ways of thinking—of land as property and as mother—suggest the total mind-shift necessary if we are to move from the one to the other: a conversion from a narrow, self-centered consumer mentality of abundance for the fortunate to an earth-centered, inclusive, long-term vision of the good life for all, including the planet. Both are images of the good life, both are models or paradigms of utopias—neither is a description of how things are. One is not reality and the other fantasy; both have elements of reality (human greed or human need) and fantasy (individual material satisfaction or inclusive community well-being). Both are candidates for our affirmation, commitment, and hard work. — SALLIE MCFAGUE

From *Life Abundant: Rethinking Theology and Economy for a Planet in Peril*

Ikeda Proposal

continued from page 1

All of Ikeda's ideas lead from the classroom to society. "It is important to cultivate humanism in our children through actual experience in society," he says. With this in mind, he promotes volunteerism and community involvement to counteract the prevalence of the Internet, television, and video games in children's lives. The proposal also addresses higher education and the importance of international exchange to ensure respect for diversity and an atmosphere of freedom.

The full text of President Ikeda's Education Proposal is available at www.sokagakkai.or.jp.

Annual Peace Proposal Emphasizes Women's Leadership for Peace

Daisaku Ikeda's 2001 peace proposal is entitled *Creating and Sustaining a Century of Life: Challenges for a New Era*. As he outlines his vision for the

21st century, President Ikeda touches on many themes, including the role of the family as the "crucible" of humanity, economic inequities driven by globalization, the role of NGOs in building a new international order, the global environment and the Earth Charter movement, and the role of women in the world today.

In recent years, women's leadership for peace has been a recurring theme in Ikeda's prolific writings. "The century of life must also be the century of women," he says. His belief that women are naturally oriented toward harmony and unity connects with his larger themes of "creative coexistence" and the central role of women in family life. "The protagonists of the family are women," he explains.

Ikeda's peace proposal is released annually on January 26, a date which marks the anniversary of Soka Gakkai International (SGI). For a free copy of the Peace Proposal, please contact the Center.

For the Sake of Peace: Seven Paths to Global Harmony

BY DAISAKU IKEDA
HARDBACK, 252 PAGES
MIDDLEWAY PRESS, \$25.95

For the Sake of Peace is based on 25 years of peace proposals and university lectures by Daisaku Ikeda. By condensing the substance of these writings into one volume, SGI president Ikeda has delineated seven "paths to peace" for those searching for practical, as well as spiritual, guidance. The seven paths are self-mastery, dialogue and tolerance, community, culture, nations, global awareness, and disarmament. Each "path" is the focus of a chapter and each chapter draws on many sources of inspiration from Thomas Paine to Ikeda's own mentor, Josei Toda. Ikeda has devoted decades of his life to peacework. The wisdom of his experience is presented here with compelling simplicity. ■

For the Sake of Peace is available from your favorite bookseller or on-line at www.middlewaypress.org

Vittorio Falsina

continued from page 7

development, and social justice. But it's not just leaders; there are also specific Buddhist groups in Sri Lanka and Thailand. Worldwide, Soka Gakkai (SGI) is perhaps the most interesting phenomenon, particularly in the United States where social engagement began with the fight against racism. SGI is now one of the most diverse religious groups in America, and has evolved beyond racial issues to a range of peace and justice issues.

How will the role of religious leaders change as world religions become more involved in global activities? Will spiritual leaders become politicians?

They don't have to become politicians, but they do have to play a socially responsible role. They cannot escape the fact that their mission is not only

the spiritual mission of liberating individuals, but also a mission to be responsible to local and global society.

How are religious leaders joining the dialogue on globalization?

Last August, I was present when 1,000 religious leaders gathered in New York at the assembly room of the United Nations to develop a statement about what religions can do for peace. And earlier this year, Professor David Little and I were invited to facilitate a dialogue between a group of religious leaders and world economists at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. We had three days to coach and prepare these religious leaders to achieve a common view to convey to the assembly, which turned out to be a nine-point program designed to bring the moral authority of religion to the great challenges of the global agenda.

Davos was a very guarded meeting this year, with an anti-globalization meeting happening in Porto Alegre, Brazil. The religious leaders were very clear in saying, "Thank you for inviting us to Davos, but do not think you can co-opt our voice by inviting us." They made a very beautiful statement in which they offered themselves as a bridge in the form of an advisory council of world religious leaders to advise the UN, the World Economic Forum, the World Bank, and any other institution making decisions on a global scale.

What outcomes and deliverables do you anticipate from your project?

We anticipate deliverables in all the sectors of investigation, along with the elaboration of interdisciplinary and comparative data. General information will be accessible on a Web

continued on next page

Vittorio Falsina

continued from previous page

Site. In addition, each sector will develop specific products tailored for the use of their audience. For instance, the Center for the Study of World Religions will produce books on world religions and globalization; the Harvard Business School will develop business case studies to teach in training programs; the Kennedy School will create white papers for government. The Shorenstein Center will produce news stories and documentaries for public broadcasting. We foresee a wide range of outcomes.

What is your own vision of the future of globalization?

It is naive to think that globalization can be undone. We have created an infrastructure of technology, communication, and travel that will increase global interactions. I think people want to move forward, not by more of the same kind of globalization, but by making globalization more human. Companies and communities need to think in terms of enlightened self-interest. It is our hope that by eliciting the contribution of religions and cultures, we will help to recast the discussion and process of globalization. ■

The Mission Statement of the Boston Research Center

THE BOSTON RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE 21ST CENTURY is an international peace 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, non-violence, environmental ethics, economic justice, 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 163 countries.

How to Reach Us

WE WELCOME YOUR ADVICE, IDEAS, and comments, as well as requests for complimentary exam copies or general information. Individual staff members can be reached by calling 617-491-1090 or via fax at 617-491-1169. Extensions and email addresses are listed below:

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Editor's Note



AFTER SIX MONTHS AS THE PUBLICATION MANAGER, I am beginning to develop an understanding of just how big the Center's mission is. The over-arching term "global ethics" touches on so many important issues and day-to-

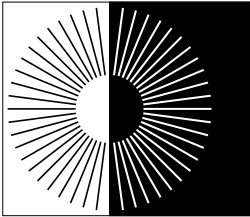
day concerns of people everywhere. Here at the BRC, we try to advance this agenda every day with substantive programs and publications that bring many voices together.

In this issue, we focus on economic justice with lively summaries of our recent conference series, a thought-provoking guest interview with Vittorio Falsina, and an update on our book-in-progress, *Subverting Greed: Religious Conscience and the Global Economy*. As editor of this newsletter, my hope is that everyone who opens it will find it difficult to put down. Whether you find useful information, words of inspiration, or a sense of common purpose, we want this newsletter to speak to you, as much as it speaks to the issues. Please let us know if we have succeeded.

— Patti M. Sides, *Publications Manager*

There's even more *online!*
Check it out soon.

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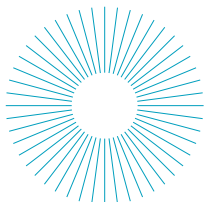
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Subverting Hatred can be purchased from Orbis Books. Visit their Web site at www.orbisbooks.com or call 1-800-258-5838.



Please contact the BRC to order a complimentary printed copy of Daisaku Ikeda's 2001 Peace Proposal entitled *Creating and Sustaining a Century of Life: Challenges for a New Era*, or download this publication from www.sokagakkai.or.jp.

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