

4. National University: Nationalism and Capitalism

It was June 6, 1991. Guatemalan general Hector Gramajo proudly approached the entrance of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. Dressed in his black robe, he would soon join the other students as they excitedly prepared for the big moment. It was graduation day at Harvard. But just before the general made it inside, a process server called out his name. He looked up. Minutes before getting his diploma, he was slapped with a lawsuit... for crimes against humanity. Nine Guatemalan torture victims or their surviving family members were suing him. Armed with a tape recorder, I ran up to the general and asked his thoughts on this special day. He was no longer smiling. He said he was no tin pot dictator. "I am," he said angrily, "a product of the American educational system." And then, proving his point, he strode onto the big lawn along the Charles River, and, together with hundreds of his classmates, he was awarded a Harvard diploma.

Amy Goodmanⁱ

Ulysses Mendez climbs a dark, slippery road leading up into the Todas Santos hills of Guatemala. He has been scouting territory around local villages on this early morning to see whether members of the "Right Hand of Terror," as the group call themselves, have infiltrated anywhere close to his camp. Mashing through the thick mud, remembering how the Right Hand terrorists had slashed the throat of a friend and beheaded his companion, he trudges slowly back to camp headquarters.ⁱⁱ

Over the past four decades, state sponsored terror had left 200,000 people dead (including 50,000 "desaparecidos," or "the disappeared"), 2% of the entire population. 1 million people or 10% of the population had, in the meantime, been displaced, 200,000 children orphaned, and 40,000 women widowed. According to the Guatemalan Truth Commission set up during the truce in the aftermath of the worst years, the army was responsible for 626 massacres and 93% of the documented violations, while the guerrillas, by comparison, had committed 3% of the violations, including 32 massacres. Villagers had thought that the Peace Accords, reached finally in the last days of 1996, would end the more than 36 years of internal conflict. Some 200,000 paramilitary troops were disbanded, and nearly

3,000 guerrillas demobilized. But the internal conflict and violence continues, and enormous poverty remains.ⁱⁱⁱ

Silent sadness is his only companion now through a steamy fog. The mist moves around him, plodding ripples that overspread one another. It reminds him of the restless waves in a bottomless sea. The fog is so dense that it darkens everything but the beam of his flashlight, which allows him to see a narrow pathway a mere fifteen feet or so ahead.

Born in Guatemala, Robert Ulysses Mendez is an insurgent, fighting an authoritarian government and “United States imperialists.” Dressing as he typically does in a colorful, hand-woven native shirt and well-worn sweater over dirty jeans, his face half-hidden by a bushy Ché Guevarra beard, it is hard to imagine that he is the son of a wealthy rancher and that his father once gave money to the Right Hand of Terror to protect his plantation. Ulysses is depressed about the violence, the poverty, and inequality that characterize his country. He has witnessed mass murders committed by his government and is concerned about the poverty of Mayans.^{iv}

The native Mayans are disenfranchised. They compose 80 percent of the population and barely live at the survival level, the level of malnutrition. They have an 80 percent illiteracy rate, along with the second highest infant mortality rate, after Haiti, in the Western Hemisphere. Ulysses Mendez has good reason to be angry.

U.S. support for dictatorships in Guatemala, a practice engaged in over decades, is well documented. The use of torture and forced “disappearances” is routine. Civilian reform efforts are crushed, church leaders killed, peasant cooperatives burned, and rural health networks destroyed. Unions suffer staggering losses.

He had watched the decimation of the Mayan rights movement. Throughout the 1980s, massacres were carried out in some 660 Mayan villages. The hundreds of thousands of people forcibly “disappeared” or murdered are stamped on his mind. The Guatemalan military and their counterinsurgency practices, responsible for the atrocities, was for him a form of genocide.^v

Ulysses Mendez believes that Guatemala is being governed clandestinely from the United States and is dedicating his life to helping gain its independence. He is amazed that U.S. citizens do not understand why the insurgencies take place. Are they unaware that their own government teaches the Guatemala military how to kill and torture? High-level military officers from his country, he knows, are trained to kill and torture at the School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Georgia.^{vi}

Mendez’ friends include Catholic priests who have tried to establish peasant cooperatives. Maryknoll priests had sent questionnaires to workers on his father’s ranch. In the questionnaires, the workers were asked why his father had a doctor to treat his sick horses but would not bring a doctor to treat their children when they were sick. The priests’ questionnaires were an attempt to wake up workers to the exploitation they were subjected to by his father. Three Maryknoll brothers had been sentenced to death for these and their other efforts to organize cooperative farms and narrowly escaped by a plea from the Catholic Church.^{vii}

It was his father, in fact, who had given his son his middle name “Ulysses.” This rich and literate rancher loved the *Odyssey*, the ancient Greek epic, that tells of one man’s trials and misadventures in his determined effort to return home after ten years of fighting in the Trojan War. Hoping his son would someday manifest the sort of courage, stamina,

and resourcefulness for which the Greek hero was famous, he had sent Robert Ulysses to the United States to attend Georgetown University and its law school. And he did so, but after passing the bar exam in Washington D.C., Ulysses did not remain in the United States to fulfill his father's hopes for him to become a hero. He returned to Guatemala to practice law, fell in love, and married a woman named Patience, who bore him a son whom he loved dearly.

While he was living there Ulysses Mendez had come to admire the United States for its democracy and its productive economy, but he also became more disturbed by what he regarded as hypocrisies in many of its policies – among them the attempt to control Latin American countries. He found students at Georgetown who were likewise upset over U.S. foreign policies, incensed at the U.S.'s invasions of countries such as the Dominican Republic, the Iraq War and maddened to learn that the U.S. taught foreign militaries how to torture on its own home ground.

In the United States, Mendez sees data at the National Security Archives, that further corroborates his suspicions, detailing the connection between the CIA and the Guatemalan government: a 1966 USAID report described victims of mass abduction, torture, and the execution of more than thirty members of the Guatemalan Workers Party. United States officials, he knows, are aware that this repression is ongoing, not just a past occurrence. He sees papers authorizing his government to destroy Mayan villages and their plans for achieving it; that disclose how its security forces were behind abductions, and army intelligence behind the bombings of a Guatemalan support group for the “disappeared,” called “International Peace Brigades.”

He read how prisoners at a military base were kept in pits of water so deep they had to hold on to overhead bars to keep from drowning, and that

after so-called “interrogation” sessions, they were loaded dead or alive onto helicopters and thrown into the sea. The partnership between the CIA and the Guatemalan intelligence-security forces in executing some of these deplorable deeds was documented. He had seen enough.^{viii}

Now, back in Guatemala City, Mendez witnesses the deaths of some of his friends by high-level military officers trained in the United States, as well as sales of handguns and rifles authorized by his own government and supported by the U.S. It is this personal witness along with the irrefutable, documented evidence for so many other heinous acts perpetrated by a CIA-Guatemala partnership that brings Ulysses Mendez to a harsh realization: he has to leave his wife and son to join the insurgency and fight in the hills. When he hears of the decision, Ulysses’ father is demoralized, but his wife and son have implicit faith in him: they do not want him to leave, but confronted by his despair, they promise to wait for his return.

Mendez scouts the hills this foggy morning looking for government soldiers. As he labors his way up the road, soldiers sight him. The land-bound cloud swirling around them is so dense they only catch the briefest glimpses of one another. Still, they exchange gunfire. Mendez can see that if he stays and fights, he will soon be overcome, so he quickly ducks down, escaping through the underbrush.

The soldiers track him between villages all the way to the Caribbean shore where he is finally able to evade them. Near Puerto Barrios, he constructs a raft with a small sail: Ulysses Mendes has no choice but to head out to sea. This is the beginning of an odyssey that seems as though it will never end. After entrusting himself to higher powers, he pushes out from shore. Once at sea, a storm soon swells up, breaking with such fury around

him that his raft reels over. Hurricane force winds snap the small mast and he tumbles overboard into deep water. Down, down he goes, it feels as though he will never rise to the surface, but at last he thrusts his head into the air, spitting and spewing out brine. His raft is floating nearby, and as soon as he sees it, his determination grows: he *will* reach land somehow. He climbs back onboard, but the sea, still rough, tosses the raft up and about, so that Ulysses wonders whether God is with him. Yet one more turbulent wave shatters the raft into pieces, like chaff tossed by a whirlwind. He catches hold of a plank and floats in the tempest for two more days and nights. Death feels near when, on the third day, the wind slackens and falls. Suddenly he has entered a total calm; not so much as a breath stirs. He sights the tops of trees, then land and swims, strength failing, to set foot on it. Wherever he may be, he rejoices in the sight of this land as “children rejoice when their dear father recovers after a long sore affliction and the gods deliver him from evil.”^{ix}

His is a long adventure. Battling pirates in the Caribbean who want to take him hostage, past beautiful, alluring women on tropical islands, becalmed in the Sargasso Sea, through scores of other trials, Ulysses Mendez finds his way back to the United States. The struggles strengthen his faith; temptations only purify his heart, as he remains disciplined and dedicated to his mission. Yet, his heart carries a taint from the war. At times, rage and hate overwhelm him. He remains traumatized from those brutal battles in the hills.

One thing is in his favor. After his law degree, Mendez had begun his career by publishing scholarly articles and a small book on international law. These articles, focused on the reformation of laws in Guatemala, but far more on international law: on eradicating world poverty, reforesting the

earth, restoring fisheries, protecting biological diversity, and stabilizing the climate. Law faculties at prestigious universities had read them and been amazed at his wide-ranging interests and productivity. Hence, he establishes U.S. residence by a Green Card obtained by an invitation to teach at National University in Washington, D.C. Students are drawn to his teaching; he advances in stature and reputation among his colleagues. It looks as though he could move into a distinguished career.

National University is a public institution with an enrollment of 40,000, founded after the Land Grant Act of the late 1800s. For over a century, it has continued to expand, organizing a law school of which Ulysses Mendez is now a highly respected member.^x

Ulysses misses his family, but he is determined to do everything he can to bring about changes in the United States, changes that, ultimately, will also improve the lives of Guatemalans. He hears rumors of suitors courting his wife and wants to see his son again, but because the conditions in his home country remain so serious, he remains equally serious in his commitment to his mission. He tries to phone his family but the lines do not function in remote villages. The mail does not get through, and villagers are without computers.

Ulysses Mendez has learned a lot from his experiences and scholarly training. He wants American universities to teach about international law that is enforceable. Students at National University support him; indeed, generation after generation of students on campus have protested American policies like those that supported the United States invasions of Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, as well as U.S. support to overthrow democratically elected President Salvador Allende in Chile, the Vietnam War, the Korean War, the Gulf War, the current foreign policies. Many of

the brightest students feel that U.S. policies and global corporations obstruct progress toward peace in the world.

The faculties at National U. are relatively conservative. In the political science department, professors assign students the classics of their field -- Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Hobbes' *Leviathan*, Jeremy Bentham's *Fragment on Government*, Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, and the like. The management school teaches students how to maximize profit. Law school professors teach students how to excel as corporate lawyers, about how they can move into big companies, with big offices and big salaries.

The more radical students, who are in the minority, organize a non-credit, self-teaching program. They invite intellectuals writing on current political themes to give talks, such as James Anderson on "The Absolutist States," Theda Skocpal on "States and Revolutions," and Noam Chomsky on "American Imperialism." Civil rights leaders, like Jesse Jackson, are asked to talk about justice and racism, and William Greider about corporations and capitalism. The hot issues are capitalism, terrorism, and globalization. Students say there is no "critical tradition on campus."

Ulysses Mendez continues to publish, and with his outstanding record as a teacher, he is asked to be interim Dean of the Law School. The Law Dean had died suddenly of cancer, and Mendez would be a provisional replacement in a better position to advocate for his own ideas. Protesting students were eager to sign up for his courses.

Mendez is popular among students. He teaches international law with the hope that at some point nations around the world will support a *permanent multilateral peace force with a global court system*. On one inner wall of his new office at the Law School, hangs a photograph of Rigoberta

Menchú Túm, Quiché Mayan activist for the rights of the beleaguered indigenous peoples of Guatemala, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts in 1992. Two copies of the *Popol Vu*, the Mayan account of creation and history of the world -- one beautifully illustrated in the original Quiché, the other in the English translation by anthropologist Dennis Tedlock -- are within arms' reach on his desk; the works of Enrique Gomez Carrilo, Rafael Arevalo Martinez and Miguel Angel Asturias, 1967 Nobel winner in literature on shelves nearby. His apartment, otherwise sparsely decorated with a few mementos of his homeland, contains paintings by -- Carlos Merida, Alfredo Galvez Suarez and Valentin Abaascal, 20th century painters inspired by the many indigenous cultures -- as well as books important to him and his work by sociologist Edelberto Torres Rivas, historian Julio Castellano Cambranes, and author Victor Perera.

In the meantime, he lectures on current policies and authorized activities, both in his temporary home and abroad. "The old U.S. strategy of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) has been replaced by small-scale nuclear attacks and pinpointed assaults undertaken by unmanned planes with new technology. Today, the potential to assemble nuclear devices is already within the reach of non-state terrorist groups. Especially since the dismantling of the old Soviet Union, black markets have been selling stolen nuclear materials and enrichment technologies." He pauses briefly before he goes on, "And the CIA is no longer accountable to Congress; its operatives are acting outside international law, using whatever means they can -- torture, bribery, assassination, proxy agents, and drug trafficking -- to achieve the agency's ends."^{xi}

The President of National University (N.U. for short) -- whom everyone calls "Dr. Athena" -- refuses to give Mendez tenure because he is

not yet a citizen and because most of the members of the Board of Trustees are suspicious of him. Students in the College of Arts and Sciences and the Humanities want to take his courses at the Law School, but the board will not allow them to enroll across departmental boundaries.

Not many people think of the president as beautiful, but those who do said her beauty was “severe.” With her controlled ferocity that always seems to be seeking some higher order or purpose, Dr. Athena is considered by her admirers to be “a goddess warring for peace.” Daring to hope that he has found an ally in her, Mendez asks for her support to create an interschool program on war and peace. Dr. Athena replies that this would be a costly endeavor for N.U.; indeed other universities organize programs in world affairs and international studies. So, what would be different about another one? “Look at the fine Global and International Studies (G&IS) Program at the University of California in Santa Barbara,” she tells him. “It sponsors interdisciplinary global studies, international and area studies. It organizes research, sponsors public events, has university-wide academic projects, and print and electronic publications. If we tried to organize this type of program, our trustees would oppose it on cost alone; it would be redundant and very expensive.”

“Speaking confidentially, I do not like university programs in international affairs,” Ulysses Mendez replies, “because they do not examine the ‘logic of global capitalism and nationalism.’ Nor do they study the way cartels move across the world at breakneck speed and dominate industry sectors, all of which are occurring today. And they don’t teach how media industries shape public opinion or how oil cartels rule small nations.”^{xii}

As they learn more about his inclinations, the trustees disapprove of Dr. Athena’s appointment of Mendez, even as temporary Dean. They ask her

to stop him from making anti-American speeches. And the President does remonstrate with him about talk that is “too extremist,” but she is, frankly, sympathetic to his effort to advance international law.^{xiii}

“In general,” Mendez tells her, “professors in the field of world affairs do not give a fig for what I am most interested in – which is promoting a *multilateral peace force* to stop terrorism and genocide. Students in international affairs are not taught why many people around the world hate the United States; they do not know about *the life of the poor* overseas. Professors fail to tell them that the U.S. government teaches foreign militaries how to *torture prisoners*.” As he speaks, images crowd into his mind, of massacres and mass graves ordered by dictators supported by the U.S., of “disappeared” citizens, friends in his own country beheaded by government soldiers. “You have to experience a dictatorship personally,” he argues. “Students cannot understand these things simply by reading a text or listening to a lecture. American policies should be studied across the campus in all departments: business, education, religion, medicine, art, drama, music, and psychology. War should be our prime concern,” he ends.

Dr. Athena thought that proposing war as the “prime concern” for N.U. was an extreme position to take, but she also hears the depth of concern and the truth in what he puts forth; she simply worries about where this position may lead him. The board's chair, Paul Poseidon, does not like anything about Mendez, and Poseidon is not a good man to have as a nemesis. Six foot six inches tall, resembling an NFL lineman more than a university trustee, one ferocious look from his steaming eyes would send even the strongest of the group into paroxysms followed by paralysis. Athena had beaten him out for the presidency of the National U., and his male chauvinistic pride wounded, he has never forgiven her. Anyone she

supports for Law School Dean would automatically be suspect. At the mere mention of Mendez' name, Poseidon pounds the table furiously and vows to use every ploy to block Mendez' work.

President Athena suggests that Mendez broach a different idea than a graduate program on international affairs to the N.U. faculty. "Try talking with our department chairs. Present your case to them, one by one. Then report back to me on how you are doing."

So Mendez speaks with departmental chairs. First he approaches Professor Cyclops Smith in the economics department, who already has one eye open for this subject. "War," the Dean says, "is rooted in capitalist markets." "It is free markets," Professor Smith ripostes, "that prevent wars from happening." In this one moment, Mendez foresees that if he pursues a dialogue with Professor Smith, he will be eaten whole by theories of efficiency and productivity. So he quickly moves on to address other chairs.

The head of the chemistry department is Dr. Georgia Siren. She draws him into forgetfulness with her sweet enchantment, voicing a heavenly song about the way things could be. The song is so enthralling that Mendez has to strap himself to his seat and stop up his ears with wax earplugs.

He meets with Professor Dimitrios Laestrygonian, chair of political science. Reverting to Hobbes' views on the "natural state of war" and Machiavelli's justification of ruthlessness for the attainment of goals, Laestrygonian blasts a fleet of arguments broached by Ulysses, who undaunted presses on to the next chair. Sociologist Mary Circe enchants him with rhetoric about the virtues of a "civil society." Her presence is so potent, so captivating, that for an hour he forgets his mission. Professor Circe advises Mendez to seek out Dr. Hades, chair of the classics department. Hades takes him on a tour of dead languages. Raising the

specter of the “dangers of a radiological war,” he says, finally: “War is hell.” After every encounter, Mendez grows more upset. By the end, he has decided that it is time for him to go home. But President Athena remains sympathetic to his cause. She suggests next that he organize campus wide discussions on war and peace. He agrees to this, bringing in Molly Ivins, James Carroll, Tom Hayden, Ralph Nader, and James Galbraith. Faculty members, however, are not convinced by their liberal political discourse. Last, he invites Noam Chomsky back to discuss United States’ dominance in Latin America. Chomsky’s talk is straightforward, honest, filled with cases of imperial actions by the U. S. Mendez loves him, but the audience decidedly does not. They grow restless.

The faculty come at Chomsky, snapping out questions from all sides and angles, like six headed monsters. Mendez worries they will both be trounced in the faculty fracas. Professor Charybdis sucks Mendez’ idea on international peace out of the air, gulps it down whole, analyzes it in a vortex of thought, and then spews it out. Astounded, Ulysses Mendez thinks that if it were left to National University, the very notion of peace would be annihilated off the face of the globe. “There has never been sustained world peace and there never will be,” Professor Scylla shouts with monstrous satisfaction, shaking his fist excitedly in Mendez’ direction.

After the panel, Mendez goes to dinner with a few friends and orders a Scotch on the rocks. In better humor now after the fray, they toast their very own Scylla and Charybdis for their demonstrations of power. “Before undertaking this mission, I had not realized that there could be so many frightening adversaries and tight passages along the way,” Ulysses admits. It had been a bad day.

So many department faculties are convinced that peace is only “an airy idea” that Mendez talks with congressional representatives. He calls on U.S. senators for legislation to prohibit “preemptive war.” He asks for legislation on a “Department of Peace.” “With a *Peace* Department as well as a Defense Department, the United States Congress would have a better flow of information,” he asserts. The two departments would create a better balance of power. The founders of America saw balance in power to be important.”

Mendez is upset at the laxity he encounters in Congress. He speaks quietly to friends, “Adolf Hitler’s rise to dictatorship was heralded by his declaration that there was a crisis. Both the judicial and legislative branches of government collapsed while Hitler’s decrees became law. The “Decree for the Protection of People and the State” in 1933 suspended guarantees of civil liberties and permitted arrest and incarceration without trial. The “Enabling Act” then transferred legislative power to Hitler, permitting him to decree laws that ‘deviate from the Constitution.’ If Germany could willingly grant one man such powers, what might happen here?” asks Mendez.

The trustees have long ears. Poseidon hates Mendez and wants to fire him, but President Athena argues on his behalf, saying that there are no solid grounds for his dismissal. Then she speaks to Mendez, “Talk with one dean at a time, privately. If any of them is interested in exploring international law, I will support it. I will give “leave time” for faculty members to work with you, provide funds for them to travel overseas and money to hire new staff for inter-school studies.”

Mendez is elated. “She is like a goddess,” he effuses.

He will do what she tells him, but President Athena must prepare the way privately first. Without his knowledge, she speaks in confidence with

Dean Alcinous of the School of Business, and recommends that he meet with Mendez. “Keep an open mind. I know of your desire for a vice presidency,” she says to him, with a meaningful look. This discrete hint is a major signal for Alcinous who subsequently invites Dean Mendez to his office.

After expressing his admiration for his fellow dean, Mendez speaks of his hope for U.S.-Latin American relations. “The introduction of capitalism broke our feudalism in Guatemala,” he tells Alcinous. “We are now in a period of transition from being a capitalist state to becoming a civil society. The United States has helped Guatemala develop its economy, and American business helped us develop management skills. American business has certainly increased the wealth of our country, and our people are grateful for that.” Then he says frankly, “All this good work has taken place, nonetheless, with American support of dictators. So this modest development has been accompanied by our learning to cheat in business, by violence in our streets, and rebellion in the hills. Guatemalans react against what they see as American attitudes of superiority and the exercise of unnecessary power. I want to build new hope for Latin America.”

Impressed by his fervor, Dean Alcinous asks, “How can we help?”

“Students should study the World Trade Organization,” Dean Mendez replies. “What can be done to make it more democratic? We need a civil governing system for global business. We need *public accountability systems* in commerce. We need to teach students how to *organize global firms with codes of conduct, how to persuade trade associations to accept UN monitoring, how to build international safety standards in the workplace, organize transnational broadcasting media with global*

representatives on its board of directors.” Mendez continues to speak about economic alternatives to the oppressive practices of U.S. corporations.

Dean Alcinous has never been to Central America -- his own ancestry is Greek – but he listens carefully. While there is something regal in his demeanor, he is also friendly toward Mendez. Indeed, impressed further by their private talks, Alcinous invites him to a Greek feast he will have at his home in Mendez’ honor. Encouraged by President Athena, Dean Alcinous wants Mendez to move beyond his distress.

Before the evening of the feast, Ulysses Mendez tells Alcinous : "I have nothing of the immortal about me. I am just one man trying to stop disasters. I will join you in this feast, for an empty stomach nags at a man no matter how dire his distress. With you, I will gladly eat and drink and lay aside all memory of my sorrow.”

When Ulysses arrives outside Alcinous's home, he stands for a moment, his heart pounding. In front of him is a high-vaulted house surrounded by a radiance that seems to come from some invisible sun or moon. He enters through golden doors set inside a silver lintel and silver doorposts above a bronze threshold. The door handles to the entrance are also gold. On both sides of the door stand silver dogs, like immortal creatures that never age. Gold statues of young men stand on sturdy pedestals holding torches in their hands to light the night. Inside, he immediately finds himself in a grand living room, with seats set against the wall, the floor covered with soft rugs, elegantly woven handiwork. On these seats, Alcinous’s friends -- several of them faculty from the National University School of Management – are already sitting, talking as they eat and drink.

Alicinous invites Mendez to speak to those present. “Thank you. I am honored to be here and grateful to our host for allowing me to speak to you openly about my experiences in Guatemala and Latin American,” Dean Mendez begins, treating this as an opportunity to expound on things not usually expected of a guest of honor.

“We in Guatemala have seen Americans bring a Trojan horse into our country. There are CIA agents hidden in the U.S. Agency for International Development. And the United States offers money to our people, but these and other gifts come with strings attached. The U.S. helps impoverished nations struggling from disasters – all to the good -- but this aid makes nations dependent not independent. The U.S. influence is not commensurate with its democratic values at home.”

He tells the Dean and his guests how the U.S. offers Green Technology to help small nations, but when the American machines break down, these nations must hire Americans to fix them. When peasants run out of the seeds given to them by American corporations for crops, they are forced to return again and again to buy them from Americans because the seeds are patented. “American corporations,” declares Mendez, “help developing nations by introducing their patented technology to them. But in this way, Americans gain control of those they purport to help”

“Global corporations are larger than small nations, and swifter in their actions; when local workers want to organize a labor union, their employers fire them. An American firm will go into a developing country, but then if workers complain about safety conditions, leave for another country. Rebels in the countryside are outraged by such practices and fight against them. Instead of business accountants who practice *transfer pricing*, and thereby

cheat smaller nations out of tax revenues, we need fair contracts with provisions for safety and environmental protection.”

Mendez talks about how the United States supports dictators around the world. He tells of having witnessed bodies mutilated, heads decapitated, villages torched. “Village women have been raped,” he goes on, agitated, “and people machine-gunned, their bodies burned, and tossed into mass graves, all with the knowledge of the CIA. These same atrocities and others witnessed by Americans have gone unreported in the American press. The U.S. military teaches armies how to kill, but officers witnessing such things afterward shut their mouths about it. Business students should study this complex problem, the concomitants to U.S. business overseas.”

Dean Alcinous is silent, as are his guests. They do not disagree. But some professors are quietly angry because they believe Mendez is overstating the case. Later, these professors engage Dean Mendez in conversations about courses for students and the role of business schools as they relate to these problems.

Ulysses Mendez continues to speak about economic alternatives exploitation at other faculty meetings and gatherings. He describes how courses could be taught on principles of *fair-and-free* trade. He speaks of civically responsible business. He says that the business school should teach about *decentralized systems of governance, host worker self management, locally-shared ownership in private subsidiaries, ethical investment, social contracting with public health and safety standards, global monitoring by the UN, and community corporations in host nations that contract with global firms*. Mendez says types of monitoring with trade associations can keep the market “accountable” and stop the wars for liberation.

Dean Alcinous speaks. “I will help you set these systems up in Guatemala. I will look for professors who can teach some of the things you are advocating: business decentralization, employee self-management, ethical investment, and social contracting with local corporations. This is my gift to you.”

Mendez is taken by surprise, indeed, overwhelmed by Alcinous’s offer. Dean Alcinous can see that Mendez is familiar with business literature and sophisticated articles in the field of commerce. Mendez is learned and gaining stature in the school.

President Athena has been watching with interest. She talks to Dr. Calypso, Dean of the School of Education about the sufferings of Ulysses Mendez. She asks Calypso to meet with him.

So Dean Calypso invites Dean Mendez to her office and, after cordial preliminaries, asks him what he would suggest for her school. “You are concerned about globalization. How does that apply to us?”

Mendez says, “Well yes, I do have ideas. Thank you. I would ask, ‘How do American universities impact on foreign universities and schools?’ American ideas exist worldwide but so do patterns of inequality.”

Dean Calypso wants to hear more and invites Ulysses Mendez to her house for lunch. Her luxurious home is bordered on one side by a forest of thick, abundant alders, black poplars, and oaks. Birds roost there in the evening -- owls, hawks and black-beaked ravens – folding their sleek wings. Around the front door of the house trail vines bursting with clusters of ripe grapes. Four springs bubble clear and cold, their streams braiding through her backyard. Martina Calypso is wearing a gossamer-light dress with a gorgeous scarf belted around her waist. They sit down in her dining room overlooking meadows that spread west from her land, starred with violets

and lush with clover and poppies. Ulysses launches into a discussion about the failure of American schools to teach what he calls “political realities.” “U.S. public schools,” he says, “are silent about American imperialism. Here school children are taught about Native folklore and festivals. They are taught that Guatemala City has the 2,000 years old ruins of Kaminaljuyu; they are *not* taught about violence and dictatorships there. They learn about the pyramids in Mexico and Egypt but not about the politics of poverty.

As he is speaking, Dean Calypso listens carefully, hearing into what he is saying. She only knows a little about his personal story but senses his courage, daring, and honesty. For all his heated talk in abstractions – about world standards and international law – there is something humanly warm and innocent about his expression of desires and sorrows for his people. She finds herself deeply attracted to him. Her attraction is palpable. Mindful of this and her sensual beauty, he looks away:

“Already in high school, students should be learning about American imperialist policies and how the American government supports totalitarian governments around the world; not only about the beneficial role that the U.S. has had in the development of nations and higher education.”

Martina Calypso finds it more and more difficult just to listen to his words. For his part, Ulysses keeps glancing away, his gaze drawn toward the meadow, avoiding her magnetism. He continues:

“Students need to understand about how globalization produces terrorism. They should be studying about regional treaties that could bring health programs to the poor and environmental standards to host countries. Students need to learn about public standards in commerce. And they should be taught a civics that informs them about the enormous dangers everyone on the globe faces today. In 1963, four nations had nuclear weapons. Today,

eight nations have these weapons and more will develop them. Close to sixty are operating, or building, nuclear reactors. At least thirty can build nuclear weapons at relatively short notice. UN experts say we are close the point where the building of nuclear weapons worldwide could be irreversible. We may see a cascade in proliferation of WMDs.”

Suddenly he stops and murmurs: "Do not be angry with me when I speak of war." A transcendent air envelops her. Ulysses is mesmerized by her aura and wonders what it would be like to embrace her. He starts speaking about “alternative education,” but wants nothing more than to stroke her auburn hair. He begins to feel dizzy and stops again. Sweating now and insisting that he will not taste the delights of heaven until he returns home, he says to himself, “I must finish this National U. mission and leave, no lingering here!” He gets up to go. Regretfully, Calypso sees him to the door.

Although she is falling in love with Ulysses Mendez, Dean Calypso is equally impressed by what he has been saying. By pursuing his ideas on alternative education, she understands that professors and students could make a difference in the on-going process of globalization. She speaks about “the future of universities in the 21st century”^{xiv} and forms an interschool committee to study “the structure of violence,” as Ulysses has described it. “In collaboration with Dean Alcinous, she says, “We will organize a ‘Phaeacian Committee.’”

Dean Alcinous tells Mendez that in ancient times the term "Phaeacian" stood for a civilized people known for their cooperation, their love of play and of assemblies and feasting. Mendez agrees to chair it and asks faculty members to join.

Before long, President Athena is keen on the work of the Phaeacian Committee. She says to the Phaeacians that world religions should play a part in any activity promoting the prevention of war, even though there is no school of religion at this state university. The committee listens and consults with Dr. Shirley Leucothea, dean of a private school of theology nearby.

Dean Mendez approaches Dean Leucothea on this matter, who is happy to cooperate. She gives him a veil she says has mystical properties and will protect Mendez from the turbulent seas of church doctrine, helping him stay afloat in religious disquisitions. Doctrinarism has kept the study of religion out of state universities. "After using the veil to chart your way through religious studies," she advises, "on your way home, toss it back into the sea." Mendez is grateful for the protection and learning she offers him.

Dean Leucothea is so well regarded in her field that she is invited to become a member of the Phaeacians and asked to teach a course at National University on world religions. Athena agrees: "We need to teach ways in which religious organizations could join on a global level. Do Christians, Moslems, Jews, Hindus, and Buddhists work together internationally on war prevention? I think not."

As soon as Paul Poseidon hears about the invitation Mendez and President Athena have proffered to Dean Leucothea, he calls for an investigation by the board of trustees, who regard the teaching of religion in a state university to be wrong, indeed, unconstitutional. Their act revives his appetite for chasing Mendez off campus.

Meanwhile President Athena tells the board that she has confidence in the Phaeacian Committee, but to be certain she approves of all their activities, she will send a spy into their midst. Her messenger will make

close observations and report back on the details of what the N.U. deans and Leucothea are doing, or scheming.

Without hesitation, Athena assigns Harry Hermes to the undercover task, asking him to act swiftly in communicating to her whatever he discovers. As the son of Zachary Zeus, a major contributor to the university, Hermes has had a long-standing affiliation with N.U. He knows everything about geography, business, oratory, literature, athletics and thieves, and is known for his cunning and shrewdness. He goes to work disguised as an administrative assistant in Dean Alcinous' outer office and sends the president summaries of the Phaeacians' plans and projects, adding parenthetical notes exclusively for Athena's eyes. He wants her to be apprised of everything, but certain details must be excised from official statements to the trustees.

Hermes' Summary Report

The Law School

[Athena, on my first day here something has happened, news of which must be kept from Poseidon. Professor Aeolus in the law school seemed a potential ally to Mendez initially, but he turned out to be full of blustery rhetoric. Keep your eye on him].

Tuesday, September 26: Dean Mendez spoke to Professor Aeolus who teaches corporate law. Before he understood what Mendez was actually proposing, Aeolus shot a strong blast of air into Mendez' sails. This gift showed his good will, but when Mendez suggested to him studying peace instead of war at the law school, Professor Aeolus blew him away: "The study of peace will lead you nowhere." But Mendez persisted, "How can we build a legal foundation for peace?"

At this, Aeolus released a vortex of verbiage turbulent as a tornado. "Wars have always existed," he shouted, "Don't you realize that? There

will always be war! Look at history. You *better* be sure you have the power to win any war you start. All I can say is, get real."

Mendez replied that the whole world had looked away during the Holocaust in Europe. The U.S. for one had refused repeated pleas to bomb rail lines leading to extermination camps where the great slaughter was taking place. The same global paralysis occurred when Rwandans were being slaughtered in 1994. Indeed, much the same had been true of the Armenian genocide of 1915, the Cambodian genocide of the 1970s, and the Bosnian massacres of the 1990s. In their defense, Americans respond, "We deplore all this, but it happened so *fast*. What about working on a permanent multilateral peace force at the UN?"^{xv}

Aeolus stormed, "Don't even think about giving away our power to the UN. Thank God you are not President."

"Let me tell you what I see ahead," Mendez answered, and for the moment, Aeolus' powerful winds abate:

"In response to the monstrous horrors of World War I," Mendez says, "world leaders organized the *League of Nations*. The League, however, was too weak to prevent World War II, which was even more monstrous, and so the *United Nations* was created with a similar mandate. The UN is stronger than the League but not strong enough to stop genocides and unwarranted invasions, such as the American invasion of Iraq; nor is it strong enough to stop terrorism.

"Why? you may ask. I will tell you. Because there is no enforceable international law. The state of Massachusetts does not invade Vermont because a higher, enforceable law is in place. What will it take, I ask, to organize a strong system of world governance?"^{xvi}

Aeolus broke in: "My God! *World government* would be a disaster."

Mendez: “If a fifteen-kiloton nuclear missile explodes over New York City, the UN Secretary-General says one million people will die on the first day. What would happen if chemical and radiological weapons went off in Washington, D.C. blowing up the White House and all government buildings? Terrorists could bring a suitcase nuclear bomb into Israel. Help me promote disarmament. Help me strengthen the UN! Terrorists may very well be here soon with the bomb.”

Aeolus’ response grows more chaotic, “This is a dangerous world, and *you* want to give away our power! You should not be teaching these things on our campus.” Finally, rising up, he thunders at Mendez: “Get out of my sight!

Mendez stays, “If you win, it will be a terrible tale of tragedy....”
[I thought these two men would come to blows, they fought so viciously, but for the most part with legal terms I did not understand.]

Tuesday, October 3: Professor Mendez announced to the Phaeacians that, overriding Aeolus, he has appointed a committee to promote international law. He wants legal research on a system of world governance that will operate more effectively than the United Nations. He has also organized a Speakers' Bureau to discuss “mutual disarmament” and the strengthening of U.N. agencies. He talked about legal procedures that would enable the UN Security Council to prevent the use of weapons of mass destruction.^{xvii}

Members of this bureau have spoken to the American Legion.

They are in dangerous territory but must test their ideas with veterans groups. After a special dinner for 200 members, they talked to the audience about how “law and order” could be achieved worldwide by a system of global governance. This system would operate substantially like that of the

United States. It would be stronger than the U. N. (which is a confederation), yet not as centralized as the U.S. government (a federation). Even though more decentralized, it would still be effective, capable of stopping genocides. The new federation would define the rules for a permanent multilateral peace force to stop future war by enforcing the law.

They speak of the monetary returns to the United States in this system. “With world security increased through a multilateral peace force, the U.S. would save money and tax dollars. Indeed, a budget re-allocation would include better care for veterans, the most important citizens of this country. The Veterans Administration needs more money to address health care needs. Much more could be done to address the needs of the United States and reduce the burgeoning deficit.”

Surprisingly, the veterans support them. One member of the audience did get upset, though; he yelled obscenities at the panel of speakers during the discussion period and then left the hall shouting “Traitors!” He spat back through the door on his way out but, in general, the assembly was embarrassed at the conduct of their member. And the Legion president said: “We think that ‘law and order’ is the way to go. It will save soldiers’ lives.”

[Athena: No need to report the shouting incident to the trustees. Just say that the Legionnaires support the idea and tell the Trustees that this is good work.]

Tuesday, October 23: The Speaker's Bureau has started gaining national attention through the media. Bureau members have visited ten state governors to lobby for their support. They were warmly received by each of them, as they explained that “civilized nations” have a tripartite foundation based on democracy whereas the U.N. does not. We should build a new world system composed of a *democratic government, laws, courts, and a*

peace force authorized with proper weapons. This legal system of government, they say, is missing at the world level.

The bureau members spoke with intelligence, wisdom and legal expertise; their idea made sense to the governors. And the good word is continuing to spread through the mass media.

[Athena, You will want to emphasize to the board this story about the meetings with the governors, who were impressed with their message.]

Tuesday, November 6: Next, the team spoke to the prestigious Business Roundtable about how the doctrine of “preemptive strikes” is not good for commerce. It is also against international law as stipulated in the U.N. Charter. “Just think what countries with nuclear weapons could do ‘preemptively’ to us!” they said. They were frank and honest and, except for a few dissenters, well received.

They went on to talk to the United States Conference of Mayors, asking them how the U.S. could refuse to support international treaties – *the Law of the Seas, the Kyoto protocol, and the comprehensive test ban treaty on nuclear disarmament*. The administration, they complain, repealed the *Anti Ballistic Missile treaty* and blocked efforts to strengthen the *biological weapons convention*. “Our government regularly violates the *Geneva Conventions*. The White House says it will not support the *International Criminal Court*.”

[Athena, There were two national reporters at their meeting with the mayors. I talked privately to a reporter from the New York Times to clarify what is happening here. I think Mendez will get a favorable report. Watch for the Times article.]

Tuesday, December 10: Mendez, with his Speaker Bureau, held a special conference at the UN on world law. They invited representatives from the *International Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the*

International Association of Constitutional Law, the International Juridical Association on Environment and Development, the Hague Conference on Private and International Law, the Institute of International Law, the International Law Association, and the World Association of Lawyers. Now they are getting good reports about their efforts from the *Washington Post* and the *Christian Science Monitor*.

[Athena, Before the conference, I called a reporter friend of mine at the Washington Post. Over dinner, I asked if she would write a story about it. Include a reference to her story in your report to the Board.]

The law team was able to convince three senators and two representatives to back their proposals. These representatives will ask the President to consider setting up a *permanent multilateral peace force*. They will start a caucus to sustain support and exercise pressure for the idea, a power base from which they can to apply to the UN for its support and revision.

[This is a peak moment for Mendez. He is pleased with his progress but he thinks the business school could do more. I am keeping up with him and will continue incognito here.]

The School of Business

Tuesday, January 22: Observing the successes of Mendez' team has transformed Dean Alcinous. He is now working closely with Mendez both as a colleague and almost as a friend. First, they set up a lecture series for presidents of corporations to discuss *global codes of conduct*. Second, they have organized a graduate course around world standards for markets; *standards on health, safety, and environmental protection*. Third, they brought lecturers to talk about the *International Organization for Standardization* (IOS). These lectures were important to Mendez because

nongovernmental organizations, business associations, professionals, and governments govern the IOS. They are teaching students about how global corporations develop ethical standards on "a level playing field."^{xviii}

[Athena, I heard two faculty members in the hallway bad-mouthing Dean Alcinous and Mendez. They said that business and ethics do not mix. Alcinous is taking this matter of ethics seriously and some professors are unhappy about it. I stood outside an office door and listened to others who disagree with him. They may be writing you before long.]

Alcinous asked Mendez about how accountants in global firms cheat on taxes in Latin America. Mendez told him the story about banana companies in Guatemala. "Banana companies, such as the former United Fruit Company," he explained, "have production and transportation subsidiaries operating separately in different nations. A firm can raise prices for shipping its products through a subsidiary chartered in Panama, a nation with no taxes. The production factory loses money in a host nation like Guatemala with high taxes. This is because their factory books a record "loss." The global company then pays no taxes at all.

Afterward Alcinous spoke to the chair of the Accounting Department about "transfer pricing." He says that students should know about "ethical problems in global accounting." So Mendez arranged to visit the Accounting Chair and clarify the matter further. "The cost of production for a factory in Guatemala where taxes are high loses money by its own book accounts; therefore, the factory does not have to pay any taxes. But when the same factory locates its the shipping department in Panama, where there are no taxes, it ends up netting a large profit. So the host-nation of the factory, in this case Guatemala, wonders why this global subsidiary firm keeps losing money on their soil. Nobody else knows what is happening because the international accounting system for these types of businesses is

kept private. This unfair accounting system is a motive for revolutions of liberation.”

[Athena, The chair of the Accounting Department does not approve of Mendez. But members of his department are coming up for promotion and tenure. Since the chair wants Dean Alcinous to support his colleagues, he will go along with the idea of teaching students about how to deal properly with “transfer pricing.”]

Thursday, February 4: Mendez admits to Dean Alcinous that, of course, this accounting problem has to be treated through global organizations not just by changing course content in the accounting department. So Alcinous convenes meetings on campus with representatives of the *Association of International Accountants*, whose members number 8,500. This is a global group working for international standards and codes of professional conduct and students listen to them carefully. The Dean and Mendez next talk with representatives of *Polaris International*, an international accounting association with 200 member firms; Mendez says their group could pressure "rogue" accountants to stay in line.

Mendez has continued to make progress. Accounting professors are discussing ethical standards, among themselves and in the classroom, and have met with the *International Federation of Accountants*. This is a nonprofit corporation working in 119 countries with 163 member organizations whose purpose is to “protect the public interest.” They tout how their members represent 2.5 million accountants employed in public practice, industry and commerce, government, and academe. The Dean highly approves of this organization: “It provides for a representation of its constituencies and can influence the global work of accountants, and its structure looks good.”

“Gradual improvement,” applauds Mendez. “Now the faculty and students are gaining a better understanding of accountancy among global firms.”

[Although Mendez has convinced Alcinous to be forceful in pushing for the idea of ethics in trade associations, I am uncertain how long the faculty will keep going in this direction.]

Tuesday, March 4: Mendez has been discussing with Alcinous what he sees as distortions in the way mass media report the news. “The media are ‘big business’ and they ‘skew information’ in their own interest,” he asserts. “Our media support the United States in time of war; this is inevitable. The media of any nation looks to its generals to inform them about their progress during a war. Any nation’s media will report favorably to their home audience in wartime but what might be done for greater global fairness and accuracy?”

With travel support from the management school, Mendez has visited the *International Institute of Communications* headquarters in London. He reported back to Alcinous that the IIC is a non-profit forum for industry, government and academia, analyzing trends in communications. He said that it has “unrivalled” linkages between sectors, organizations, countries and individuals. Alcinous responded, “Good. Let’s see what we can arrange with them.”

Mendez spoke with the IIC staff about creating a nonprofit *global public broadcasting corporation* owned by countries in different parts of the world: “There should be a broadcasting association that sets worldwide standards for news. We need to advance the Internet further for news and to support innovative technology for global television broadcasting. If we keep a free market,” he told them, “we need competition but also standards.

This will balance the bias of any one business or trade association shaping the nation's media.”^{xix}

It is amazing. Mendez and Alcinous are becoming strong friends in this cause. They have already talked on the phone to heads of the *American Cable Association*, *North American Broadcasters Association*, *International Association of Broadcasting (IAB)*, *National Association of Broadcasters*, and others to promote cooperation among broadcasters in “the public interest.” So Mendez asked: “How do American media corporations – like CNN, CBS, NBC, ABC and Fox News -- represent the common good?” Broadcasters say that it is their mandate to work for the common good. Mendez: “How can we organize the media so that they demonstrate more concern for humanity, not just for profits and the national interest? Could the UN promote a global media system as nonprofit NGOs in the interest of all people? *Could a global NGO have an international staff of news reporters trained to set world standards?*”

[Athena, This effort could be seen as unpatriotic -- so keep this information from the board. Say that the deans are making an inquiry with the news associations about how students can study world news.]

Meanwhile Deans Alcinous and Mendez have been acting to strengthen their budding program on international business. Mendez talked with the U.S. Department of Commerce about global ethics, the need for a more *effective world trade and monetary system*. (It is not enough, Mendez said, just to have national agencies like the Commerce Department and the SEC working on world trade.) Under Alcinous' observation, Mendez has been promoting the *Law of the Seas*, through the idea for research into an *international ocean authority that would provide standards for business to prevent undue exploitation of undersea resources*. He also spoke about

improving *dispute-resolution procedures, mediation and arbitration services* in the global market.

[Athena, The activity generated by these deans is extraordinary! Much is reportable to the board but be cautious. If Alcinous wants to be vice president, some things might not work in his favor.]

Plans for International Education

In the meantime, Dean Calypso has been busily at work. Committed to adding courses on world peace to her school's offerings, she joined the *Association for the World University*, a group for professionals in global education. She spoke with graduate students about *the International Group for Didactic Studies and Research* and their argument for teaching "problems of universal magnitude." With the intention of advancing global communications among people with different racial and ethnic backgrounds, she has approached members of the *International Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research*. Her efforts have helped focus the attention of students in her school more on world affairs.

[Athena, I think your suggestion that Mendez work "dean by dean" has been more effective than organizing a School of International Affairs would have been. He is building these ideas right into the university itself.]

Dean Calypso invited Shirley Leucothea to discuss ways of preventing war, locally and globally. Tossing her veil aside, Dr. Leucothea replied: "Terrorism is motivated too often by religious beliefs. Remember that, in the name of Christ, Crusaders tried to take back Middle Eastern lands previously held under Christendom. Remember the torturous religious wars between Protestants and Catholics in 16th and 17th century Europe, the religious-based violence in recent decades in Northern Ireland, with its origins in those same earlier European conflicts. Not to forget the militant Hindu who killed Gandhi in 1948 for religious reasons. Today we face a

tension between Muslims, Jews, and Christians. So much bloodshed! Students must be taught what religious organizations could do to prevent rather than foment war!”

She informed Dean Calypso about the *Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions*, designed to bring together the world's spiritual communities: “It works for a peaceful, just, and sustainable world. All religious organizations, in fact, could do more to ameliorate or even eradicate this ill, -- *the World Alliance of Reformed Churches* and *the International Council of Christians and Jews*. *The World Council of Churches* should initiate a dialogue with the *World Federation of Islamic Missions*. And they all need to talk with *the World Fellowship of Buddhists* on the politics of peace. So far, these organizations have not joined forces to act together on war prevention. They should organize a confederation like the United Nations for this purpose.

[Athena, These are admirable ideas, but I am not sure that, as a state university, N.U. is authorized to act along these lines.]

Dean Calypso invited Mendez to her home to update him on the ideas that she and Dean Leucothea have been discussing. He refused, but a couple of evenings later, accompanied her to a bar. After a few cocktails, she asked: “How could a state university -- with no department of theology and no religious studies -- do this sort of work? Please help me decide how to proceed.”

[Athena, I must tell you about a big problem here. It appears that Dean Mendez has come under a spell woven by Calypso. Lately, he has spent a lot of time with her, meeting for lunch, visiting at her home during evening hours. I followed them to her house. Seven nights in a row, he seemed unable to break her spell. She kept him overnight, as if in bondage, promising him a future paradise together.

All's well that ends well, though. Mendez has finally broken the spell. This is admirable. It tells you about the moral strength, courage, and

integrity in this man. Above all, make sure that nothing gets out about these encounters!]

The College of Arts and Sciences

Tuesday, March 31: The three deans on the Phaeacian committee (Law, Business, and Education) have expanded their inquiry. They ask the faculty members of several university departments to talk with them about world organizations. Could global trade associations, unions, professional, and educational associations work together for the common good?

These faculty members told the committee that the UN and its agencies have brokered hundreds of agreements between private firms and civil society organizations. The Secretary General sponsored a "Global Compact" between corporations and the UN. Some world leaders say the UN is compromising its integrity and providing a "public relations cover" for exploitive business firms, but social scientists insist that students should study this global program.

The deans considered asking social scientists to join the Phaeacian Committee, but first wanted answers to pertinent questions. Dean Alcinous took the lead. "Do you talk with students about the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)? Do you teach them about the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)? Do you conduct research on the World Trade Organization (WTO)?"

Among the group, he found a sociologist, an economist, and a political scientist who are familiar with global trade agreements. In general, they complained about a lack of safety, environmental standards, and enforcement procedures in these treaties for commerce. The sociologist called for "fair trade," saying: "Global corporations are chartered in whichever nation they find the lowest costs -- for wages and taxes -- with

the fewest government controls. This is not good for the future. We will see a downward spiral in standards.”

The committee members ask him to expand on this point and he complies: “In the United States during the 1800s, new companies had state charters with strong moral codes governing their conduct. Then, these moral requirements disappeared as each state began to compete to get companies chartered in their state. In this state-against-state competition, in order to encourage corporate charters, firms were given fewer and fewer moral requirements and standards. Moral requirements were curtailed in favor of allowing corporations to do as they pleased. By the late 19th century, the exploitation of workers and consumers had become so public and so terrible that states and the federal government had to establish regulatory agencies. Why do I foreground these historical facts in our current discussion?

“Because the same thing is now happening at the world level. Unless we establish global charters and moral standards for corporate conduct at the global level, we will see many firms play one nation against another to get charters with no moral standards or responsibilities to their stakeholders. We will go into a downward spiral with a loss of safety standards and environmental protection around the world.

Dean Mendes: "What do you think should be done?"

“Create UN charters for these corporations,” the sociologist answered.

"And where do charters for firms get their standards?" Mendez wanted to know. To which the political scientist responded: “UN affiliates, like the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Health Organization, establish rules in commerce. These rules should be included

in the form of principles for a ‘world charter.’ There are rules, which are part of a common law, called upon by the International Court of Justice at The Hague. Any stakeholder who feels unjustly treated could make a case for adjudication.” The economist cautioned: “A global charter would have a chilling effect on market freedom.” The sociologist countered: “A charter sets a common playing field. With a charter in place, global companies are less likely to destroy the environment, exploit labor, and cause safety problems in their products.”

The Phaeacians know what they want and how to bring it about.

[Athena, Things are cooking; ideas flowing. Everything that Mendez had in mind is starting to happen, and he is more and more exuberant. I’m concerned, however, that his confidence may somehow lead him astray. If he goes too far in any of several directions, -- speaking publicly about weapons of mass destruction, for example -- he will get into trouble with the board. I am signing off, so watch him!]

End of Report.

After re-reading these summaries she has received during the past several months from her assistant Harry Hermes, clever as a fox and quick as a humming bird, President Athena calls a joint meeting of the Phaeacian Committee to discuss the future.

Athena describes the problem: “The effects of globalization are many-sided; they can be constructive or destructive; social, legal, educational, political, economic and business-oriented. National University’s schools cannot deal with all these aspects in isolation. We must set up an inter-school program.”

Collectively, the deans are delighted, but Mendez says, “We’re not finished yet. We should look at other fields such as medicine, theater, and

the arts.” Athena consents and they head to the theater department to discuss the *International Theatre Institute (ITI)* with faculty there.

Most of the N.U. theater faculty members have some knowledge of this non-governmental organization founded in Prague in 1948 by UNESCO and others. The Chair of the Theater Department says, “I know a few things about it. The ITI promotes a global exchange of knowledge in theatre arts (drama, dance, and music), and their mission is to advance global peace. But that’s about *all* I know.” Mendez asks whether she might write a play about terrorism and solutions to that complicated, international problem. Why not speak with theater friends in the Middle East and write a play on the drama of war? Organize a forum on World Theater and invite friendly Palestinians and Israelis to produce a play about war?

“Hey,” cries the Chair, “What a great idea!”

Mendez is not sure what will come of this proposal but Athena now walks with him over to the medical school. There they talk to the dean about *Doctors Without Borders*. Mendez has friends in that organization and speaks about the ways they deliver emergency aid to people in armed conflict. The *Doctors* work in about 70 countries. Dr. Athena introduces an idea she has to the Medical School Dean about starting a program in “global medicine” at National U.

Mendez’ dream is coming true, but still, he does not pause. After a particularly exciting discussion with Deans Leucothea and Calypso, he makes the claim on a popular talk show that National U. supports a “civil religion.” “What is a ‘civil religion’?” the commentator asks. “A civil religion is composed of the sacred beliefs held among the citizens of a nation,” Mendez quickly elucidates. “People sacrifice their lives for this religion, rather than, say, for any specific orthodoxy, such as Catholicism or

that of any of the individual Protestant churches. Civil religion is the real religion of the United States,” he adds, “but don’t worry. Far from being unique to this country, every nation has this sort of religion. It is one of the major causes for war.

“We could, in other words, move into a war based on separate religious beliefs. The United States has a Judaeo-Christian religion but this religion is not for all humankind. When American soldiers invade a Moslem nation in the name of a Christian God people get restless....”^{xx}

This is sufficient to infuriate the trustees. Hermes was right, but for once, Athena is not paying attention.

Nor does Mendez stop here. Invited to the National Press Club, his speech on foreign policy turns out to be his swansong.

“All countries in the history of civilization have come to produce every weapon of war that has ever been made – from flint knives and spears to bows and arrows, from wheeled chariots to warships, dynamite to guns, and planes with bombs. The same can be expected again with weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) – unless something is done.

“The situation is urgent! If nations do not obtain controls over these terrible weapons by curtailments in their manufacture and enforceable international treaties, the United States will see biological, chemical, nuclear and radiological attacks, the like of which it has certainly never seen before. A nuclear weapon can fit into a truck, or even a car, so a nuclear warhead could be driven into New York City or Washington D.C. At some point it will be possible to detonate a weapon such as this by remote control; no suicide bomber will be needed.

“Terrorists will attack with inventions based on our research in chemistry, biology, and physics. We can expect biological invasions of water systems and silent poison gas. Hundreds of thousands of Americans will die because terrorists think in terms of “Shock and Awe” to frighten people into submission. A one-megaton explosion in Detroit would kill 250,000 people immediately and injure half a million more, flattening all buildings within a 1.7-mile radius. At some point, terrorists will blow up nuclear power plants, nuclear medicine machines in hospitals, and vehicles

used in the transportation of nuclear waste. This is why we need international law and a better system of world governance. . . .

“Wake Up America!

“Why, I ask you, are Anthrax, botulinum toxin, ricin, smallpox, tularemia and viral hemorrhagic fevers on the top of the list for research at our Center for Disease Control and Prevention? Because they are listed as "Category A" weapons that will be used in a biological attack. When are we going to build a stronger system of global government? Just look at what we are doing.

“We rejected the *Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty*. We rejected the international agreement to prohibit Small Arms Trade. We rejected a protocol to the *Biological Weapons Treaty* to make compliance more verifiable. We rejected the *Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty*. We rejected the *Kyoto Treaty* on reducing carbon emissions. We rejected an agreement to ban child soldiers. We rejected the *START III Treaty* with Russia to codify and verify planned deep cuts in nuclear arms. We rejected the jurisdiction of the *International Criminal Court (ICC)*. We refused to ratify the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* and the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*. We did not ratify the *Ottawa Mine Ban Treaty*, which seeks to ban antipersonnel landmines. We did not ratify the *Law of the Sea*. For god’s sake, let us have cross-national weapons inspection -- with the oversight of international law!”

The media picks up Mendez’ National Press Club speech. Excerpts of it are broadcast on the news. Hermes calls Athena: “Mendez is in some serious trouble.”

It is true. Paul Poseidon has had counter agents working for him. Someone President Athena’s office managed to purloin the whole of Hermes’ report on Mendez. Having scanned the sum of Hermes’ private notes to Athena, Poseidon attacks, accusing Mendez of being a womanizer and a traitor. “Fire that man immediately!” He orders the president. Athena admits that, since Mendez does not have tenure, it would be easy to fire him.

She does so, remonstrating with him, “Will your heart be always consumed with scrapping and battles?!”

Mendez is not surprised. Nor is he particularly disturbed by her action; he has been expecting it – aware of its source – and anyway longs to return home.

He says goodbye to friends and flies back to Guatemala. Black clouds storm across the horizon, but after a safe landing he begins his journey back into the hills. So that he can steal in unawares, he disguises himself as a beggar before he enters the village. Ulysses is outraged at what he finds there on his return: vicious fighting, jealousy and hatred. Not only do his old friends not recognize him, they actually insult him.

His wife Patience, a sensuously attractive woman who might have had many lovers, has fought off all potential suitors during his absence. Still, Ulysses is angered by what he hears about their constant attempts to seduce her and their insolence. He wants to hang all the people who have been rude to his wife and son. No longer a professor, he feels the chaotic, dark side of his nature throbbing in his belly and heart. His rage at the suitors mounts so high that he is ready to mutilate their bodies, eviscerate them. Wealthy landlords have taken control, and the whole scene nauseates him. He wants to purify the village with fire and sulfur.

The experience of moving across cultures and environments is more than he can bear. He undergoes an emotional crisis. Many Guatemalans, he thinks, are like the worst sort of Americans – arrogant, selfish and conceited; aggravated by any sort of insult, they would retaliate with violence. “And I am one myself,” he cries. If Guatemalans had nuclear weapons, wouldn’t they behave like Americans?

Who is he? American? Guatemalan? Reviewing his life, he undergoes a major change. Beardless now, his face is gathering wrinkles. “Even if it were to mean death at the hands of my own government,” he says to him, “I will no longer support a violent revolution.” He is moving along a new, less traveled path. He will fight with dignity using political methods in Guatemala City.

In the meantime, he reveals his identity to villagers. He tells the story of what happened during his absence, beginning with the time when he left the village and fought against the Right Hand and government troops. He tells about riding a raft in a tumultuous sea, drifting to islands, and finally reaching the United States. He tells his old friends of how he worked as a Dean of Law at National University. In the native Quiché and Cakchiquel languages, he speaks of his efforts to change the minds of Americans, but it is hard to find words in their mother tongue for all he has done, hard to explain to them all that has happened, hard for them to understand his ideas.

People believe that he is Robert Ulysses Mendez, son of a wealthy rancher and the old rebel they admire, but his wife is suspicious of him. She thinks he must be a CIA agent. He is upset and says to her, “Heaven has endowed you with a heart more unyielding than that of any other woman. No other woman could stave off suitors the way you did and endure twenty years of absence.” It sounds like Ulysses, but still she is doubtful. Yet, there are secrets that only they share.

Ulysses Mendez wants to sleep with his wife, Patience. She agrees, finally, saying with a sidelong glance: “Just in case you are not Ulysses, I will move our old bed into another room and make it up with different bedclothes.” Accompanying her to their bedchamber and looking out a window, Ulysses says quietly: “Since that mahogany tree hasn’t budged in

all these years, you'll be very hard pressed to do that. You'd have to move not only the bed but the bedroom, both of which are built directly into it." *Only then does she fully recognize him because only he, not some stranger, could know this.* Finally in their tree chamber, she *acknowledges*: "This is my Ulysses."

And Ulysses is happy, gloriously. He says to Patience that he will stay home in Guatemala for good now, but his work is not finished. He must spend time in the city and travel back and forth to the village to be with her. He has been through a lot and his spirit is being tested.

What to do? Wanting to touch again the dark side, the boiling hate he had felt upon his return to the village, he goes first to meditate in a cave well back in the hills. The hate had been born in the trauma of war. Images of brutalized bodies and violent thoughts keep surfacing from those years of fighting. Who is he?

Mendez is searching for peace, not just peace in himself, but also in politics and world affairs. He questions the very concept of "war," asking how the death of thousands of innocent victims and soldiers could be a road to peace. Killing just leads to more killing and dictatorships. Back from his retreat, he talks to villagers about his new way of thinking. They are shocked. They hear him say that war is "mechanized death and violence." He advises them to search for "peace inside." He tells his friends, "Peace is not the end. Peace is the way and each step of the way." Everyone is stunned. "My war," he says, "is over."

All those ideals he had fought for in the United States – civil commerce, public accountability for corporations, international law, a multilateral peace force -- are still critical to him in his fight for peace. "In order to replace the 'structures of violence here,' these ideals should be

taught and implemented in Guatemala,” he tells his village friends; but they do not understand. He does not even have the words to explain “structures.” “We must start with peace in ourselves. Follow me,” he says, but humbly. “I will continue to work on these new ‘structures.’ In time I believe you will see how they reduce the need for war and strengthen our soul.”

So Ulysses organizes a chapter for the *Fellowship of Reconciliation* -- an interfaith and international movement with branches in over 40 countries and on every continent. He supports a civic movement that carries a vision of what it means to be human. He wants to live beyond war in Guatemala. He talks with strangers and villagers about compassion.

More and more, he is transformed. He tells villagers about the work of Bishop Dom Helder Camara in Brazil, a nonviolent activist in Recife, Brazil. He talks with villagers about the *Peace Brigades International* and supports the *Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala* that advocates human rights. The family members of the “disappeared,” he says, are in danger and he asks village people to keep men with those families at all times. “They need security. Let us be strong but cultivate tenderness. Speak tenderness into power.” He points toward a world where people are no longer instruments of war but instruments of peace. “We need to make a big leap forward in our way of life. This is our vision.”

Distraught at the loss of Mendez, President Athena organizes a committee to work on international law. “It is time to be part of the solution. We should teach war prevention at our university.” She speaks to the U.S. Senate and brings scholars, scientists, artists, humanists, and theologians to National U. to study world law and international courts. She appoints a

scientist to study “interrelated systems.” The scientist will work on physical, biological, economic, legal, political, and evaluative systems.

But something is missing. It is Mendez. She misses his energy, vitality, boldness, and humanity. She misses his readiness to go into a storm and ride an “unforgiving sea.” She asks Hermes to travel to Guatemala and seek him out. “What would Mendez think about our plan? Could he come back? Tell him we have had a shake-up in the board of trustees.”

Hermes flashes down faster than the speed of light. Seeing for the first time what life is like in the Guatemalan hills, he finds Mendez in his village. Hermes talks to villagers and tells Mendez about Athena’s plans to start research on “system theory.” “What do you think?” he asks, breathless.

“A theory of world systems! Fight the battle, Harry! What do your heart and your body say?” He told Hermes about the bloodied bodies he had buried in the hills, about the “disappeared” and the mass graves. “Students can study ‘theory’ but they must also go into the field with civil action,” he concludes.

Hermes: “So, what should I tell Athena?”

Mendez: “Tell her that I am learning all that I want to learn right here, everyday. Students need to work politically, act diplomatically, and if things are really bad, go into civil disobedience. They should start a movement for non-cooperation with the government, a nonviolent revolution. And they should do it with their hearts. They should be calm and kind at every step of the way.”

Hermes is shocked at the change that has taken place in Ulysses Mendez. He wonders if Mendez is now a pacifist. He wonders how this great mind has been so transformed. He asks, “What about those ‘structures of violence’?”

Mendez is quick to respond, as he had been at N.U. “Fascism does not appear in countries from out of the blue. Leaders in Germany and Italy in the 1930s regarded their nations as liberal democracies. The movement toward fascism was slow and subtle. The public did not see it coming. In both countries, economic power became identified with political power. Mussolini said that the entire economy should be divided into industry associations and decreed massive subsidies to the largest industrial businesses. He spoke of a ‘national crisis.’ He talked about freedom and democracy in the ways that leaders do today. Be alert.”^{xxi}

“Yes,” said Hermes. “I will. But what should I tell Athena? I must make a report.”

“Decentralize, decentralize, decentralize. But do so with responsibility. Keep the center of each organization in mind, but decentralize authority where you can. National University students should study how to decentralize big government and big corporations and then require accountability at the same time. They need to study self-management.

“Bring students to visit the oppressed. They should see the ‘fields of hate’ and ‘stretches of poverty.’ They should observe these places first in their own land and then visit the oppressed elsewhere. Stay in touch with the oppressors. Honor each person. Do not let hate interfere with this work.

“Let me tell you the biggest lesson of my life,” he continues. “Students should study how a nation treats its enemies. Americans, Guatemalans, Palestinians, we are all human beings. Muslims are human beings every bit as much as Christians are. We are all equal in the sight of God. As they go forward, students should continue to ask, ‘What are we doing here? Who are we? What is our mission?’”

Hermes thinks for a moment, “Poseidon was thrown off the Board of Trustees, and the Senate wants you back. Athena needs you. Your students miss you. Come back with me.”

Mendez is not persuaded.

Now in the hills they hear rumors from visitors. Reports are that there has been a terrorist attack in the United States. Rumors circulate. The attack, it is said, occurred in Washington D.C. People arriving from Guatemala City talk with villagers, and repeat the news. “All media are announcing that there has been a terrible explosion, a fireball in the nation’s capitol. It could be a terrorist attack,” they say.

Mendez listens and groans. Feeling sick, he nonetheless hurries to the city.

The reports are true.

He sees rebel friends celebrating the attack, happy to see “the Monster” finally wounded, after all this time. He remembers some of his rebel friends in the hills, still demanding revenge for the deaths of their loved ones, telling him that they would get a suitcase nuclear bomb, bring it to the U.S. and eliminate “that international evil.” One old fighting friend, researching on the Internet, had said it was possible to build a nuclear bomb that could “destroy everything.” He would encase it with Cobalt-59, an isotope maintaining deadly levels of radiation so that they would last for years. “The United States must pay for their crimes,” he declared. He had dismissed all such talk, listened and then filed the information away. His friends were not really serious -- he had been certain of that at the time -- in a furious rage, no more. He had put it all aside.

He has of course many other dear friends who live in gratitude for the good the United States has done for Guatemala and around the world, in

particular more recently, for efforts to supply potable water to hillside villagers, still subject to illness and death from water-borne diseases. He still loves his father, who is growing old. Many of Guatemala's civic leaders had been educated in the United States and loved the country. For them, the United States has been a model for the whole world. These dear companions are deeply distraught and stunned by news of the disaster. They feel the tragedy for everyone in the United States. Many have relatives there. Some weep uncontrollably. Mendez sits with them, distraught himself, listening to television news reporters, "A nuclear blast in the nation's capitol has destroyed federal buildings in Washington D.C." Reporters speak of a devastating environment, loaded with neutrons, x-rays and gamma rays, radiation, electromagnetic pulses (EMP), ionizing the upper atmosphere.

Mendez' worst nightmare, and that of many others, has come true. "A nuclear device was detonated with effects in ground shock and water shock, a blueout" -- reporters can barely get out the words -- "with enormous clouds of dust and radioactive fallout." Mendez watches a TV news reporter crying as he speaks. He talks about radioactive iodine absorbed by the human thyroid gland in the aftermath of such a blast and what it would do even to people far away from it.

Mendez thinks about U.S. training in torture and wonders whether some friend with a mind distorted by rage, bitterness, and sickness could have done this. Speaking of the nuclear blast, a BBC reporter says, "This crime against humanity has been perpetrated against the whole world, against all of us. We will all suffer the consequence." Another reporter concurs, "This is the most evil act ever, the worst transgression in history. Citizens of all nations are in sympathy with people in the United States. This is an 'international crime' that will not go unpunished."

One reporter speaks to U.S. senators who were in their home states at the time of the nuclear blast. In shock, they tell reporters that an inquiry is already underway. They will find who has committed this devastating evil act, this “holocaust.” “The terrorists responsible for this unconscionable crime will answer for it. We will punish the perpetrators so that such terrible things will never be repeated. Our intelligence will find out who they are and in what country they were trained. We plan to end terrorism by satellite surveillance technology and satellite weapons.

“We promise to end terrorism once and for all.”

ⁱ “... awarded a Harvard diploma.” Amy Goodman, “Foreword,” Jennifer Harbury, Truth, Torture, and the American Way (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005). Guatemala is formally a republic with separation of powers and a centralized national administration. The Constitution of 1985 provides for election by universal suffrage of a one-term president and a unicameral congress. But only limited steps have been taken to implement the 1996 Peace Accords. The signing of these peace accords removed a major obstacle to foreign investment, but corruption scandals continue to dampen investor confidence. The distribution of income remains highly unequal, with 75% of the population below the poverty line.

ⁱⁱ “...back to camp headquarters.” Our story of Robert Ulysses Mendez is written in the spirit of the ancient Greek epic tale -- attributed traditionally to Homer -- about the Trojan War hero Ulysses (Odysseus, in Greek). Homer’s story begins on Mt. Olympus when the goddess Athena draws Zeus’ attention to Odysseus, whose journey after the war has been halted on the island of Calypso. When Athena asks Zeus to send Hermes to Calypso to

persuade her to release the languishing hero, Zeus tells her that Odysseus may leave her island; but to do so, he has to build his own raft. Odysseus finally leaves, but furious with him, Poseidon, the god of the sea, destroys his raft. He is aided by a nymph and floats to land, where he is discovered, naked, by Nausikaa and told to go to the house of her father, the local ruler Alcinoos. Odysseus tells Alcinoos the story of how he had left Troy and approached the land of the Lotus Eaters, before sailing to the island of the Cyclopes. He and the men accompanying him are trapped by Polyphemus, a monstrous Cyclops whom they have to blind in order to escape.

Odysseus and his men next arrive on the island of the witch Circe, who turns several of them into pigs. Odysseus, however, is able to resist her magic and remains on her island unharmed for a year. Among other adventures, Odysseus sails past the island of the Sirens whose singing lures sailors to their deaths on the rocks. He has his men stuff their ears with wax and himself tied to the mast so that he may hear their singing and still survive. Not long thereafter, their ship passes between two cliffs in a strait, at the bottom of which lies the whirlpool Charybdis. Trying to avoid this maelstrom, Odysseus' ship rides too close to the cliffside cave of Scylla, a six-headed monster, who seizes and devours six of Odysseus' sailors. Alone, all his men lost, Odysseus lands on Ogygia, Calypso's isle. She welcomes him and makes him her lover, but over the course of the next seven years, Odysseus grows increasingly homesick. Despite Poseidon's contrary efforts, he finally returns home, and in disguise defeats the suitors who have overrun in his house during his twenty-year absence. His wife Penelope, faithful all this time, blessed by patience, does not fully recognize him until he identifies a secret that only they share.

ⁱⁱⁱ “...violence continues.” During 2001, the UN Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) reported increased signs of clandestine armed groups in illegal activities linked to employees of the Prosecutor's Office, justice system, and police. MINUGUA reported increases in violent deaths, killings in prisons, and "social cleansing" operations in which persons deemed socially undesirable were murdered. Security forces tortured, abused, and mistreated suspects and detainees. Prison conditions remained harsh. The UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women found that the Guatemalan government was failing in its international obligations to effectively prevent and prosecute violence against this part of the population. In March a special police unit was established to investigate and prevent crimes against women but was not sufficiently resourced to deal with the scale of the problem. According to press reports in 2004, the national police recorded more than 527 women murdered in Guatemala, a significant increase from 2003. Many of those killed, mainly from the poorer sectors of society, were raped prior to death. Some were also mutilated. Amnesty International reports that forced violent evictions in rural areas increased sharply in 2005. Human rights defenders continued to suffer intimidation and persecution. Violence against women, murders in particular, increased. Impunity remained endemic, including for past human rights violations. “Guatemala, Amnesty International: Covering events from January-December 2004. <http://web.amnesty.org/report2005/gtm-summary-eng>.

^{iv} “....about the poverty of Mayans.” For a statistical report on state violence in Guatemala see “State Violence in Guatemala, 1960-1996: A Quantitative Reflection.” Both the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the International Center for Human Rights Investigations present this history of the deliberate and sustained violence committed by state forces.

The state was responsible for hundreds of thousands of citizens and displaced a million more.

^v “...form of genocide.” Commission for Historical Clarification, (CEH), Guatemala Memory of Silence, 1999.

^{vi} The U.S. support for dictators is well documented. The dictator Jorge Ubico admired Hitler. In 1944, Jacobo Arbenz and Francisco Javier Arana led a group of dissident military officers, students, and liberal professionals in a successful coup to unseat him. But the replacement of Ubico did not result in a new dictatorship; the two leaders, Arbenz and Arana, then made way for a general election. These moves toward democracy irritated the United States, which subsidized an army to invade Guatemala from Honduras and installed a dictator there friendly to American business. It was a short-lived war that brought down a budding democracy. In Guatemala, these events started what was called The Ten Years of Spring, a period of free speech, proposed land reform, and a perception that progress toward democracy could be made in Guatemala. The United States Army School of the Americas (SOA), now called the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, located at Fort Benning, Georgia, trains commissioned and non-commissioned officers from Latin American militaries. Many of its graduates have returned to their home countries and committed atrocities such as rapes, disappearances, torture, and assassination; they have organized death squads and paramilitaries to counter insurgencies and maintain power. The SOA is accused of teaching torture in its curriculum, an accusation its defenders deny, although such a torture manual was released to the public in 1991. Trainees at the SOA include dictators and human rights abusers, and a number of guest

instructors were invited to the school's faculty after they had committed atrocities. During the late 1990s, the School of the Americas' operating budget was approximately \$4 million per year. In 1999, about \$2.8 million paid for civilian employees' salaries and the facility's maintenance, while \$1.2 million in security assistance funds and Foreign Military Sales paid for students' attendance in SOA courses. The school's overall budget, including military salaries, was about \$10 million per year. United States, General Accounting Office, School of the Americas: U.S. Military Training for Latin American Countries, document no. NSIAD-96-178 (Washington: GAO, August 22, 1996) The "Leahy Law" (named after Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy) is a provision in recent appropriations legislation, prohibiting U.S. military assistance to foreign military units that violate human rights with impunity. The provision is now a legal tool used to promote respect for human rights through U.S. security assistance programs.

vii “...from the Catholic Church.” Fr. Blasé Bonpane told me of this work for cooperative farms by Maryknoll priests and of their expulsion from Guatemala. As a result, I called the headquarters of the United Fruit Company and obtained permission to visit plantations in Guatemala and Honduras and talk with officials. I kept a diary of my experiences on the plantations and sent it to the company’s public relations office. The President of the United Fruit Company came to talk to one of my classes and we discussed economic alternatives. But before we could talk about the possibility of their selling the company to the workers -- something I wanted to propose to him -- and the worker-owners then contracting for quality bananas, the company was purchased and taken over by Eli Black, a financier. The details of this story I leave for a later publication.

viii “...had seen enough.” The Guatemalan Military: What the U.S. Files Revealed, National Security Archive, June 1, 2000, Doc. 1-37. Reported in Jennifer K. Harbury, Truth, Torture, and the American Way: The History and Consequences of U.S. Involvement in Torture (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005), p. 38-40.

ix ..deliver him from evil.” In the ancient story, Ulysses struggles ashore wondering where he is. Unexpectedly, an attractive young woman named Nausicaa appears. Naked when she chances to find him, Ulysses, is lost in admiration of her beauty. She appears to him to be like a young palm tree shooting tenderly out of the ground. She is shocked at his nakedness but stands still. He entreats her: "Have pity, I have been lost on a raft at sea. Show me the way to your town, and let me have something to put on as clothes." To which Nausicaa answers regally: "You appear to be a sensible person, I will help you find you way." And she does.

x “...respected member.” My work with the Boston College Program in Social Economy and Social Justice provided part of the background for this story about National University. Faculty and students became involved in fieldwork on the problem of nationalism and war. The story also originates from my experiences doing fieldwork in Central America and faculty studies of global firms at Boston College. For example, see: Severyn T. Bruyn, "The Multinational Corporation and Social Research: The Case of the United Fruit Company," in Social Theory and Practice, Vol. 1, No. 4, Fall 1971; Severyn T. Bruyn and Litsa Nicolaou-Smokoviti, International Issues in Social Economy (N.Y. Praeger, 1989); Richard Dello Buono, "The Political

Economy of Nicaragua," a doctoral dissertation. Other theses and papers are available on request or through interlibrary loan.

^{xi} "...to achieve the agency's ends." Mendez finds that science is amassing the capability for destruction on a huge scale in ways that allow virtually anyone, including the quasi-states that claim no physical boundaries, to engage in a process of massive demolition. Miniaturization, on the hand, enables people to carry computers in briefcases and pockets with the capacity to store information that would have required a roomful of mainframes fifty years ago. The same is true of atomic technology. People can carry small lethal nuclear devices in backpacks. It is possible to make an atomic bomb using information available in literature open to the public. A suitcase-sized nuclear weapon (0.1 kiloton), could be sent in a Federal Express package, shipped in a cargo container, or checked as airline luggage. A ten-kiloton nuclear weapon can be transported in a van. If such a device were detonated in Times Square or Washington, D.C., the whole country would be terrorized.

^{xii} "...small nations." The Dean reads the work of Fredric Jameson. Frederic Jameson, Postmodernism, Or, [Second comma here in book title? – Ed] The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. xxi, 35; and Charles Derber, People Before Profit: The New Globalization in an Age of Terror, Big Money, and Economic Crisis (Picador, 2003).

^{xiii} "...advance international law." Malcolm N. Shaw, International Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). David Harvey writes that business globalization without world law moves in accord with "postmodern

values” and does not change the capitalist system. He considers trends in global business as "innovative entrepreneurialism," "swift decision-making," the "enhanced capacity for geographical dispersal, small-scale production," and the pursuit of "product variety and custom markets," which agree with postmodernist values. This "postmodern culture," according to Harvey, has not led to any diminution of corporate power and, he argues, capital has encouraged both modernistic thought and postmodern art. Corporations and executives have become major patrons of postmodern art, which is now big business. Postmodernists may be attracted to decentralization, but capitalism is also becoming ever more decentralized yet ironically ever more tightly organized through its dispersal, geographic mobility, and flexible responses in labor and consumer markets. Neo-Marxist scholars argue that late capitalism operates best in a highly decentralized, uncertain, ephemeral, and competitive environment, the seedbed of postmodernists. The speed at which information travels and the ability to make swift decisions at local levels becomes crucial to profits. New systems of coordination have therefore been put in place through an intricate variety of sub-contracting arrangements, which connect small firms to large multinational operations. Hence, powerful financial and marketing organizations, not small businesses, continue to dominate the marketplace. Postmodernism is therefore flawed by its failure to recognize the ways in which power accumulates within decentralized movements, and by its failure to anticipate the direction of these movements. By neglecting to supply alternative macro-models for debate, the "postmodernism" of literary theory (like that of Foucault) participate in the more powerful movement of expanding capital. Postmodernists argue, in turn, that they cannot be labeled as products of the capitalist system because they oppose hierarchies of power. They see their

position to be a much wiser critique of capitalist oppression than the Marxist critique, which ironically led to new forms of domination. They claim that no single revolutionary act to change capitalism could bring it into a system of non-domination, no single individual or institution could combat all the aspects of domination that operate in society. Every "alternative" is subject to a new "system" of domination. That new system should then again be the object of a new critique. Macro-systems -- such as capitalism, imperialism, and nationalism -- are complexly woven into the institutional fabric of the modern epoch. David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 160-61.

^{xiv} “the future of universities.” Philip G. Altbach, Comparative Higher Education: Knowledge, the University, and Development, Center for International Education, School of Education, Boston College, 1997.

^{xv} “...peace force at the UN?” Joseph Lorenz, Peace, Power and the United Nations: A Security System for the Twenty-First Century (Westview Press, 1999) Nicholas D. Kristof, “Genocide in Slow Motion,” The New York Review of Books, Volume 53, Number 2, February 9, 2006.

^{xvi} “...system of world governance.” When I asked Norman Cousins, once president of the World Federalists, how WWIII could be prevented, he said that it had taken the horrors of WWI to organize the League of Nations. The *League* was not strong enough to keep nations from war. Then it took the horrors of the WWII to organize the United Nations. The UN is a *confederation* that can influence nations better than a league. But it does not have the power to stop people from war. Cousins concluded, “What nuclear horrors will it take to organize a world *federation* that prevents complete destruction? A global holocaust? Let's strengthen world law today.”

^{xvii} “...mass destruction.” For Mendez’s details on Security Council procedures, see Michael Donlon, “Weapons of Mass Destruction and Public International Law,” New England Journal of Public Policy, Special Issue on War, Volume Two, p. 189 (2005).

^{xviii} “...a level playing field.” This is discussed in Severyn T. Bruyn, A Civil Economy (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), Chapter 8, “Toward a Global Civil Economy.”

^{xix} “...shaping the nation’s media.” Six corporations control the major U.S. media: Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation (FOX, HarperCollins, New York Post, Weekly Standard, TV Guide, DirecTV and 35 TV stations), General Electric (NBC, CNBC, MSNBC, Telemundo, Bravo, Universal Pictures and 28 TV stations), Time Warner (AOL, CNN, Warner Bros., *Time* and its 130-plus magazines), Disney (ABC, Disney Channel, ESPN, 10 TV and 72 radio stations), Viacom (CBS, MTV, Nickelodeon, Paramount Pictures, Simon & Schuster and 183 U.S. radio stations), and Bertelsmann (Random House and its more than 120 imprints worldwide, and Gruner + Jahr and its more than 110 magazines in 10 countries). Amy Goodman and David Goodman, “Why Media Ownership Matters,” Mother Jones, Mojo, April 4, 2005.

^{xx} “...people get restless.” Robert Bellah wrote that civil religion was “an institutionalized collection of sacred beliefs about the American nation.” He identified the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the Civil Rights Movement as three decisive historical events that impacted the content and imagery of civil religion in the United States. He said that this civil religion could be problematic from a theological perspective. When identified with a political culture, civil religion can interfere with the prophetic mission of a

religious faith. Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," Dædalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, from the issue entitled, "Religion in America," Winter 1967, Vol. 96, No. 1, pp. 1-21. Encyclopedia of Religion in American Politics (Phoenix: Onyx Press, 1999), p. 53.

^{xxi} "...Be alert." In Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, business tightened its connection with the state by intricate webs of cartels and associations, which exercised a high degree of control over members in the areas of pricing, supply and licensing of patented technology. These associations were private and legal. Neither Germany nor Italy had any effective antitrust laws. The government supported the proliferation of business associations. For the expression of recent concerns see Paul Craig Roberts, "Tyrant in the White House," Counterpunch, January 16, 2006.