





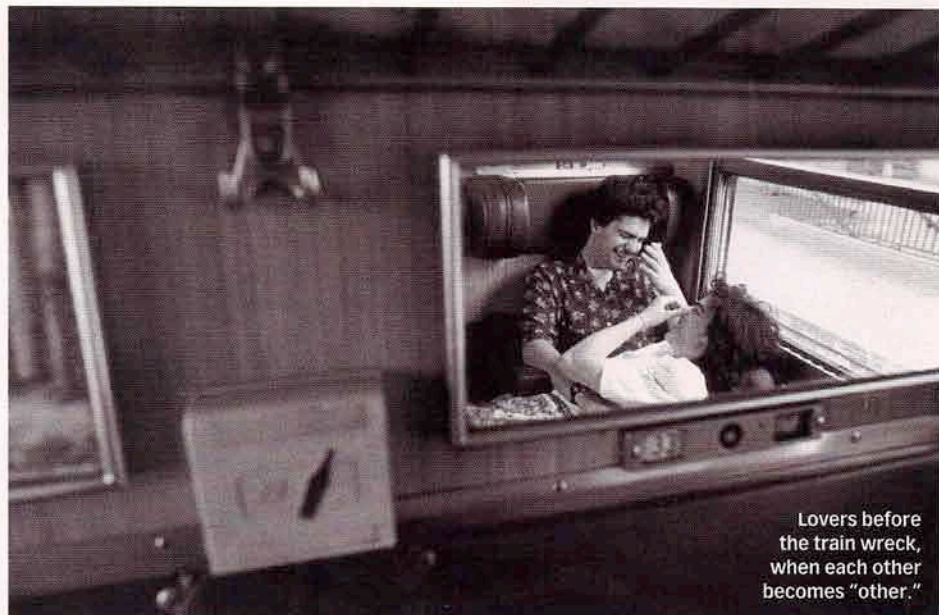
# Us & Them

Husband vs. wife. Red vs. blue. Country vs. country. Your beliefs vs. mine. We go from disagreement to outrage in a flash these days, which is why we've been wondering what we—you, us, everyone—can do to cool down conflict, bring people together. AIMEE LEE BALL has met some visionary men and women who've come up with hope-inspiring solutions—like a couples therapist who's pushing for a—why not?—U.S. Department of Peace. First, though, VALERIE MONROE gets to the root of the us/them mentality that was useful back when we were swinging from trees but has been nothing but trouble ever since. It's time, she says, to give evolution a push in the right direction.

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN RITTER

# Profiles in Peace

By Aimee Lee Ball



Lovers before the train wreck, when each other becomes "other."

## The Marriage Whisperer

The same techniques that keep marriages strong, says therapist Harville Hendrix, can end conflict between nations. It starts with trying on someone else's reality.

**F**ALLING IN LOVE IS LIKE A temporary inoculation against reality. It's about idealized feelings between two people in which they see connections ("You like the color blue, too!") rather than distinctions. But there comes a time in most marriages when the oneness shatters. "That phenomenon is what I've been addressing for many years," says Harville Hendrix, PhD, a marital and relationship expert and the author of *Getting the Love You Want*.

For most couples, the romantic interlude of a new relationship leads to an inevitable truth, says Hendrix—"a slow

discovery of the other as 'not the person I thought he was.' The breaking of that illusion is one of the most shocking and terrifying experiences of married life. There's an actual change in brain chemistry—levels of dopamine fall while levels of adrenaline and cortisol rise—as people go from excitement to frustration, fear, conflict, and opposition." In the power struggle, partners move from courtship into coercion, trying to get each other to surrender their "otherness." "This is the second stage of all relationships," Hendrix says. "It's not a pathology." But it's when damage can occur to a couple's children and when the couple often splits up.

Hendrix, along with his wife, Helen LaKelly Hunt, PhD, developed Imago Relationship Therapy to help couples push past this impasse with workshops and programs. "We take you through a structured process designed to let you feel the distinction—I am not you and you are not me—but we are connected through the depth of our communication and commitment to each other.' We ask you not only to listen but to mirror in a paraphrase what you're hearing, and then take it deeper—validate the other's point of view, stretch into their world to the point where you can see how much of what they're saying makes sense to them. What's

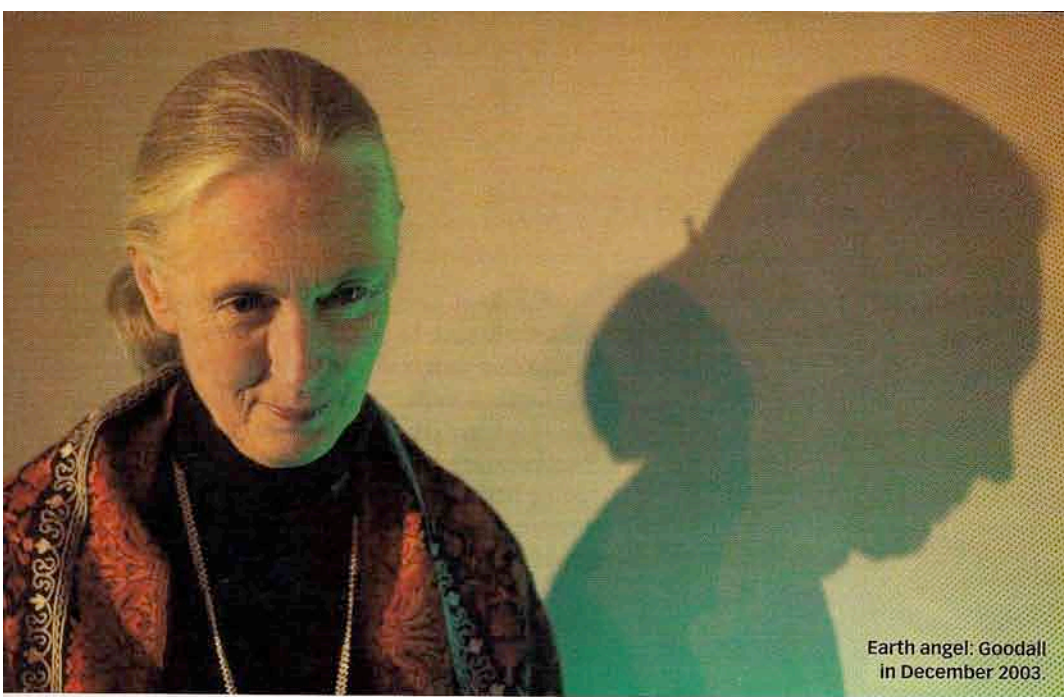
true for them, given their life experience, does not have to be true for you—but you realize that your reality is as much a problem for them as theirs is for you. Then you can move on to the empathetic response: 'Not only do I see the logic of what you're saying but also what you're feeling—excited or sad or angry or scared.' You move from 'other' to connection to communion."

In his effort to help resolve conflict in the world, Hendrix supports a grassroots movement for a federal Department of Peace, first proposed to Congress in 2001 by Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-OH), among others. The new department would be headed by a cabinet-level secretary who advises the president on no-combat options and would establish a U.S. Peace Academy to study cutting-edge ways to wage non-violence. The new department would also address issues such as domestic violence, child abuse, gangs, and prison rehabilitation. In September, the bill was reintroduced to Congress. (See [thepeacealliance.org](http://thepeacealliance.org).) In the meantime, Hendrix suggests focusing on your own relationship. "If people resolve the personal," he says, "they will change the social." ●

### GETTING TO YES

#### The "And" Stance

If someone is setting up a choice between what you believe and what she believes, you can reject that model and embrace both ideas, even if they oppose each other. Such a switch from "either/or" thinking to the "and" stance is the idea of the Harvard Negotiation Project, a group of scholars working to improve conflict resolution (from having difficult conversations with a spouse to resolving armed border conflicts in South America). The mere act of understanding what someone says doesn't require you to give up your own belief. Regardless of whether your opinion influences hers or vice versa, both matter.



Earth angel: Goodall in December 2003

# What the Chimp Knew

The ever-extraordinary Jane Goodall—now a U.N. ambassador of peace—starts a groundbreaking program fit for all creatures great and small.

JANE GOODALL, PHD, WAS IN A New York City hotel room on the morning of September 11, 2001, and watched with horror as the World Trade Center collapsed. Having spent a lifetime observing and promoting the understanding of primates, she had a prescient dread about the backlash of polarizing, “us versus them” thinking that was to come. But her fear was mixed with optimism.

Goodall had learned long ago from a

handsome Tanzanian named David Greybeard that it is possible to break through the us-them impasse. She'd been intrigued by David—a chimpanzee who stood out from the others because of his dignified demeanor and a swatch of silvery chin hair—in the early 1960s, and spent months observing him from afar. In her book *Reason for Hope*, she describes the day she followed him to a stream. Amazingly, the two of them sat there calmly, just looking at each other. A nut on the ground caught

Goodall's eye and she held it out to him. David dropped it, she says—only to take her hand instead. “He didn't want the nut,” Goodall writes, “but he understood my motivation, he knew I meant well.” To this day, she remembers the gentle pressure of his fingers. “We had communicated in a language far more ancient than words...a language bridging our two worlds. And I was deeply moved.”

Goodall's peace work with primates has expanded over the years to humans—her organization, Roots & Shoots (rootsandshoots.org), mobilizes children in more than 80 countries to participate in programs that promote harmony among people, animals, and the environment. “It's a symbolic name: Roots make a firm foundation, and shoots are tiny but can go through brick walls,” says Goodall, who was named a United Nations Messenger of Peace in 2002. In Tanzania, for example, baboons were stealing crops from the farmers. “The fields were in a place where the baboons had once ranged, so you could hardly blame them,” recalls Goodall with customary empathy for the animal kingdom. “The farmers burned the forest where the baboons came from so they were now starving.” Her young Roots & Shooters explained to the farmers that baboons are intelligent and feeling creatures, and planted things in the forest that the animals like to eat. “It has made a very big difference,” says Goodall. “There will never be true peace between people if we can't live in peace with the natural world.” ●

## THE END OF HATRED By Sharon Salzberg

RECENTLY, TRAVELING BY TRAIN to New York City, I found myself sitting between a woman having a moderately loud conversation on a cell phone and a man growing increasingly agitated at the volume of her call. As the ride went on, accompanied by the unremitting sound of her voice, he wriggled and sighed, then finally exploded. “You're making too much noise!”

She turned to glare at him over my shoulder, as I hunched further down in my seat. Sandwiched

between them, I glanced over at him and reflected, *Well, the same could be said about you, too!*

A saying I once heard came into my mind: “The problems we face cannot be solved by the same level of thinking that created them.” It takes strong insight and often a good deal of courage to break away from our habitual ways of looking at things, to be able to respond from a different place. Imagine if we dropped our need to be right, our easy perpetuation of what we're used

to, our urge to go along with what others think, and tried to practice what the Buddha taught: “Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time: hatred ceases by love.”

Shouting to drown out someone else's noise, returning belligerence for belligerence may be automatic, but it tires us out. Rigidly categorizing people as good or bad or right or wrong helps us feel secure; yet relating in that way doesn't allow us to really connect to anyone, and we actually feel alone.

Risking a new level of seeing enables us to try out new

behaviors and find ways to communicate that convey our feelings without damaging ourselves, or those around us.

That would kick off an enormous adventure of consciousness—a readiness to step into new terrain, redefine power, see patience as strength rather than as resignation. Instead of yelling at the woman on the train, the man might have made his request before his anger built to unmanageable proportions and he saw her only as an irritant, not as a person. He might have asked before insisting and spoken

# Culture Clash

In the amazing, disquieting movie *Crash*, writer-director Paul Haggis confronts a whole rainbow of stereotypes—and the fact that most of us are more prejudiced, and in more ways, than we'd like to think.

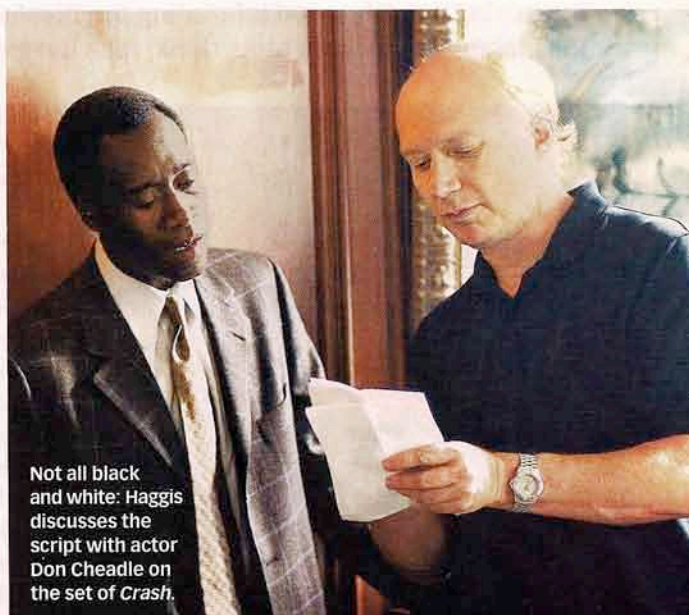
IN THE RECENT FILM *CRASH*, AN affluent white woman slips an arm through her husband's and draws him near as two young black men walk toward them. "She got colder as soon as she saw us," grumbles one of the men, who also complains about being disrespected in the diner they just left. "You see any white people waiting 132 minutes for a plate of spaghetti?" he asks. And when his friend points out that the waitress was black, too, he responds, "You don't think black people think in stereotype?" When the two indeed turn out to be muggers, the husband (an ambitious district attorney) frets, "Why did these guys have to be black? No matter how we spin this, I'm either going to lose the black vote or the law-and-order vote." To counter the bad PR, he wants to be photographed pinning a medallion on a dark-skinned cop. Regrettably for him, the first eligible candidate is an Iraqi named Saddam.

And that's just the beginning. Through the film's wildly diverse characters—black, white, Hispanic, Asian, Middle Eastern, overly pampered, tattooed, and drug addicted, all intersecting because of a car accident—Canadian writer-director Paul Haggis targets every permutation of racial prejudice he could find in Los Angeles. A

carjacking in his adopted home of almost 30 years was the genesis for the film. "When I came out of the shock, I was intensely curious about those two kids who took the car. I wondered who they were, if it was the first time they'd done this, how long they'd been friends, if they were friends. And then I thought of the guy who came to change our lock at 2 in the morning—what if he'd been Hispanic, with shaved hair and a baggy T-shirt? I hate asking myself troubling questions."

Yet those troubling questions became the disturbing dialogue in *Crash*. Working with cowriter Bobby Moresco, Haggis was concerned about giving voice to bigotry. "I kept asking, 'Can we say that?' I really thought I would be the poster boy for the KKK. But I wanted to make the audience uncomfortable, to have them laugh and then ask, 'Should I have laughed at that?'"

The film's characters are all handicapped by their limited thinking and break through it only when their paths collide. "I don't think it takes a crash," says Haggis, "but most of us don't examine deeply



Not all black and white: Haggis discusses the script with actor Don Cheadle on the set of *Crash*.

held beliefs until something out of the ordinary happens." He describes standing at the back of a theater during one screening of the film. "A man came out of the audience, my stereotype of a biker—long chains and shirt opened down to the belly button. He said, 'Did you have something to do with that movie?' I said yes, and he said, 'Movie just changed my life, man; changed my life.' And he walked away."

Memo to that man: Pass it on. ●

before shouting, just as he might like to be spoken to himself.

My seatmates on the train settled down, but we see elements of that ride every day: frustration, carelessness, an effort to be in control, rage, fear—and the chance to be different. Can we see it all and seize the chance to operate from new levels of thinking?

Even in horrible circumstances, we have that opportunity—and the prospect for meaningful change. I saw it after the metro bombing in London in July 2005, when, like most people, my initial response was sorrow for the lives lost and

some anxiety about getting on a subway in New York. This was all natural and appropriate, but limited by "us versus them" thinking.

Willa, the 7-year-old daughter of a friend, had another perspective. On being told what had happened, her eyes filled with tears, her mother wrote me, and she said, "Mom, we should say a prayer." As she and her mother held hands, Willa asked to go first. Her mother was stunned to hear Willa begin with, "May the bad guys remember the love in their hearts."

Hearing that, my own heart leaped to another level altogether. ●

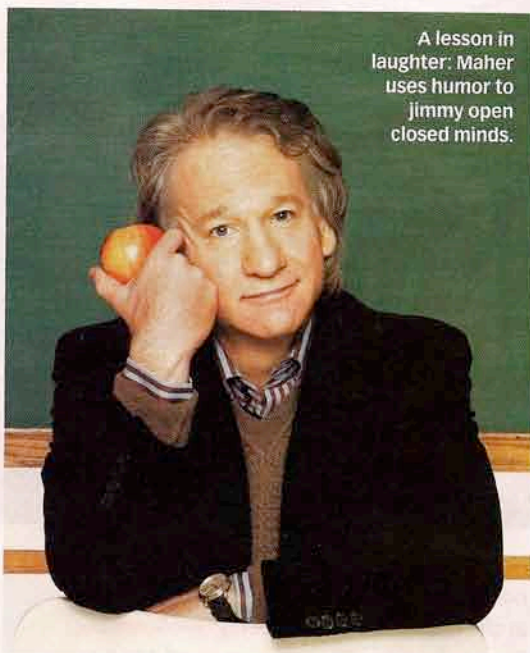
## SHRINKS ON THE CASE

### Peace Psychology "Division 48"

has a mysterious, slightly ominous, 007-ish sound, but to the American Psychological Association, what it signifies is emotionally benevolent. Established in 1990, this division—one of 55 in the APA—is devoted to applying psychology to the pursuit of peace. A network of nearly 800 students, psychologists, and other professionals, Division 48 members work with issues such as domestic violence, childhood bullying, racism, and genocide. Goals include research in nonviolence and creating academic programs at universities that teach peacemaking. "If our profession is committed to human well-being," says Michael Wessells, PhD, one of the APA members who originally lobbied for the division, "we have to think about peace."

# Equal-Opportunity Annoyer

By sparing nobody—and infuriating practically everybody—comedian Bill Maher makes us all stop, think, face the truth, and (okay) laugh.



A lesson in laughter: Maher uses humor to jimmy open closed minds.

A FEW MONTHS AGO, BILL Maher was at Dodger Stadium, and when his picture flashed on the JumboTron, half the audience cheered and half booed. Which was fine with Maher. “I’m an easy boo,” says the host of HBO’s *Real Time with Bill Maher* and author of *New Rules*. “If you’re going to tell the truth, you’re going to alienate people. I’m not a Democrat, not a Republican, and I know that’s unsettling to people. In America everybody has to be on a team, and they work backward from: ‘How can I defend the team I’m on?’ We’re way too conformist in this country. There aren’t enough people who have opinions that are unsettling.”

When Maher loads, cocks, and aims his opinions, he forces us to confront stereotypes and bigotry, using humor to fake out our defenses. Few comedians manage to push the boundaries of our comfort zone about “otherness” quite so far or so well. And Maher is an equal-opportunity zinger—nobody is exempt. “If you have to tell me what fraction of you is Native

American, you’re not really an Indian,” he jokes. “There’s a word for people who claim to be one-quarter Indian: Puerto Rican.” Priests and homosexuals alike draw fire: “*Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*? If I want a bunch of gay men in queenly outfits telling me how to live my life, I’ll go back to Mass.” And you’ve got to admire how he slams jihadists and rednecks in one fell swoop: “If you don’t want the world to think your religion is medieval, stop beheading people. Texans are bloodthirsty and dim, and even they learned to use an electric chair.”

When George W. Bush referred to the 9/11 terrorists as cowards, Maher was hosting ABC’s *Politically Incorrect* and challenged the idea. “We have been the cowards, lobbing cruise missiles from 2,000 miles away,” he said. “Staying in the airplane when it hits the building—say what you want about it, it’s not cowardly.” The show was canceled after major sponsors and affiliate stations started pulling out. “Political correctness is all about having an idea in your head and insisting that anyone who questions it is somehow immoral,” says Maher unapologetically.

The political landscape of the country is still a favored target for the comedian, particularly the color theme of the last election, “in which blue-staters were convinced everything between New York and Los Angeles was one giant forest where Ned Beatty was constantly being sodomized by hillbillies, and red-staters were told that people like me spend all our time performing abortions and figuring out new

ways to desecrate the flag. Please, they’re just hobbies.” In his view, the divisiveness in the nation’s politics goes back to George Washington. “The different factions got along when he was president because he was the great patriarchal figure, but his second term, when they knew he wasn’t going to run again, was when it all fell apart. Jefferson and Hamilton attacked each other with a viciousness that would be very at home today.”

Maher believes that the red-blue concept isn’t all that black-and-white. “It looks dramatic when you see the map,” he says. “But it’s not so much an issue in cities, where different cultures butt up against one another. It’s when you’re out in the fields and don’t see anyone who doesn’t

“If you are going to tell the truth, you are going to alienate people.”

look like you that your philosophy tends to ossify. Take it from somebody who does a stand-up act around the country. We don’t have elections where people win by 98 percent. Even in a place like Alabama, nobody ever wins an election by more than 65 percent, which means 35 percent of the people think differently, and they show up for my act. I get more love from red states than anywhere else, and it’s a greater pleasure than preaching to the converted.”

And, really, truly, deeply, folks, Maher just wants everyone to calm down. “Gay marriage won’t lead to dog marriage,” he reassures. “It is not a slippery slope to rampant interspecies coupling. When women got the right to vote, it didn’t lead to hamsters voting. No court has extended the Equal Protection Clause to salmon.” ●

## POV SHIFT

### Miller’s Law

“To understand what another person is saying, you must assume that it is true and try to imagine what it could be true of.” These are the words of psychologist George A. Miller, and they’ve been quoted by communications experts as a sterling law to live by. Even if the other person seems crazy or wrong, “really listen to him, without judgment, and try to figure out how he could think that way,” says Miller, now Princeton’s James S. McDonnell Distinguished University Professor of Psychology, Emeritus.

# Our Gang

It's *West Side Story* rewritten by an L.A. priest: former enemies waitressing together, designing T-shirts, getting rid of stigmas (and tattoos).

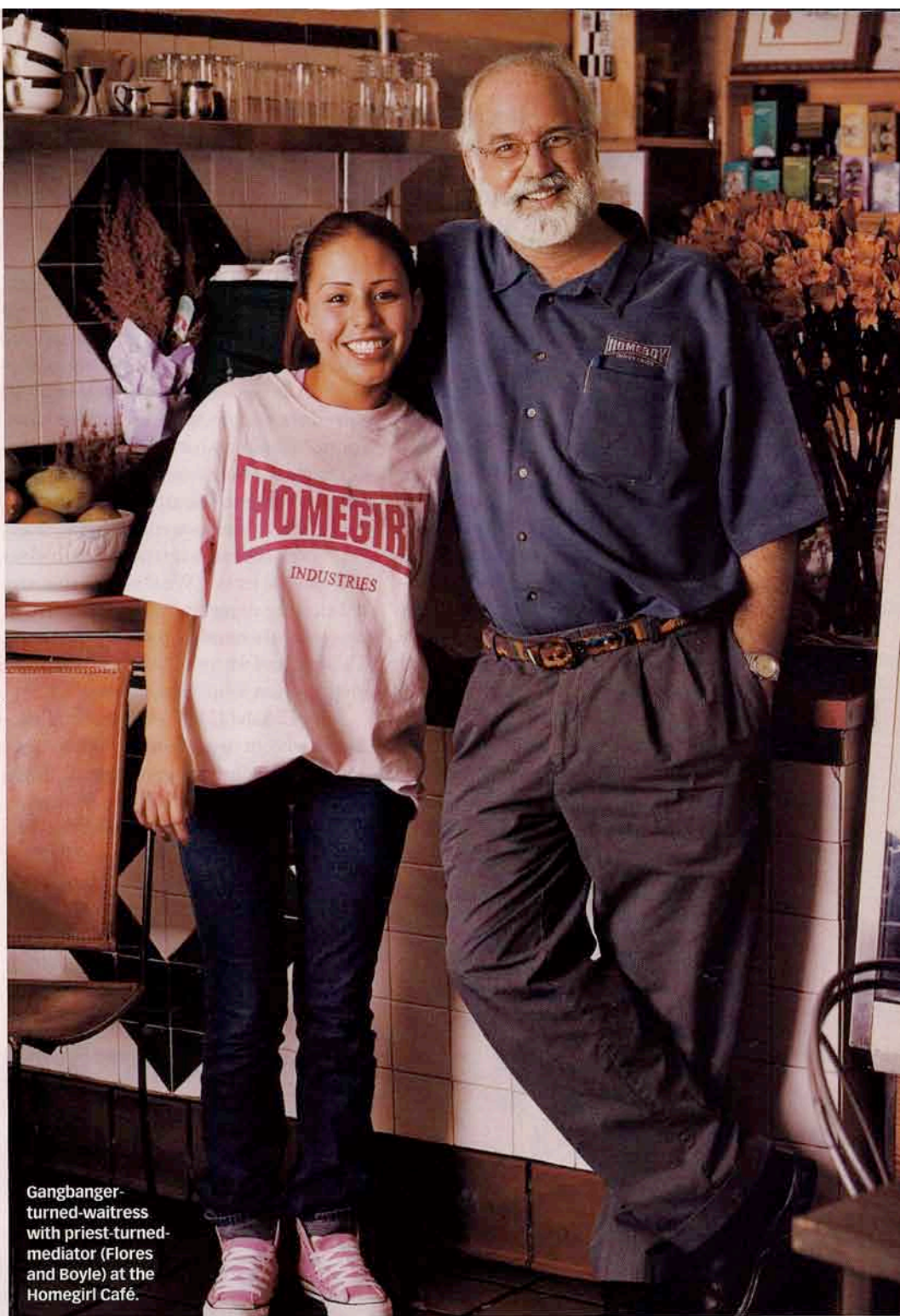
**G**REGORY BOYLE BURIED his first child in 1988. Last summer he buried number 140—all victims of gang warfare in the East Los Angeles neighborhood that is Father Boyle's parish. "I count the dead," he says, "because of the general sense that these lives matter less than other lives."

The devastation of gang activity motivated the Jesuit priest to start Homeboy Industries in 1992, the largest gang intervention program in the country. "One thing we don't do is sit enemies down and say, 'Let's talk this out.' Gang violence is irrational. It's not about anything. It's not the Middle East or Northern Ireland. We offer concrete ways to help the kids redirect their lives." Part of the program is job development, an alternative to life on the street. At the Homegirl Café, former female gang members are earning their first legitimate paychecks as waitresses and cooks, and at Homeboy Silk-screen, nearly 500 kids have learned how to emblazon slogans such as NOTHING STOPS A BULLET LIKE A JOB on T-shirts.

"Homies don't come into the program saying, 'We want to give peace a chance,'" says Father Boyle. "But they start to discover these points of intersection with their enemies—I have to go see my parole officer' or 'The mother of my kid won't let me see him.' They stand next to each other preparing salad or catching shirts as they come off a hot press. They grow into the idea that this person they used to shoot at is no different from them."

Homeboy has a nonnegotiable motto: "No hanging, banging, or slanging." And if kids break the rules? "The day will never come when I withdraw support," says Father Boyle, "but they can't work here. They can come back when they're ready." As implausible as it might seem, he says, there are few infractions and few fights: "You can't demonize people you know."

Perhaps Homeboy's most innovative



Gangbanger-turned-waitress with priest-turned-mediator (Flores and Boyle) at the Homegirl Café.

program is Ya 'Stuvo (a loose Spanish translation for "That's enough, I'm done with that") Tattoo Removal. Taking this step is considered critical in the journey out of gang life, and despite the fact that the laser procedure is painful and painstaking (requiring a half-dozen treatments), there are 1,500 kids on the waiting list, a third of them girls.

One of these girls is Joanna Flores, an 18-year-old high school dropout who heard about Homeboy while serving prison time

for selling drugs and now works at the café. "I've been in and out of jail since I was 12 years old," she says. "I made way more money in the gang than I make here. But that easy money wouldn't last, and I'd always get caught. So now I get up every morning and I take the bus to work." The other café employees are from different gangs and, says Flores, "somewhere else we'd be rivals. We would have bumped heads. But right here we've got to get along, and we get along pretty cool." ●

# Pro-Understanding

Pro-life, pro-choice—they couldn't agree, but could they be civil? With the help of a therapist, a fiery national debate gives birth to a new dialogue.

**W**ATCHING A TELEvised debate about abortion in 1989, with the pro-choice and pro-life advocates going after each other like pit bulls, Laura Chasin got to thinking. "It occurred to me that I wouldn't put up with this if it were happening in my office," remembers Chasin, then a therapist on faculty at the Family Institute of Cambridge in Massachusetts, "and neither would any of my colleagues. If a family is embattled, we know how to help make something more constructive happen. A lightbulb went off: I wondered if some of what we do with couples could be adapted to people embroiled in civic and political conflict."

Yes, it could. Chasin recruited six of her coworkers and started the Public Conversations Project (PCP), inviting local people who expressed interest in a dialogue about reproductive freedom to come talk to one another. "We said that the only goal was mutual understanding. It would not be an opportunity to try to persuade, meaning we had some ground rules." Incendiary

name-calling (such as "baby killer" or "religious fanatic") was forbidden, and questions had to convey genuine curiosity (no "Don't you think your position is stupid?"). The initial 20 meetings usually involved six people and were set for three hours. "It's always hard to end," says Chasin, "once the horns and tails are removed, and you begin to see areas of shared concerns." With such an encouraging start, PCP considered expanding to other charged subjects. "We thought this way of bringing together people who are at loggerheads needed to travel," recalls Chasin, "and we were full of exploration energy, when John Salvi happened."

John C. Salvi III was the student hairdresser who, in 1994, stormed two women's health clinics in suburban Boston, killing the receptionists at both and wounding five others. Governor William Weld and Cardinal Bernard Law jointly called for "common ground" talks. PCP doesn't use the language "common ground" because, Chasin points out, when it comes to abortion, people hear that phrase and think they'll have to make an unacceptable compromise. "But we felt an obligation

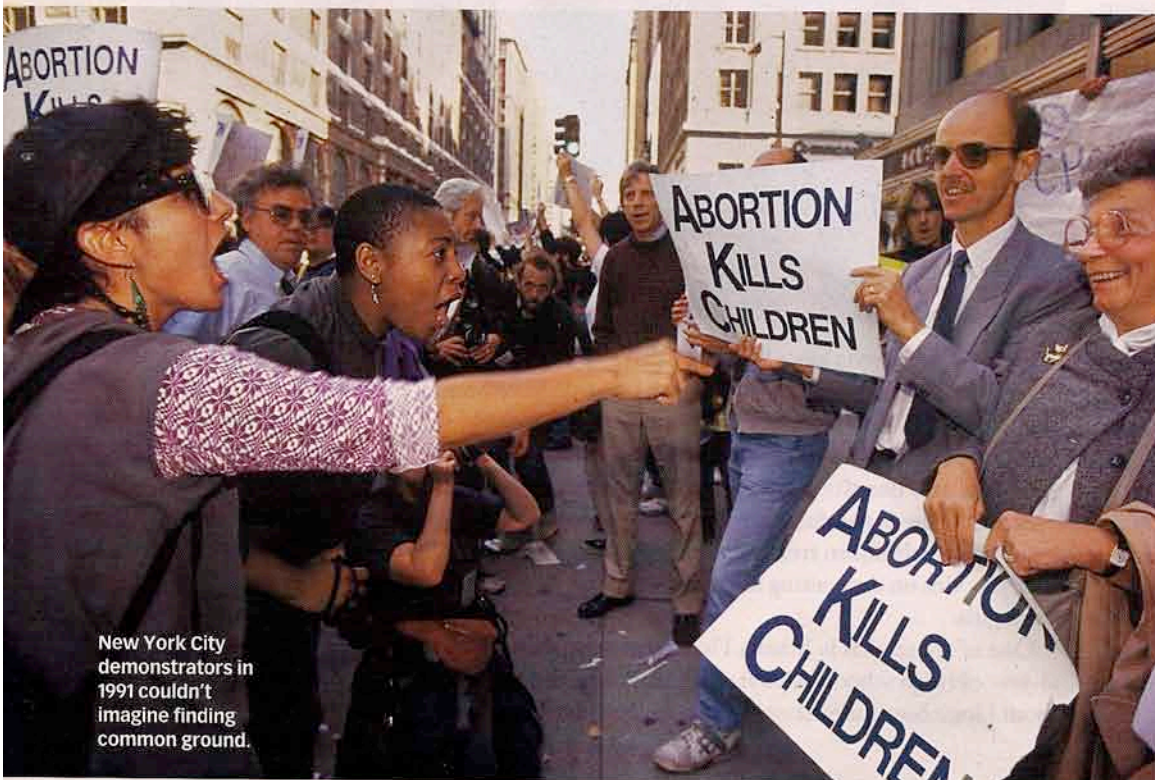
to see if the situation was ripe for some kind of engagement across the divide," she says.

Six women leaders from both sides of the issue agreed to meet in secret, but it was just about their only point of consensus—they couldn't even decide on how to refer to what grows in a pregnant woman's womb. The chasm between them seemed huge. Nevertheless, four initial meetings led, ultimately, to more than 150 hours of talking. Although all the participants strengthened their initial convictions,


**"Once the horns and tails are removed from your adversary, you see shared concerns."**

they learned to reach out to their adversaries with trust and respect, even to really care about one another. The increased understanding of "the other side" affected how the women spoke as leaders of their own movements, in part causing them to tone down the rhetoric. Two of the pro-life leaders attended a memorial service for the women killed in the Salvi shootings. And when a pastor from Virginia announced plans to visit Boston to show support for what he called Salvi's "righteous deed," all three pro-life dialoguers wrote to tell him, "At this very difficult time, you are not welcome."

What PCP has developed, Chasin says, is most useful in bridging deeply polarized issues. "It's where people's core values and worldviews are menaced, where their sense of what's true and what's important in life are threatened by the conflict. It's not just where to put the dump or dividing up the pie. It's where science and faith clash. It's about identity and culture. What's key is hope and a way for people, without giving up their point of view, to also develop caring, respectful, collaborative relationships with people on the other side." ●



New York City demonstrators in 1991 couldn't imagine finding common ground.



Mending fences: One man discovers the "wrong type" is actually "his type."

## Welcome to the Neighborhood

Could a group of conservative Texans share their quiet suburban cul-de-sac with two gay men, a pair of Wiccans, a stripper, or a Korean family? (You'd be surprised.) And why did the TV show that tried to find out get canceled?

**Y**OU HAVEN'T SEEN THE ABC reality show *Welcome to the Neighborhood*, and you probably never will, since the network dropped its plans to air the program in the face of threatened legal action from the National Fair Housing Alliance (NFHA).

During the show's six episodes, a group of white conservative Christians decided which of seven "diverse" families got to move into a vacant house on their cul-de-sac in a suburb outside Austin. The winning family was promised the four-bedroom, two-and-a-half-bath home valued at approximately \$400,000. Competing for this largesse were Hispanics, Koreans, and African-Americans; pagans practicing Wicca; two gay white men with an adopted black child; a heavily tattooed and pierced couple; and a stripper. The NFHA took exception to the idea that neighbors were to be selected based on race, national origin, sex, or religion.

Producers Jay Blumenfeld and Tony Marsh are prohibited from speaking about the show, but a few days before the ax fell, Blumenfeld told a newspaper reporter it

was the residents' candor about their prejudices that made them choice subjects. "The people on the cul-de-sac were willing to be so honest about preconceptions that we all know are wrong," he said. "Those views are not as uncommon as we'd like to hope." The views included the assertion of one neighbor that "I want a family similar to what we are" and another who stated, "I won't tolerate a homosexual couple coming into this neighborhood."

That last comment was made by Jim Stewart, a 53-year-old salesman of food-processing equipment known as the Governor, popular for throwing pizza-and-beer happy hours on his lawn. Stewart admits that he started out with some long-held biases. "There are certain prejudices built

inside that you don't understand until you're faced with them," he says. "I'm the first to tell you it's not my choice when everything you can see is tattooed, from head to toe, even the sides of the head." But his preconceptions were shattered as he discovered that the tattooed man shared some of his values (he, too, voted for George Bush). "After spending quality time with him, you actually get past the tattoos. You sit down and you're discussing anything that comes up—religion, politics, where you met your wife—and pretty soon you start to be getting a friend. If I needed someone to pick up my son from school, the tattoos are not gonna stop it. There's a transformation that you don't even see until it's happened. You're almost ashamed that a week ago you were saying, 'You're outta here,' and now you're saying, 'You're a pretty good ol' guy.'"

The "transformation" took place in less than a month as ABC followed the neighbors with the potential newcomers. Neither Stewart nor ABC will confirm the winner (the judging families signed confidentiality agreements), but it's widely rumored to be the gay couple, who were, initially, the most troubling to Stewart. "Discrimination comes through fear or ignorance," he says. "As the show went on, I got to speaking with them, asking, 'What was it like growing up gay?' I wanted to know in my own mind and heart what it would be for them to walk through this world. And they shared with me that they'd been spit on, they'd been beat up, they'd been discriminated against—everything imaginable. Those are things I haven't had to deal with. It made me realize it's not necessarily a choice for them. It's the way they're born. They're just human beings—all they want is success and security. Might as well be talking about my wife and myself. And how would I feel if they said, 'You're really a weird dude because you're heterosexual?'" ●

### PEACEMAKING

**Earth as Co-op** "If I were asked, 'What is the main barrier to effective approaches to [the world's] problems?'" says economist Jeffrey Sachs, PhD, director of the U.N. Millennium Project, "it would be the sense that we're in such a dire struggle that it's really 'us' versus a competitor, or 'us' versus a different culture, that stops us from understanding what we really could accomplish on the planet. We have bought into this grand vision of Earth as a struggle, not as a cooperative enterprise."