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WITNESS MAGAZINE

RESISTING A CULTURE OF PUNISHMENT

WITNESS MAGAZINE

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RESISTING A CULTURE OF PUNISHMENT

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Since 1917, The Witness has been examining church and society in light of faith and conscience — advocating for those denied systemic power as well as celebrating those who, in theologian William Stringfellow's words, have found ways to "live humanly in the midst of death." With deep roots in the Episcopal Church, we are a journal of spiritual questing and theology in practice, always ready to hold our own cherished beliefs and convictions up to scrutiny.

Manuscripts: We welcome multiple submissions. Given our small staff, writers and artists receive a response only when we are able to publish. Manuscripts will not be returned.

Darby Tillis, freed from Illinois' Death Row after being found not guilty © Loren Santow Photography

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LETTERS

About Peace

In the midst of all the disaster on September 11. I saw Peace run free. He ran down the streets full of rubble and he was beautiful, happy to be free and just running. And I realized that so often Peace only runs free when there are great disasters, when something happens that strips the bars of difference away, and we treat each other with the love and equality and dignity that expresses the heart of who we really are. In great disasters we pay no attention to race, color, creed, politics, culture or any of the things we generally use to separate each other. We see each other in the face and in the heart, and we help each other no matter what. What I learned from September 11 is that we have to see that Peace runs free in times other than tragedy. We have to let this beautiful creature have space in our lives so that he can breathe and live and show us the joy and hope and freedom he is made of. Peace is always beautiful, but Peace is most beautiful when he is outside the cages of our prejudices and preferences. Peace is most beautiful when we are most beautiful; when we greet each other heart to heart, when there is no difference between your heart and mine.

Jane Lee Wolfe, President World YWCA Little Rock, AK

Gateside signs of hope

Relative to "reimagining faith and action" (*TW* 7/8-01) during these days of great sadness in New York, let me add to your growing list of remarkable signs of hope and healing appearing in spite of profound tragedy.

Thirty years ago, on September 13, 1971, tragic events took place in Attica, N.Y., that left folks in that community and throughout the state grieving and vengeful, raging, fearful and numb. But not long after autumn passed and winter settled in at Attica that year some church folk and civic leaders and corrections staff noticed and began to pay attention to an old fact. On the morning of each visiting day scores of mothers and wives and kids and brothers and sisters were showing up in the facility parking lot, waiting to visit a loved one and hopefully preserve and strengthen family ties. So from a couple of local station wagons they began to offer simple "tailgate breakfasts" and respond to questions.

Some months later an unused building alongside the walls was made available and by 1976 Attica's small local volunteer committee of hospitality providers was there each morning, seven days a week, serving an average of slightly more than 40,000 city family members a year. Spontaneously, local citizens in Auburn and in Plattsburg also began to provide gateside hospitality to families arriving after overnight bus trips from Manhattan.

As small groups in other upstate prisonhosting villages caught the spirit, we worked with them: place by place, year by year. Gateside buildings were built with non-tax-revenue funds to shelter visiting families, local sponsor committees organized, volunteers recruited and trained, long-range financial support developed. Now, 30 years later, families making a visit at 36 of the state's 70 prisons have access to professional civilian-staffed gateside services when they arrive and after they've said goodbye again. At those front gates this year over 500,000 city family members will find hospitality. One in five will be a child. Our people will be there: without fanfare, without claims to be doing something.

Planted and born in Attica's 1971 atmosphere of violence and hatred and death, the visitors' centers quietly actualized a latent culture of hospitality for strangers in a strange land. The idea took wings across the state and now grows from corner to corner. With uncertain funding, no official sponsor and only "a Benedictine/Buddhist agenda," the Gateside Hospitality Centers are a living witness to a community's natural need to extend hospitality to strangers and a family's natural need to be with a loved one. So in the wilderness stress of a front-gate situation, to reduce obstacles for folks hoping to preserve and strengthen family ties, the hospitality centers try to "make straight in the wilderness" a pathway.

James W. Bergland, Executive Director Patmos Associates, Ltd. New York, NY

EDITORIAL NOTES

What's in a visit?

by Julie A. Wortman

I N EARLY NOVEMBER fellow *Witness* staffer Ethan Flad and I were in Garden City, Long Island, taking the pulse of that particular corner of the church. Asked what justice issues had been capturing his attention, Orris Walker, Long Island's Episcopal bishop, spoke of an eye-opening visit he had made the previous spring to a Queens immigration detention center run by Wackenhut Corrections Corporation, a private company, under contract with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Walker had been part of a 22-person delegation, most of them religious leaders, investigating the treatment of people seeking political asylum in the U.S. under the unwelcoming provisions of the 1996 Immigration Reform Act.

The Wackenhut facility, tucked away in a dismal warehouse district near JFK Airport, made Walker think of a "concentration camp." The 200 asylum seekers held here arrive in shackles. Locked in 12- to 40-bed dormitories and segregation cells with open-stall toilets and showers for 22–23 hours a day — and under the constant scrutiny of armed guards — their unenviable uphill task is to convince authorities that they have a "credible fear of persecution" back home. Depending on their access to legal and other forms of help and on their ability to overcome language barriers — this can take many months.

One teenage woman Walker saw was from the Congo, detained at JFK Airport in transit to Canada, where she was to rejoin her mother. Four months later, there seemed to be no prospect of her release any time soon.



"It seemed crazy that she was being held here — her intent was not to enter this country, but to go to her own people in Canada," Walker said. "We asked a lot of questions about her case, but didn't get many satisfactory answers." He paused, smiling wryly. "A couple of days later I got word that she had been allowed to continue her journey to Canada — a miracle!"

Richard Parkins, the director of the Episcopal Church's Migration Ministries office, says the situation for asylum seekers and refugees coming to this country will only get worse as our leaders pursue their vengeful war on "global terrorism." At this writing, our president has issued an emergency order that gives him the power to dismiss "the principles of law and the rules of evidence" that form the basis of this country's judicial system, all in the cause of protecting us from aliens who might wish us harm. Even conservative columnist William Safire is outraged by the move. "Not content with his previous decision to permit police to eavesdrop on a suspect's conversations with an attorney, Bush now strips the alien accused of even the limited rights afforded by a court martial," Safire wrote in The New York Times on November 15. "His kangaroo court can conceal evidence by citing national security, make up its own rules, find a defendant guilty even if a third of the officers disagree, and execute the alien with no review by any civilian court. No longer does the judicial branch and an independent jury stand between the government and the accused. In lieu of those checks and balances central to our legal system, non-citizens face an executive that is now investigator, prosecutor, judge, jury and jailer or executioner. In an Orwellian twist, Bush's order calls this Soviet-style abomination 'a full and fair trial."

Criminal justice activists have long maintained that this sort of xenophobic, punitive mindset — aimed, they argue, at securing the privilege, power and profit of the establishment — permeates this nation's understanding of law and order. In this issue we probe that claim in light of evidence that there are a growing number of people on death row who are being proven innocent, signs that "three-strikes" laws are filling our prisons with lifers whose crimes are disproportionately minor and reports of police violence that are difficult to understand except in the context of entrenched racial prejudice.

For people of faith, the call is to become personally involved. We're asked to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, welcome the stranger, visit the imprisoned. In the process, we are told, we will encounter God. In the process, as Orris Walker discovered last year, we might become catalysts for justice.

Julie A. Wortman is editor/publisher of The Witness.

POETRY

Youth United for Change

© Harvey Finkle

And you, child, will be called the prophet of the Most High; for you will go before the Lord to prepare his ways, to give knowledge of salvation to his people in the forgiveness of their sins, through the tender mercy of our God, when the day shall dawn upon us from on high to give light to those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.

— Luke 1:67-79 (Revised Standard Version)

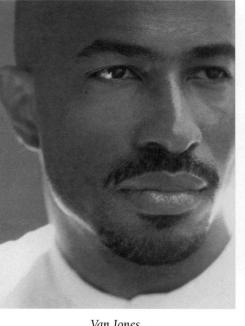
ADDICTION TO PUNI

Challenging America's incarceration industry an interview with Van Jones

by Ethan Flad

AN JONES is Executive Director of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights in San Francisco, which documents and challenges human rights abuses by U.S. law enforcement agencies. In 1998, Jones was one of three recipients of the Reebok International Human Rights Award, given to people under the age of 30 working for human rights anywhere in the world. Jones, who was chosen by a selection committee headed by former president Jimmy Carter, was the first person to receive an international human rights award for fighting police abuse in the U.S.

OWilliam Mercer McLeod



Van Jones

ETHAN FLAD: Before you began PoliceWatch I believe that you were working with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights. What drew you to civil rights work? And then what drew you more specifically into founding PoliceWatch and eventually the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights?

VAN JONES: Well, I graduated from Yale Law School in 1993 and then came out to California to work with the Lawyers' Committee. I worked there about three years. One of the things that I saw happening repeatedly was that we would be working on an issue whether it was environmental racism up in Richmond, Calif., or public housing in San Francisco — and we would hear reports from parents of tremendous police brutality. We would be in meetings and people would say, "Are you guys lawyers?" And we'd say "Yeah, we're lawyers." "Hey, well, can the police just come in my house and, like, just go through everything and throw all my clothes on the floor and dump everything out of the cabinets?" And, "Hey, if the police are going to do an anal cavity search on my child, they can't just pull his pants down in front of everybody, right? They have to like take him around the building or something, right?" We would hear these horrible stories from these parents trying to figure out how to navigate life with young black and Latino and Asian kids and the main problem they were having was with the police. I felt as a young lawyer that somebody should do something about it.

There is a project down in Los Angeles called Los Angeles PoliceWatch which is a lawyer referral service, and I thought, "Gee, we should have one in northern California!" So I worked with the National Lawyers' Guild and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and the ACLU and a few other community groups to create the Bay Area Police-Watch, which ultimately became a state bar association-certified lawyer referral service. It just took off. At first we would get two or three phone calls a week, then it became two or three phone calls a day. Now we get from between 12 and 20 phone calls a day. We opened an office in New York City in 1998.

We took steps in 1996 to create the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights - named after an unsung civil rights heroine — to use as a platform to create other projects. The idea was, where are the challenges to human rights coming from inside the U.S.? We kept coming back to police issues, so we started working on that. Well, after we had gotten the hotline set up and were getting phone calls, we realized that there was going to have to be some more pro-active organizing. There was a rash of police killings, very suspicious and controversial police killings of unarmed civilians here in San Francisco, so we focused on one of those cases, the case of Officer Mark Andaya, who helped to beat and pepper-spray to death Aaron Williams, an unarmed African-American young man over in the Western Addition neighborhood.We worked on that case for quite a SHMENT

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while and ultimately prevailed and got the officer fired in the summer of 1997.

We've now grown to the level of not just focusing on the police abuse and police harassment. Slowly but surely we've wound up taking on tougher and more systemic problems within the criminal justice system such as cases of prosecutorial misconduct and abuses by immigration police. We also got calls and complaints from inside the San Francisco County Jail and helped some organizing efforts there.

ETHAN FLAD: I heard you at a report-back event in San Francisco the week following the Seattle WTO protests. It was a great panel. One exciting aspect was that five of the seven panelists were younger than you and I, who are in our 30s. There was one older fellow from the Rainforest Action Network, and he made a negative comment about religion. You chose to respond to that, which I found very intriguing, because within the context of Bay Area activism — or West Coast activism in general — mainstream religion is not seen in a positive light.

VAN JONES: My grandfather was a minister. He actually wound up being the senior bishop in the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop Chester Arthur Kirkendoll. I went with him in the summertimes to church conferences and church gatherings, listening to a lot of preaching and singing and stuff. That had a big influence on my development. When I got to college I stumbled upon black liberation theology, and that really struck a chord with me in terms of where I was politically at that time - being really concerned about racism and the African-American experience here. So whereas a lot of people, when they go away to college take a big step away from their faith, I was still engaging even as I was getting more politically active and radical. Then I went to law school on the East Coast, and came out here to work on an internship. At that time the Religious Right was really huge. It just basically shamed the faith as far as I'm concerned. When I first came out here the word "Christian" was synonymous with the word "bigot" or "idiot." I really felt that people needed to see another face of Christian faith in activist politics.

I've always thought it was important to complicate the view of the left on some of these questions around faith and spirituality. Certainly the Christian church as it exists now is basically a state religion that is a part of the functioning of the government and the economy. It's certainly not an oppositional force as an institutionalized entity. The same is true, frankly, of labor unions, at this point, and non-profits, NGOs and foundations and any number of social institutions. Over time they tend to accommodate themselves to the prevailing order, or they don't survive. That having been said, the faith of Jesus as a historical mystic and social actor can be distinguished from the institutional church. And it's the faith of Jesus that I think is very instructive for people who are oppressed and trying to liberate themselves.

ETHAN FLAD: So it informs you still in a personal context, but you don't see it in terms of institutional connections?

VAN JONES: You know, I attend church regularly.

ETHAN FLAD: Are you still in the C.M.E.?

VAN JONES: No, recently I've been attending the East Bay Church of Religious Science, which seems to be an offshoot from mainstream Christianity. They have this African great-grandmother who is a minister and they focus a lot on the power of forgiveness, positive thinking, the possibility of healing. I think the mainstream, institutional church is still trying to beat people up to convince them that they're sinners. The harder thing is to convince people that they are actually good! And that they have the spirit of the Divine Creator within them that they should be trying to act from and in alignment with.

ETHAN FLAD: It seems like there are some connections to the criminal justice system and prison system.

VAN JONES: Yeah, the whole punishment/ punitive thing. I'm spiritually engaged in try-

ing to deal with a society that's addicted to punishment and allergic to preventing the root causes of crime. The huge expansion of the incarceration industry is a concentration of a number of crises in this society — not the least of which is the failure of policymakers, decision-makers, and the public as a whole to embrace the humanity of all of the people who live here, to see the divine within the other and to try to relate from that basis.

That is a very difficult thing to do anyway, but very little in our society supports that. Our social discourse and our social practice is very much about creating an "other" that can be scapegoated and punished. And that goes all the way back down to the initial genocide against Native Americans to the enslavement of African Americans, combined with a lot of Puritanical stuff. So I see the struggle against the mass incarceration of young people of color and poor people in this society as an extension of other struggles to rehumanize populations that have been dehumanized.

ETHAN FLAD: This week I read William Upski Wimsatt's *No More Prisons*. There was one passage that I think especially connects to what you were talking about. He talks about our nation's love of prisons, but also uses prisons as a metaphor for this country's love of dividing, creating bars, putting up walls ...

VAN JONES: At the Ellen Baker Center for Human Rights we think that the prison walls are a reflection of the fact of the social walls between communities. And so at the center we have every color of the Skittles bag, all working together, you know, lots of different projects. It's not just a black project or a women's project, it's a project where all kinds of people who suffer from discrimination and oppression work together to solve problems. It makes us a much more powerful organization because we can go and talk to transgendered sex workers in the Tenderloin neighborhood one day, and then be over in Oakland talking to young hip-hoppers the next day, and then be back over in Chinatown the next day. We are very consistent about trying to pull down those social walls. As more and more come down, it becomes much more difficult for people to stand by when people they experience to be their human neighbors are thrown in jail.

There are these wake-up calls along your own road in life. I had the experience of going to Yale Law School and I knew people who were 18, 19 years old who had drug problems, who were involved in drug sales, who were undergraduates at Yale. And I also knew people who were similarly afflicted who lived three or four blocks away from me at public housing projects. The kids at Yale who ran afoul of the law were given treatment, counseling, their papers were put on hold, their final exams were put on hold, sometimes they went to Europe for a year and came back and were able to get their lives back on track. Those people are now doctors and lawyers.

ETHAN FLAD: Or presidents.

VAN JONES: People with similar problems who lived three blocks away went to jail. That taught me something. There is no lack of understanding of what it takes to turn a kid around if a kid runs into problems. If we see that kid fully as a human being with great potential, we will bring a tremendous amount of monetary resources to get them turned around. If we have dehumanized them, we will spend a tremendous amount of monetary resources to segregate, isolate, and punish them. When we get to a place where the kid with a drug problem in public housing three blocks from Yale has the same opportunity as the kid with a drug problem on campus, then we have a just society.

I take a lot of comfort and direction from Isaiah. One of the things that God orders him to do is to go and open the prison house door. And so for me, my spiritual journey and my political journey are coming closer together.

I spent a long time doing a lot of protests and rallies and trying to figure out how to be involved in all sorts of politics of confrontation and outrage, and I got really burned out. About a year and a half ago I had to take a step back from the pace and the approach and the frenzy that I was using. I just couldn't do it any more. I went through a real personal crisis. I went to the Windcall Retreat Center for about two weeks. I just slept and wept and tried to get my WHEN I PURCHASED *No More Prisons* at an independent bookstore, I assumed I had picked up a "manifesto" for demolishing the prison-industrial complex. The author, William Upski Wimsatt, was young (mid-20s), a graffiti writer and school dropout, and had previously penned a provocatively titled book *Bomb the Suburbs*. Surely this was some sort of "how to build your own bomb and destroy the system" handbook.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Interestingly, *No More Prisons* hardly discusses the criminal justice system, much less prisons. Rather, the book addresses a handful of issues the author believes will change an inequitable social structure: philanthropy, homeschooling, city-



suburb "regionalism" urban planning, and youth-based organizing.

Born to a white, academically elite family, Wimsatt's personal stories are the focus of the book, and reveal his ability to relate easily to rich and poor, to older adults and young hip-hop heads. He achieved notriety by hitchhiking around the U.S., shortly after having written *Bomb the Suburbs* as a teenager. In each city he visited, he sought out the "most feared neighborhoods," walking through them alone at all hours. It is an indictment of our cities' racial polarization, and is central to his theories for community organizing — an active engagement of the "other."

The most appealing aspect of the book is that it offers solutions. Whether or not one agrees with his proposals (and many will disagree), Wimsatt does not merely complain about social problems. Ardently opposed to endless suburban sprawl, the author interviews urban planners who advocate for metropolitan coalitions that unite urban centers and their immediate suburban communities. Dissatisfied with his education in the public school system, he researches the controversial topic of homeschooling, and strongly recommends it. Initially hesitant about the world of philanthropy, he is now committed to helping build a "Cool Rich Kids Movement." He writes, "From all my experience with grassroots organizations, I believe that organizing people with wealth is the most powerful work I do." In the past two years, he has co-founded the Active Element Foundation (grassroots youth activism) and the Self-Education Foundation (alternatives to traditional schooling).

Even though this book hardly discusses prisons, I now understand why it was sitting in everyone's mailbox at the Prison Activist Resource Center. Brief, provocative, and personal, *No More Prisons* is an accessible resource for anyone who is concerned about the systemic reasons for the unparalleled growth of the prison industry. You can order the book from Raptivism Records, 61 E. 8th St. #251, New York, NY 10003 for \$12.95 plus \$2 S&H. — Ethan Flad head together. I started going to church more and got into counseling - you know, everything I could think of just to try to figure some stuff out. And one of the things that I've come to is the real need for progressive people to know what it is that we're saying "yes" to. Julia Butterfly Hill says we've gotten so good at defining what we're against that what we're against is beginning to define us! I agree with that and so now I'm really wanting to do my politics from a place of having a more positive and holistic view of where we're trying to go. That requires time for reflection, which activists often don't give ourselves time for. We go from meeting to protest and from meeting to protest. It requires some real personal healing. I think we get involved in political protest work for mixed reasons — some personal anger as well as some political concern. But at a certain point I believe you have to address those political concerns from a clear-eyed and wise place. You have to deal with that personal anger. A movement that can help address some of the material concerns that people have and some of the environmental concerns that people have, but that also addresses some of the spiritual hunger that people feel, will be welcome and powerful and have a chance to change society in a really fundamental way.

ETHAN FLAD: A very good friend of mine did political prisoner and police brutality work in New York City, yet two of her immediate family members are police officers, and she is close to them — it's not "I'm doing this to spite you." As your work evolves, from PoliceWatch to the Ella Baker Center, is there now more of an engagement with police? Or is it still an oppositional politics proposition?

VAN JONES: Well, first of all, my favorite uncle is a police officer! And I have a cousin who is a prison guard out here for whom I have affection and fondness. But I'll paraphrase Phil Graham on this one and say if the lion and the lamb are going to lie down together, I want to make sure my community is a lion. I don't think that we have enough counterweight power with the law enforcement establishment yet to be involved in a politics of collaboration. I think we're still at a place where there's a need to build up a real counterweight to the power of the police

No to Racism Police Bruta

officers' unions and the prison guards' unions which so overwhelmingly mis-shape public policy. We need human rights organizations on the other side that are also big and to some extent belligerent and obnoxious in their defense of the other constituencies that stand to lose out as the police and the prison guards eat up more and more of the public budget and command more and more of the public dialogue.

Do you get to a tipping point where you can move from confrontation to some other politics? I'm open to that being a possibility, but progressives have yet to transform our relationships with each other! A lot of activists, especially in the Bay Area, have often said, "I feel like I'm coming off a football field where I got tackled a whole bunch of times, but everybody that tackled me had on my jersey!" Just based on all the internal fighting. It's not all government spies manipulating people against each other. My observation about this in-your-face direct action politics that I've come out of, and am still a part of, is that it tends to shape people's approach to problem-solving in a way that is highly adversarial — such that when you do have problems among your own folks things get real adversarial real fast. Coalitions fall apart, organizations fall apart, you get some poor soul that tries to show some leadership eaten alive by the piranha politics of the selfmartializing left. Those kinds of politics won't change society.

ETHAN FLAD: What is it about criminal justice activism work that draws in young people so much?

VAN JONES: Well, it's a combination of things. One is that the massive frustration of two million (and growing) people imprisoned in the U.S. mostly for non-violent offenses is a stench in the nostrils of God! It is just a howling human rights problem that anybody who hears about it in its full dimension is horrified — left, right or center. The reality is that young people are capable of more outrage than two people once they've got two jobs and 3.5 kids and a bunch of other problems. Another thing is the work

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Mumia Abu-Jamal demonstration in Philadelphia.

Opening dialogue through quilting



FOR SIX YEARS, ALICE ROBERTS has served as the chaplain at the New Hampshire State Prison for Women. The prison houses people with a sentence of one year or more, but it also serves as a jail for Hillsborough County, so inmates are serving anywhere from 30 days to life. Nearly all the women — 97 percent of them — will eventually return to the community. Some of the women are able to leave the prison on work release and community service programs.

Most of the time, there are 110 women in the prison. "It's a manageable size," says Roberts, who averages one day a week at the facility. "I often end up doing crisis management, dealing with domestic violence issues especially."

Most of the women in the New Hampshire State Prison, like inmates across the country, come from what Roberts describes as "unsettled backgrounds. Their education is low. Many dropped out of school. There is a preponderance of domestic abuse. They have been beaten, abandoned, and raped. Sexual abuse issues are large. When someone is abused, she is full of pain, of course, and often wants to numb herself. Many women take drugs: prescription drugs, street drugs, and alcohol.

"Many are guilty of victimless crimes. They harmed only themselves. This doesn't go for everyone but most of the women have had a terrible background and managed to survive. Their coping skills are pretty amazing.

"One of the most important things I say to them," explains Roberts, "is that I don't work for the Department of Corrections. They breathe a huge sigh of relief when they hear that and everything starts pouring out. They see their time with me as a time to vent.

"The Department of Corrections is just a monolith," Roberts says. "People don't know what is going on behind the walls. The prison can become this empire and all kinds of terrible things can happen. Inmates have no credibility to complain. Officers don't want to see the problems."

Although she describes the New Hampshire prison as generally safe and clean, "any situation where people have so much power over others is going to create abuses," Roberts says. "Officers have so much power over people who are living in cages."

A former fabric artist, Roberts has joined her work in ministry with her artistic talent to start a quilting group within the prison. She explains, "A bed covering is the only thing inmates can make and keep there. One of the women came to me and asked if I couldn't get together a quilt that said something about domestic violence.

"So we made a quilt. It has a black and blue color scheme. Twenty-five women each made a square with some kind of statement about domestic violence on it. The women took fabric ink and drew their stories. I've been taking it around to churches and groups."

The quilt has opened a dialogue. "People who have seen it have wanted to say something to women who are in prison," Roberts says. She has been keeping a notebook filled with comments from people who have seen the quilt. Some have been abused themselves and thank the women for sharing.

"It is a new experience for these women to think that they have a voice at all," Roberts says.

Roberts travels the state to educate people within the faith community about the prison system. She recently addressed a feminist liberation theology luncheon and asked for an inmate and a guard to go with her to tell their stories. Later this year, she will convene a day-long workshop in the men's prison in New Hampshire. Representatives from all the parishes in the diocese will attend to learn about prison conditions.

Roberts was recently honored by the Leadership New Hampshire Association. The award not only acknowledges Roberts' hard work but also, she says, is "a good statement — for New Hampshire to hold up prison ministry as something it is proud of."

– Camille Colatosti

dovetails neatly with a certain kind of antiauthoritarian rebellion that adolescents go through anyway! Through shifting demographics there are many more young people in the country. And many more of those young people being people of color means that you have a generation that is more under the gun of police violence and harassment.

Now some of that seems to be changing, at least in New York City as the N.Y.P.D. decides not to harass black, Latino and Asian youth as much. It has now focused a lot more of its harassment on people who appear to be Middle Eastern or Muslim. You're starting to see black and Latino kids walking around with N.Y.P.D. baseball caps and all kinds of weird stuff! So this new "War on Terrorism" context, if it really fully and we have a different racist war - then that may reshuffle the deck here a little bit. But one thing we have to be very clear about among people of color is that the secret war against a secret enemy with brown skin, an enemy that's both within the country and outside of the country, a war with no clear objectives and no timeline — that's the "War on Drugs." That framework was used to oppress black and Latino folks primarily, both in the U.S. and in the Caribbean and in Central and South America. The War on Terrorism has the same basic characteristics. Copyright 2020. Archives of the And so for Africa and Asia this kind of openended secret war against the secret enemy is called the War on Terrorism.

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Episcopal Church / DFMS.

Mass incarceration here inside the U.S. is supposedly to reduce the use of drugs, even though the use of drugs is continuing to go up. If reducing drug use is what the policy was trying to do, they would try something different. This mass incarceration agenda is clearly about more than curtailing drug use. It seems to be about social control, it seems to be about profiteering. Similarly, although there is certainly a need to deal with the fact that there are terrorist movements in other countries, I believe this War on Terrorism also probably has something to do with oil and geo-politics, and that's not being talked about as much.

What we have to be very, very careful about as we move into this new century will be a lot more government-sponsored violence, whether it's inside the U.S. borders with more police and National Guard in the airports, or at the U.S. border with more militarization, or beyond the U.S. border with covert and other military operations. Civil society has to speak back to that and try to keep it in check and keep it honest and try to pull problem-solving away from the punitive and the violent over to the political, the social, the economic, the spiritual — where the solutions actually solve problems before creating new ones.

ETHAN FLAD: You recently won a battle against the prison system in Oakland. How do you think that fits into the challenges of what lies ahead?

VAN JONES: Well, Alameda was on track to build one of the biggest per capita juvenile halls in the country — we called it the Super Jail for Kids — and we decided to oppose that. They wanted to build a 520-bed juvenile hall for Alameda County, which has 1.5 million people. To give you a comparison, Chicago has 498 beds total and 5 million people! We got the state Board of Corrections to withdraw \$2.3 million in funding for this thing and got the county administrators to reduce the size of it from 540 to 420 which is still way too big. And so we're still fighting them to bring the size way down.

ETHAN FLAD: Who is the "we"?

VAN JONES: The "Books not Bars" campaign - www.booksnotbars.org - which is a campaign that the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights houses. It's working in close partnership with the Youth Force Coalition. This Super Jail was signed, sealed, delivered - all but approved - and these young folks jumped in last spring and have protested and disrupted meetings and done sit-ins and everything imaginable.

ETHAN FLAD: I loved the piece that was in the Oakland Tribune — it was like council members were running, fleeing kids.

VAN JONES: It's a youth-led movement

against the punishment industry. Its core is potentially very powerful because it's about rehumanizing people that society wanted to throw away and that people are making money off of. When we were talking about how having a different kind of spiritual lens changes the politics of this movement ---well, rather than polarizing it and saying, "It's people of color against the world," and, "Those racist white people want to see us all in jail," a different lens lets you say, "Wait a minute. The number one economic development strategy for California for rural white depressed areas is to site prisons there and then raise up little mini-industries around the prison."

I mean, think about it. The state government is creating a situation in which my black kid is going to spend all day in jail as a prisoner and your white kid is going to spend all day in jail as a prison guard. This is a positive solution for my problems or for your problems? This is a non-solution! Why don't we join hands - rural whites and urban people of color — and say to the state government, "We want you to be investing millions of dollars into job creation that helps both and doesn't hurt both." There is the opportunity for real leadership and the opportunity for real change. Especially if you add onto that an environmental lens. Shouldn't California be investing billions of dollars into a green economy and not a Gulag economy? Well, the money to create a green economy is going into the Gulag account and so the environmentalists, the white working class, people of color in inner cities - we have a common interest.

ETHAN FLAD: What is the role of the religious community in supporting this work?

VAN JONES: I certainly think all faith-based institutions should review their investment portfolios and divest from companies that profiteer off prisons.

ETHAN FLAD: Is there such a list?

VAN JONES: We're working to develop a list. We want to do to the punishment industry what was done to the tobacco industry. We want to put it on trial and create a consciousness so that people don't want their money in the incarceration industry.

Beyond that, certainly people who are Christians — this whole thing around redemption, this whole idea that God is going to "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us" — that's heavy stuff! And that whole thing about loving your neighbor — that's serious stuff. I mean, it's just a few little words and you can run right over them, but that's the challenge of being a Christian — a real Christian, not a Bible-thumping hypocrite. Walking in the world in a Christian way and walking our personal lives in a Christian way in the new century full of fear and conflict is a real challenge. It's very easy to point the finger at other people; it's very easy just to run and hide; it's very easy just to sort of watch it all on TV and hope it doesn't come and getcha. It's a lot harder to be engaged in the world and engaged in your faith and to have those two things inform each other such that things change for the better in society. That's what Jesus did. So that's what it's supposed to be about. And Jesus, you know, clearly wasn't in with the Romans, clearly didn't run around with Caesar. Jesus was with the prostitutes. And Moses, he was trying to get away from Pharaoh, he wasn't trying to snuggle up to Pharaoh.

I don't see any examples of the faith-walk that snuggles you up to the existing order. I think a real faithwalk sometimes takes you away from the institutional leaders of your faith and your government. But that's what the prophetic call is: to seek the truth within, to seek the truth in dialogue with God, and to seek the truth in society.

And to stand in the truth. That's needed now more than ever.

Ethan Flad is The Witness' web site editor/producer. He lives in Oakland, Calif.

Community activism wins drug treatment

LAST YEAR, a coalition of 17 religious congregations in Daytona Beach, Fla., entitled FAITH (Fighting Against Injustice Toward Harmony) proved that the prison industrial complex might have a weakness — an engaged and active community.

FAITH entered into discussion over local correctional policies in January 2000 when problems of drugs and crime continued to surface as a serious problem among its members. After months of research conducted by FAITH leaders, they concluded the single greatest systemic change they could make with regards to the problem of drugs and crime would be to call for the implementation of a treatment program within county jails.

Volusia County jailed 26,127 people in 2000 and research suggested that 80 percent of them had a substance abuse problem. Despite the vast numbers, no treatment programs could be found in the county's jailing system and correctional staff told members of FAITH that the current administration did not believe that treatment in jails was necessary.

Meanwhile, statistics from across the country showed that substance abuse treatment programs introduced in jails reduced addiction, recidivism, taxpayer costs, and behavioral problems of inmates. Those outside the county's correctional system were adamantly supportive of treatment during jail time.

FAITH concluded the problem was real and a good solution existed, but what was missing was the political power to make it happen. For congregational leaders with FAITH the failure to implement commonsense solutions to serious problems due to a lack of political will was a common phenomenon.

They had grown adept at becoming a serious grassroots powerhouse in the region. Under the direction of Haley Grossman, a young, trained organizer from the DART Organizers Institute, the group had fought and won important victories — including education reform and new community policing programs — within two short years of their formation.

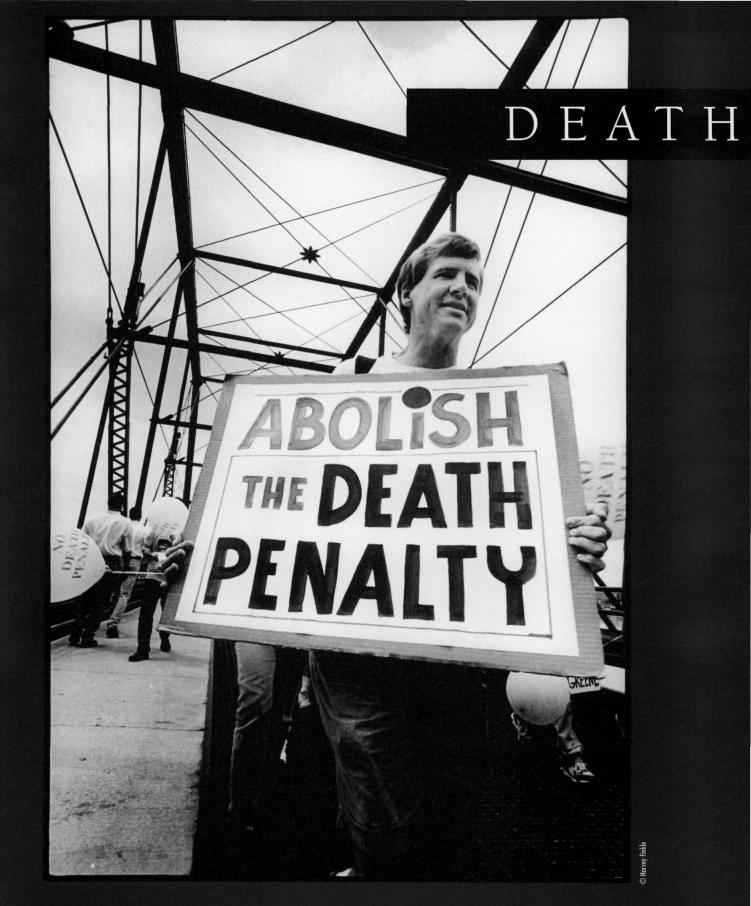
On the jail issue, FAITH decided to take action directly with the person who could give them what they wanted. They called a public meeting to discuss the matter with the County Director of Corrections, Terry Moore. Over 1,200 representatives of FAITH packed the church sanctuary along with advocates from several substance abuse agencies. They clapped, sang and heard testimonies and research findings while they waited for the Director of Corrections. He never showed.

In response, FAITH launched into a full campaign. They began working with the media, conducting prayer sessions within the walls of the jail and pressuring county council members for some accountability within the correctional system. Finally, after five months the Director of Corrections committed to yet another public meeting with FAITH. This time he showed and within 30 minutes FAITH leaders left his office with a full commitment to create a substance abuse program within county jails. Recently at FAITH's annual assembly, treatment providers and correctional personnel offered glowing testimonies about the immediate effects of the program.

Haley Grossman, the lead organizer with FAITH, can point to many people in terms of their success. "The leaders of this community just won't back down. Even when the administration pretended we didn't exist, the leaders persisted. But I would have to also credit the grassroots training provided by the DART Center staff. We couldn't have done what we've done without their direction."

— Ben MacConnell

[The DART Organizers Institute is now taking applications for its paid training to start next summer. If you are interested in applying or finding out more about FAITH and organizations like it, please log on to: http://www.thedartcenter.org.]



PENALTY ACTIVISM

Bringing faith and creativity to the struggle

by Joe Wakelee-Lynch

CR SEVERAL YEARS, people fighting to stop the death penalty have reaped benefits from the nation's willingness to turn its attention to questions about its fairness and morality. The governor of Illinois imposed a moratorium in January of 2000, newspapers across the country have launched investigations into the system's racial disparities, and the number of states passing prohibitions on executing prisoners who are retarded increases steadily.

Since the September terrorist attacks in the U.S., however, the nation's attention has been diverted from this and other causes. But the work against capital punishment goes on. Most activists see the abolition of capital punishment as a long-term project. Perhaps more important, they are profoundly engaged with the issue through personal ministries.

"What about bin Laden?"

One prominent group that has seen firsthand the recent change in political climate is Murder Victims Families for Reconciliation (MVFR), an organization made up of people who have lost a loved one to violence, including family members of prisoners who have been executed. Because MVFR both opposes capital punishment and advocates for policies and programs that help family members who have lost loved ones to violence, MVFR leaders expected an increased demand on their time after September. People have asked MVFR members what they can expect as they go through the grief process, said Renny Cushing, MVFR's executive director.

"I can see your position when it comes to murderers of one person or a few, but what about mass murderers? What about Osama bin Laden?"

"There are thousands of victims," he says, "and we've had lots of conversations."

Cushing admits that the attacks have had a "profound impact," and the question of how to punish terrorists has entered the capital punishment debate. He finds himself addressing it almost every time he speaks.

"It's usually the first question," said Cushing. "Someone will say, 'I can see your position when it comes to murderers of one person or a few, but what about mass murderers? What about Osama bin Laden?' "

Yet nothing has occurred that changes MVFR's stance or its work, he said.

"There's a lot of attention across the country on how to respond to the attacks. There's a bit of hysteria today. But nothing has changed for us. As for the victims, we don't want to replicate the pain that we already live with."

Victory in Santa Clara County

If proof is needed that recent events have not derailed the movement to stop the death penalty, one place it may be found is in California. In late October, the Board of Supervisors of Santa Clara County, a county that rims the southern portion of the San Francisco Bay and includes the city of San Jose, approved a resolution calling for a moratorium on the death penalty in the state.

The resolution, which passed by a vote of 4 to 1, calls upon the governor to impose a moratorium "unless and until discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin or economic status is eliminated," as well as the risk of executing innocent people.

Terry McCaffrey, a member of the Human Concerns Commission of the Catholic Diocese of San Jose and an area coordinator for Amnesty International, said religious and secular people in the county have been "Nine Lives" project, photographs of men who had been awaiting execution on Illinois' Death Row who were later found not guilty and freed ©Loren Santow Photography



Alex Hernandez



Anthony Porter

working on this project for 18 months. It required building grassroots support by enlisting a broad range of religious and secular organizations to go on record in support of a moratorium.

One of the key early steps, said McCaffrey, was to exploit the organizational opportunity provided from a visit to San Jose by Helen Prejean, author of the book *Dead Man Walking* and chair of the Moratorium Campaign, an organization working for a death penalty moratorium nationwide. Prejean's visit not only offered a vehicle to spread the message but an event to connect with a range of people

Anti-death penalty organizations

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102; (215) 241-7000; www.afsc.org.

- Amnesty International Death Penalty Program, 600 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, 5th Floor, Washington, DC 20003; (202) 544-0200; www.amnesty-usa.org/abolish.
- Death Penalty Information Center (DPIC) 1320 18th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 293-6970; www.deathpenaltyinfo.org.
- For Whom the Bells Toll, c/o Dorothy Briggs, 19 Dearborn St., Medford, MA 02155; www.curenational.org/~bells.
- National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty (NCADP), 1436 U St., NW, Suite 104, Washington, DC 20009; (202) 387-3890; www.ncadp.org.
- Murder Victims Families for Reconciliation, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140; (617) 868-0007; www.mvfr.org.
- The Moratorium Campaign, P.O. Box 13727, New Orleans, LA 70185-3727; (504)864-1071; www.moratoriumcampaign.org.

who could be recruited for the project.

McCaffrey also worked with California People of Faith Working Against the Death Penalty, an interreligious coalition opposing capital punishment in the state, as well as with the Diocese of San Jose, which gave the growing coalition access to Catholic parishes throughout the county.

The coalition chose to focus on the death penalty at the county level for very strategic reasons. The county government is an overlooked yet utterly crucial stage in the execution system.

Although the state of California carries out the sentence of execution, McCaffrey pointed out, prosecuting a murder defendant in a capital case is a county district attorney's decision, and the funds required are borne by the county. Compared to cases with lesser murder charges, a capital case requires a huge expenditure of funds more court costs, more legal fees, more appeals, more lawyers' time.

"It's the county that prosecutes, that funds the county defender and that tries the person in the county court system," said McCaffrey. "So it's the seat of power in the local area when it comes to the death penalty."

In California in particular, county funds are stretched far, and the decision to pursue a capital conviction can be as much an economic decision as a judicial one. In fact, one of the many sources of unfairness in the death penalty system, say its opponents, is the fact that two people can commit the same type of murder in two different counties yet end up with widely disparate charges. Some counties prosecute few or no capital cases simply because they haven't the budget to do so.

In Santa Clara county, McCaffrey said, the resolution could never have passed without a broad-based team effort that included many groups and individuals with a wide variety of skills and knowledge. The coalition included Catholics, Methodists, Jews and Muslims.

They also found crucial support within the county administration.

"We had an 'insider' on the human relations commission of Santa Clara County who helped steer us through the county bureaucracy. That kind of person was invaluable in this process."

In a major step last May, the coalition held two days of public hearings in the board's chambers. Spokespeople from group after group — priests, nuns, ministers, rabbis, leaders of mosques, a technology company CEO, lawyers, a high school student, a county public defender, a murder victim's mother — presented their testimony to the public to urge the supervisors to call for a halt to executions.



Darby Tillis

When such a wide range of citizens and groups assembled and spoke with a single voice, said McCaffrey, the board had to listen.

"It suddenly put some breaks in the system," he explained. "When you're confronted with an organized demonstration of strength, it makes you pause."

An anti-death-penalty parish

Farther up the San Francisco Bay, on the north side, activism has also been going strong. St. Paul's Episcopal Church, in San Rafael, is in a unique position. Its geographic boundaries not only take in homes and businesses but also San Quentin State Prison, home of California's death row for men and its execution chamber. That fact hasn't been lost on the parishioners. In 1996 they decided that because of their proximity, they have a call to minister to the men on death row (women are housed elsewhere in the state).

Today, that ministry involves the work of about 30 parishioners, said Joan Peterson, one of its leaders. Some visit death row prisoners, as does the rector, Bruce Bramlett. Bramlett, in fact, was a spiritual advisor to Robert Lee Massie, the ninth person executed by the state since the practice was resumed in 1982.

Communion is taken to the prison every Sunday. Parishioners also correspond with prisoners and, when appropriate, write to Gov. Gray Davis seeking commutations for prisoners. Whenever the state carries out an execution, church members hold a vigil. The church bells are rung and a meal is provided to participants in the Walk for Life, a 25-mile walk from San Francisco to the prison gate.

The church also has reached out to family



Gary Gauger



Joe Burrows

members of death row inmates. Three close friends of Tommy Thompson, executed in July 1998, have found a church home at St. Paul's.

"They met me while I was visiting Tommy Thompson on death row," said Bramlett. "As we all went through the process leading up to Thompson's execution, St. Paul's was the place that held prayer services and vigils. And we held the memorial services for Tom after he died. That really bonded them to us, and they are still active members."

Not everyone at the church opposes the death penalty.

"There are people in the parish who are pro-death-penalty," Peterson said. "And it's a one-on-one process of trying to change their hearts and minds. But all in all, I'd say we are an anti-death-penalty parish."

Keeping a parish identity to death penalty work, especially when the ministry originates in the congregation, can be important, said Bramlett. "That's one of the reasons why California People of Faith Against the Death Penalty was formed," he explained, "to try to maintain some of the faith commitment."

The San Rafael rector believes in the need for broad coalitions that fight the capital punishment system. But religious groups must take care to ensure that their voices aren't submerged, he said. They speak to the issue with a unique moral authority that is crucial to the movement.

Bramlett is also aware of the risk to a local congregation when it launches a death penalty group that later is folded into a nonreligious coalition. As this kind of ministry gets farther from the rest of the parishioners, it also gets farther from their moral attention, he said.

"It allows the death penalty to become a

secular moral issue in parishioners' eyes," said Bramlett. "and that's not the case at all."

A ministry of accompaniment

On the other side of the country, Churchill Gibson has been visiting Virginia's death row in Waverly for nine years. He spent 20 years as chaplain and professor of pastoral theology at Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria.

Along with Edward Fraher, a layperson at St. Michael's Episcopal Church in Richmond, Gibson visits death row every other Monday to see prisoners who are locked down for 23 hours a day. Gibson goes right to the cell of the man he wishes to visit and pulls up a chair. Before he can begin a conversation, he has to wait for a guard to open the food slot on the cell door.

Gibson builds relationships with prisoners through his regular visits.

His ministry, he said, is "to do all that we can to bring the Spirit of God in an isolated situation." He tries to help the prisoners use their jail time positively.

"God doesn't waste anything," said Gibson, "so he's not wasting their time there. We try to work with them to help them use their time well."

They urge prisoners to take responsibility for their actions and to deal with forgiveness — "God's forgiveness of them and their forgiveness of themselves."

"The distressing thing about the penal system," said Gibson, "is there's no element of redemption expected anywhere in it. In Virginia, [prisoners are] warehoused and punished."

Sometimes Gibson's ministry takes him to death's door, the execution chamber itself. When a prisoner is executed, Gibson will



Perry Cobb



Rolando Cruz

From Death to Life: A Statement on Capital Punishment

While we acknowledge that Christians of good conscience hold a variety of opinions about capital punishment, and while we recognize the depth and difficulty of this subject, the Community of Deacons of the Diocese of Louisiana speaks out now on the issue because of its importance and timeliness.

We believe that capital punishment should be abolished for the following reasons:

- It is unnecessary for public safety and civil order.
- It has unsubstantiated and dubious value as a deterrent.
- It is less effective than life imprisonment, which addresses the legitimate need of society to punish the worst kinds of criminal behavior.
- It is applied in an inconsistent, unfair, and discriminatory manner.
- It involves the possibility of execution of innocent persons.
- It perpetuates violence and destruction.
- It deprives the criminal of the opportunity for reform, rehabilitation, and restitution.
- It deprives the survivors of the opportunity for forgiveness.
- It is at odds with the teaching and example of Jesus Christ to fight evil with good and to forgive injury.

While abolition of the death penalty is not a simple solution for the complex problems of crime and violence, it can and should be part of an overall approach that supports human life and dignity, spiritual healing, and restoration. We invite all Christians and others of good will to join us in calling for abolition to capital punishment.

> Community of Deacons Episcopal Diocese of Louisiana 11 June 2001

accompany him throughout most of the day if asked. If a prisoner doesn't request that Gibson walk with him to the chamber itself, then Gibson leaves the prison and holds vigil, candle in hand, in a field by the prison. It's the end of a process that in his eyes offers nothing good to anyone involved.

"We're so far from any ability to forgive," he said. "It's tragic. Hate is just a corrosive, negative, horrible element."

Deacons against the death penalty

In Louisiana last June, frustration with the senselessness of capital punishment led to the signing of an anti-death-penalty statement [see sidebar] by the Community of Deacons, a small group of deacons active in ministries throughout the state.

Louisiana has a thriving diaconate, partly due to the work of Ormonde Plater, archdeacon of the diocese and author of several books on the role of deacons in the church. The ministry of deacons is focused on mercy and justice, said Plater, and in recent years it has seen something of a revival.

"The statement was prompted by the execution of Timothy McVeigh," Plater said. "As the execution approached, we thought that we ought to be saying something on this as a matter of justice."

The statement was written by Charles deGravelles, a deacon at Trinity Episcopal Church in Baton Rouge who also serves a mission church within the Louisiana State Penitentiary in Angola [see sidebar].

"There is a real logic to the fact that deacons produced this statement," deGravelles explained. "One focus of the role of the deacon is serving those in need: the poor and the marginalized. And it's clearly been demonstrated that people who are faced



Ron Jones

with execution are poor and marginalized in many ways. Some of them can't afford a lawyer or they can't afford a good one.

"Ormonde Plater asked me to draft a statement," he continued, "and we hammered out the language. I hope it will be a catalyst for conversation and that the [death penalty] issue will stay in the front burner, or at least on the middle burner. We intended it for the clergy in our diocese, and we hoped to spark continuing debate nationwide."

The statement was sent over the internet to more than 300 deacons in the U. S. and around the world.

For Whom the Bells Toll

One of the simplest and most widespread forms of death penalty opposition has been the tolling of bells. "For Whom the Bells Toll" is a project that asks religious organizations or groups to toll their bells whenever there is an execution. On the day of an execution, bells are rung for two minutes, starting at 6 P.M. Churches, monasteries, abbeys, temples and synagogues in at least 35 states have joined in this somber practice.

Organizers say it began in the Philippines at the urging of Cardinal Jaime Sin. When Roman Catholic Bishop Walter Sullivan visited that country, he decided to do the same within his Richmond, Va., diocese. The campaign, organized by Citizens United for the Rehabilitation of Errants (CURE), will continue until there is a moratorium on the death penalty or until the death penalty is abolished in the U. S. [See the "Criminal Justice" section of <www.thewitness.org/agw> for a story on the project by Dorothy Briggs.]

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Steve Smith



Verneal Jimerson

Friendship within "a world of pain"

CHARLES DEGRAVELLES is a deacon in charge of the Episcopal Chapel of the Transfiguration in Angola, Louisiana. For 12 years he has been visiting the prisoners at the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola. This 24,000-acre prison is, says deGravelles, "physically large, just an enormous piece of farmland. It was a plantation in the 18th and 19th centuries. Because many of the slaves who worked this property came from the country of Angola, that is how the land got its name."

There are more than 5,000 men at the Angola penitentiary. About 80 percent are serving life sentences, and, says deGravelles, "in Louisiana, these are real life sentences. These men are not coming out. There is a cemetery to accommodate those who die and there is a geriatric center for the aging population." In fact, deGravelles was instrumental in bringing a hospice program into the prison — run by prisoners — to care for the aged and dying men. The prison itself has one main complex and several satellite complexes. "It is," says deGravelles, "a hard place to live."

The hardness comes largely from the lack of hope. "It was, in the 1970s, known as one of the bloodiest prisons in the country," says deGravelles. "Since then there have been a number of capable wardens who have gotten the prison up to standard. But it's hard to be in prison when you're not coming out. There is a lot of hopelessness and a lot of despair. The political climate in the state and in the country is not one that gives much hope for a pardon or parole."

In 1989, when deGravelles started going to Angola, he was a layperson who, as he explains, "wanted to get my hands dirty with front-line ministry. Gradually, over time, the ministry grew and now we have a congregation that is a mission of the diocese."

As deGravelles explains, "About 100 guys come to the monthly service. They come from different faith backgrounds. These guys are spiritually hungry and will go to any number of services."

Before or after services, deGravelles visits the men. "I have the run of the place and will spend all day visiting guys," he explains. "I take communion with me, but I am really in the role of being a friend and supporter. Many men have no outside family who come to visit. We are their family."

Prisoners have also helped deGravelles. "Lots of the men I've worked with have been there for me, just as I've been there for them," he says. "I see myself being a friend at a critical time."

Certainly the most critical time in anyone's life is when he or she is facing death. For three years, deGravelles worked as a spiritual advisor for a death row inmate who

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Dennis Williams



Carl E. Lawson



Charles deGravelles [left], at Kerry Meyers' confirmation

was executed in June 2000. DeGravelles describes Feltus Taylor, Jr. as "a remarkable fellow who did a horrible crime." They began by reading together, and then by talking about Taylor's crime. "I encouraged him to write his story," says deGravelles, "and he did write his autobiography." DeGravelles currently has an agent for the book and is trying to get it published. Taylor killed one woman and critically injured another who is now a paraplegic as a result of the crime. Proceeds from the book will be put into the Feltus Taylor Memorial Trust, with one-third of the profits going to the surviving victim and victims' families, one-third going to Taylor's grandmother and one-third going to fund programs for at-risk youth.

"Taylor was able to address the people who survived his crime," deGravelles says. "He achieved peace and closure."

DeGravelles sees his time with Taylor as "the most meaningful work" that he has ever done. "How do you help a person deal with the death sentence? In some ways, it was like the work I do with hospice but it had a whole layer of issues about guilt. I helped him to try to make contact with the surviving victim of his crime so he could express his remorse. All of these were painful, hard, difficult issues that we worked through. He was just a wonderful man and it was gratifying to know I was there for someone in need."

This experience reinforced deGravelles' desire to see the death penalty abolished. "The feeling that you get," says deGravelles, "is that it is a terrible waste. I'm not convinced this does a great deal for the people who are the victims of the crime either. Their pain and anguish is immense. It's a difficult thing to reach out both to a perpetrator and a victim. But think of a man who has come all this way in his personal story and has changed. To kill a man is just such a waste, does no good and does a lot of harm. The death sentence is tragic. It's a world of pain for families on both sides." — Camille Colatosti

The politics of burial

In Atlanta, Ga., the Open Door Community, a center of ministry for homeless people, has worked against the death penalty for more than 20 years. Two pastors, Murphy Davis and Ed Loring, have visited prisoners on the row throughout that time. But the Open Door, along with the Jubilee Community in Comer, Ga., offers another poignant ministry as well. They bury executed prisoners.

Elizabeth Dede of the Open Door said that if someone on Georgia's death row requests it, or if a family is too poor to afford funeral services, people at the Open Door, along with the Jubilee Community in Comer, will conduct a burial on the property of the Jubilee Community, located in rural Georgia.

"Some prisoners have asked to be buried at Jubilee just because they know that it's a place where they would be wanted," she said.

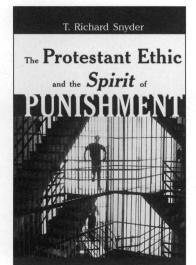
Burying prisoners is part of the fight against the death penalty, in Dede's view, because it is a political statement. The death penalty system is designed to deny and erase all traces of the humanity in people on death row. The ministry of providing a loving and Christian burial to the victims of state execution is a way of proclaiming life in the face of death.

"You visit someone and come to know them as infinitely more than some terrible act," Dede said.

Lately, some prisoners have made a new request — to be cremated.

"They've told us that they've spent too much time in a box that they don't want to be buried in one. They'd rather be cremated and have their ashes spread around outside. One said, 'Spread my ashes, so that I'll be free.' "

Writer Joe Wakelee-Lynch lives in Berkeley, Calif.



The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Punishment by T. Richard Snyder W. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI, 2001

ICHARD SNYDER writes as a mainline Protestant, a seminary dean and professor, but also as one involved in the lives of the incarcerated. From teaching in the Masters program at Sing-Sing Prison in New York State, Snyder documents the rampant growth of a desire for revenge against those who have committed "crimes," and reflects on this theologically. His work has implications for our lives: How do we constitute communities that are restorative, healing and just at their core? Echoing Max Weber's work on the relationship of capitalism and the Protestant ethic, Snyder argues that within the majority Protestant understanding of grace and redemption, there are tendencies that support a punitive view of those "unworthy" of redemption. Grace so understood emphasizes the fall, and does not recognize "creation grace," grace that defines people "[not] by their condition but by their humanity."

The Protestant "individualistic" understanding of grace and redemption with its strong doctrine of the fall provides some of the intellectual framework for the "spirit of punishment" that has pervaded our nation, much like Christianity offered frameworks for such catastrophic events as slavery and the Holocaust. This is why the understanding of grace is an important place to begin.

Grace's social dimension

by Kazi Joshua

Grace, Snyder argues, is not only for the worst of us, but for everybody. It is present in all of life. The categories of "fallen" and "redeemed" need not define who a person is, but rather describe where we find ourselves in our journey with God. In using these categories we should seek to "create a response to crime that does not treat criminals as garbage but sees each as a child of God who is beautiful, worthwhile and good in spite of crimes committed." Because grace is for everyone, evangelism must emphasize redemption as a corporate matter. "Redemptive grace operates in community, through community, and for community. Each person's redemption is inextricably linked with the redemption and redemptive activity of the community."

This understanding mitigates the "spirit of punishment." Thinking collectively, we realize we are also complicit in what happens in community. We do not just place blame on those who have committed "crimes"; we also question what kind of community we have provided them. By way of alternative Snyder explores models like South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Native American sentencing circles, and U.S. victim-offender reconciliation programs. All of these recognize the difference between "retributive justice" — essentially paying back those who have done wrong, and "restorative justice" — concerned with restoring to relationship those who have committed crimes. Snyder believes that we can also draw from Christian traditions such as forgiveness, incarnation, the Trinity, and covenant as ways of trying to reconfigure our relationships in our community.

He gives real examples of what people are doing: visitation programs, houses of hospitality, advocacy work, job training programs, and economic investments. These raise structural questions about a society that is "tough on crime" and yet cutting away funding for the educational and treatment programs that help people not reoffend. Snyder concludes with a radical call to conversion for all aspects of society: cultural, political and economic. He calls us to turn from a punitive to a healing spirit. The economic systems that leave so many locked in poverty and in neighborhoods of despair have to be rethought if we are serious about addressing the roots of crime. These are not easy questions to address, but the church can be a part of that discussion and action alongside others also struggling to create a new heaven and a new earth.

This is essential reading for all who are serious about crime and punishment questions in our time and indispensable for those working for the abolition of the death penalty or mandatory sentencing, and for all those involved in prison ministries. It comes at a timely point with others like *The Executed God*, by Mark Lewis Taylor, and *Who Owns Death*, by Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell, as part of this larger conversation about truly restorative and just communities.

Events in New York City have shown us on a national scale that the general response to criminal acts is one of vengeance. Hence, we cannot expect national leadership to bring about the changes Snyder advocates. It is up to every reader. "A battle is raging for the soul of our nation. … We cannot continue to turn our backs on those who are hungry or thirsty: We cannot continue to lock up those who are oppressed, to ignore the sick, and to close our door to the stranger, or the heart of our nation will shrivel and die of atrophy."

Kazi Joshua, Director of Nurturing the Call, a graduate theological urban studies program for African-American working pastors, is a member of the pastoral staff at Progressive Community Church on Chicago's south side.

LET MY

An interview with Herbert Thompson, Jr. by Marianne Arbogast

N APRIL 7, 2001, Timothy Thomas, an unarmed African-American youth, was fatally shot by a police officer in Cincinnati, becoming the sixth African American to be killed by Cincinnati police in little more than a year. The shooting sparked three days of rebellion. On April 23, Herbert Thompson, Jr., bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio, released a statement in response to the shooting. Titled "Let My People Go," the statement places the incident in a broad historical and social context, and challenges a criminal justice system that profits from incarcerating increasing numbers of people, largely from black and Hispanic populations.

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: What have the churches in Cincinnati done to respond to the struggles that the city has faced in the past year?

HERBERT THOMPSON: The church — both the Episcopal church and the larger community of churches - have been very much engaged in this matter — the shooting of Timothy Thomas and the unrest and turmoil in the city that resulted. Clergy were the ones on the streets when the place was exploding - our own cathedral clergy were among those who were out there helping to bring some calm and order and to put themselves physically as a buffer between the angry young people and the blue line of police. They went from being in the streets directly to being in the churches talking with one another, calling the community into conversation around this. The film, "The Color of Fear," that addresses the whole issue of race and racism in America has made the rounds all across the city. So there have been living room dialogues and those kind of things going on, to help people to look at ourselves and to try to understand one another better.

This could have happened anywhere, because I think that every urban area has the same ingredients in its mix that made for the shooting of Timothy Thomas. I think every community needs to address those issues. But Cincinnati has an extraordinary history because it sits right on the border of Kentucky. Cincinnati is in one of those border states where slaves passed through on the underground railroad going up into Canada and on to freedom. And it's also a place where the fugitive slave laws were enacted to take slaves back into the south. So Cincinnati has this ambivalent history and from the 1820s and 30s onward has had these eruptions in its life around racial issues - most recently around the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968. It's not sure whether it's a southern city looking north or a northern city looking south, and that makes for a certain kind of a dynamic in regard to race.

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: In your statement, you said that the first thing that needed to be addressed was racial profiling. Has there been any attempt by the churches to facilitate a way to address that?

HERBERT THOMPSON: There is a racial profiling suit that is being addressed through the Department of Justice and the city is highly invested in that. There has been a mediation group that's been meeting at the cathedral that has grown out of that. And what it's done is to try to call many people in the community together — a couple hundred people or more — from various sectors of the city to look at this whole matter and then to make some recommendations.

Someone asked whether the September 11th event and now the profiling of Middle Eastern people will kind of take the heat off the racial profiling around black young

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PEOPLE GO

RARCH 10, 1994

911=FIRING SQUAD

HOTS

Prison, racism & economics: A historical perspective

THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF THE SOUTH [after the Civil War] depended on labor; thus, in the fall of 1865, the legislature of the State of Mississippi passed a series of acts known as the Black Codes. Their aim was to control the supply of labor and to ensure the position of white people in Southern life. ...

At the heart of the Black Codes was the "Vagrancy Act," which provided that all free Negroes over the age of 18 must have written proof of a job at the beginning of every year. The Mississippi Black Codes were copied by South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Texas. Lorentho Wooden, a retired Black priest of our diocese, told me that at age 12 he was arrested and imprisoned in Florida under the vagrancy act for simply being on the street without papers. ...

In the South, Black populations faced threats from white mobs and white courts. The criminal justice system became a dragnet for Black people. The local jails and state prisons would grow darker by the years and a phenomenon called "convict leasing" would emerge. Convict leasing was the system in which the state leased prisoners to private companies, which, in turn, would pay the state for the prisoner's labor. ...

Like the Black Codes, convict leasing spread throughout the South. In the 1870s and 1880s, convicts laid most of the nearly 4,000 miles of railroad track in North Carolina. In Texas, convicts worked in coal mines. In Florida, they labored in desolate, disease-ridden forests in the turpentine industry.

In his book *Worse than Slavery*, author David Oshinsky writes, "The South's economic development can be traced by the blood of prisoners." By 1890, convict leasing in Alabama had become a huge operation, supplying bodies like the slave trade of old: Black males age 12 and older went directly to the mines; black women, children and cripples were leased to lumber companies and to farms. (White men, Oshinsky noted, usually remained inside the penitentiary or local jail.)

The working conditions for these men, women and children were horrible, harsh and brutal. There were terrible injuries and beatings inflicted among them, and many, many deaths. Self-mutilation and suicide were routine events. The convict leasing system is aptly termed "worse than slavery." In slavery, owners had a vested interest in their "property." In convict leasing, convicts were no-cost tools to be used, discarded and replaced. Convict leasing was not about justice, or even revenge, or punishment. It was about economics — profits for the lessee and the state. The courts became a conveyor-belt for labor-starved employers. ...

There are today 2 million people in prison in the United States. Almost 80 percent of America's prisoners are Black or Hispanic. In 1985, 500,000 were locked away; by 1990 one million; today, two million. Behind these startling numbers are draconian laws, Acts of Congress and the Executive branch, accompanied by political rhetoric that drives public fears: "War on crime!" "War on drugs!" "War on users!"

We have moved from President Lyndon Johnson's "Omnibus Crime Bill" of 1968, to the "Anti-Drug Abuse Act" passed under President Reagan, to President Clinton's pledge to put 100,000 police on the street, to successive and increasingly harsh Acts of Congress that eliminate parole and mandate long jail or prison sentences. Federal judges have been stripped of sentencing discretion and of the ability to exercise mercy. The power has now been placed in the hands of prosecutors.

continued in sidebar, top of page 25

people. I'm not sure. Either one is a problem for our society and I think we have to be vigilant to say in every way we can that the profiling of people of any kind is something that we cannot tolerate as a free society.

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: The statement that you issued a few weeks after the shooting is a very strong indictment of the whole criminal justice system in this country. Why did you feel it was important for people to reflect on the events in Cincinnati in that larger context?

HERBERT THOMPSON: Because I think that we are not aware of the fact that the racial profiling phenomenon as it manifests across the country really is driven by a larger phenomenon, namely the prison industrial complex, and the fact of having two million people in prison, and prison being such a growth industry that cities and communities are vying to have them built in and around their own communities for the sake of the economy. And if you're going to build it, then you have to put somebody in it. And how do you do that? Well, the way it works in American society - it may not be an but the way it works is the racial profiling phenomenon. And so they shot Timothy Thomas because he had 14 outstanding warrants. Well, not one warrant did he have that was more serious than a traffic violation driving without a seat belt. What happens is that these young black men are stopped by the police and if they can't find anything else for which to charge them, they charge them for a violation like that. And you accumulate enough of those and you become someone who is wanted by the police and a candidate for prison. So it begins to create a population out there who are part of the feeder system for the prisons. And that's why I wrote it, to make people aware of this insidious thing that we have developed, built and honed almost to a fine art here in this country.

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: I was struck that you talk about the prison system as a mod-

ern form of slavery — you say that America's prisons are the "leading edge of the continuing fault-lines of the racial divide that runs all across our nation." It would seem to follow that trying to change this system is key to any progress toward racial reconciliation in this country.

HERBERT THOMPSON: Exactly. As long as we have a system in place that has two million people who are being warehoused and not rehabilitated, then at some point turned back out into society, then returned back to prison again, what happens is you get a group of people who are profiled either as prospective prisoners, or ex-prisoners, or somehow identified with the prison population — because more than 80 percent of that population are African-American and Latino young men and women.

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: You say we have to begin the movement toward decarceration and dismantling of the prison industrial complex. How do you think we can begin to do that? Are there efforts to create alternatives that seem hopeful to you?

HERBERT THOMPSON: Well, yes. I was at a prison just yesterday, we were called in to work with a particular young man and to have this young man placed not in prison, but under house arrest. The situation is such that he does not need to be in a prison, with all that that means in terms of the possibility of harm to him and also his carrying that particular stigma. I think that we have a huge number of people in prison who are no risk to our society. It does us no harm to have those people in some other kind of context.

We also are working on trying to head off the business of incarcerating our young people in the first instance, so that juveniles who are charged with a misdemeanor don't even get a record, and there is more likelihood of their growing up without being incarcerated, or being an ex-convict with all that that means. Federal law currently mandates five and 10-year prison sentences for drug dealing. Under the provision of the law, one form of cocaine known as crack is treated far more harshly than the powdered form. Since crack cocaine is cheaper to produce than other forms, it found its way into the poorest American neighborhoods. Powdered cocaine became the drug of choice among middle-class Americans. Someone has termed these apartheid laws. These federal laws have had a devastating effect on Black Americans.

Meanwhile, at the municipal level, came the Zero Tolerance Revolution. We first heard it expressed by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in New York City. The philosophy underlying zero tolerance is that if government aggressively addresses the small quality-of-life offenses, violent crime will diminish. One of New York City's so-called "squeegee people" was interviewed on TV. He said: "Let me understand this. If the police arrest me for washing car windshields, the heads of organized crime will start quaking and say, 'We'd better get out of town, we're next." The zero tolerance idea moved quickly across America's cities.

Author Christian Parenti, in his book *Lock Down America*, writes, "Zero Tolerance is often selectively enforced against people of color and the visibly poor. Enough unpaid tickets and outstanding warrants leads to the criminal labeling of non-deviant populations."

This quote comes with a timeliness that I could not have imagined just days ago. Timothy Thomas, the 19-year-old young man who was shot and killed here in Cincinnati by a policeman April 7, was running. Why was he running? He was afraid.

Thomas had 14 outstanding warrants for such misdemeanor criminal acts as driving without a seat belt. He was faced with another violation, another ratchet up towards prison; not to mention the humiliation of arrest and worse, injury. As the Dean of our Cathedral said, "If I were an African-American male, I would be afraid, too." ...

It is extraordinary that despite America's technological growth, our economic and military dominance, our supposed growing enlightenment, our support of liberation movements both within our country and around the world, the growth of prisons and prison populations continues upward. Two million people in prison, another three million are doing time outside, on probation or home detention, or on the invisible leash of electronic surveillance. There are millions on the other end who make their living from prisons, directly or indirectly. And prison conditions are in many ways worse than they were in the days of convict leasing and penal farms. ...

What about the economics of all this? We have been made aware that our country's prisons are a growth industry. We have heard the term "Prison Industrial Complex." It is true: Prisons are big business. In 1996, contractors broke ground on 26 federal and 96 state prisons. It is estimated that prisons employ almost 600,000 people, more than and Fortune 500 company except General Motors. ...

Through the work of think tanks like the National Center for Policy Analysis, one learns we are embarking on a new era of prison-for-profit. Morgan Reynolds, Professor of Economics at Texas A&M and a director of the Center, sees wardens as marketers of labor and prisons as industrial parks with bars. They should be built," he says, "not where the crime is, but where the jobs are. That is what the future is if we are going to grow prisons." This represents an intentional, conscious decision to grow prisons as if they were any other industry. Edwin Meese, a former Attorney General of the United States, is chairman of Enterprise Prison Institute, a for-profit group in McLean, Virginia that is pushing for greater access to prison labor. This is the place to which we have arrived — or worse, returned.

— Excerpted from "Let My People Go: A Statement to Cincinnati and to the World," by Herbert Thompson, Jr., April 23, 2001

Working for ex-prisoners' voting rights

IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY of this year, the Diocesan Councils of all three Episcopal dioceses in Virginia will vote on resolutions supporting the restoration of voting rights to ex-felons in the state.

In 37 states, voting rights are automatically restored when convicts complete their sentences and parole requirements, explains Vaughn Wilson, a former prison minister in Virginia who began working on the issue after reading about it in a local newspaper. In Virginia, voting rights can only be restored after a lengthy and complex process which includes case-bycase approval from the governor and which the majority of ex-prisoners find too daunting to pursue.

"Essentially, in Virginia, you're paying for your felony the rest of your life," Wilson says. "Voting rights are such a basic right of American citizenry, they shouldn't be taken away forever."

One of the effects of the current law is to bar 25 percent of all black men in Virginia from voting — a statistic that prompted Baptist pastor Jake Manley to liken it to the poll tax (*Virginia Pilot*, 9/10/01). Other religious groups in the state — including the Roman Catholic, United Methodist and some Baptist Churches — have already spoken out in favor of voting rights restoration.

"I think the general public is still of the mind to 'lock-'em-up and throw away the key," Wilson says. "We have gone on a big prison-building program in the last several years. They have taken away parole in Virginia and cut out a lot of rehabilitative services in prisons. But everyone l've met in the jail or prison ministry area says this is long overdue, to allow people to regain their voting rights after having paid their debt to society." **MARIANNE ARBOGAST:** Many people are saying that with the war on terrorism, Congress will be asked to cut social spending even more to increase military spending. In your statement, you attach so much importance to addressing issues like education and housing and unemployment. Do you think that this will make things worse?

HERBERT THOMPSON: I think it's going to take the focus off those matters. We're seeing it already in New York City — the mayor is talking about the budget for the days ahead, and so much of the work will be on the rebuilding of the city that the ordinary stuff of the city's life — like education, for example — will not be given attention. That will probably be also true for the country and that's too bad.

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: Maybe the most startling change that you advocate is the decriminalization of drugs. How did you arrive at that conviction?

HERBERT THOMPSON: Well, I first heard that addressed by a bishop, the suffragan bishop of New York, Walter Dennis. I was a priest in New York at the time. And when Walter said it, I was shocked and I could not agree. But over the years, as I have seen this phenomenon move into our communities with a virulent force and recognized that whole nations have been sucked into its lifestream, this drug culture. ... What is Colombia's chief export today? Drugs. Places like Nigeria and Jamaica, even Afghanistan — a major part of the economy is the growing of opium.

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: I just read that Pakistani intelligence services forced farmers in Afghanistan to plant opium to fund the war against the Soviet Union, and that now it's the major source of heroin on the streets in the U. S.

HERBERT THOMPSON: Isn't that extraordinary? It's ironic and extraordinary, but we have created an economy around drugs that makes billions of dollars that goes to support the economy of nations, and therefore

it's got to have customers. And I think now that the legalization of some of these drugs will as least take out of it the high profit, and make it less attractive to people to be involved in it.

There is a book written by a man named Claude Brown, titled Manchild in the Promised Land. He made it through the gang and the drug stuff on the streets of New York City, in Harlem, and went on to college and became a social worker, but then would go back to the community to talk to the young people about their lives, about going back to school and making something of themselves and making a contribution. And a kid asked him, "How much money do you make?" And he said, "Forty to 50 thousand dollars a year." And the kid said: "You mean you work all year long and all you make is 40 or 50 thousand dollars? And you're telling me to stop what I'm doing so I can become like you?"

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: And probably for many of them, the choice isn't even 40 or 50 thousand dollars, it's more like minimum wage at McDonald's.

HERBERT THOMPSON: Exactly. So if you legalize the stuff and take out the high profit incentive that there is for these young people — and you've got some places where kids are selling drugs and supporting the whole family — I think we can begin to change something of the dynamic that consumes their lives and draws them into the system — makes them drug addicts, make others drug addicts because they've got to sell it. There's this whole way of life where you begin to seduce kids into using it at a younger and younger age to get more customers. We've got to cut that off.

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: What kind of response have you received to your statement from the larger church — from the other bishops, for instance, or from people in your own diocese and elsewhere?

HERBERT THOMPSON: I have been amazed. The response has been overwhelming. We

- Marianne Arbogast

printed 20,000 of these. We have gone through that and have put out another 20,000. People are using it all across the church. I just got back from New Zealand — I went for the synod meeting of our companion diocese. They have copies of it and they're using it down there. The situation that we have here in our country with the prison industrial complex is an international phenomenon as well.

MARIANNE ARBOGAST: Do you have any specific thoughts as to what churches might be doing to begin to address some of these issues in concrete ways?

HERBERT THOMPSON: Well, what is happening here in Cincinnati is we recognize that we have to change the whole culture of the police department in this city. That is not an easy task, but it can be done, because in the end they are civil servants and they work for us and they are there to protect us. And so it's a matter of churches and citizens working to reclaim those aspects of life in their communities that belong appropriately to them and are accountable to them. We have in Cincinnati, on the coming ballot for the November election, an amendment to our charter — because currently in our city a chief of police and those in the upper command can only be appointed or promoted to those positions from within the department, which means that you get the same culture over and over again. So there is an amendment calling for a change in the charter to allow for the appointment of a police chief and those second in command from outside. [Ed. note: The amendment was passed on Nov. 6.] The churches are, for the most part, behind that ballot initiative. I think that it's an important one, and I think that it will help to change not just the police department, but the culture of Cincinnati as well. Because it will say to our community that we are serious about change and that we cannot continue in the same way.

Marianne Arbogast, who lives in Detroit, is The Witness' *Associate Editor*.

Addressing the needs of women prisoners

MARY ATTERHOLT IS THE OUTREACH COORDINATOR at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Richmond, Virginia. Her work with St. Paul's began in 1990 when she was hired as a consultant to develop an outreach program. After three years, she realized that most of the program's clientele were men. In an effort to reach women and to look at their needs, Atterholt began visiting the women's prisons.

"When we started," says Atterholt, there were no programs in the community specifically addressing the needs of women prisoners."

More than 80 percent of the women in Virginia's prisons are mothers with children under age 18. Most of the women are young—25 to 35 years old. The greatest percentage are African-American. Many have substance abuse problems. "This population has exploded," says Atterholt, "because of the criminalization of addiction. In addition, 67 percent have mental health issues and rarely are these treated."

Since Virginia is a "no-parole state," says Atterholt, "women serve their full sentences. We run programs that address all sorts of things, like providing housing for women coming out of prison. We have a program called Springhill. This is a house where women can live in community and participate in different aspects of the church when they come out of prison."

Atterholt also runs a program called Ready for Release, for women who are still incarcerated. "It helps them with the transition to the community," says Atterholt. "The program helps women with credit history, living on their own and being responsible. We discuss getting to a job on time and how to avoid cramming too many things into one day.

"We also have a program called Reflections for moms who are there for violent offenses, including homicide, against their children. We address grief issues and also issues about reuniting with their children, for most of the inmates have not lost custody of their children."

For women who are released, the parenting program continues with Parenting After Prison.

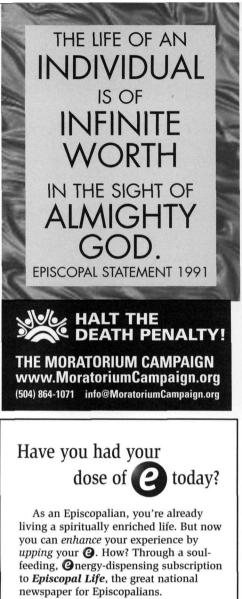
St. Paul's outreach program also works with the Diocese of Virginia to defeat the death penalty. Atterholt explains, "We take people to the prison to tour death row. We are trying to educate the Episcopalians in the diocese to see what the death chamber is really like."

Atterholt, who has a master's degree in rehabilitative counseling and is currently working on her doctorate, also teaches at Virginia Commonwealth University. She realized in 1993 that "there wasn't any rehabilitation going on in prison. There was education but not rehabilitation. Education is teaching and helping people get their GED and work skills, but it doesn't deal with the basic issues that took people to prison in the first place."



The changes Atterholt sees in people inspire her. Women coming out of prison often have high hopes for re-ordering their lives, she says. "It surprises me the number who get involved in St. Paul's. They join the parish or are baptized. One-third of the staff at St. Paul's have been incarcerated."

– Camille Colatosti



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снеск о**ит** *'A Globe of Witnesses'*

Through this section of our website we are offering analysis and commentary from around the U.S. church and the global Anglican Communion. Our aim is to encourage a reclaiming of the Anglican vocation of "public theology" — and to expand awareness of the issues and struggles occupying the hearts and minds of progressive Anglicans and other persons of faith worldwide.



Criminalizing dissent?

by Marianne Arbogast

N SEPT. 11, shortly after the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks, political prisoners in a number of facilities across the country were placed in segregation, with little or no explanation from prison authorities. Those isolated included Leonard Peltier, Marilyn Buck and Philip Berrigan. Berrigan - who has consistently affirmed a commitment to nonviolence remained in segregation for 12 days at FCI Elkton federal prison in Lisbon, Ohio, denied contact with family and friends as well as fellow inmates. In some cases, prisoners were refused contact with their lawyers, says Mike Yasutake, an Episcopal priest and director of the Interfaith Prisoners of Conscience Project. "Even in 'normal' times, the denial of basic rights is most severe for political prisoners," Yasutake says. "The word 'terrorism' is a very convenient term that has often been used against political prisoners."

If the freedom of a society can be measured by its tolerance for dissent, there are ominous signs on the post-Sept.-11th horizon. One of the most alarming is the passage, with little opposition, of the USA Patriot Act in October.

"What it seems to do is to give the executive branch an exorbitant amount of discretion in its ability to collect intelligence, to sidestep the warrant requirements of the Fourth Amendment," says David Walsh-Little, an attorney and member of Viva House Catholic Worker in Baltimore. "We are now going to spy on folks in the U.S. It can't be good for civil liberties and it will probably have negative effects for the poor, for minorities and for political activists."

Walsh-Little calls the changes brought about by the Act "Orwellian."

"There's a section that allows the feds to search your house repeatedly without telling you at the time. There are a number of provisions that open the door to documents the feds now can get access to — such as educational records — simply by asserting that they need it for their investigation. There was a pretty good federal law that protected access to your credit — this wipes that out. Historically, the Fourth Amendment requires a warrant, for the government to show probable cause of crime — the exception was for foreign intelligence. Now they can do intelligence-gathering on all U.S. citizens without getting a warrant. I would expect not only an increase in wiretaps of citizens, but that it stays secret — an extremely scary provision."

These changes are not limited to terrorist investigations, but are "changes to criminal law across the board," Walsh-Little explains. "They can be used in any criminal investigation that the FBI or any of its subsidiaries engages in."

The USA Patriot Act also creates a new crime — "domestic terrorism." According to an American Civil Liberties Union report, you can be charged with domestic terrorism if you engage in illegal activity within the U.S. that "involves acts dangerous to human life" which "appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping."

The ACLU "does not oppose the criminal prosecution of people who commit acts of civil disobedience if those acts result in property damage or place people in danger," their report explains. Their objection lies with an "over-broad definition" that "turns ordinary citizens into terrorists," and could "sweep in people who engage in acts of political protest as if those acts were dangerous to human life."

Would World Trade Organization protesters — or those who house them, since charges can be extended to those who offer assistance — be prosecuted as terrorists, they ask? Members of Greenpeace? Protesters who damage a naval base fence in Vieques, Puerto Rico?

Another provision of the Act - of particular concern to immigrant advocates - permits detention and deportation of non-citizens who assist even lawful activities of a group the government deems terrorist. This creates a "very serious risk that truly innocent individuals could be deported for truly innocent association with political groups that the government later chooses to regard as terrorist organizations," according to the ACLU. Under the Act, "people can be deported regardless of whether they knew of the designation and regardless of whether their assistance had anything to do with the activity." alleged terrorist group's Critics of the Act point out that it was rushed through Congress with little chance for debate. "Almost everyone had to concede that it was impossible to comprehend or even read the bill," wrote Jesuit priest and former Democratic Congressman Robert Drinan in the National Catholic Reporter (10/26/01). "Even those most familiar with the challenges to our freedoms in wartime cannot yet fully appreciate the extent of the evils and errors in the hastily concocted measures alleged to be needed to control terrorism. The climate in which this bill was authored and enacted is a period of almost open hysteria with the administration and intelligence agencies literally demanding that Congress act immediately to give them what they have wanted for many years." In the name of combatting terrorism, "the entire criminal investigatory make-up has changed," Walsh-Little says. "If you think law enforcement should be limited in some way, those powers have been distorted. We're doing what we criticize Afghanistan for doing."

Marianne Arbogast is *Associate Editor of* The Witness.

SHORT TAKES

One in three could support torture

One in three Americans could accept torture of suspects in the war on terrorism, according to a November *Christian Science Monitor* poll (11/14/01). The question asked was "Could you envision a scenario in the war against terrorism in which you would support any of the following actions taken by the U.S. or not?" Sixty percent of respondents said they could accept assassination of leaders in other countries; 32 percent said they could accept torture of suspects held in the U.S. or abroad; 27 percent said they could accept use of nuclear weapons; and 10 percent said they could accept use of biological or chemical weapons.

Organ transplants from executed prisoners

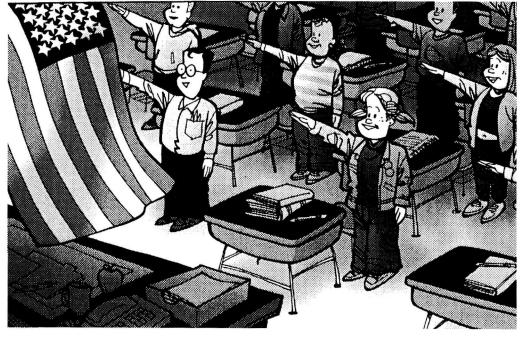
American doctors are increaingly facing the moral dilemma of whether to provide followup care for Americans who traveled to China to receive organ transplants from executed prisoners, *The New York Times* reported in November (11/11/01).

"Kidneys, livers, corneas and other body parts from prisoners are being transplanted into American citizens or permanent residents who otherwise would have to wait years for organs," the *Times* story explained. "Many of the patients come back to the U.S. for followup care, which Medicaid or other government programs pay for.

"The transplants in China, which doctors in both countries say are increasing, has presented the American medical establishment with an ethical quandary: Should American doctors treat patients who have received organs from executed prisoners and, if so, would they be tacitly condoning the practice and encouraging more such transplants?

"Or should they rebuke patients who, in desperation, participate in a process that mainstream transplant advocates condemn as morally wrong? ...

"Executed prisoners are China's primary source of transplantable organs, though few of the condemned, if any, consent to having



their organs removed, people involved with the process say. Some of the unwitting donors may even be innocent, having been executed as part of a surge of executions propelled by accelerated trials and confessions that sometimes were extracted through torture.

"Various initiatives are under way to protest the harvesting of organs from China's prisoners. One bill would bar entry to the U.S. of any doctors from China who want American transplant training. Chinese transplant specialists now travel freely to the U.S. to take part in seminars and other activities that help hone their skills.

"But American doctors say there is little they can do to stop the flow of prisoner organs to the U.S. because the Chinese supply is growing just like the American demand.

"More transplantable organs are available in China because more people are being executed. This year, 5,000 prisoners or more are likely to be put to death during a nationwide anti-crime drive."

Alternative visions

"It is not naive to propose alternatives to war," Barbara Kingsolver writes in *In These Times* (11/26/01). "We could be the kindest nation on Earth, inside and out. I look at

the bigger picture and see that many nations with fewer resources than ours have found solutions to problems that seem to baffle us. I'd like an end to corporate welfare so we could put that money into ending homelessness. I would like a humane health-care system organized along the lines of Canada's. I'd like the efficient public-transit system of Paris in my city, thank you. I'd like us to consume energy at the modest level that Europeans do, and then go them one better. I'd like a government that subsidizes renewable energy sources instead of forcefully patrolling the globe to protect oil gluttony. Because, make no mistake, oil gluttony is what got us into this holy war, and it's a deep tar pit. I would like us to sign the Kyoto agreement today and to reduce our fossil-fuel emissions with legislation that will ease us into safer, sensibly reorganized lives. If this were the face we showed the world, and the model we helped bring about elsewhere, I expect we could get along with a military budget the size of Iceland's."

Global warming threatens food supply

The United Nations has warned that global warming may threaten the world's food supply, according to a Reuters story (8/11/01)

reported by planetark.org.

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"Harvests of some of the world's key food crops could drop by up to 30 percent in the next 100 years due to global warming, a U.N. agency said. The grim prediction was made by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in a document released in Marrakesh which hosts a U.N.-sponsored climate change conference. The report said scientists have found 'evidence that rising temperatures, linked with emissions of publication greenhouse gases, can damage the ability of vital crops such as wheat, rice and maize.' New studies indicate that yields could fall by as much as 10 percent for every one degree Celsius rise in areas such as the tropics. It Ise said that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the U.N. team of scientists that advise governments, estimate that average global temperatures in the tropics could climb by up to three degrees Celsius by 2100. According to U.N. scientists, current climate models predict a global warming of about 1.4 to 5.8 degrees Celsius between 1990 and 2100.

Episcopal Church / DFMS. "The UNEP report said a second group of the IPCC found that key cash crops such as coffee and tea in some of the major growing regions will also be vulnerable over the coming decades to global warming. 'They fear that desperate farmers will be forced into a higher, cooler, mountainous areas intensify-ing pressure on sensitive forests and threat-ening wildlife and the quality and quantity of water supplies,' it said."

Mexican activists freed after lawyer's murder

Two peasant ecologists who had been imprisoned on drugs and weapons charges, which they claimed were false, were pardoned by Mexican President Vicente Fox after the lawyer who had defended them was murdered.

"The pardon of Rodolfo Montiel and Teodoro Cabrera came after the Oct. 19 killing of human rights lawyer Digna Ochoa," the Los Angeles Times reported (www.latimes.com, 11/9/01). "The unsolved slaying of Ochoa in her Mexico City office has raised a firestorm of criticism and editorials urging that the Fox administration find her killers and bring them

to justice. Some see her case as a test of his promise to reduce human rights violations and the impunity of the past. The imprisonment of the two men in May 1999 and their conviction in August 2000 made them a cause célèbre among environmentalists. Fox had publicly expressed interest in the case and in February had ordered a review by his interior secretary. But a federal court upheld the verdicts in July.

"In an interview Thursday, Foreign Secretary Jorge Castaneda said more actions to defend human rights will be taken in coming weeks.

"The case was emblematic because of the number of issues it raised - environmental, rural violence, the role of the military in past rights abuses,' he said.

"Montiel had organized villagers in the Sierra Madre mountains to oppose commercial logging by Boise Cascade and other companies. Boise Cascade has since left the area. Protesting the deforestation of their region, the peasants wrote letters to the government. When that got no response, they blocked steep mountain roads to prevent logging trucks from reaching sawmills on the Pacific Coast near Zihuatanejo.

"The men were arrested by the army. Prosecuters said the men were taken into custody after they and others fled a house, ignored orders to stop and opened fire on soldiers. Montiel was accused of having a .45-caliber pistol; both men were charged with growing marijuana.

"Both men confessed, but defense attorneys at the legal aid group Miguel Agustin Pro Human Rights Center in Mexico City said the men did so under torture. Ochoa helped in their defense until August 2000, when she went into exile after being kidnapped and threatened with death. She returned to Mexico in April."

SIPAZ (Servicio Internacional Para la Paz) recently reported that death threats have been made against six more prominent human rights defenders. They ask that letters be written to the Mexican government expressing shock and dismay at learning of the threats against Miguel Sarre, Sergio Aguayo, Edgar Cortez, Juan Antonio Vega, Fernando Ruiz and Abel Barrera, asking that

measures be implemented for their safety, and urging effective investigation and prosecution of human rights violators. Write: Lic. Vicente Fox Quezada; Presidente de Mexico; Palacio Nacional. Patio de Honor; ler. Piso, Col Centro, C.P. 06067; Fax 5277.23.76; Phone 55.15.82.56; email: <sprivada@presidencia.gob.mx>.

Women peacemakers

A new video available from the International Fellowship of Reconciliation's Women Peacemakers Program covers an African consultation of women from different sides of the conflicts in Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe. The video portrays some of the consultation's highlights, including a discussion of domestic violence and the difficulties of reconciliation. The video, which comes with a viewers' guide, will interest conflict resolution trainers, peace researchers, African studies and women's studies classes, and anyone interested in conflect and gender issues. Cost is \$25 U.S. (add \$5 if requesting airmail shipment). Write IFOR, Spoorstraat 38, 1815 BK Alkmaar, The Netherlands/Pays-Bas. Email <office@ifor.org>.

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FAITH AND PATRIOTISM

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Judith McDaniel, director of the American Friends Service Committee Peacebuilding Unit, accepts the patriotic propositon, "My country, right or wrong," but only with the proviso, "When right, defend it. When wrong, correct it." The War on Terrorism, she believes, needs to be challenged, but the mainstream media are not interested in posing the tough questions.

16 Saying goodbye to patriotism — to make real a better world by Robert Jensen

A member of the Nowar Collective, the author believes there is a light shining out of the darkness of 9/11 that can lead Americans to our own salvation. That light is contained in a simple truth that is obvious, he says, but which Americans have never really taken to heart: We are part of the world.

Love of country in the Bronx: A wounded community rebuilds 22 by Robert Hirschfield

A marginalized immigrant community in the south Bronx finds solidarity — and healing in a deep love of homeland that transcends the trauma and politics of the killing fields.

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The week-long gathering of the Anglican Peace and Justice Network drew uncomfortable attention to many of the challenges of post-colonial international collaboration. "There are issues that are happening on the Solomon Islands that you don't want to hear," a Melanasian bishop told the delegates, "and we don't want to hear what was happening on 9/11."

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The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of The Witness magazine and related web site projects, seeks to give voice to a liberation Gospel of peace and justice and to promote the concrete activism that flows from such a Christianity. Founded in 1917 by Irving Peake Johnson, an Episcopal Church bishop, The Witness claims a special mission to Episcopalians and other Anglicans worldwide, while affirming strong partnership with progressives of other faith traditions.

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on the cover

Anti-war rally at Islamic Center, where window was smashed after 9/11 attacks, Detroit, September 17, 2001 © Jim West 2001

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Embracing religious pluralism

The December 2001 issue was top-notch (it takes a lot for me and I imagine most people to subscribe to a new magazine!) and I have shared it with many others. I am working with a group of people to start a charter school for refugee/low-income/mainstream kids, and religious pluralism is a subject of major interest to us.

Thanks for your good work. Barbara Thompson Stone Mountain, GA

Truth in a climate of hate

Thank you for the courageous and insightful manner in which *The Witness* (12/01) discussed the problems of American exclusivity, fundamentalism and the profiling of people that has become a national pastime since September 11.

Your editorial notes contain timely remarks about the exclusivist position taken by too many Americans that God favors an "Anglocentric, capitalistic United States." You captured my thoughts well; I have become really weary of seeing the flag-waving, blessing-invoking people in my community scream, "God bless us" (because we are us), to which they attach the unspoken request, "God, help us kill everyone who isn't us."

The fact that I live in a Southern community makes me appreciate your writings more. To express ANY dissatisfaction with the "war" in Afghanistan or with the "compassionate conservative" political machine is unacceptable in my community; your article provided encouragement to me by reminding me that not all Christians are misguided nationalists who deny the fact that the U.S. is morally wrong in many of its actions.

The interview with Martin Marty by Camille Colatosti on the question of "getting along" with fundamentalists was excellent; I grew up in a church tradition that is filled with traditionalism and fundamentalism (as defined in this interview) and this interview provided a fresh perspective for those of us who are interested in finding ways to link different Christian viewpoints instead of screaming hate and venom at Christians who choose not to follow a legalistic, unscriptural line of thought.

Elizabeth Kaeton's article about her encounter with a Muslim woman was thought-provoking and refreshingly honest.

Thank you for providing an expression of truth in the midst of a climate in which far too many Christians appear to be interested in melting biblical truth in a cauldron of hate, vengeance, racism and nationalism so that they may forge a "truth" of exclusivity, American arrogance and ignorance.

Tim McDonald Chattanooga, TN

Glad to see deacons' role recognized

Your most recent issue, "Resisting a Culture of Punishment," is excellent, and I am pleased to have been a part of it. In particular, I was glad to see the role of deacons in social justice recognized. I do have two clarifications to make, however. First, I am said to have been instrumental in bringing hospice to the Angola prison, and I was not. I compared and contrasted ministering to a death row inmate to ministering to the terminally ill (which I have done) and later discussed the wonderful hospice program at Angola in which inmates are trained to assist. Some of our congregation - both outside volunteers and incarcerated — have been active in the program, but I have not. Secondly, I am accurately quoted as saying I drafted the featured statement against the death penalty but am elsewhere said to have written it. The final form was the joint effort of the deacons of the Diocese of Louisiana. Again thanks for this outstanding issue and for all the work that you do.

Deacon Charles deGravelles Diocese of Louisiana

Enron and predator capitalism

The revelations of Enron's misdeeds are shocking to most citizens. It is predator capitalism in its purest form. It is wise to

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remember though that a predator is always highly focused in attacking its prey, but this blind focus makes it ultimately very vulnerable. We accept that capitalism represents the survival of the fittest, but in "predatory" capitalism, it represents the advancement of the most ruthless.

Blindly fixated on the bottom line, predator capitalism lacks peripheral vision. Predator capitalism is indifferent to the common good of society, the community, the dignity of their employees, the inherent importance of fulfilling work for every human being, and the financial obligation to include the true costs of their products to protect the environment.

The blind focus of free market global capitalism will also eventually lead to its own demise. Renewed democratic societies will eventually rise up and find predator capitalism an easy kill, if the predator continues to blindly and greedily pursue its prey. For world capitalism to survive, it must wisely make up its mind and accept the ultimate earthly mandate of a just, sustainable and compassionate world.

Stephen V. Riley Sarasota, FL

Much-needed Anglican voice

Thanks for sending *The Witness* for November 2001 and the kind complementary copy of December's issue also. I am very impressed with the magazine and grateful for it — a much needed voice in Anglicanism (I'm an Anglican priest here), so have just taken out a year's subscription via your web site. I'll look forward to reading the 2002 issues, and beyond.

John Davies Liverpool, England

Promoting high-school discussions

Thanks for sending us the copies of "Engaging Religious Pluralism" (12/01). I look forward to using this issue with our high-school kids and engaging them in discussions around pluralism. In a world marred by violence, your issues have helped me in my ministry. The fresh breath of the Holy Spirit runs through all your work. Keep it up! Kurt Huber Trinity Episcopal Church Newtown, CT

A serious question

Camille Colatosti's interview with Martin Marty on fundamentalism raises a serious question for me. At page 20, Marty is quoted as saying, "Ninety-nine out of 100 scholars of Islam would say that those texts that Osama bin Laden is quoting are very marginal." The same point is elaborated on page 21.

My own knowledge of Islam is limited, but I am by profession very much aware of the problem of verifying intellectual authority. I hope that what Marty says is, in fact, correct. The question that I pose is whether this is the view of 99/100 Muslim scholars of Islam, and whether these are scholars who live and work in Islamic countries or in the West.

Marty would, of course, understand easily the issue if we asked about Lutheran scholars' understanding of Lutheran teaching, in contrast to Episcopal scholars' understanding of Lutheran teaching.

The same issue is posed when Marty says (at page 21), "Likewise, the vast majority of Muslims say that bin Laden does not represent them."

I could wish, hope and pray that Marty's interpretation is correct. Perhaps he might be persuaded to say more on the point, for I am concerned by the prospect that wish might be father to the analysis.

One additional point. I wonder if Marty does not place last what is first in fundamentalist belief. "Finally, fundamentalists also see themselves as reaching toward the fundamentals of their faith, but they are selecting those features that best help them react and fight for the Lord against modernity, or whatever the enemy is. Fundamentalists take these 'fundamental' elements literally" (page 20).

Do not Episcopalians, if they take their faith with seriousness, also have fundamentals?

Matthew Holden, Jr. Charlottesville, VA

The global city

I just finished reading the November 2001

(The global city) issue of *The Witness*. What a wonderful issue it is. I particularly enjoyed Bishop Browning's article and the interview with Barbara Garson. Gave me lots to think about. But I absorbed the articles. Thank you.

Judy Yeakel Langley, WA

New peacemaker subscriber

I don't know how you found me, but I'm grateful. Your magazine is superb.

I'm a peacemaker and civil rights veteran of almost 50 years.

Edward L. Younken Edison, NJ

Critically relevant for seminarians

Thanks for sending the complimentary copies of the November 2001 issue of *The Witness* to Canon Frederick Williams' class here at the Episcopal Divinity School. Many of the students, along with Canon Williams, are truly impressed by the quality of the articles and the depth of knowledge of the authors. Your editors and contributors continue to print timely and thought-provoking work that is critically relevant for seminarians across the Episcopal Church. Thanks again for enabling Canon Williams' class to gain a deeper understanding of the issues of urban ministry.

Jim Strader Cambridge, MA

Can't follow where you're going

I have subscribed to your journal for several years and have found many things in it to be both helpful and prophetic.

However, between your incredibly biased issue a couple of months ago on the Palestinian/Israeli conflicts and your issue this month (November 2001) addressing the attacks of September 11, I'm afraid I cannot follow where you're going.

Rather than belabor the point, I simply request that you cancel my subscription.

Janet Fischer Newark, CA

This land is my land

by Julie A. Wortman

ur contributing editors and editorial staff gathered in Washington, D.C., for one of our regular meetings last October. Just about everyone admitted to feeling uncomfortably challenged by the patriotic fervor of the moment. Although horrified by the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, we were nonetheless dismayed by this nation's response. We wished for a more considered, deeply multilateral, non-military approach to combatting global terrorism and bringing terrorists to justice. We were embarassed by the president's simplistic "good-versus-evil" characterization of the situation. We were appalled by a church lobbyist's shoulder-shrugging report that, despite the massive casualties among non-combatant Afghanis, an anti-war position would be laughed out of the halls of Congress and so wasn't worth risking. We were disheartened by the mainstream media's unwillingness to probe the deeper politics behind the war - especially the double-standard rhetoric of "you're either with us or against us."

Neither the World Trade Center nor the Pentagon symbolized values, policies and activities of which any of us had ever been especially proud. The question was, what, if anything, about this country stirs our passions on a level comparable with the apparent ardor of those fellow citizens who were waving the flag? In what, as Christians, might our patriotism lie?

Each of us left our gathering pondering the answer. For me, the claim that this is a land of "liberty and justice for all" at first seemed a possible response. This has always been a core value for me — instilled, I suppose, through unthinking repetition of the pledge of allegiance each day of the seven years I spent at Gilles-Sweet Elementary School (named for two local World War I heroes). There's also a gospel resonance to the claim which now, as an adult, I like. But this is not the only country that espouses such an ideal or that purports to offer its citizens a voice in government through democratic process. My true allegiance is to the ideal, not to the country which alleges it as its working ethic. I love — and am proud when citizens of any country choose on behalf of the common good, when profit's bottom line is one of only many considerations in decision-making, when the wellbeing of children takes precedence in the drafting of laws and budgets. In this sense, I

I am not speaking here of political boundaries. I mean love of country in the most literal sense.

found myself thinking, I am primarily a citizen of the world — and the flag I would be willing to wave is one of the globe.

But as I lived with that proposition, it seemed increasingly superficial. I began to see that faithfulness to a universal ideal is just about impossible to sustain, not to mention even work up energy for, without bloodand-guts specificity. This, I realized, is where love of country makes sense.

But I am not speaking here of political boundaries. I mean love of country in the most literal sense. It is this land where I live that I love. This 50 or so square miles of coastal Maine. These granite shores and forests of spruce and fir where I walk daily with our dogs. These blueberry barrens and hayfields. These seals, loons, deer, eagles, osprey and moose who inhabit this land and these waters. I love my neighbors who make their living and raise their children here. I love our town meetings, agricultural fairs, community theaters and curling club.

And out of this love of country, out of this love of local geography, comes the political awareness needed if liberty and justice are to be safeguarded. Here, in this specific place, my discomfort with globalized economics gets personal. Here I can measure the impact of exploding population growth on wildlife habitat, water quality and land values by the number of deer I see, by the water I drink, by my annual tax bill and by the public debate over expansion of the local transfer station and the size of pipe to be used for the new water district. Here domestic violence and homelessness wear the faces of neighbors and teens that I call by name.

This land is my land, I say with deep feeling, and I will fight for its welfare. It happens to be part of the state of Maine in a nation called the U.S. Before that, it was part of an English colony. Before that it was in the care of the Wabanaki tribes, their ground of being. When we moved here five years ago, we committed to making it ours.

And because this land is my land, I understand the grief and fierce pride of post-9/11 New Yorkers. Because this land is my land, I comprehend the desperate struggle of both Palestinians and Israelis for a homeland. Because this land is my land, I more easily detect the ungroundedness of political posturing, whether from the right or left.

Most of all, because this land is my land, I'm freed of any sense of shame for my lack of conventional flag-waving patriotism.

Julie A. Wortman is editor/publisher of The Witness. Read her "Hesitating at the sanctuary door in funeral times" and other responses to "An Advent call to the church" at <www.thewitness.org/agw/adventcall.html>.

www.thewitness.org

The assault on baptism's politically transcendent citizenship

by Bill Wylie-Kellermann

In the apostolic community, thus, baptism signified the new citizenship in Christ that supercedes the old citizenship under Caesar. With that context, baptism, nowadays no less than in the biblical era, not only solemnizes characteristic tensions between the church and a regime but reaches beyond that to confess and uphold the sovereignty of the Word of God now militant in history over against the pretensions of any regime. (William Stringfellow, A Keeper of the Word, p.159)

If Christians have been spared the savagery of beasts or if the more notorious vulgarities of emperor worship have been abated, other forms of persecution have succeeded and the hostility of demonic principalities and powers toward the church has not diminished. By the 20th century, the enmity of the power of death toward the church had come to be enacted in the grandiose idolatry of the destiny of British colonial imperialism, or in the brutal devastation of the church following upon the Soviet revolution, or in the ruthless Nazi usurpation of the church in the name of "Germanizing" or "purifying" Christianity so as to have this accomplice in the pursuit and in the incineration of the Jews. Meanwhile, in America ... civil religion, which has assorted versions, ... imputes a unique moral status to the nation, a divine endorsement for America, which, in its most radical composition, disappropriates the vocation of church as holy nation. (William Stringfellow, Conscience and Obedience, p. 103)

In the present crisis, I confess (perhaps with other *Witness* readers) to yearning for the oracular voice of theologian William Stringfellow. Given, among other things, the heavy current atmospherics of patriotism, we do well at the very least to listen to his words once again. To breathe his apocalyptic wisdom.

Stringfellow reminds us that there is categorically no such thing as a Christian nation. The reason is simple. With biblical Israel, the church shares the vocation to be itself the holy nation. One way the gospels reflect this is in the language of the "kingdom" movement. But even the word for "church" (*ekklesia*) is cunningly lifted from the political lexicon of the Greek city-state, where it signified "the assembly of the free citizens of the polis" (a bold enough counter-claim for a crew that included women, slaves and those otherwise conspicuously denied the freedoms of citizenship).

Baptism is the emblem of that new superceding citizenship. It mitigates, obviates, and qualifies any other allegiance or political enthusiasm. As such, it signifies the freedom to speak boldly and publicly, regardless of consequences. As such, it authorizes the exercise, not only of ministry, but of conscience. It testifies to justification, not by works or ideology or manifest destiny or righteous cause, but by faith alone. As the sacrament of new humanity, it transfigures and renews a person's relationship to all humankind, indeed to all of creation - a relationship unencumbered (or at least unconstrained) by the divisions of nationalism. Or for that matter any other "ism." As the witness of resurrection, it signals freedom from bondage to the power of death. (Which is to say, as baptism into the death and resurrection of Christ, it articulates the freedom to die - indeed of already having died.) It constitutes a remarkable and politically transcendent citizenship.

In many respects, the current atmosphere is heavy with its opposite. The pledge of American allegiance is held to be primary and definitive (even for multilateral partners). Patriotism is employed as a silencing mechanism against political critique and opposition. It may either dull or passionately stifle conscience. At a time of broken-hearted need, it purports to offer citizens solace, meaning, belonging, identity and justification. It sanctions military violence and state terror in the guise of a justified and blessed nation, in the very name of the "good" incarnate vs. "evil." It clarifies a person's relationship to the rest of humanity and creation specifically on the basis of nationalism (layered with other isms). It articulates the freedom to kill.

This is not to suggest there is no place for the love of this country, nor especially care for its constitution (also under attack in the present crisis). Flags, particularly early on, in Freedom Struggle marches testified to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s capacity to mobilize (and finally represent) the best of the American tradition on behalf of justice. The dream over against the nightmare.

But it does draw the lines of priority for Christians. A space of freedom is opened and marked out. The idolatrous association of the current patriotic rage with the incumbent regime and its policies (oddly so aligned with the interests of global capital) may be recognized as a frontal assault, a disappropriation of the baptismal vocation.

Or so, at least, I imagine Stringfellow might say.

Witness contributing editor Bill Wylie-Kellermann is editor of A Keeper of the Word: Selected Writings of William Stringfellow (Eerdmans,1994). The photo on the facing page is of Bill and his daughter Lucy participating in a Gulf War protest.

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From the Republic of Conscience by Seamus Heaney

When I landed in the republic of conscience it was so noiseless when the engines stopped I could hear a curlew high above the runway.

At immigration, the clerk was an old man who produced a wallet from his homespun coat and showed me a photograph of my grandfather.

The woman in customs asked me to declare the words of our traditional cures and charms to heal dumbness and avert the evil eye.

No porters. No interpreter. No taxi. You carried your own burden and very soon your symptoms of creeping privilege disappeared.

Fog is a dreaded omen there but lightning spells universal good and parents hang swaddled infants in trees during thunderstorms.

Salt is their precious mineral. And seashells are held to the ear during births and funerals. The base of all inks and pigments is seawater.

Their sacred symbol is a stylized boat. The sail is an ear, the mast a sloping pen, the hull a mouth-shape, the keel an open eye.

At their inauguration, public leaders must swear to uphold unwritten law and weep to atone for their presumption to hold office —

and to affirm their faith that all life sprang from salt in tears which the sky-god wept after he dreamt his solitude was endless.

I came back from that frugal republic with my two arms the one length, the customs woman having insisted my allowance was myself.

The old man rose and gazed into my face and said that was official recognition that I was now a dual citizen.

He therefore desired me when I got home to consider myself a representative and to speak on their behalf in my own tongue.

Their embassies, he said, were everywhere but operated independently and no ambassador would ever be relieved.

"From the Republic of Conscience," from Opened Ground: Selected Poems 1966-1996 by Seamus Heaney. Copyright © 1998 by Seamus Heaney. Reprinted by permission of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, LLC.

GIVE PEACE A

Dissent's post-September 11th struggle for mainstream airtime

An interview with Judith McDaniel by Bruce Campbell



Judith McDaniel speaks at a Middle East consultation held at Earlham College in May, 2001. Opposite page: Demonstrators take to the streets at an anti-war rally in Detroit, September 17, 2001.

O SPEND TIME with the major media in these weeks and months following September 11, one would have the impression that the American public was unanimous in support of military action against terrorism. Witness media editor Bruce Campbell spoke recently about the post-September 11th peace movement with Judith McDaniel, a writer, teacher and activist who is director of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Peacebuilding Unit, headquartered in Philadelphia. According to McDaniel, the peace movement is not only alive, it is international and it is regrouping. Getting airtime has not been impossible, but it has been a lot of work and it has been risky.

McDaniel's background in peacebuilding was developed in domestic and international peace campaigns, most extensively in working with Central American refugees as part of the Sanctuary Movement. Her book about that work. Sanctuary: A Journey, was published in 1986. Before her post at AFSC, McDaniel taught in the Religious Studies and Women's Studies Programs at the University of Arizona. She is currently writing the biography of Barbara Deming, a nonviolence, peace, civil-rights, feminist activist. McDaniel is a member of Albany Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and served on the AFSC Board of Directors from 1996 until her appointment to her current post in July 2000.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: Even given our climate of national emergency, it seems remarkable to me that we have heard almost no voice whatsoever in the major media calling for bona fide alternatives to the current military action - even ways of thinking about it differently. Am I wrong? Are you aware of any? JUDITH MCDANIEL: Absolutely none. You could without equivocation say that there has not been a prominent voice. There have not been even a collection of non-prominent voices that would make one voice. So it's just not there. I work with the National Coalition for Peace and Justice. That's a coalition of about 40 different groups, with a steering committee of about 10 of us, about 10 groups that have national or inter-

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THE REAL TERRORISTS WORK IN THE WHITE HOUSE

national constituencies. We came together the Friday after September 11th and had a meeting in New York in the War Resisters League office, and we decided that we would do coordinated actions, coordinating a day of peace response. We wanted to ask that there not be a violent retaliation. The theme was based on what the New York-based groups were doing, which was "no more victims," and we would try to get the media to notice. Well, we have done all of the above, and the media has barely noticed. We have had a very hard time.

There are some exceptions. On October 7, the National Coalition of Peace and Justice groups organized peace rallies around the country. An hour before the East Coast marches stepped off, the Bush administration started bombing Afghanistan. It looked as if we had been ready and waiting to step out. It was very fortuitous. I think it was Peter Jennings who opened his six o'clock newscast that night with, "Bombing begins in Afghanistan," and that there were peace vigils and marches around the country.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: When I caught up with you about this interview, you had just completed an interview for a Philadelphia radio station, yes?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: I've done a number of radio talk shows; some more successful than others, and some very unsuccessful. I was on a talk show in St. Louis where I was told by a call-in listener that if I hadn't lost a relative in the World Trade Center or the Pentagon disasters, I certainly was not allowed to have an opinion about them. Because the speaker was a fireman and "I lost 200 brothers." That kind of patriotism - that's been the tone of the call-ins. The other norm has been that people put the microphone in your face and say, "So what would you have done?" In other words, "What are your alternatives?" We kept trying to talk about the rule of law rather than creating a war situation. But it's very difficult to talk about something that doesn't exist. There is no international criminal court at this time, because enough countries haven't ratified it yet - and the U.S. is one of them. So we can talk about tribunals; we can talk about the kinds of situations that were used for Lockerbie, and for Milosevic, and for Rwanda. But we don't have really good answers when they insist, "Well, how would you capture him?" So it's not just the tone of the country and of the media and of the interviews, it's our own inability as peace groups to articulate a viable response.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: What is at the root of that inability?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: People are stunned. In terms of the American public, it happened to the U.S. In no way does Pearl Harbor compare with this - that was only U.S. territory; Hawaii wasn't even a state when it happened. It wasn't on the mainland, and it was an act of war — and we responded in kind. But to contemplate what happened on September 11th is of a totally different magnitude. And then there is the kind of cocoon that the media has allowed the American people to live in which says that "If it hasn't happened to America, it has never happened." Hey, terrorist attacks happen all the time. Certainly Britain has known them. Germany has known them. The Middle East has known them. But the fact that other European countries have experienced some of those attacks - not quite the same magnitude, but certainly quite a horrendous magnitude — didn't compute for Americans.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: Noam Chomsky and Edward Hermann have written about "manufactured consent," meaning that interested corporations are colluding to manufacture consent for pre-determined government policy. In other words, it's all decided, and the media are the great cheerleaders out there — and they'd better be because there's a great deal of money at stake for them. Do you think it's fair to say that's what's going on in this instance?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: That's a great part of it. Noam Chomsky spoke at an AFSC panel up in Boston in December, and we have an hour transcript of him saying some of those things on our website (www.afsc.org/nero/pesp/911.htm). We see how little space there is for any kind of questioning dissent, any kind of discussion. The fact is that democracy requires us to participate, not to say "yes, yes, yes." But democracy at this moment has been redefined to be, "We're all good fellows together; we're going to support the administration." You define out the ability to even have a discussion, as the Congress has done in so much of what they've adopted. They have not discussed it. There have been no hearings. There has been very little in the way of public commentary allowed. All we have are the votes.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: Sometimes someone in the media will tell you that what they try to do is bring on people to comment in proportion to the size of the voice being exercised by ordinary people. So if there's enough people in the streets, let's pull in someone who can articulate what they're saying. If there's no one in the streets, we're not bound to bring anyone in. I've seen no one in the streets. Do you think that justifies the media not bringing in spokespeople on behalf of a peaceful alternative?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: Of course not! When has the media ever been representational? And that's certainly not in their job description. Their job is about investigation, about truth, about looking at the hard questions.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: Sometimes in the pursuit of that, the media are often accused of not being shy to whip up a fight even if there isn't one. And at times they exercise a kind of bi-polar disorder whereby they set up extremists and let them go at it, which may obviate any middle-ground discussion. They haven't even done that in this case, as I can see. Where have the peace extremists been anywhere on the media?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: They haven't been there. And again, it's a real hard call. I mean, what would a peace extremist look like? We've been accused — those of us who are pacifist — of being immoral and irrelevant. We've been defined off the page. We're not even an extreme at this point. If you are a pacifist that means that you support bin Laden because you're not going to go out and annihilate him. It's what Bush has said over and over again — and has been echoed by Ashcroft and Rumsfeld: "If you're not with us, you're against us." And I'm sorry, that's an

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insane proposition. During the Central America conflict, I spent some time working with the Sanctuary Movement and came back from Nicaragua at one point and was on talk shows. People said, "Well, if you dislike this country so much, you should go live in the Soviet Union." I wanted to say, "Excuse me, I'm living here and this is my work, this is my life, this is my country." They would quote, "My country, right or wrong." But no one ever uses the complete quote, which is: "My country, right or wrong. When right, defend it. When wrong, correct it." That's patriotism to me.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: In terms of media positioning and this almost blackout on the peace perspective these days, how is the situation that we are in right now different in your recollection from the time of the Gulf War, which also had a couple of qualities in common with this one? You didn't have the factor of horror right in people's own backyards. But it was quick response, it was "over there," and it had the Arab angle to it.

JUDITH MCDANIEL: I don't know yet. Some of the Gulf War protests may have shifted public opinion enough to stop the taking of Baghdad and the overthrowing of Saddam Hussein, although we'll never know for certain. I will be interested to see if the anti-war movement goes back to the streets. Right now, there's a tremendous effort in the peace movement to stop the expansion of the war into Iraq, because the careful preparation that's being done to make it okay for this Bush administration to go back into Iraq is frightening. We quickly put up a piece on the web, trying to get people to pay attention to a congressional vote on this, but one of the problems with getting our voices heard is that things are happening so quickly and without discussion. Congress is not going to hold hearings on this if it doesn't have to. They're working behind the scenes in the United Nations right now with the "P5," the permanent five in the United Nations Security Council (U.S., Great Britain, China, Russia and France), trying to get some assurance that the Security Council will not stop the move into Iraq. Somalia was included in that resolution that was passed on September 12th, that allowed us to bomb Afghanistan. Iraq was not. And so, we don't have permission at this point

A lone vote of conscience

On September 14, 2001, Representative Barbara Lee cast a lone vote against a resolution put before the U.S. House of Representatives. The bill gave President George W. Bush absolute authority to pursue military action in response to the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon three days earlier. She said: "We must be careful not to embark on an open-ended war with neither an exit nor a focused target. We cannot repeat past mistakes. In 1964, Congress gave President Lyndon Johnson the power to 'take all necessary measures' to repel attacks and prevent further aggression. In so doing, this House abandoned its own constitutional responsibilities and launched our country into years of undeclared war in Vietnam.

"At that time, Senator Wayne Morse, one of two lonely votes against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, declared, 'I believe that history will record that we have made a great mistake in subverting and circumventing the Constitution of the United States. ... I believe that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake.' Senator Morse was correct, and I fear we make the same mistake today. And I fear the consequences."

Congresswoman Lee, whose district includes Oakland and Berkeley, Calif., received thousands of messages of thanks from people nationwide who sought a peaceful resolution to the drums of war, while she also garnered many hateful notes decrying her solitary stance.

Earl Neil spoke with Barbara Lee on the night before her historic vote in Congress. Neil, an Episcopal priest, served as rector of St. Augustine's Church in West Oakland in the late 1960s, where he achieved a small measure of fame for his decision to offer sanctuary to a new, fledgling community organization called the Black Panther Party. "Father Earl," as he became known to the Panthers, and Lee have maintained a strong friendship since their collaborative work on civil rights in the 1960s and in support of other grassroots social justice issues in the decades that followed.

In an exclusive *Witness* interview, Lee speaks with Neil about her courageous vote against the war, her definition of "true patriotism," and her faith. As Lee said to the Congress, "This unspeakable attack on the U.S. has forced me to rely on my moral compass, my conscience and my God for direction." The conversation also addresses her concerns regarding the connection between communities of color, decreasing civil liberties and the criminal justice system in a new political era.

This powerful dialogue took place as this issue of *The Witness* was being put to bed, so to find the full text of this exclusive interview visit our website — www.thewitness.org — TODAY! A portion of the interview will also run in the April 2002 issue of *The Witness*, which will lift up the voices of women who are confronting violence. — *Ethan Flad*



Just War Theory — Is it time for a new paradigm?

AST AUTUMN, the U.S. Catholic Bishops issued a Pastoral Letter entitled, "Living with Faith and Hope after September 11th," in which they assessed the government's response to the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Among other things, the bishops called for a Palestinian state and security (a term they said required redefining) for Israel as the only way to bring peace to the Middle East; condemned the deadly use of sanctions against innocent populations in Iraq; called on the U.S. to address terrorism in Sudan: pointed to U.S. failures in helping global development efforts aimed at overcoming poverty; criticized U.S. alliances with countries that violate human rights; urged the U.S. to reverse its predominant role in the international arms trade as well as in the growing proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and urged the U.S. to promote a more effective, responsible and responsive United Nations.

A group of more than 65 individuals from Catholic institutions, religious communities and ministries that included Marie Dennis, Tom Cordaro and David Robinson of Pax Christi, James Hug of the Center of Concern, Kathy Thornton of NETWORK: A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby, and Joan Chittister of the Erie Benedictine Community, applauded the bishops' letter. In addition, the group raised some additional concerns in a statement entitled, "A Catholic Community Responds to the War Living with Faith and Hope."

"It is unfortunate that some media interpreted the bishops as judging [the War on Terrorism] to be 'moral,'" the statement said. "Instead, what the bishops did was offer guidelines for making such a moral judgment," referring to Just War Theory.

In their 1993 statement, "The Harvest of Justice Is Sown in Peace," the U.S. bishops summarized the major components of this theory, which are drawn from traditional Catholic teaching: "First, whether lethal force may be used is governed by the following criteria: Just Cause: force may be used only to correct a grave, public evil, i.e., aggression or massive violation of the basic rights of whole populations; Comparative Justice: while there may be rights and wrongs on all sides of a conflict, to override the presumption against the use of force the injustice suffered by one party must significantly outweigh that suffered by the other; Legitimate Authority: only duly constituted public authorities may use deadly force or wage war; Right Intention: force may be used only in a truly just cause and solely for that purpose; Probability of Success: arms may not be used in a futile cause or in a case where disproportionate measures are required to achieve success; Proportionality: the overall destruction expected from the use of force must be outweighed by the good to be achieved; Last Resort: force may be used only after all peaceful alternatives have been seriously tried and exhausted. These criteria (*jus ad bellum*), taken as a whole, must be satisfied in order to override the strong presumption against the use of force.

"Second, the just-war tradition seeks also to curb the violence of war through restraint on armed combat between the contending parties by imposing the following moral standards (*jus in bello*) for the conduct of armed conflict: Noncombatant Immunity: civilians may not be the object of direct attack, and military personnel must take due care to avoid and minimize indirect harm to civilians; Proportionality: in the conduct of hostilities, efforts must be made to attain military objectives with no more force than is militarily necessary and to avoid disproportionate collateral damage to civilian life and property; Right Intention: even in the midst of conflict, the aim of political and military leaders must be peace with justice, so that acts of vengeance and indiscriminate violence, whether by individuals, military units or governments, are forbidden."

Commenting on Just War Theory's moral restrictions on warmaking, the "Catholic Community" statement asserted the immorality of the War on Terrorism, "even though it appears to have a just cause. For example, the strong moral requirement of immunity for non-combatants and the inadmissibility of indiscriminate attacks on innocent people are violated in the 'collateral damage' suffered by innocent city dwellers in Kunduz, Kabul, Kandahar and elsewhere in Afghanistan."

The statement enumerated a number of other aspects of the War on Terrorism that also fail to meet Just War criteria, including that any military response must be a last resort, after all peaceful alternatives have been exhausted.

The authors of the Catholic Community statement admitted, however, that a problem with invoking the moral restrictions of Just War Theory is that — as Pope John Paul II noted in judging the Gulf War — for all practical purposes they rule out modern warfare. Therefore "a new Catholic paradigm" for judging 21stcentury questions of war and peace is needed. Said the statement's authors, "It is time."

— Julie A. Wortman

— from ourselves or from the United Nations — to go into Iraq.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: There have been some interesting encounters, if not in the media then about the media. There were rows at some news stations when editors told their reporters to take off their flag pins while they were reporting on the air, which prompted an enormous backlash, and free speech was evoked as a defense.

JUDITH MCDANIEL: Right — at the same time that the media were told that they couldn't show certain tapes on CNN or any other U.S. news station that were being shown everywhere in the world except the U.S. So much for freedom of speech.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: And there was an incident in which ABC News held a press conference to issue a public apology for Peter Jennings' remarks to the effect that President Bush had been slow in coming out and issuing a statement after the attacks. I don't remember the last time that a news organization apologized for being unpatriotic. **JUDITH MCDANIEL**:Yeah, right.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: What do you think a neutral media should look like in this situation? If you could turn on the television tomorrow and see something you thought was valuable, what would it look like?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: Oh, it would be the kind of in-depth discussion that we have not had. Having said that, media cannot create a discussion that does not exist. It can stifle discussion that is attempting to exist, but I don't think it is entirely up to media to create the discussion. I want to see the U.S. Congress hold hearings, public hearings, that invite people to comment, and I would like to see those on television. I would like to see some in-depth reporting on, for example, the oil interests in the Middle East and Middle Asia and the necessity of a stable Afghanistan so we can run a pipeline through the country. I would like some discussion of what that might mean. I would like us to talk about the fact that we are not going to even discuss conserving energy. We're only going to discuss making the world safe for U.S. oil consumption.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: There was a letter to the editor in the regional Gannett newspaper here in Westchester County about an editorial cartoon that had run, and of course the author chose his words very, very carefully, but what he wanted everyone to consider was whether or not the cartoon was "treasonous." I've heard that word bantered around by the media more in the last couple of weeks than I think I've heard in my life. I mean, what is treason? Truthfully, what is it? **JUDITH MCDANIEL:** In the context of today it's criticizing your country.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: As opposed to the real definition, which is fighting on the side of the enemy?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: That leap has been made. Criticizing your country is seen as giving aid and support to the enemy.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: There was a phrase that was used on your website: "patriotic peacenik," I believe it said. What should be the role right now of a patriotic peacenik? Especially maybe one that doesn't live in Washington, D.C., or have the media savvy to participate in what it would take to get congressional hearings going? What could someone out there do who felt the stirrings of an alternative voice?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: We should be asking questions. We should be informing ourselves and trying to educate ourselves. There are some enormous questions to be asked and you don't have to be a pacifist to be asking those questions. When I look at the kinds of things that are happening around the country, with layoffs, with the destabilization — the Bush administration wants to spend umpteen billion dollars on a space shield - I want to know why we can't use that money to educate our children, to provide health care, to provide the kind of real security that Americans need. Those are the questions we can be asking. What does security look like if you are someone who's exposed to anthrax and you don't have health care insurance?

The thing that heartens me is that when individual people — never mind the government, never mind the media — when individuals start talking to one another, we have hope of reclaiming ourselves as humans.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: Have you had any indication that there's more grassroots interest in alternatives than is getting coverage right now?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: Absolutely. And part of this is how you define peace and security. When we think about the peace movement, we think about people marching in the streets, we think about the ban-the-bomb movement, the vigils, the pacifists. But the peace movement is redefining itself. I just got back from 10 days in Europe and it's real clear to me that European peace groups are going through the same kind of discussions: "What is happening to us as a result of U.S. hegemony, U.S. power, the fact that there is only one way to be - and there's only one army, there's only one perspective, and it's the U.S. perspective?" In Europe, some of the young people are questioning not globalization per se, but the ways in which globalization is taking away workers' rights, or overrunning environmental safety, etc. In the U.S., we're trying to open up that discussion about the peace movement, so that if you happen to be working with immigrants in the U.S., immigrants' rights becomes part of the peace movement, because those rights are the things that are being threatened by the Patriot Act. AFSC has a huge constituency of people who work on issues around immigration, criminal justice and anti-death-penalty work, welfare and poverty issues. If we can call those constituencies part of the peace movement, and they ARE part of the peace movement, it seems to me that we are not talking about a marginalized movement.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: To leap over to the church for a minute, I have a friend who's a seminary student at an Episcopal seminary. She was in her midday chapel between classes in the days after the attack, and she prayed out loud for Osama bin Laden as an exercise of what she understood to be the gospel imperative to pray for one's enemies. Apparently that action completely disrupted her noon worship service. She was shocked by that at a seminary. Why is it, do you think, that the organized church feels that

Move over, Garry Trudeau

The Nation's John Nichols reports that 27-yearold cartoonist Aaron McGruder's Huev Freeman (of The Boondocks) has been offering "the most effective dissent from patriotism that dare not speak its mind" (The Nation, January 28, 2002). Nichols cites Freeman's pre-turkey prayer this past Thanksgivng: "Ahem. In this time of war against Osama bin Laden and the oppressive Taliban regime, we are thankful that OUR leader isn't the spoiled son of a powerful politician from a wealthy oil family who is supported by religious fundamentalists, operates through clandestine organizations, has no respect for the democratic electoral process, bombs innocents, and uses war to deny people their civil liberties. Amen." In an interview with Nichols, McGruder reflected on his decision to put political commentary into the mouths of his cartoon characters.

"I was shocked by what happened [on September 11th]," McGruder said. "But I was also shocked by the simplistic nature of a lot of the commentary — this whole 'good' versus 'evil' analysis that sounded like something from fifth grade."

The cartoonist added: "The Boondocks is not an alternative weekly strip. This is not a website strip. This is in the *Washington Post*. It just seemed like nobody else was going to say the things that needed to be said in the places where I had an opportunity to raise questions about the war — in newspapers that millions of people read every day."

— Julie A. Wortman



the default response is military action? I mean, even Presiding Bishop Frank Griswold of the Episcopal Church came out in an open letter to the church saying that of course we must pursue military action now.

JUDITH MCDANIEL: Well, I'll just jump right off the end of the dock here. I think the default position of the church for many, many years has been conservative and unchristian. I think that we are terrified of actually being Christian, of following the leadings of the New Testament, and it's why the Christian church refers to "just wars" as though that were not something that became impossible to imagine or even define by the end of the First World War. No one who ever originated the concept of a just war would recognize it today. I think that the kind of risk-taking that is required by attention to the Gospel is not being taken.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: When you were asked point blank on the radio about what would be your alternative, what did you say?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: I said that we are working against the root causes of terrorism when we do the kind of long-term justice work that we do in this organization.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: The Episcopal Bishop of California, William Swing, has said that "what's happened in Kosovo is the result of 600 years of hatred across religious and cultural/ethnic lines. You only get rid of it by 600 more years of dealing with the hearts of the people on the ground" (see *TW* 12/01). Is that the right equation?

JUDITH MCDANIEL: I don't think so. We were asked, regarding Kosovo, in effect, "What would YOU do? Do you want this evil thing to continue, or do you want us to bomb them?" We said that, in Kosovo, we knew for five years this was going to happen. We had a number of points along the way where we could have done something differently as a religious community, as a peace community, as the United Nations. If instead of dragging the United Nations peacekeeping force out of Kosovo because they were attacked, we had put 5,000 more people in there, none of that would have happened. So it's not about the 600 years of

creation of conflict; it's about the four or five years of the descent into the violence. We do have a project that began out of the Quaker United Nations office in New York and Geneva, which is nonviolent conflict resolution, and it is exactly about how do we intervene at that point when you can still intervene (see www.afsc.org/quno/PBDprevent.hetm).

Regarding September 11th, we know many families of people who were victims who do not want violence to be the response to the loss of their loved ones. Those people are starting to speak out, and I think we're going to find that really interesting. Voices in the Wilderness, an organization that has taken delegations to Iraq to let people see firsthand what sanctions have done to Iraqi children, did a walk from Washington to New York in November with some of the family members who wanted to make statements against the violence.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: Are you aware whether the families that have done this were people who were already, let's say, patriotic peaceniks before all this happened? **JUDITH MCDANIEL:** No, some of them were in the military.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: No kidding!

JUDITH MCDANIEL: The families of stock brokers in the case of the World Trade Center, and the families of kitchen workers. In the case of the Pentagon, the people were military and they were government. It's not where I would have expected those voices to come from.

BRUCE CAMPBELL: I should think that those people would be very attractive to media outlets to talk to.

JUDITH MCDANIEL: I think they're a little afraid of them. Some of them have been putting an occasional letter or op-ed piece in the papers. But the responses to them have been, in some ways, really negative. It's very brave of the people to speak out at all.

Bruce Campbell is a media editor for The Witness. He lives in Tarrytown, N.Y. This interview can be found in Spanish at </br><www.thewitness.org/agw/espanol/html>.

Conversations in a time of terror

by Ethan Flad

Another World is Possible/ New World Disorder: Conversations in a Time of Terror, Edited by Jee Kim, Jeremy M. Glick, Shaffy Moeel, Luis Sanchez, Beka Economopoulos, Walidah Imarisha (Subway & Elevated Press, 2001)

G I'd say that for the last two weeks, at least 90 percent of the messages people have been expressing have been pro-peace, but the media was walking around looking for that other 10 percent that wanted vengeance," says Jordan Schuster, a college kid who initiated a prayer vigil in NYC's Union Square Park on September 11, 2001. "So I said to the CBS reporter: 'I see you've been here for an hour and you haven't gone over and talked to those 200 people who've been singing "Give Peace a Chance" since before you came.' ... The reporter said something like: 'We're not here to do that. That's not our agenda.'"

If you are like many people I know, in the weeks following the September 11 attacks in the U.S. you received a lot of information that didn't come from "mainstream" media sources. Perhaps someone sent you an email of Arundhati Roy's scintillating essay, "The Algebra of Infinite Justice," or Deepak Chopra's questioning piece, "A Deeper Wound," each of which showed up a dozen or more times in my in-box. Maybe the striking poetry of Suheir Hammad found its way to you. It could be that you listened to a non-commercial radio station playing speeches by dissonant voices in Congress, like Barbara Lee and John Convers. Or you might have been like millions of people in North America, who sought out alternative opinions in web sites that had previously only catered to a small niche audience - like The Guardian, AlterNet, or the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA).

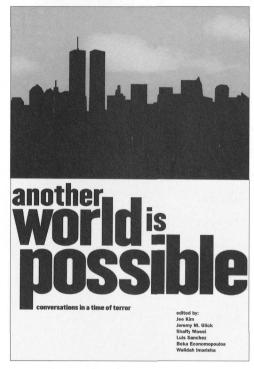
These writings and many others have been gathered into "Another World is Possible/ Disorder: New World Conversations in a Time of Terror," by a diverse group of six young editors, one of whom lost his father to the attack on the World Trade Center. In the book's foreword, Kofi Taha of the Active Element Foundation writes, "This anthology is a collection of writings that gives voice to the diverse perspectives that the American people did not have an opportunity to hear despite three days of commercial-free, 24-hour-a-day news coverage on all major networks. It seeks to broaden the debate beyond what was portrayed as a monolithic call for a swift military response, for an abandonment of due process, and for an immediate reordering of national priorities."

Some of the selected voices initially seem surprising. Statements by FBI director Louis J. Freeh and Unocal Corporation executive John J. Maresca would hardly be expected to appear in a publication abdicating the "United We Stand" mantra. That is, until one realizes that those pieces – along with quotes from Colin Powell, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and other U.S. government representatives – actually indict the U.S.' military and economic policies when placed next to the historical perspectives and political analyses that flavor the rest of the book.

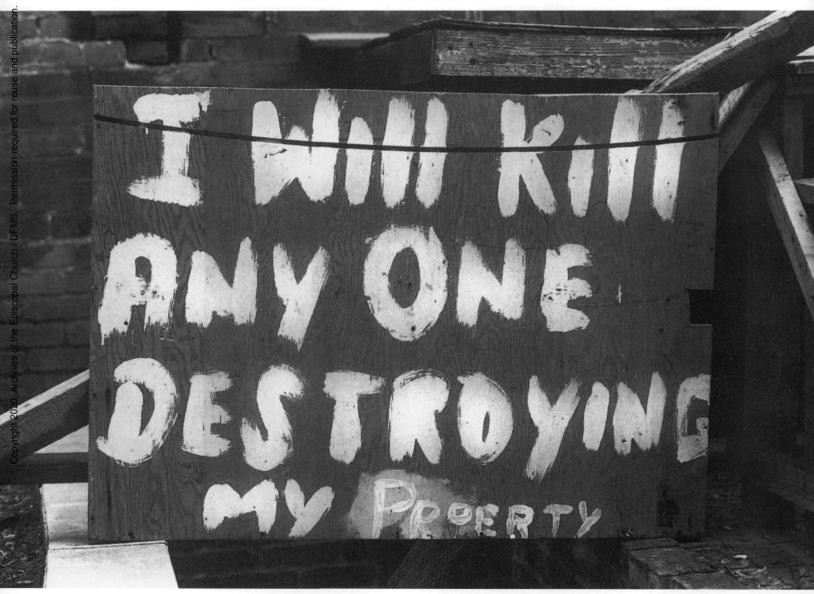
While some all-star names are featured in the text, I found the most moving selections to be the ones by four authors who had family members killed on September 11th. Taking the long view, each of these individuals called for a nonviolent response to the attacks. Together with an essay by Kathleen Pequeo, whose brother Edward Pimental was killed in 1985 in a terrorist attack on a U.S. army base in Germany, these perspectives alone make the book worth purchasing. With the U.S. government committed to a growing list of military objectives over the coming years, it is well worth picking up this instructive collection now.

Ethan Flad is editor/producer of The Witness' web site — <www.thewitness.org> — and its special online project, "A Globe of Witnesses." Order Another World is Possible/ New World Disorder: Conversations in a Time of Terror at <www.newmouthfromthedirtysouth.com>. Or send \$12 to New Mouth from the Dirty South, PO Box 19742, New Orleans LA 70179.

Also recommended: "War on Terrorism: Profiled & Punished," a special 16-page report by ColorLines magazine (visit <www.colorlines.com>).



SAYING GOODBYE



Calvin Stewart/Shooting Back (Chronicle Books 1991)

TO PATRIOTISM

To make real a better world

by Robert Jensen

reuse and publication N A REVIEW that I wrote this past summer of a book about the history of wartime restrictions on U.S. news media, I faulted the 🛓 Lauthor for accepting American myths about the nobility of our E wars and their motivations. I challenged his uncritical use of the E term patriotism, which I called "perhaps the single most morally and intellectually bankrupt concept in human history."

and intellectually bankrupt concept in human history." By coincidence, the galley proofs for the piece came back to me for review a few days after September 11. I paused as I reread my words, thinking about the possible reactions given the reflexive out- \mathcal{Q} pouring of patriotism in the wake of the terrorist attacks. I thought about the controversy that some of my antiwar writing had already sparked on campus and beyond. I thought about how easy it would be to take out that sentence.

But I let it stand, for a simple reason: The statement was true on But I let it stand, for a simple reason: The statement was true on September 10, and after September 11 I'm more convinced it is true. I also believe that nestled in the truth of that assertion is a crucial

⁸ patriotism? Or, in the end, are we just Americans? That is a way of asking whether we are truly for peace and justice. I mean the statement to be harsh because the question is crucial. If \dot{S} in the end we are just Americans, if we cannot move beyond patri-tion to be internationalists. And, if we are $\frac{2}{2}$ not truly internationalist in our outlook — all the way to the bone then I do not think we can call ourselves people committed to peace and justice.

Let me try to make the case for this by starting with definitions.

My dictionary defines patriotism as "love and loyal or zealous support of one's own country." I will return to that, but it also is important to look at how the word is being used at this moment in this country, where there are two competing definitions of patriotism circulating these days.

Patriotism as loyalty to the war effort

It's easy to get a handle on this use of the word. Just listen to the president of the U.S. speak, or watch TV. This view of patriotism is

simple: We were attacked. We must defend ourselves. The only real way to defend ourselves is by military force. If you want to be patriotic, you should - you must - support the war.

I have been told often that it is fine for me to disagree with that policy but that now is not the time to disagree publicly. A patriotic person, I am told, should remain quiet and support the troops until the war is over, at which point we can all have a discussion about the finer points of policy. If I politely disagree with that, then the invectives flow: commie, terrorist-lover, disloyal, unpatriotic. Love it or leave it.

This kind of patriotism is incompatible with democracy or basic human decency. To see just how intellectually and morally bankrupt it is, ask what we would have said to Soviet citizens who might have made such an argument about patriotic duty as the tanks rolled into Prague in 1968. To draw that analogy is not to say the two cases are exactly alike but rather to point out that a decision to abandon our responsibility to evaluate government policy and surrender our power to think critically is a profound failure, intellectually and morally.

Patriotism as critique of the war effort

Many in the peace-and-justice movement, myself included, have suggested that to be truly patriotic one cannot simply accept policies because they are handed down by leaders or endorsed by a majority of people, even if it is an overwhelming majority. Being a citizen in a real democracy means exercising judgment, evaluating policies, engaging in discussion, and organizing to try to help see that the best policies are enacted. When the jingoists start throwing around "anti-American" and "traitor," we point out that true patriotism means staying true to the core commitments of democracy and the obligations that democracy puts on people. There is nothing un-American, we contend, about arguing for peace.

This may be the best way — perhaps the only way — to respond in public at this moment if one wants to be effective in building an antiwar movement; we have to start the discussion where people are, not where we wish people were. But increasingly, I am uncomCopyright 2020. Archives of the Episcopal Church / DFMS. Permission required for reuse and publication

fortable arguing for patriotism, even this second definition. And as I listen to allies in the peace-and-justice movement, I wonder whether that claim to patriotism-as-criticalengagement is indeed merely strategic. Critical questions come to mind: Are we looking for a way to hold onto patriotism because we really believe in it? Is there any way to define the term that doesn't carry with it arrogant and self-indulgent assumptions? Is there any way to salvage patriotism?

I have come to believe that invoking patriotism puts us on dangerous ground and that we must be careful about our strategic use of it.

At its ugliest, patriotism means a ranking of the value of the lives of people based on boundaries. To quote Emma Goldman: "Patriotism assumes that our globe is divided into little spots, each one surrounded by an iron gate. Those who had the fortune of being born on some particular spot, consider themselves better, nobler, grander, more intelligent than the living beings inhabiting any other spot. It is, therefore, the duty of everyone living on that chosen spot to fight, kill, and die in the attempt to impose his superiority upon all others."

People have said this directly to me: "The lives of U.S. citizens are more important. If innocent Afghans have to die, have to starve — even in large numbers — so that we can achieve our goals, well, that's the way it is." We may understand why people feel it, but that doesn't make such a statement any less barbaric.

But what of the effort to hold onto a kinder and gentler style of patriotism by distinguishing it from this crude nationalism? What are the unstated assumptions of this other kind of patriotism? If patriotism is about loyalty of some sort, to what are we declaring our loyalty?

If we are pledging loyalty to a nation-state, what if that nation-state pursues an immoral objective? Should we remain loyal to it? If our loyalty is to a specific government or set of government officials, what if they pursue immoral objectives or pursue moral objectives in an immoral fashion?

Loyalty to American ideals?

Some suggest we should be loyal to the ideals

of America, a set of commitments and practices connected with the concepts of freedom and democracy. That's all well and good; freedom and democracy are good things, and I try to not only endorse those values but live them. I assume we all try to do that.

But what makes those values uniquely American? Is there something about the U.S. or the people who live here that makes us more committed to, or able to act out, the ideals of freedom and democracy — more so than, say, Canadians or Indians or Brazilians? Are not people all over the world — including those who live in countries that do not guarantee freedom to the degree the U. S. does capable of understanding and acting on those ideals? Are not different systems possible for making real those ideals in a complex world?

Freedom and democracy are not unique to us; they are human ideals, endorsed to varying degrees in different places and realized to different degrees by different people acting in different places. If Americans do not have a monopoly on them, why express a commitment to those ideals by talking of patriotism?

An analogy to gender is helpful. After September 11, a number of commentators have argued that criticisms of masculinity should be rethought. Though masculinity is often defined by competition, domination and violence, they said, cannot we now see realizing that male firefighters raced into burning buildings and risked their lives to save others — that masculinity can encompass a kind of strength that is rooted in caring and sacrifice?

Of course men often exhibit such strength, just as do women. So, the obvious question arises: What makes these distinctly masculine characteristics? Are they not simply human characteristics?

We identify masculine tendencies toward competition, domination and violence because we see patterns of different behavior; men are more prone to such behavior in our culture. We can go on to observe and analyze the ways in which men are socialized to behave in those ways, toward the goal of changing those destructive behaviors.

That analysis is different than saying that admirable human qualities present in both men and women are somehow primarily the domain of one gender. To assign them to a gender is misguided, and demeaning to the gender that is then assumed not to possess them to the same degree. Once we start saying "strength and courage are masculine traits," it leads to the conclusion that woman are not as strong or courageous. To say "strength and courage are masculine traits," then, is to be sexist.

The same holds true for patriotism. If we abandon the crude version of patriotism but try to hold onto an allegedly more sophisticated version, we bump up against this obvious question: Why are human characteristics being labeled American if there is nothing distinctly American about them?

If Americans argue that such terminology is justified because those values are realized to their fullest degree in the U.S., then there's some explaining to do to the people of Guatemala and Iran, Nicaragua and South Vietnam, East Timor and Laos, Iraq and Panama. We would have to explain to the victims of U.S. aggression - direct and indirect - how it is that our political culture, the highest expression of the ideals of freedom and democracy, has managed routinely to go around the world overthrowing democratically elected governments, supporting brutal dictators, funding and training proxy terrorist armies, and unleashing brutal attacks on civilians when we go to war. If we want to make the claim that we are the fulfillment of history and the ultimate expression of the principles of freedom and justice, our first stop might be Hiroshima.

Patriotism = chauvinism

Any use of the concept of patriotism is bound to be chauvinistic at some level. At its worst, patriotism can lead easily to support for barbarism. At its best, it is self-indulgent and arrogant in its assumptions about the uniqueness of U.S. culture.

This is not a blanket denunciation of the U.S., our political institutions, or our culture. People often tell me, "You start with the assumption that everything about the U.S. is bad." But I do not assume that; it would be as absurd a position as the assumption that everything about the U.S. is good. No reasonable person would make either statement.

That does raise the question, of course, of who is a reasonable person. We might ask that question about, for example, George Bush, the father. In 1988, after the U.S. Navy warship Vincennes shot down an Iranian commercial airliner in a commercial corridor, killing 290 civilians, Bush said, "I will never apologize for the U.S. of America. I don't care what the facts are."

I want to put forward the radical proposition that we should care what the facts are. If we are to be moral people, everything about the U.S., like everything about any country, needs to be examined and assessed.

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There is much about this country a citizen can be proud of, and I am proud of those things. The civil liberties guaranteed (to most people) in this culture, for example, are quite amazing.

There also is much to be appalled by. The obscene gaps in wealth between rich and poor, for example, are quite amazing as well, especially in a wealthy society that claims to be committed to justice.

Episcopal Church / DFMS. This need not lead to moral relativism. We can analyze various societies and judge some better than others by principles we can articulate and defend — so long as they are truly principles, applied honestly and uniformly. But we should maintain a bit of humility in the endeavor. Perhaps instead of saying "The U.S. is the greatest nation on earth" — a comment common among politicians, pundits and the public - we would be better off saying, "I live in the U.S. and have deep emotional ties to the people, land and ideals of this place. Because of these feelings, I want to highlight the posi-tive while working to change what is wrong."

We can make that statement without arrogantly suggesting that other people are inherently less capable of articulating or enacting high ideals. We can make that statement and be ready and willing to engage in debate and discussion about the merits of different values and systems.

We can make that statement and be true internationalists, people truly committed to peace and justice. If someone wants to call that statement an expression of patriotism,

The cost of questioning church and country

by Joseph Wakelee-Lynch

IN APRIL 1918, a month after the U.S. entered World War I — the war to end all wars — a prominent Episcopal voice against war was silenced. Bishop Paul Jones, serving the then-Missionary District of Utah, was forced to resign his post.

Religious support for the war was strong even before the U.S. entered the conflict. In 1916, the Episcopal House of Bishops lauded those who promoted peace, but the bishops made it clear that Christians should be ready to serve the state in time of crisis:

"[America] must expect of every one of her citizens some true form of national service, rendered according to the capacity of each. No one can commute or delegate it; no one can be absolved from it. National preparedness is a clear duty."

In 1914, when Jones was selected by the House of Bishops to lead the Utah district, he was already a prominent advocate for peace. He believed war couldn't be reconciled with Jesus' teaching. He advocated an aggressive Christian response to conflict and acknowledged that Germany was in the wrong.

"I believe most sincerely that German brutality and aggression must be stopped," Jones said before the House of Bishops in 1917, "and I am willing, if need be, to give my life and what I possess, to bring that about. ...

"I have been led to feel that war is entirely incompatible with the Christian profession. ... Moreover, because Germany has ignored her solemn obligations, Christians are not justified in treating the sermon on the mount as a scrap of paper."

In 1917, vestry members at Utah's two largest and most prosperous parishes, joined by the District Council of Advice, organized a campaign against the bishop. They charged that Jones shouldn't speak as an Episcopal leader but as an individual, particularly because his flock disagreed with him, and that his views had harmed the church's work in Utah.

Jones refuted the charges and research by Douglas G. Warren shows that Jones enjoyed significant clergy and lay support in his district. Many Episcopalians supported the war, but they believed Jones had the right to speak as bishop and that he had not harmed the church's work. Yet, after a convoluted process of examination, the bishops finally asked for his resignation.

In April 1918, Jones complied. In his letter of resignation, Jones argued that the House of Bishops by its action was stating that war is not an unchristian thing and no bishop may preach against it if the government and the church have accepted it.

"These conclusions I cannot accept," he wrote, "for I believe that the methods of modern international war are quite incompatible with the Christian principles of reconciliation and brotherhood, and that it is the duty of a Bishop of the Church, from his study of the word of God, to express himself on questions of righteousness, no matter what opinion may stand in the way."

Jones, who died in 1941, never again served as bishop. But his work for peace continued. He was a founder of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and its secretary for 10 years. He helped found the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, now the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. During World War II, he helped resettle Jews and others who fled Nazi Germany, and he argued for greater understanding in relations with Japan.

Jones' legacy today may be more important than before, says David Selzer, EPF chairperson. "In a time of particularly high patriotism, Bishop Jones was loyal to the sense of seeing the Gospel as the Gospel of peace rather than the Gospel of vengeance."

-Joseph Wakelee-Lynch is a writer and editor in Berkeley, Calif.

www.thewitness.org

I will not argue. But the question nags: Why do we need to call it patriotism? Why do people hold onto patriotism with such tenacity?

Love or leave 'it'?

When I write or talk with the general public and raise questions like these, people often respond, "If you hate America so much, why don't you leave?"

But what is this America that I allegedly hate? The land itself? The people who live here? The ideals in the country's founding documents? I do not hate any of those things.

When people say to me "love it or leave it," what is the "it" to which they refer? No one can ever quite answer that. Still, I have an answer for them.

I will not leave "it" for a simple reason: I have nowhere else to go. I was born here. I was given enormous privileges here. My place in the world is here, where I feel an obligation to use that privilege to be part of — a very small part of, as we all are only a small part — a struggle to make real a better world. Whatever small part I can play in that struggle, whatever I can achieve, I will have to achieve here, in the heart of the beast.

I love it, which is to say that I love life — I love the world in which I live and the people who live in it with me. I will not leave that "it."

I also can say clearly what the "it" is not.

The America I love is not this administration, or any other collection of politicians, or the corporations they serve.

It is not the policies of this administration, or any other collection of politicians, or the corporations they serve.

The America I love is not wrapped up in a mythology about "how good we are" that ignores the brutal realities of our own history of conquest and barbarism.

I want no part of the America that arrogantly claims that the lives and hopes and dreams of people who happen to live within the boundaries of the U.S. have more value than those in other places. I will not indulge America in the belief that our grief is different. Since September 11, the U.S. has demanded that the world take our grief more seriously, and when some around the world have not done so we are outraged. But what makes the grief of a parent who lost a child in the World Trade Center any deeper than the grief of a parent who lost a child in Basra when U.S. warplanes rained death on the civilian areas of Iraq in the Gulf War? Or the parents of a child in Nicaragua when the U.S. terrorist proxy army ravaged that country? Soon after 9/11, I heard a television reporter describe lower Manhattan as "Beirut on the Hudson." We might ask, how did Beirut come to look like Beirut, and what is our responsibility in that? And what of the grief of those who saw their loved ones die during the shelling of that city?

Where was the empathy of America for the grief of those people?

Certainly we grieve differently, more intensely, when people close to us die. But the grief we feel when our friends and neighbors became victims of political violence is no different than what people around the world feel when their friends and neighbors die. Each of those lives lost abroad has exactly the same value as the life of any one of us.

Goodbye to patriotism

September 11 was a dark day. I still remember what it felt like to watch those towers come down, the darkness that settled over me that day, the hopelessness, how tangible death felt — for me, not only the deaths of those in the towers but also the deaths of those who would face the bombs in the war that might follow, the war that did follow, the war that goes on.

But I also believe there is a light shining out of that darkness that can lead Americans to our own salvation. That light is contained in a simple truth that is obvious, but which Americans have never really taken to heart: We are part of the world. We can no longer hide from that world. We cannot allow our politicians, generals and corporate executives to do their dirty business around the world while we hide from the truths about just how dirty that business really is. We can no longer hide from the coups they plan, the wars they start, the sweatshops they run — from the people they kill.

For me, all this means saying goodbye to patriotism.

That is the paradox: September 11 has sparked a wave of patriotism, which has in

many cases been overtly hateful, racist and xenophobic. A patriotism that can lead people to say, as one person wrote to me, "We should bomb [Afghanistan] until there's no more earth to bomb."

But the real lesson of September 11 is that if we are to survive as a free people — as decent people who want honestly to claim the ideals we say we live by — we must say goodbye to patriotism. Patriotism will not relieve our grief, but only deepen it. It will not solve our problems but only extend them. There is no hope for ourselves or for the world if we continue to embrace patriotism, no matter what the definition.

We must give up "love and loyal or zealous support of one's own country" and transfer that love, loyalty and zealousness to the world, and especially the people of the world who have suffered most so that we Americans can live in affluence.

We must be able to say, as the great labor leader of the early 20th century Eugene Debs said, "I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth, and I am a citizen of the world." I am with Debs. I believe it is time to declare: I am not patriotic. I am through with trying to redefine the term to make sense. There is no sense to it.

That kind of statement will anger many, but at some point we must begin to take that risk, for this is not merely an academic argument over semantics. This is both a struggle to save ourselves and a struggle to save the lives of vulnerable people around the world.

We must say goodbye to patriotism because the kind of America the peace-and-justice movement wants to build cannot be built on, or through, patriotism.

We must say goodbye to patriotism because the world cannot survive indefinitely the patriotism of Americans.

Robert Jensen is a professor of journalism at the University of Texas at Austin, a member of the Nowar Collective (www.nowarcollective.com), and author of Writing Dissent: Taking Radical Ideas from the Margins to the Mainstream (www.peterlangusa.com). He can be reached at rjensen@uts.cc.utexas.edu. A version of this article was given as a talk to the Peace Action National Congress on November 10, 2001.

The patriotism of dual citizenship

by Peter Selby

T'S HARDLY SURPRISING, in the wake of September 11, that patriotism should L break out in the U.S. Not only was the attack on New York and Washington experienced by Americans as an attack on the U.S.; that was clearly its intention. Deliberately aimed at targets that symbolized U.S. power in the modern world, the perverted brilliance of the exercise has understandably unleashed a military response which took the lives of further uninvolved civilians in Afghanistan. More than that, it led also to a wave of patriotic sentiment in the U.S. itself and international sympathy for the nation that has - like it or not - provided the economic engine of most nations' aspirations and therefore the source of their current value systems.

None of that makes it easier either within the U.S. or outside it to engage in the very necessary critique of the concept of a "war against terrorism." It is not an easy time to risk being called "unpatriotic," and those who planned and executed the attacks on New York and Washington are as much responsible for the predictable deaths of Afghan people as they are directly for the deaths of those who died on September 11th.

Yet the risk has to be taken, and for the most patriotic of reasons. Love of country has to include a passionate concern for its values, its hopes and its reputation. No country can flourish if the voice of criticism is silenced in the name of patriotism. That is why many of us in Britain have seriously questioned the powers the government has taken to itself under the pretext of the "war against terrorism," powers which endanger the very civilization we are ostensibly seeking to protect. The right to a fair and speedy trial, and the independence of the judiciary from government are treasured bulwarks of that civilization on both sides of the Atlantic.

This is not, of course, a new challenge to people of faith who also love their country. If there is a characteristic that distinguishes a true prophet from the mere angry ranter against his own nation it is the powerful engine of love. You hear it coming through the verses of the prophets of Israel and Judah, expressing the agony of having to castigate a people they loved. Nobody can speak that poetically to a people they do not love very deeply. And that deep love of country, the sense that these whom I criticize are

No country can flourish if the voice of criticism is silenced in the name of patriotism.

nonetheless my people, has expressed itself again and again in those women and men of faith who have out of love felt driven to articulate their critique of wrong directions and unacceptable actions on the part of their people and their governments.

So what gave real Christian integrity to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's confronting of a nation and a church embarked on a road through tyranny to oppression was precisely the fact that he remained till his death a patriotic German. The texts we have show, to his very last days, the conviction that his nation, his people, his church was taking a path that could only lead to national disaster, and to a church that would be a church no longer. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, famous "dream" was an essentially patriotic dream, for all the claims that he was unpatriotic.

So we are pledged to a place of discomfort in relation to our fellow citizens, one where we assert that we feel an equal love for our country for all our dissent from some of its policies and attitudes. We live out a transcendent citizenship, our membership of God's sovereign realm, at the same time as loving our earthly country. We value the institutions of the nation in which we are citizens, but never so much as to defend them uncritically. Testing those institutions and values against those of the divine realm we dare to hold out to our fellow-citizens possibilities beyond what has been achieved to this point. That is to say, we live in hope for our country as well as in love of it.

Shortly after the events of September 11th I received a message from the internationally famous Jewish scholar, Jacob Neusner. He was reflecting on where God was on that awful day, and on the prayers being asked for blessing on the U.S. His concluding prayer was "that America might be worthy of God's blessing." That is a patriotic prayer. We must pray for each other's countries to be blessed, our own, our friends' and our enemies', too - that our and their patriotism will lead on to a sense of what belongs to the peace of all nations. We know, after all, that the tears Christ wept over Jerusalem were the tears of a patriot; we need to care for our countries enough to weep for them and even to cry out against them - but loving them still.

Peter Selby, author of Grace and Mortgage: The Language of Faith and the Debt of the World (Darton Longman and Todd, 1997), is the Bishop of Worcester, England. His column "Money & Power," can be found at <www.thewitness.org/agw>.

LOVE OF COUNTRY

A wounded community rebuilds

by Robert Hirschfield

RATHANAK CHOUN, an 18-year-old-boy in a turned-around baseball cap, introduces me to his mother, Leakena Tep. She is glossy-cheeked, tiny. I had seen her previously at the Jotanaram Temple in the East Bronx, where she goes regularly to feed the resident monk. By preparing food for Sol Mang, Tep, a devout Buddhist, gains merit for herself far from Battambang.

Most of the Bronx's 2,000 Cambodians are from Battambang, in Northwest Cambodia. Battambang is green, hilly. Inner-city Bronx is synonymous, of course, with all that is dilapidated and dangerous in big-city life. But Tep is not complaining.

Following the Khmer Rouge takeover in April of 1975 (Cambodians refer to the dawn of the genocide in shorthand — April 17), the woman was banished to rural labor camps, where she lived the normal Cambodian life for that time: hard labor, hunger, beatings, the threat of execution. She recites for me her family death toll: One of her sons was killed, two of her sisters starved to death, three of her uncles were executed. Nearly two million people, it is estimated, were killed by the Khmer Rouge between 1975 and 1979.

Tep's apartment building on Father Zeiser Place, defaced with graffiti, stands beneath Tolentine Cathedral, the brawny heart of the Catholic Bronx. It is a building I must have passed hundreds of times in my youth. Our family lived on Davidson Avenue, a few blocks away.

The neighborhood then was mainly Jewish. It is now overwhelmingly Hispanic, with a tender sprinkling of Cambodians and Vietnamese, who first began arriving in 1981, when President Reagan opened the doors of the U.S. to Southeast Asian immigration.

In Tep's apartment is a computer (her three sons are computer nerds), a map of Cambodia, and a sack full of rice just in case.

Rathanak mentioned to me that a Khmer Rouge soldier had once tried to kill her by dropping a heavy sack of rice on her emaciated body.

"What about the Khmer Rouge still in Cambodia?" I ask her. "How should they be treated? Should they be arrested, tried, punished?"

"They should be given a second chance," she answers, without a moment's hesitation, through Rathanak. "According to Buddhist teachings, if you take revenge on those who mistreat you, you tie yourself to their karma."

I talk to Sara Phok, a Cambodian mental health worker, about anger. The Cambodians I interview are almost always soft-spoken, their voices acting as gentle nets to trap emotions below the surface. "Even when you mention the most awful things to me," I say, "you never sound angry." She just laughs. "I hide it well, don't I ?"

It is not easy for Danny Ouk, sitting behind his computer in the sprawling red-brick building that houses the Fordham Bedford Housing Corporation, to flick his mind back to his childhood land. He saw his father starve to death when he was seven (he is now 30), when he himself was starving to death. "Everything around me was destroyed. Before my father died, my brother was shot by the Khmer Rouge." Danny's features are miraculously smooth, clear, gentle, as if cultivated in another environment and grafted on to him when the genocide was over. He arrived in the Bronx with his mother and his four sisters, from the Philippines, when he was nine. Fordham Bedford, for whom Danny works as business manager, is an organization that acquires and rehabs abandoned, city-owned buildings in the Bronx. The apartments are then rented at low rents to low-income families, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Vietnamese and Cambodian. Bright new dwellings blossom within formerly ruined shells. "It's great to be able to turn some of those old, broken-down buildings I have always had to look at into decent places for people to live. It's my way of giving something back to the community that gave us homes when we had no homes. After Cambodia, the Bronx is the only home I have known." Three of Danny's sisters have moved away, two to Ohio, a third to the state of Washington. Mainstreaming by uprooting. His fourth sister, because of Khmer Rouge mistreatment, is physically handicapped, and can go nowhere. Danny lives with her, supports her. It's the Cambodian way. Even in New York.

The Cambodian community is a well-kept secret in this city of affluent Asian communities. It is poor. Many receive SSI (Supplemental Security Income) disability checks, or welfare checks. It is linguistically trapped, Khmer being the only language the majority of older Cambodians speak. It is curled up in its own shadows.

In the beginning, I would sit hour after hour in the temple, whose shades are perpetually drawn against the outside world, waiting to be acknowledged, waiting to ask the questions no one wanted to answer. Finally, possibly because I had come such a long way by subway, the Cambodians relented, spoke, gave me their memories.

"It is hard for us here," Kulen Lang laments. Lang, a garrulous man of 60, is the president of the Khmer Buddhist Society. He works as a clerk in the Medical Records Department of Montefiore Hospital.

IN THE BRONX

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"City officials — they don't care about our needs. Our community way too small. Not important."

Before the Vietnam War intensified, and neutral Cambodia was dragooned into the conflict, Lang was a farmer. Most older Cambodians here were farmers.

Lang recalls for me his slavery days after April 17: "They [the Khmer Rouge] order you to go somewhere with heavy sack. You are so weak you fall down. [A cup of gruel, twice a day, was his diet.] They beat you. They say, 'You are tricky! You fall on purpose, just to rest.' Even when you have diarrhea, they still beat you. They scream, 'You are CIA!' We don't know what CIA is." Lang is not without hope.

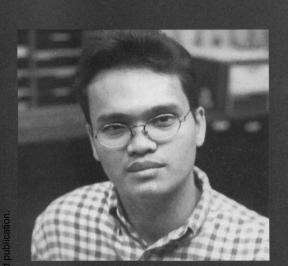
"Old people like me, we are not important. Our young people, they are important. They will make a difference. You will see." Borann, who is missing a couple of front teeth, doesn't look 17. A Tibetan once gave him a button of the Dalai Lama. Over it he affixed a button of Che Guevara. He admires both men, but he is less a Buddhist than a political activist.

The boy is a Bronx organizer for CAAAV (Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence.)

"The name," he says to me in the library of Our Lady of Refuge Church, where CAAAV has its office, "is a little bit misleading. We don't just organize around the issue of anti-Asian violence. We help Asians who are poor, and who don't know their rights, or anything about the system, obtain benefits, like welfare."

"How did you get involved with CAAAV?" I ask him.

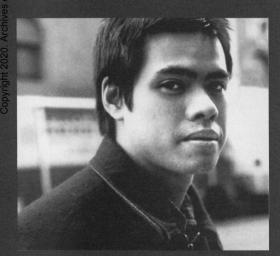
"I was invited to a film CAAAV was showing. A film against patriarchy. As a Cambodian, that really interested me. Cambodia



Danny Ouk in his office



Sara Phok. Cambodian mental health worker



Rathanak Choun in the street

is a matriarchy, where women set down the rules of the family. Even here, women are the ones who take charge. I am all for that. Women should be in charge."

Borann was raised by his mother. His father abandoned the family after it moved to the Bronx. Borann was four.

Most Cambodian youths are not to be found anywhere near the temple. Cambodian Buddhism in New York, severed from its cultural context, just doesn't tabulate for them. Not amidst the pull of fast food, fast music, the fast life.

Rathanak Choun, who loves fast food, does go to the temple. He is laid-back, sleepy-eyed. A west-coast type who loves California for its cyber allure. When he was six months old, he and his family set out for America from a refugee camp in Thailand.

He remembers learning about the Holocaust as a boy in school, and thinking, "That's a great atrocity, what happened to the Jews. My family never went through anything like that, forgetting that we came here because of the Khmer Rouge."

Tactical forgetting was necessary for his survival. When he grew older, he heard the story of the sack of rice. The story of how his mother was once ordered into icy water for two days, without food or sleep, to help block a dam that had broken. A feat that makes Rathanak shake his head in awe, the way others his age might react to the bat speed of Derek Jeter.

"Me, I can't even stay awake half the night when I have a school essay to write." (He attends Fordham Prep, a Buddhist boy at a Jesuit learning outpost.)

The boy teaches young Cambodians computer programming in the temple basement. His course is free. His students are slim, smart, unshadowed. Rathanak moves among them with gangly, warmhearted authority.

"In order to program the computer," he says, "you have to speak the language of the computer."

Rathanak speaks this language fluently.

The youngsters are half-terrified by his ability. He finds that funny.

"I am not here to intimidate you. I am here to educate you, so you can intimidate others."

What is he intimidated by? He mentions Holocaust movies.

"I look at the Nazis bulldozing the bodies of the Jews. The fact that human bodies are that small and skinny and have died like that — that bothers me."

Leakena Tep sits me down in a chair in front of the VCR. The first thing I see, on the video she shows me, is a pile of stones at the bottom of a hill in Northern Cambodia, near the Thai border.

The stones were the embryos of her "project." A number of Cambodian emigres undertake projects to help rebuild some aspect or other of their war-fractured homeland. Those stones now form part of a meditation center for Buddhist nuns on top of the hill. Tep's concern is spiritual rebuilding. Thousands of monasteries, thousands of monks, were destroyed by the Khmer Rouge. Virtually all that remained of Cambodian Buddhism was its silence.

"How much does it cost to build a meditation center?" I ask Tep. She lives on an SSI check. She has a serious heart condition.

Tep throws open her book of receipts. "It cost us almost a hundred thousand dollars. Almost all the contributions came from poor Cambodians living in America. A factory worker in Pittsburgh contributed his life savings, seven thousand dollars."

The center stands beneath an enormous sky on a remote hill. A small white dot above a lush green carpet.

"The center," Tep tells me, "was built on a Khmer Rouge execution site. The Khmer Rouge used to kill people there who were trying to flee to Thailand."

hotos by Robert Hirschfield

The true power of a blessing

by Orris G. Walker, Jr.

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HEN THE FOUNDING FATHERS promulgated the Declaration of Independence, affirming that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights," they were not referring to the entire population of the land. Only privileged white male landowners were considered within the expression "all men." Fortunately, today we hold a more expansive view.

Our present state of affairs was brought about by a continuous struggle to expand the circle of inclusion. Excluded groups, such as women, Native Americans, African slaves, as well as gay and lesbian persons, have had to struggle for their place within the American Dream. Our history has been marked by significant struggles for inclusion, from the various Indian Wars, to the Civil War, the Suffragette Movement, the Labor Movement, and the Civil and Gay Rights conflicts.

Nevertheless, there remained forces that wished to maintain the status quo. However, they were challenged and conquered. Unfortunately, however, the oppressive sentiments of racism, classism and sexism of some in power still remain just under the surface of our social order.

In the past, when our country was attacked or threatened, our leaders called for a fervent patriotic response. Soon a procession of catchy slogans and patriotic symbols would appear to galvanize the response of the citizenry.

What does patriotism mean to a member of one of the aforementioned groups whose struggles continue? The American political experience has been described as an experiment in democracy. As such there are rights and protections given each citizen under the law: freedom of the press, freedom of religion, freedom of expression and assembly. These are some of the cherished liberties we own. These, along with other precepts of justice and fair play developed along the way, fire my patriotism.

However, I am concerned about what might be described as "shallow patriotism," the enthusiasm of the moment, the willingness to ignore human rights, the demonization of the enemy and the proposition, "my country, right or wrong." It was once said that, "In defense of democracy extremism is no vice." This mind-set deeply troubles me. If patriotism is a fervent love of and devotion to one's country, then it requires every citizen to do his or her duty. There is a responsibility to defend and develop the nation. There is also a responsibility to make sure that we do not abandon the principles of this noble experiment in democracy for some short-term security.

I believe we have been blessed; but too often we have taken this blessing for granted. The true power of a blessing, it seems to me, is its ability to transform. While our founding fathers may have had a narrow view of the concept "all men are created equal," we now affirm all human beings are created equal. This is the result of our culture's transformation of its view of human beings.

As Episcopalians our baptismal covenant challenges us to see and serve Christ in others. Involvement in one's community is surely one way to address this expectation of the baptismal covenant. I can be a patriotic Christian because our tradition through St. Paul teaches us to support civil authority. I believe patriotism requires one's full participation in the political process. The civil authority is not above constructive criticism. Our participation is done by express-



ing our opinions, by voting regularly, by paying our taxes, by participation in civic meetings, by serving as community volunteers and by working for the inclusion and well-being of all inhabitants of this land. These activities, I believe, will ensure a healthy and genuine patriotism.

The concept of an ever-widening circle of inclusion from a political point of view is a challenging one. To some it might bear a striking resemblance to the Kingdom of God in that all sorts and conditions of people are included. But we must be mindful that we are dealing with a human institution, and it would be unwise to equate the American democratic experience with the Reign of God.

As Christians, it is necessary to maintain a healthy perspective about life. Here we have no abiding city, no permanent house, as the writer of Hebrews put it. Along with others, I journey seeking that city whose builder and maker is God. The Christian enterprise, in which we are all involved, is greater than any political structure or system that might emerge on this planet.

Orris G. Walker is the Episcopal Bishop of Long Island, N.Y.

SPECIAL REPORT

Kia Ora! An Anglican network explores the "cost-benefit" of global engagement

by Ethan Flad



Andrew Tauli (Philippines) presents gift to N.Z. Presiding Bishop John Paterson

"KIA ORA!" This traditional Maori greeting — meaning hello, goodbye, and thank you — welcomed each member of the Anglican Peace and Justice Network (APJN) upon arrival to its biannual meeting in late November 2001, in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. APJN, an official network of the worldwide Anglican Church, was formed in the late 1980s as an effort to share ideas and resources among international church partners concerned about human rights and social justice.

Even within the Anglican Communion, APJN's work is little known. This is a shame, considering what it has done during its brief existence. Over the past decade, the Network played a significant role in pushing the denomination's church leadership to address such issues as international debt and Israel/Palestine. The strong stand on debt forgiveness taken by the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1998 — overshadowed in the media by the sexuality debates at that gathering — drew significantly on APJN's groundwork.

Its latest meeting drew representatives from 22 of the 38 worldwide Anglican provinces, its broadest geographic representation to date. The weeklong event reflected many of the challenges of post-colonial international collaboration. (See also "A brave new world for 21st-century Christians?" by John Kater, TW 12/01.) For instance, simply bringing together the multinational membership proved to be a problem. Visa difficulties prevented a number of representatives from attending, leaving critical regions of the world like the Sudan, the Congo, Myanmar (Burma), Uganda and Nigeria absent from the discussions. The Tanzanian delegate, Kuwayawaya S. Kuwayawaya, endured an excruciating "Planes, Trains and Automobiles" real-life experience, a five-day trip that featured transnational bus rides, a plane that broke down over central Africa, completely changed flights, lost luggage, and so on. For the participants from wealthy nations, traveling a few weeks after the start of the so-called "war on terrorism" may have been annoying, but it was nothing compared to the obstacles faced by people from developing countries. These international "security restrictions," which all but prevent some people from ever entering the "first world," will doubtlessly be the norm for years to come.

Similarly, there were divergent reactions to the small number of women and young people at the table, the balance between lay, clergy and bishops (perceived to be overly clerical by some), and the red-flag topic of who set the meeting's agenda. South African representatives Delene Mark and Siyabu Gidi, offering what could be termed an indictment of the church at large, called on the Network to become more inclusive: "We want to see or hear the prophetic voice of the church, but it is not there. It is because the church is aging. We believe the prophetic voice is there in the young people." Like many secular international organizations — the UN comes to mind — the Network faces legitimate challenges to its identity and leadership even as it has become geographically diverse and earned a sense of permanence.

In its first gathering since April 1999, a major worry was simply how to tackle a demanding workload. On the first day of the meeting, participants were presented with three hotos by Ethan Fla

reuse and publication for Permission required Copyright 2020. Archives of the Episcopal Church / DFMS. priority themes — globalization, urbanization, and HIV/AIDS — and then developed a laundry list of another 15 issues for discussion. This alone would have been an immense challenge, but the daunting task increased in scope with a peek at the meeting agenda: Half of the time was scheduled off-site in "local experience" situations. To some of us coming from time-centered cultures, this was a grave concern: How could we possibly finish our business? Precious little time had been devoted to addressing globalization, for instance. That felt inappropriate, considering how that overarching theme was central to all of our work.

Ultimately, however, the hosts' insistence to ground the meeting in engagements with the local community made sense. Rather than simply talking about globalization, the APJN was thrust into dialogue with natives who experience its effects in everyday life. The setting was laid by Jenny Te Paa, the first indigenous lay woman to serve as a seminary dean in the Anglican Communion, who noted that Auckland is the largest Polynesian city in the world. While the country has developed a tourist-friendly identity, promoting a culture of mutual respect between the Pakeha (European descendants, also called "Kiwis") and Maori communities, Te Paa noted, "The responses of our indigenous peoples to our history of colonization have varied [based on] their abilities to respond." Aotearoa, the indigenous name for the nation, is usually translated as "the land of the long white cloud," but some locals acknowledged that Maoris often refer to it instead as "the land of the wrong white crowd"! An extensive presentation in the tiny northern village of Waimamaku on their economic, social and political concerns indicated how even the smallest rural districts are affected by the challenges of globalization. One speaker, the local parish priest, summarized divisions over a proposed process of nationalizing the country's fisheries. He argued that such a policy would encourage equitable resource distribution, particularly between impoverished Maori communities. The region's diminishing fish stock has caught up this

isolated coastal region adjoining the Tasman Sea in national economic struggles and an international debate on sustainable fishing.

With tensions that reflect the country's post-colonial legacy as a backdrop to the conversation, two aspects of New Zealand life still seemed to live up to the hype of its travel brochures. Both draw on the legacy of its native peoples. First, it is indeed a natural paradise, and the traditional indigenous respect for the land and sea appears to have permeated the entire society. Of course, a country with less than 4 million humans outnumbered approximately 20 to 1 by sheep - would be hard-pressed to completely destroy its ecology. But there is an obviously different mind-set about living "with the land" - some Maoris refuse to wear shoes, even in the central cities. It is a cultural statement about their direct connection with the earth, and perhaps a political statement about opposing materialism.

Second, the region's reputation for incredible hospitality is undeniably deserved. Kiwis and Maoris alike are touted as "friendly people," and the APJN was truly embraced by each of the communities it visited. The Network was particularly privileged to visit three different "marae" - local spiritual centers - where the history of each community was shared in depth through an elaborate ceremony of storytelling, song and food. The "hui" process is collaborative, and guests are expected to participate in the oral sharing. The directions were straightforward and powerful: "Wherever we come from in the world, we are the human symbols of our ancestors. We come representing those ancestors, not just ourselves. The respect you are accorded is not just for you, but the people who you represent. You pay homage to those people, even though some of them have been dead for 2,000 years." This multigenerational honoring theme rang true for many of the international guests. George Wauchope, a native South African who works for the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe, said it reminded him of how the pejorative Western view of "African religion" never understood the relationship between an individual, his community and



Fagamalama Tuatagalor Matalavea of Polynesia and Bishop Pie Ntukamazina of Burundi visit the site of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi between the Maori and the British.

ancestors. "There was a misnomer by the Christian missionaries. They said that we were worshipping our ancestors, but we were worshipping God THROUGH our ancestors."

This emphasis on contextualizing conversations and building relationships rather than on completing a preordained business agenda was the greatest success of the gathering. It would have been hard for the diverse group to have built consensus on any of the issues, and the topic of the September 11th bombings in the U.S. had created an especially sensitive climate. Bishop James Mason of Melanasia spoke in response to those who wanted to focus on that subject: "We do not have televisions, so we did not know what was happening. It did not affect us. What affected us was on June 5, 2000, when our coup happened. There are issues that are happening on the Solomon Islands that you don't want to hear, and we don't want to hear what was happening on 9/11."

Nevertheless, it was impossible for the assembled group to avoid that hot topic. Jane Lee from Hong Kong summarized the feelings of many people who questioned the "war on terrorism," with the following comments: "President Bush gave a speech in which he said, 'If you are not with us, you are against us.' In Hong Kong it is very delicate to use the word 'terrorist.' This is because in China they have a lot of concerns about internal dissent, which is called 'terrorism.' On the one hand the U.S. is talking about 'anti-terrorism,' which means to support their war games, but on the other hand we have to deal with this in our local context."

Bishop Gideon Ireri, the chair of the Anglican Church of Kenya's Justice, Peace, Reconciliation & Advocacy Commission, was more circumspect. Highlighting an event that was a precursor to the September 11 attacks — the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi in 1998 — his words about the difficulties of working together reflected the strains of building relationships: "There were other bombings that took place, too. As a result, security forces in key embassies have been increased. We are all learning the costs of partnership and of friendship. We are experiencing the costs of being in love."

In a political climate where international "coalition-building" is a buzzword but nationalism seems to be on the rise. Ireri's comments are prescient. There ARE costs to friendship. Fagamalama Matalavea, the Anglican Communion's new Observer at the United Nations, noted how easy it is for international NGOs to be influenced into a "U.S. way of doing things." But the "costbenefit" of global engagement - contextualized within local experience - appears to outweigh the safety of remaining insular. With the Archbishop of Canterbury having just announced his retirement, new leadership and relationships must emerge in the worldwide church. Thankfully, the APJN speaks prophetically to the church's mission at this historic time. Kia ora!

Ethan Flad is editor/producer of The Witness' web site and its "A Globe of Witnesses" (AGW) project (www.thewitness.org/agw). APJN members are frequent contributors to AGW.

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PISCOPAL PRIEST and former Episcopal Church Publishing Company board member S. Michael Yasutake died Dec. 29, 2001, following a massive stroke (ECPC publishes *The Witness*). A tireless advocate for social and economic justice — and especially for the rights of political prisoners in the U.S. — Yasutake founded and directed the Interfaith Prisoners of Conscience Project in Evanston, Ill.

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Born into a Japanese-American family in 1920, Yasutake experienced imprisonment firsthand when his family was sent to internment camps during World War II. After a year and a half, he and his sister, Mitsuye Yamada, were released when they were accepted into the University of Cincinnati, but his ordeal was not over.

"When we left camp, there were two questions they enquired about," says Yamada, a current ECPC board member. "One, are you willing to forswear allegiance to the emperor of Japan? And two, are you willing to bear arms to defend your country? He said, 'I never swore allegiance to the emperor of Japan to begin with, so I don't think it's necessary to forswear it, and no, I will not bear arms because I'm a pacifist.""

The following year, Yasutake received a visit from the FBI, who told him his responses were "suspicious" and they wanted to give him an opportunity to recant. Yasutake refused, and the FBI forced the university to expel him.

"He said he would stand by his word, because loyalty to your country doesn't mean you have to go out and shoot people," Yamada says. "He was a young man and very much alone, with no organizations to back him up. A lot of people would have succumbed."

Yasutake continued his studies elsewhere and, in 1950, became the first Japanese American to be ordained an Episcopal priest in the midwest. In Chicago, he worked with the civil rights movement while serving in parish and diocesan ministry, and then as director of counseling at the YMCA Community College.

Yasutake became aware of issues facing political prisoners in 1980 after Carmen Valentin, a counselor on his staff, was arrested, convicted of sedition and sentenced to 98 years in prison for her involvement with the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. When he discovered that people who are imprisoned for acting on their political convictions face longer sentences and harsher treatment than other prisoners, Yasutake embarked on a quest to raise awareness of their plight, especially within the church.

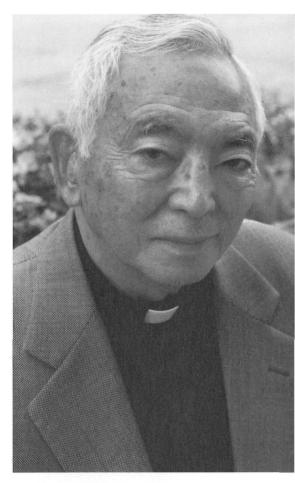
"He would track down bishops at General Convention to get them to present a resolution about Mumia Abu-Jamal that nobody wanted to touch," Yamada says. "He wanted the church to take some responsibility. He was very persistent — he was like a pit bull! when he wanted to call people's attention to things like Carmen's situation. Mike worked with such fervor trying to move the church to support his work because he felt by lack of action the church became complicit with the government in its persecution against people of color who oppose the government's policies, dissidents and political prisoners."

In recent years, Yasutake supported local resistance to U.S. military bases on Okinawa and Vieques, and joined his voice with those of others protesting the "war on terrorism." (See "The War Fever in the Superpower U.S.," <http://www.thewitness.org/agw/yasutake.103101.html>.)

Yasutake continually stressed the need for the church to maintain its own identity.

"The church has to stand on its own feet and examine its role in society," he said during a 1994 interview with *The Witness*. "It has to ask many hard questions of the government." — *Marianne Arbogast*

C. Nozomi Ikuta's sermon celebrating Yasutake's life and ministry can be found at <www.thewit-ness.org/agw/yasutake.012302.html>.



Michael Yasutake

March 2002

www.thewitness.org

SHORT TAKES

Portland mayor draws praise, criticism

After the city of Portland, Ore., declined to participate in the questioning of 23 men of Middle Eastern origin in their community, Mayor Vera Katz was beseiged with email from supporters and detractors alike. Among the responses posted on the city's website:

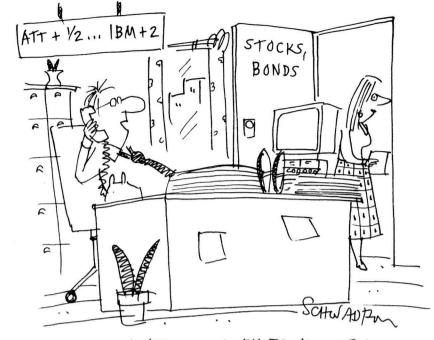
— "You are a Spineless Corp. Whore who has no idea. Get a clue, interigate the Sand Niggers and Rag Heads. We don't want them here anyway. We can always find someone else to run the 7-11's and the Arco gas stations."

— "I want to thank you and your police chief for your strong defense of civil liberties. This country can use many more with your integrity. In fact we need it desperately. Run for Congress!"

— "I lived in Portland for five years, until this August when I left to attend school in Pittsburgh, PA. ... I have never been more proud of my (former) home. ... I support and commend Portland's decision to act thoughtfully and justly in an unsettled time. Being called 'unpatriotic' right now carries so much more than the usual cultural and political weight. I think it is brave of your administration to act in concert with your obligation to the community as a whole, and not be swayed by the fears of some."

— "I think it would be a great idea for Portland to invite the American 'Talibum' and others from Afgangsterstan for a 'Talibum' Pride Parade. You and the police chief could have a big celebration for all of your terrorist and Bolshevik comrades. Since you hate Bush so much and you care about helping the enemies of the U.S. it seems appropriate."

— "People should not be ashamed of Portland for not throwing up their hands and giving up on America like most everyone is doing in this country right now. No longer is debate, and checks and balances honored right now. Right now we need more Veras around to ensure that we as a people do not end up with a dictatorship. The three branches of government are melting into one, making me fear that we are losing what



"EDDIE, WE LIVE IN TURBULENT TIMES. THEREFORE, I'M KEEPING YOU IN TURBULENT STOCKS."

it is to be 'American.' Vera, you are a beacon of true patriotism."

— "You are doing my work Vera. I will see you soon in hell! Satan (your father)"

— "In these difficult times, with our nation the victim of a terrible attack, we must be more vigilant than ever about safeguarding the very civil liberties that make us the kind of nation that terrorists and extremists can't abide. I salute your police department's efforts, in the face of criticism, to resist the racial profiling and mass interrogations called for by Attorney General Ashcroft."

— "Don't be so ridiculous as to speak of 'civil rights.' There is a war going on and civil rights should not be extended to anyone that could possibly be a detriment to this country's peace and self-defense efforts. Why aren't you concerned with the rights to safety and peace of American citizens. You have gone completely overboard this time. I used to be a strong supporter of our Mayor and Police Bureau. Today I am merely ashamed of both and fearful to live in an area that will become known to any terrorists that we will protect them and provide them with 'civil rights' that were intended for the true American citizens of this country." In a Dec. 6 letter explaining her position, Katz wrote:

"Our decision and our city have been characterized by some as unpatriotic. Given the important battle against terrorism that our country is engaged in, I would like to share some facts and background information directly with you, whether you support or oppose the City's position. We can aggressively fight terrorism and follow the law.

"It is important to know that U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft has said that the 23 men in question are not suspected of any crime. Nor is there any indication that they were in any way involved in the terrorist acts of September 11th. It is essential to understand this fact in order to understand the City Attorney's interpretation of Oregon law in this case. ...

"Two state laws guide our response to the Ashcroft request.

"The first, ORS 181.575, enacted in 1981, makes it unlawful for our police to 'collect or maintain information about the political, religious, or social views, associations, and activities of any individual ... unless such information directly relates to an investigation of criminal activities, and there are reasonable grounds to suspect the subject of the information is or may be involved in criminal conduct.'

"The second law, ORS 181.850, enacted in 1987, makes it unlawful for police to 'use agency moneys, equipment or personnel for the purpose of detecting or apprehending persons whose only violation of law is that they are persons of foreign citizenship residing in the United States in violation of federal immigration law.' ...

"We asked the U.S. Attorney if he would be willing to retool five of the 33 questions we had legal problems with. He declined and said that all the questions had to be asked as they were presented. Thus, we are unable to participate in the 23 local interviews. ... The interviews are being done by federal agents and are almost completed. ...

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required "Police chief Mark Kroeker and I are fully committed to continue working closely with all local, state, and federal officials in our country's effort to prevent and combat ter-rorism. We are also committed to obeying is the laws of our state. We can and will do both, because only in that way can we pro-tect our nation, and preserve that which makes it worth protecting."

Episcopal Just cause, unjust war

"I believe that the progressive supporters of the war have confused a 'just cause' with a 'just war,'" Howard Zinn wrote in The Progressive (12/01). "There are unjust caus-Archives es, such as the attempt of the United States to establish its power in Vietnam, or to dominate Panama or Grenada, or to subvert the government of Nicaragua. And a cause may be just — getting North Korea to withdraw from South Korea, getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait, or ending terrorism — but it does not follow that going to war on behalf of that cause, with the inevitable mayhem that follows, is just. ...

"Terrorism and war have something in common. They both involve the killing of innocent people to achieve what the killers believe is a good end. I can see an immediate objection to this equation: They (the terrorists) deliberately kill innocent people; we (the war makers) aim at 'military targets,' and civilians are killed by accident, as 'collateral damage.'

"Is it really an accident when civilians die under our bombs? Even if you grant that the intention is not to kill civilians, if they nevertheless become victims, again and again and again, can that be called an accident? ...

"Let's talk about 'military targets.' The phrase is so loose that President Truman, after the nuclear bomb obliterated the population of Hiroshima, could say: 'The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians."

Peace: not just for folkies anymore

The newly established National Youth and Student Peace Coalition "will startle anyone who imagines that all peace activists are white folk-music fans," Liza Featherstone writes in The Nation (12/17/01). "It includes the youth division of the Black Radical Congress and the Muslim Student Association."

Student peace activism "builds on networks and habits of dissent established by the student anticorporate movement, which has focused largely on economic justice, whether for the garment workers sewing college sweatshirts overseas or the dining hall workers students see every day," Featherstone says. "Many of the organizations - most notably Students Transforming and Resisting Corporations (STARC) - prominent in those campaigns are equally visible in antiwar organizing.

"But whereas recent high-profile student campaigns (those against sweatshops, for example) have tended to attract students from elite private schools and large state schools, the peace movement has extended to less predictable quarters, including rural Southern schools (North Carolina's Appalachian State University and the University of Southern Mississippi); historically black colleges like Morehouse; community colleges from Boston to Hawaii; urban public universities like CUNY and the University of Illinois, Chicago; and high schools and middle schools."

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WOMEN CONFRONTING VIOLENCE

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by Thomas E. Ambrogi

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) proposal is connected to the most brutal mechanics of globalization. Fast Track will make FTAA legislation difficult to prevent.



The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of **The Witness** magazine and related web site projects, seeks to give voice to a liberation Gospel of peace and justice and to promote the concrete activism that flows from such a Christianity. Founded in 1917 by Irving Peake Johnson, an Episcopal Church bishop, **The Witness** claims a special mission to Episcopalians and other Anglicans worldwide, while affirming strong partnership with progressives of other faith traditions.

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on the cover

Mother and child in a

VOLUME

APRIL

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Philadelphia shelter

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LETTERS

Resisting a culture of punishment

Please reinstate me. I sent in a previous invoice [in response to your recent directmail solicitation] marked "cancel," and then I received the Jan/Feb 2002 issue. ... WOW! *Rebecca Jackson Chicago, IL*

Puritanical mind-set misguided

Ethan Flad's interview of Van Jones ("Addiction to punishment: Challenging America's incarceration industry") cut right to the chase with respect to the underlying motivation for America's peculiar obsession with punishment, especially as it relates to the "puritanical" nature of our culture and its permeation in many mainstream churches today.

Keep in mind, there are people who are still alive today who were alive when alcohol prohibition was passed and later repealed.

As well-meaning as these prohibitionists may have been (including today's prohibitionists who are fueling the war on drugs) in their zeal to protect individuals from vice and punish "sinful" behavior, this mentality is horribly misguided and has produced tragic consequences.

Yes, some people need to be in prison to protect the property and welfare of other innocent members of the public. The European Union has a population of some 351 million inhabitants and a prison population of around 356,000. In contrast, the United States with 274 million residents has a prison population of over 2 million, roughly 400,000 of which are in prison for drug crimes — most of whom are people of color and come from impoverished backgrounds.

I am not terribly optimistic for any dramatic reversal of this puritanical phenomenon in the near future, given the current administration in Washington and the fact that this mentality has been alive in America since the Salem witch trials.

For those Christians who are not addicted to the culture of punishment, especially as it relates to the drug war, Western Europe offers some solid moral and intellectual fod-

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der for discussion and debate.

In Holland, which is a peaceful, orderly society, all drugs, including marijuana, are "illegal," but nonetheless any adult can buy marijuana and other drugs in "coffee houses" and the like. This is because the authorities only enforce the law if the drug user engages in criminal or anti-social behavior that directly affects other members of the public.

Thank you, Mr. Flad, and *The Witness* magazine, for your insight into the "war on drugs" and the destructive results it has produced.

Tim Beck Detroit, MI

'Let My People Go'

I read with great interest Marianne Arbogast's interview with Bishop Herbert Thompson — "Let My People Go" in the Jan/Feb 2002 issue of *The Witness*.



Your readers might want to know that a copy of Bishop Thompson's paper is available from Forward Movement Publications, an agency of the national Episcopal Church. I've enclosed a copy of our publication for your perusal. (For copies contact FMP at: 412 Sycamore Street, Cincinnati, OH 45202-4195; 513-721-6659; <www.forwardmovement.org>.)

Charles F. Brumbaugh Forward Movement Publications Cincinnati, OH

Embracing religious pluralism

Your regular subscription form asks, "How did you hear about us?" I heard about you many years ago from Miss Nellie McKim. Miss Nellie was the daughter of Bishop John Cole McKim an early Missionary Bishop of Japan. Miss Nellie, I think, was my mother's godmother and a godmother to my son Peter also. She was a missionary in Japan at the start of World War II and was imprisoned there for a time. During that time she was an

EDITORIAL NOTES

intermediary to the prison camp commandant, as she was fluent in Japanese. She was repatriated in an exchange of diplomats and eventually lived out her life in San Francisco, Calif. Miss Nellie, good missionary that she was, told me that I should subscribe to your magazine, as I would find it helpful. I never did as I found other channels for my energy.

Last year I met Ethan Flad at my son Andy's birthday party. I shocked Ethan by knowing of *The Witness*. We met again at Andy's Christmas party this year and Ethan kindly presented me with copies of the November 2001 and December 2001 issues.

The December 2001 issue [Embracing religious pluralism] convinced me that I should subscribe. It is good to see a call for a reevaluation of this country's foreign policy in a "religious" magazine. The message coincides with the statements of Michael Nagler of the University of California at Berkeley's Peace and Conflict Studies Program that I read on the same day that I read the December 2001 issue of *The Witness*.

Thank you for your work. Donald T. Nakahata, D.D.S. Mill Valley, CA

Prayer for the New Year

I have been a subscriber for about five years. I am a Christian Scientist and I wish my church had a publication like *The Witness*. I have appreciated every one of the issues I have received over the years. I enclose a prayer for the New Year:

- Give us the kindness to hear with compassion, to offer support, loving comfort, and care.
- Give us the courage to do what is needed, the wisdom to choose what is right and most fair.

Give us the vision to see what is possible.

Give us the faith that will help pave the way for a present that's hopeful, a future that's peaceful —

Give us the heart to bring joy to each day.

Suzanne Nightingale Cape Coral, FL

Confronting the cross

by Julie A. Wortman

s we prepared this issue on "women challenging violence," I found myself thinking back to a letter to the editor from Mary Eldridge of Milford, Mich., that we ran in the April 2000 Witness. She was responding to an issue on "Recovering from human evil." Eldridge said she was sorry that our treatment of the topic included nothing about the abuse of children, especially their sexual abuse.

"Tm trying to understand why good people fail to struggle with, talk about, cry over, preach about the abuse of children," she wrote. "I can think of no greater betrayal among human beings than a parent assaulting their own child. If it's too much for most people to comprehend, imagine what it is for the child and the child grown to adulthood, who sees nothing around her — be it church, state, family or friends — that challenges the monster that nearly destoyed her (and at times still threatens to destroy). Silence was — and is evil's weapon of choice. I'm sorry *The Witness* contained more of that silence."

The evil of which Eldridge speaks is very much a part of the climate of violence the women in this issue are challenging. Her own personal experience of childhood sexual abuse, in fact, is at the heart of what has led feminist theologian Rebecca Ann Parker to question atonement theologies. The book she wrote with Rita Nakashima Brock, Proverbs of Ashes: Violence, Redemptive Suffering, and the Search for What Saves Us (Beacon Press, 2001), provides disturbing insight into why otherwise good Christians, at least, keep silent when confronted with the stark reality of the violence and sexual abuse that all too often permeates the daily lives of the women and children who are our neighbors and family members (see Mary Hunt's interview with Parker and Brock on page 12). Even Witness readers will likely find themselves disconcerted by these authors' rethinking of the central focus of Christian worship and theology: the cross.

"You couldn't look at Jesus on the cross and see there, as the old liturgy said, 'one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world," Parker recollects in *Proverbs of Ashes*. "You couldn't see the face of love. You couldn't see a model for an interior psychological process of dying and rising. You couldn't see pain inflicted by God for the spiritual edification of believers. All these ways of seeing Jesus on the cross ended up sanctifying violence against women and children, valorizing suffering and pain, or denying loss. You couldn't look on the man of sorrows and give thanks to God without ending up a partner in a thousand crimes."

The focus of our "Recovering from human evil" issue (12/99) was from the outset on the traumas of war. But Eldridge was right to question the limitation in light of the issue's title. Maybe it is true that we all too regularly think of the world's evil as solely external to our intimate lives, as beyond the walls of the sanctuary. We are scandalized by revelations that contradict this mind-set. It is one thing to imagine and urge social and political reform, another to contemplate and embrace the earth-shattering implications of personal and theological truth-telling, the kind of truth-telling that might require radical reformation.

The silence needs breaking. And that is precisely what the women of faith featured in this issue are committed to doing. To all the Mary Eldridge's out there, we here at *The Witness* commit to doing our part. Keep the letters coming.

Julie A. Wortman is editor/publisher of The Witness. Our thanks to the Episcopal Church's Executive Council Committee on the Status of Women for their help in planning this issue.

www.thewitness.org

Hadeel's Song

Some words are hard to pronounce —

by Hanan Ashrawi

He-li-cop-ter is most vexing (A-pa-che or Co-bra is impossible) But how it can stand still in the sky I cannot understand — What holds it up What bears its weight (Not clouds, I know) It sends a flashing light-so-smooth — It makes a deafening sound The house shakes (There are holes in the wall by my bed) Flash-boom-light-sound ----And I have a hard time sleeping (I felt ashamed when I wet my bed, but no one scolded me.) Plane — a word much easier to say — It flies, tayyara, My mother told me A word must have a meaning A name must have a meaning Like mine. (Hadeel, the cooing of the dove.) Tanks, though, make a different sound They shudder when they shoot Dabbabeh is a heavy word As heavy as its meaning. Hadeel-the-dove — she coos Tayyara — she flies Dabbabeh — she crawls My Mother — she cries And cries and cries My-Brother-Rami — he lies DEAD And lies and lies, his eyes Closed. Hit by a bullet in the head (bullet is female lead — raisa — she kills, my pencil is male lead — rasas — he writes) What's the difference between a shell and a bullet? (What's five hundred-milli-meter — Or eight-hundred-milli-meter-shell?) Numbers are more vexing than words — I count to ten, then ten-and-one, ten-and-two But what happens after ten-and-ten, How should I know? Rami, my brother, was one

Of hundreds killed —

They say thousands are hurt, But which is more A hundred or a thousand (miyyeh or alf) I cannot tell — So big — so large — so huge — Too many, too much. Palestine — Falasteen — I'm used to, It's not so hard to say, It means we're here — to stay — Even though the place is hard On kids and mothers too For soldiers shoot And airplanes shell And tanks boom And tear gas makes you cry (Though I don't think it's tear gas that makes my mother cry.) I'd better go and hug her Sit in her lap a while Touch her face (my fingers wet) Look in her eyes Until I see myself again A girl within her mother's sight.

If words have meaning, Mama, What is Is-ra-el? What does a word mean If it is mixed with another — If all soldiers, tanks, planes and guns are Is-ra-el-i What are they doing here In a place I know In a word I know — (Palestine) In a life that I no longer know?

Hanan Ashrawi is the Commissioner of Information and Public Policy for the League of Arab States and the Secretary General of Miftah, the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy. She is also a member of the Palestinian legislative council. Her poem is printed here with permission from Cornerstone, which published the poem in Autumn 2001 (Issue 22). Cornerstone is published by the Jerusalem-based Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center (www.sabeel.org).

'CHURCH LEADERSHIP

— a Latina activist speaks out

by Marianne Arbogast

hen she worked at a domestic violence shelter in the 1980s, Pat Castillo saw how religious values could be distorted to coerce women into tolerating abuse. "The women would quote the scriptures that were used against them — they should turn the other cheek, they should submit, they should forgive," she says.

In her current position as coordinator of the PEACE initiative (Putting an End to Abuse through Community Efforts) in San Antonio, Tex., Castillo helped organize a "dialogue of theologians," hoping to counteract that message.

"We had an event at the local public TV station, and invited 12 clergy members to come and do a theological reflection on the scriptures that were most often raised by the survivors in these situations," she recalls. "They represented a wide array of churches in our community. And they made comments like, 'Are we talking about a little slap now and then, or are we talking about a really bad beating?' One guy said, 'Well, was that person keeping the house clean?' A roomful of people got up and said things like that."

The experience was eye-opening, Castillo says, in revealing the complicity of the churches, along with other societal institutions, in violence against women.

Although she has seen some positive changes in recent years — she notes the hearings on domestic violence held by the Committee on the Status of Women in the Episcopal Church, and the participation of local Roman Catholic seminarians as PEACE interns — she believes that "the church could play a much more active role as a teacher with regard to this issue. Church leadership has to be bold, to challenge church members to look at this issue, to talk about it, to address the suffering and to do what they can to change it.

"I realize that it challenges the *status quo* and it challenges the power structure," Castillo says. "It calls for a respect of the genders as equals. Here we are in 2002 and I think there are lots of people who aren't ready for that."

Building a PEACE coalition

Castillo's own work with the PEACE initiative — under the auspices of a Benedictine women's community in San Antonio — seems a hopeful example of the role the church could play. Since 1990, she has worked to build a coalition of community agencies and individuals concerned with domestic violence. The coalition, which now numbers 52 members, meets monthly as a body, and more frequently in subgroups, to develop community projects.

"We do community education, community awareness programming and public speaking," Castillo says. "We organize marches and rallies, we work with the media, we work with the arts community, we work with the gay and lesbian community. We have a little subgroup that we collaborate with that deals with violence between intimates who are older."

When the coalition began, participants felt that the first problem they needed to address was the poor response of the police department to domestic violence complaints.

"There was just incredible inaction in terms of intervention, in terms of resourcing victims, in terms of accountability for perpetrators, in terms of knowledge of the laws. The department was very stagnant and stuck in that old attitude of 'our hands are tied, there's nothing we can do, if those women don't want to press charges, don't come crying to us."

Through public meetings, media work and lobbying the city government, the coalition was able to bring about an overhaul in the police department's approach. Today the department funds a victims' services unit geared to the needs of women who have suffered abuse.

87 calls every 24 hours

Castillo is equally proud of the FACT (Family Assistance Crisis Teams) program, which has trained some 1500 community volunteers to work with domestic violence victims.

"They work at the police substations on Friday and Saturday

HAS TO BE BOLD'

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'When there's family violence... the spouse is being battered, the children are being abused, and the dog is being killed.'

— an interview with Mary Lou Randour by Marianne Arbogast

Mary Lou Randour is a psychologist and the author of several books, including *Animal Grace: Entering a Spiritual Relationship with Our Fellow Creatures* (New World Library, 2000). She currently serves as director of "Beyond Violence: The Human-Animal Connection," a joint project of Psychologists for the Ethical Treatment of Animals and the Doris Day Animal Foundation, providing training to mental health workers, law enforcement professionals, teachers and others on the link between human violence and animal abuse. She is co-author of a manual for counselors on treating animal abusers, and is currently working on a second manual on treating children involved in animal abuse.

M.A.: How is abuse of animals connected with domestic violence?

M.L.R.: There is a very significant link between family violence and animal cruelty. Animal cruelty also relates to other forms of violence and criminal activity. The co-occurrence rate of domestic violence and animal abuse in households is somewhere between 71 to 83 percent. When there's family violence, the person who is the violent member in the family isn't just confining their violence toward one type of family member. People became alert to that, and the other thing they noticed is that women were not leaving dangerous situations for fear of what would happen to their pets. So domestic violence shelters and animal shelters are forming cooperative arrangements where the animal shelter takes the family pet while the women and children go to a safe place.

M.A.: What issues are important in working with people who have abused animals?

M.L.R.: Working with adults, the two major principles of the treatment are, first, to directly address accountability, challenging the person to take responsibility and be accountable for their actions — which is the linchpin of domestic violence work, also. And the second is to try to teach empathy, to try to teach what it's like to be that other being, whether it's the spouse that's being battered or the dog you've just knifed or the cat you've put in the microwave. And there's a heavy educational component, because sometimes people are just ignorant about what the needs and capacities of animals are. They may be ignorant that they really can suffer and feel pain, or that they really feel psy-

nights until 2 o'clock in the morning," she explains. "Police officers bring cases of domestic violence to them, and they listen to them, resource them, comfort them and encourage them about whatever decisions they are going to make. But the neat thing is that these people end up using these skills wherever they are — not just on their Friday or Saturday night stint — so when people come to them at work, or their neighbor comes to them, or some person at the Little League field starts up a conversation, they know what to say and where to send them."

Castillo labors constantly to correct common misconceptions about domestic violence. People rarely understand how pervasive it is, she says.

"In San Antonio, for example, we have 1.6 million people in our city, and our police department responds to about 87 calls every 24 hours. And if we go by the statistic that the FBI gives us, that only one out of 10 instances of domestic violence is actually reported, that's an enormous amount of violence going on in our community, behind closed doors, that people are clueless about. Many of them are aware and they don't want to do anything about it, as well."

There are also misconceptions about available resources.

"It's a myth to believe that there's so much help that there's no reason for a woman to stick around anymore," Castillo says. "That just drives me nuts because it is simply not true. I tell people here, if your police department is answering 87 calls a day, where do you think those people are supposed to go? Because our first response is they've got to leave — right? Where do you think they're going to go in a city of 1.6 million people that has one shelter with 65 beds?"

In her public speaking, Castillo also tries to address the roots of violence toward women.

'You're playing like a girl!'

"I get into that whole idea of how we socialize males in our society, and how it's the perfect set-up for this kind of behavior to surface and thrive. And how much of what underlies that is the fear of the male growing up to be gay. I challenge my audiences about their homophobia, and about how they teach males to hate all that is feminine. What do coaches say to boys on the field? 'You're playing like a girl!' We teach little boys that they're not supposed to cry, because then they're wimps and wusses and punks. They're not supposed to demonstrate suffering. We teach them to cut off half of who they are, their whole emotional life. Then when emotion does come up, it's usually in the form of aggression and violence and brutality. And then we dismiss it — oh, well, boys will be boys."

Attitudes that lead to abusive behavior are formed early, Castillo says, citing experiences with school groups.

"It's really scary for me listening to what those kids tell you," she says. "I've had little sixth-grade boys tell me that if their girlfriend disses them, they're going to pop her, because girls need to be taught lessons."

From a young age, children are exposed to widespread objectifica-

tion of women in the media, she says.

"The sexism of viewing women as being around to serve men is an attitude that still permeates our society. Pornography is everywhere. I had an opportunity one time to do a class with little bitty kids, kindergarteners and first-graders. I started talking to them about violence in the family and those kids started talking to me about incest, about rape, about women who dance naked with poles, about men who beat up women — just about every horrible thing you can think of that no child should know about. I just kept thinking, who is supervising these children? They're thrown in a room and told to watch TV, with no adult to start having critical analysis conversations with about what they're seeing. I walked out of that school in tears, thinking to myself, where are we as parents, as mentors, as people to be looked up to?"

'Do we want to keep sacrificing Latino men to the criminal justice system?'

Castillo, who serves on the board of the National Latino Alliance for the Elimination of Domestic Violence, says that that group is doing work that she hopes to translate into projects addressing the situation of young men in her own community who demonstrate abusive behavior.

"Ultimately, what happens to the Latino male when they end up in the criminal justice system is they get eaten alive by the system. So our challenge is, do we want to keep sacrificing our young males to the criminal justice system? We need to stop and think about what this behavior is doing to them. Not with the notion that they need to be given breaks and they need to be tolerated no matter what absolutely not. But to be willing to examine what it means to deal with issues of racism and poverty and classism and colonialism that are so oppressive and so devastating. And also to recognize the fact that many survivors are going to continue living with these perpetrators. We talk about this stuff in our board meetings — the perpetrators drop off the women at the support groups. And we don't want to bust up families and have all these kids in foster care, because that sure doesn't work. So what are we going to do to help people stay together in ways that are not destructive?"

Part of the answer may lie in reclaiming lost or distorted cultural traditions, she believes.

"When you think of the word 'macho' you think of all these negative things, right? In our culture, in Mexico, if you were a macho you were a man of your word, a man who was respected by your wife and children, a man who dealt with his obligations, a responsible man, a spiritual man. The definition of that word got completely distorted. Not all of our traditions are good and healthy, but some of them were good, some of them gave us rootedness and self-knowledge about who we are, and our connection to our spirituality and our earth. Those are the kinds of things that we're talking about, and we're looking at how we are going to begin translating that in work with males, getting men to be appropriate role models, instead of the drunken, partying, womanizing, sexually promiscuous guy that boys are looking up to."



chological pain, or that they have certain needs — like dogs are pack animals.

If you're counseling a child, asking questions about animals should be another part of the assessment, to see if there's any animal abuse in the house, and if the child is involved in any way. If you know that a child is abusing an animal, that should alert the clinician that there might be other forms of family violence going on. Also, it's important because sometimes animals are used to coerce children. With sexual abuse of children, if they have a favorite pet, the animal may be either injured or threatened to gain their silence. Then, treating children would probably be similar, it would be a question of empathy and accountability and education.

In working with children there is also animal-assisted therapy. There's a woman named Susan Krinsk whose therapy partner is a 160-pound bull mastiff named Taz, and he is very important to the treatment. She works at the Child Protection Center in Sarasota, Florida. There was one little boy of 9 who was referred to the center by his school for being sexually aggressive. When he first came to the center he was seeing another psychologist, but he wouldn't talk ---- he crawled inside a toybox and literally disappeared. Susan was called in, and she walked in with Taz and said, "I hope there's no one in here who's afraid of really big dogs, and I hope there's no one in here who minds being sniffed and licked." He popped out of his hiding place, his eyes big, and asked if he could play with her dog. She said, "Yes, but you came here because you have some problems, and we have to talk about these problems --- but Taz is a really good listener. And I can interpret and tell you what Taz thinks." So he said, okay, I'll do it. As it turned out the boy did have a lot of problems - he had actually killed his own cat, as well as harmed other animals in his neighborhood. But in the course of therapy he was able, first of all, to learn about boundaries. He always wanted to play with Taz or climb on him, and sometimes Taz didn't want to. So he learned that another creature also had needs and interests that he had to consider. He also had the pure enjoyment and nurturing of physical contact with Taz and Taz's acceptance of it.

M.A.: I understand that you've been working with a campaign to make extreme animal abuse a felony.

M.L.R.: We were successful in Maryland, and this past May it was signed into law by the governor that extreme acts of animal cruelty — which would be severely beating, torturing, killing or mutilating an animal — would be a felony offense. Maryland was the 32nd state to add a felony provision to the animal cruelty statutes, and there will be campaigns until there are 50 states. People are recognizing that there is a link between animal abuse and human cruelty, and that severe acts of animal cruelty are a crime of violence, and that crimes of violence need to be taken seriously and attended to.

M.A.: How do you respond to that criticism that animal suffering is way down on the list of priorities that we ought to be dealing with?

M.L.R.: I think that any social justice philosophy that pits one suffering group against another is questionable. Our lives are inextricably linked. It's not a choice between them or us. I remember people being concerned that if we worried about feminism, it would take away from the civil rights movement. But it's not either-or, it's both-and. I also think the argument that you have to wait until all the human issues are solved can be a way of blocking out information.

M.A.: Why do you think it is that, even though many people experience positive relationships with animals, we're generally taught to discount them? We're taught that it's our relationships with human beings that really matter, while human-animal relationships are trivialized or seen as insignificant.

M.L.R.: It's human narcissism, I guess. Why is it that people think their race is superior to another, or their gender, or their nationality, or their religion? In some ways it's the same kind of thinking, dismissing the Other as being less-than. Certainly the species barrier is wide and deep. You can trace it historically to lots of different philosophies and it's embedded in our thinking. But I think it's a very pernicious philosophy. Once you cross the species barrier, because it's such a wide one, I think it's easier to see the damage that can be done by viewing other groups as "less-than" or "other-than." So you're more inclined not to make distinctions between yourself and other races or nationalities whatever the group distinction is — and to see how we share more than we differ.

M.A.: In your own experience, is that true of people who are committed to animal rights? Do you find them to have more of an openess to human beings who are different from themselves?

M.L.R.: Definitely, that's my own experience. There has been some research on this published in *Society and Animals*, which is a journal of Psychologists for the Ethical Treatment of Animals. Researchers gave different attitude scales to animal rights



One block at a time

The PEACE initiative recently received a \$192,000 grant to work on a project called "One Block at a Time."

"It's a model that has been talked about in some of the national programs," Castillo says. "How can we work on this issue by way of neighborhood associations, community activist organizations, committees in churches, youth groups, all of those programs that are out there? Neighborhood people are raising the issue of family violence and how it's affecting their neighborhoods and their crime rates, so what can we do to address this issue? To give an example, the Cellulars on Patrol program — they're neighborhood people who take turns driving around with a cell phone. Wouldn't it be cool if those neighborhood watch people knew of every single protective order that was issued in their neighborhood? And they knew they would have to keep a special watch on those addresses, and they reached out to those survivors and let them know, hey, if you need us we're here. And to look at it not as if there's something for you to be ashamed of, but the fact that you have a protective order is just as significant as if you had just been broken into by burglars."

Castillo would like people "to feel as comfortable talking about the family violence in our neighborhood as they do about the leash law or bad sidewalks or potholes, and to come up with the ideas that they feel will work for them."

Castillo, who is 44, has been doing domestic violence work ever since she visited a battered womens' shelter as a 20-year-old social work intern.

"I couldn't even believe that a place like that had to exist," she says. "I met some very incredible women in that place and have just remained in awe of the strength of women, the endurance of women, their capacity to live and love and remain spirited in the face of such horrific violence."

She can identify with the challenges faced by survivors of abuse.

"I'm a survivor of child abuse, I'm a survivor of incest, I'm a survivor of substance abuse," she says. "For many reasons I probably should have been dead, for many reasons I probably should have been in jail."

But she testifies to "many beautiful and powerful blessings" in her life. Raised Roman Catholic, Castillo had left the church, but was drawn to the Episcopal Church after meeting Carmen Guerrero, then vicar of a church in San Antonio. Castillo, who was working with women in jail, invited Guerrero to do some workshops.

"Scripture just came alive in her conversations with the women, in a way that the women were totally open to and connected with," she says. "There were problems, because we could only get 60 women in at one time, and everybody knew about her and how she spoke to them in her classes. They were beating the door down to come to her sessions, and we had to figure out ways to get people to take their turn. And I was no different."

Castillo says she is proud of the work the Episcopal Church has done to address issues of violence against women.

"I was very privileged to have worked with the Committee on the Status of Women in the Episcopal Church, to raise these issues up and to challenge our church structures to deal with it," she says. "The work has to continue, because we've got a long way to go."

Marianne Arbogast is *Associate Editor of* The Witness. *She co-manages* a Catholic Worker soup kitchen in Detroit.

activists compared to other groups of people. What they found was that people who were more sympathetic to animal rights and animal welfare were, first of all, more likely women. They also were more likely to endorse all the different progressive causes — gay and lesbian rights, civil rights, world hunger issues.

The other thing that I've noticed, the few times I've been at a table in front of a grocery store trying to get people to become aware of something like testing on the Bion monkeys — which were monkeys that were used in space, and really barbaric things were done to them — when people walked by, it was the less affluent African Americans who were much more likely to stop and look at the material and be sympathetic. People have noticed this about circus leafletting, too. I think it's the same with women, because if you're a member of a group that gets the short end of the stick, you can identify with the suffering.

M.A.: That certainly isn't the picture that comes across in the media. So often, people who are advocating for animals are portrayed as kooks. Why do you think that is?

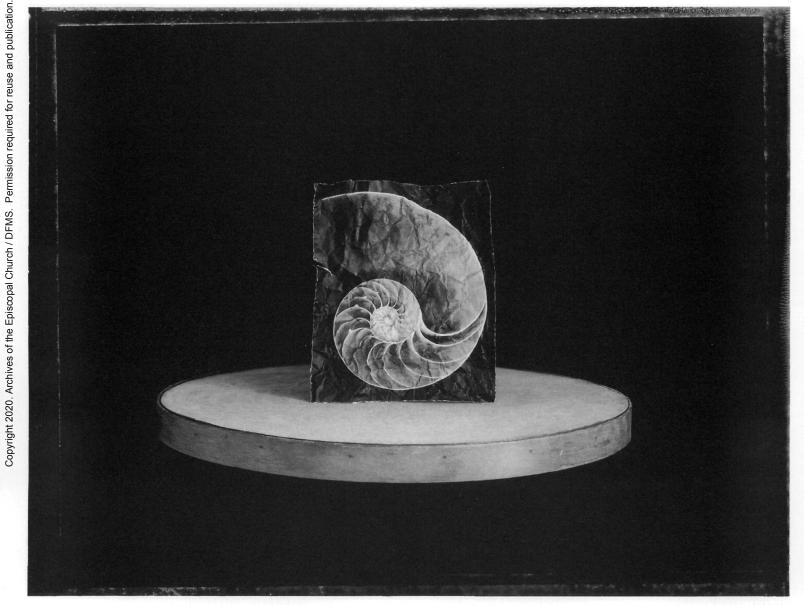
M.L.R.: Because with the animal rights community, our constituents are billions of animals with absolutely no money or any influence in society, and we are opposing the economic forces of the meat and dairy industry, the biomedical industry and other economic powerhouses. There are huge economic forces opposed to animal rights, and they have a lot of access to the media.

Also, because animals are interwoven in our lives in so many ways, people understand that by opening to the animal rights argument, they're going to be moved to make changes in their daily lives, and I think that's threatening. So it's easy to develop defenses where you can just dismiss the people, dismiss the argument, go along your merry way and not really think about it.

There are many really respectable people who support animal rights. Carl Sagan was an animal rights person. Jane Goodall is an animal rights person — she attends animal rights conferences and she's against biomedical research. Steve Wise, an attorney at Harvard, recently wrote a book called *Rattling the Cage*. Steve is making a case for the legal rights of chimpanzees, bonabos and orangutans. He uses legal arguments, philosophical arguments, arguments based on what we know now about biology and ethnology, why there should be legal rights for these kinds of animals, and I'm sure he would extend that further as we advance. His book got a lot of critical acclaim and people like Larry Tribe — a Harvard Law scholar who, if there was a Democratic administration, might have been the next Supreme Court justice — said the only problem with Steve's book is that it didn't go far enough.

The animal rights argument is substantial and it's based on sound reasoning and a lot of evidence. If you're consistent in your ideas about social justice, and if you really study issues and look at all the data, I believe the conclusion is inescapable that our moral consideration has to be extended to animals.

WE WEREN'T SAVED



©Pamela Ellis Hawkes

BY A STATE EXECUTION

an interview with Rita Nakashima Brock and Rebecca Ann Parker

by Mary E. Hunt

eminist theologians and longtime friends Rita Nakashima Brock and Rebecca Ann Parker are the authors of *Proverbs of Ashes: Violence, Redemptive Suffering, and the Search for What Saves Us* (Beacon Press, 2001). Their book is a theological personal reflection on the claim that Jesus' death saves. Searching for a life-affirming theology leads them each into deep, personal examination of the ways theological ideas affect a person's life — and about how life shapes theology. They've been accused of wanting Christianity without the cross. They deny this charge, although their theology of the cross makes a radical departure from any theology of atonement, even those found in liberation theology.

Rebecca Ann Parker is an ordained United Methodist minister in dual fellowship with the Unitarian-Universalist Association. She is president and professor of theology at Starr King School for the Ministry at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, Calif. Rita Nakashima Brock is a research associate at the Harvard Divinity School. She is author of *Journeys by Heart: A Christology of Erotic Power*. They are interviewed here by *Witness* contributing editor Mary E. Hunt, co-founder of WATER (Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics and Ritual) in Silver Spring, Md.

MARY HUNT: I want to start off by saying how much I appreciate your book. It's a powerful read and a wonderfully well-written memoir and theological reflection. I read it with some trepidation because I have been critical of similar books in which I felt that I knew too much about the authors and their difficulties. This is a problem of memoir, I think. But here I felt that as a reader I benefited from the very, very hard work that

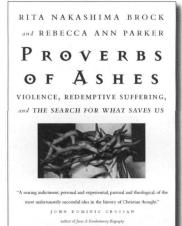
you had done — both in the writing of the book and also in the therapeutic and other kinds of work that you've done around these issues. How are other people reacting to the book? **RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK:** I am grateful for the responses we've gotten. In writing such personal material we did not want to do true confessions — or

even to write in a therapeutic way as victims. We wanted to show how life is the basis for theological reflection and to write in a way that would invite people to reflect on their own lives and their own theology. And that's been the response that we've been getting.

One of the most fun reactions that we got was from my fundamentalist sister-in-law who sent us a letter thanking us for the book because it got her all excited about what she thought theologically. And so, in response to us, she was busy reading a bunch of books herself!

REBECCA ANN PARKER: We also got a letter from a friend — someone who'd left Christianity, but was still trying to understand his relationship to it — who was so moved by the book that he read the second half of the book listening at the same time to the Bach St. John's Passion. We so appreciate this reader's creativity in listening to our book and listening to an artist's interpretation of the death of Jesus at the same time. That kind of multi-layered processing is part of what we were hoping to inspire.

MARY HUNT: In the book you explore or model a theologi-



cal method of which a lot of people in the theological academy, at least, are very suspicious because they can't put a name to it. They don't understand that human beings function on so many levels at once. You could make a methodological claim that would be very helpful for people who are struggling with these issues in the dayto-day work in pastoral ministry.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: Yes. One of the things that happens in pastoral ministry that our book witnesses to is that theological reflection happens at the intersection between life experience and people's experiences of their religious tradition. It's very important to us not to just witness from life — to tell the stories of our lives — but to tell the story of the interaction between our life experience and traditions of Christianity as we've encountered them.

MARY HUNT: How did you weigh the pros and cons of so much self-revelation?

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: Well, Rebecca and I didn't start out to write a book like this. We started out to write a book of theology, one not just for experts, but for everyone who thinks theologically. We had been using our own stories in third-person form to show that these ideas have an impact on human life and need to be reflected upon in that way. The more we struggled with how to do this, the more we faced into the fact that the stories were our stories and we needed to claim them because they really help people see how we got to the theology. So the point of telling all this personal stuff about our personal lives was to show how the theological conclusions we had reached really were grounded in our own lives and experiences. And we reflected intensely on that experience. Our book doesn't just report raw experience. It's really thought-through experience.

MARY HUNT: Some of the violence that you describe is so horrible that, as a reader, my gut reaction was to want to protect you, both as those little girls and as grown women. The question that came to my mind is how can we help one another in such situations?

REBECCA ANN PARKER: The book offers a non-violent view of salvation that doesn't valorize suffering or violence. The idea that "Jesus died for us" ends up sanctioning violence. The alternative to that theology is to say that, in the presence of violence, part of what saves us are the steady witnesses — the human beings who are willing to face into the realities of violence without mystifying it or denying it. We help one another when we refuse theology that moves us away from showing up, facing violence and stopping it. Steady witnesses are not confused about what stopping violence requires.

MARY HUNT: How conscious do you think the religious justification for violence that you outline was for your perpetrators?

Did they see themselves as the Father God who had permission? Is it that easy?

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: Well, I think it varies. But this theology has been taught for so long as the Western orthodox tradition that people don't need to make a conscious connection.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: I agree with Rita. I think it varies. Theology seeps into life like groundwater and we drink it in. So it matters a lot what's in the water! But we tell one story of a colleague whose father forced sex on her throughout her childhood and this father explicitly said to the child — to this daughter that he and God were very close and that God approved of what he was doing. And the daughter heard in church about a God who asked his child to suffer, so when her father said God and I are close and God approves of this, what resource did she have that would give her any leverage against the sort of divinely sanctioned authority of her father to rape her? So in this case the theology was very explicit.

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: I think the thing that most people don't know historically about that whole idea that Jesus died in our place and took on the debt of sin is that it emerged most fully in the Crusades. It paralleled what the pope promised the crusaders if they would go out and commit acts of violence. So whether it's explicitly used that way or not, violence is the subtext of its historical development.

MARY HUNT: If Christianity is to blame in such a primary way, and I have every reason to agree with you, does increasing religious pluralism offer any more safety or do you see strains of this same thinking in other religions?

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: Well, it's there in a lot of religious traditions because there are very few religious traditions that aren't in cultures where warfare and military activity aren't deeply embedded in the society. You may get different justifications for the use of violence, but the idea that religion can give ideological weight to people who engage in acts of violence isn't just distinctive to Christianity.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: I agree. Christianity isn't unique in having theologies that sanction violence. And Christianity also has different strands of tradition that, if you will, have a different gospel message. Part of what Rita and I have consistently said is that, to be an active religious person, you have to accept responsibility for the heritage in which you stand and you have to actively sort out what of that tradition is life-supporting and lifegiving and what of it does things like sanction violence.We have to claim our authority, as religious people, to make judgments about our heritage. And then we must creatively transform our tradition to advance what saves life.

MARY HUNT: It's so clear how U.S. people have been able to

see that in Islam around questions of terrorism — for example, Muslims use competing interpretations of their own texts. And yet very few Christians in this country have been able to grant that same leeway to their own tradition on things like this. I wonder what kind of advice you would have for local pastors or for active lay people who want to look at not only instances of violence, but what I would call a violent culture – whether religiously perpetrated or not. What might we do?

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: Well, one of the ways that life is saved is by people who become active in their own theological processes. That they don't simply passively receive a tradition and adhere to it, but actually think actively about their own life experiences in light of that tradition. The other thing is that it's also important not to be alone. Violence isolates people and makes them ashamed or guilty. So the other thing is never to do anything in isolation, but to work hard to keep bonds of community going and to keep community alive. We must invest time and energy in making those connections.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: Here is one place for people to start: in small covenant groups for theological reflection, where people are able to create an atmosphere of truthful speaking and deep listening to hear the truths of one another's lives and to grapple with them in the context of their heritage. I was interested that one friend of mine, who is a survivor of sexual violence, started to read the book but then said, "I can't read this right now, unless I read it in relationship with some other people or with a therapeutic connection, so that I can discuss the material in the context where I can talk about it." I thought that was a very sensible response.

Another important response is to engage very seriously with what happens in liturgy, hymnody and preaching. The kinds of questions that Rita and I raise about the religious sanctioning of violence in Christian tradition go to the heart of some of our liturgical practices. It matters what we say on Sunday morning in the eucharistic prayer about the violence that happened to Jesus.

MARY HUNT: Or what we sing. Or what we say during the Holy Saturday vigil.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: Right. It is important to not accept uncritically the traditions of the church and the liturgies, but to engage in transforming them in a more life-supporting way.

MARY HUNT: I was interested, Rita, in your discussion of your talks with Nelle Morton. Her famous "hearing one another into speech" was based on a woman's experience of violence. It made me think of that very famous Women Counseling Women conference that was held at Union Theological

'I told the congregation we had to stop sleeping by the fire.'

Hadley Basque invited me to lunch. He'd been listening to my sermons [on the crucifixion] and wanted to respond. Hadley was one of the nonbelievers in the congregation. An artist who worked with the homeless in a downtown emergency shelter, Hadley was active in the church but didn't buy into any of the theology. I liked Hadley. I always learned things, talking with him.

"I was a prisoner of war during the Korean War," he began. "I was in the camp for two years. The winters were the hard part. In

North Korea the winters are very cold. It snows. The ground freezes. We had to sleep in drafty barracks on thin boards with one thin blanket. In winter, the guards would make charcoal fires in these barracks. They stood around the fires, warming themselves, in front of us. If you wanted to, you could take your blanket and go sleep by the fire. The guards didn't mind.

"You could always tell the prisoners who had given up hope. They would go sleep by the fire. It was warmer there. You could make it through the night without shaking from the cold. But being warmed that way lowered your resistance. The ones who slept by the fire would get sick, pneumonia or flu, or God knows what. They'd last for a while, but they wouldn't make it. They would die.

"Those of us who survived — we were the ones who never went to sleep by the fire."

I looked at Hadley across the table. There was quiet. The restaurant noises clattered around us. I knew what it felt like to sleep away from the fire, but I hadn't known, until then, that it might be a way to survive.

I told the congregation we had to stop sleeping by the fire. My objection to every theology of the cross was that it mystified violence and offered dangerously false comfort. The restless concern, the fire in my bones, was to face violence in the world more squarely. Theology cloaked violence and taught people to endure it. Christianity's denial of violence appalled me.

You couldn't look at Jesus on the cross and see there, as the old liturgy said, "one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world." You couldn't see the face of love. You couldn't see a model for an interior psychological process of dying and rising.You couldn't see pain inflicted by God for the spiritual edification of believers. All these ways of seeing Jesus on the cross ended up sanctifying violence against women and children, valorizing suffering and pain, or denying loss. You couldn't look on the man of sorrows and give thanks to God without ending up a partner in a thousand crimes.

The actual historical event of Jesus' crucifixion was neither sweet nor

saving. In Jesus' time, the Romans occupied all of Palestine. The Roman empire overtaxed the peasants, confiscated peasants' forfeited land and co-opted the Jerusalem Temple to serve the needs and wants of the ruling minority. The Romans and their collaborators in Jerusalem were unpopular with the peasants of Galilee, who resisted in many ways. Jesus, a Galilean Jewish teacher, resisted Roman exploitation and cultural domination by teaching and healing. A community gathered around him.

The Romans suppressed resistance by terrorizing the local population. Crucifixion was their most brutal form of capital punishment. It took place in full public view, to teach a lesson through terror. Those crucified were soldiers or slaves who had run away from service or enemies of the state, especially those fomenting political insurrection and resistance. Jesus was likely guilty as charged. His demonstration against the Jerusalem Temple would have been interpreted by Pilate, who used the Temple treasury to fund his public works projects, as insurrection. Pontius Pilate was notoriously cruel. Philo, Pilate's contemporary, describes Pilate's "outrages, wanton injuries, constantly repeated executions without trial." Jesus died a violent death, preceded by the torture of flogging, which was meant to score the flesh so deeply that the victim bled to death on the cross, sometimes lingering for days. Often the victim was simply tied to the cross. Jesus was nailed, the worst way to be hung. Seneca wrote: "Can anyone be found who would prefer wasting away in pain dying limb by limb, or by letting out his life drop by drop, rather than expiring once for all? Can any man be willing to be fastened to the accursed tree, long sickly, already deformed, swelling with ugly weals on shoulder and chest, and drawing the breath of life amid long-drawnout agony? He would have many excuses for dying even before mounting the cross."

Jesus died relatively quickly, which means his wounds were very deep. His absence was acutely felt. Many of his followers dispersed, anguished and afraid. A few women remained to tend the body and see to his burial. They grieved deeply. Over the years, Rita and I would contemplate the meaning of Jesus' death. To say that Jesus' executioners did what was historically necessary for salvation is to say that state terrorism is a good thing, that torture and murder are the will of God. It is to say that those who loved and missed Jesus, those who did not want him to die, were wrong, that enemies who cared nothing for him were right. We believe there is no ethical way to hold that the Romans did the right thing. We will not say we are grateful or glad that someone was tortured and murdered on our behalf. The dominant traditions of Western Christianity have turned away from the suffering of Jesus and his community, abandoning the man on the cross.

Atonement theology takes an act of state violence and redefines it as intimate violence, a private spiritual transaction between God the Father and God the Son. Atonement theology then says this intimate violence saves life. This redefinition replaces state violence with intimate violence and makes intimate violence holy and salvific. Intimate violence ends sin. Behind the holy mask of intimate violence, state violence disappears.

- Rebecca Ann Parker, Proverbs of Ashes

Seminary in 1973 in New York. Nelle was there. That was where I first experienced a feminist liturgy. It was an exorcism liturgy, an exorcism from rape. Is it safe to say that much of what feminist, womanist, and *mujerista* theology has been about is not simply women's oppression but violence against women?

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: One of the questions feminists are grappling with right now is about whether it is appropriate to universalize anything. If we are attuned to histories of cultural imperialism and racism, how can we talk to each other about our own experiences when there's so much particularity and difference and conflict among us? But it seems to me that this issue of violence is one of those issues that cuts across culture and class and all kinds of things. Not that violence is the same everywhere, but that there seem to be certain mechanisms in coping with it that can do worse damage. Judith Herman's book, Trauma and Recovery, has been translated into nearly a dozen languages and is being read in cultures like Japan, where you'd least expect to find a Western book on psychotherapy to appear. And yet people are finding her work on the aftermath of violence to be extremely helpful for survivors of intimate and sexual violence and for survivors of torture in war.

MARY HUNT: In 1973 we were talking about the oppression of women, but I now realize that even the word oppression was coded in a way not to say violence. It was oppression against women. But in fact rape is rape and it's not oppression, it's violence!

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: Well, in writing this book, Rebecca and I didn't start out using the term violence. It was really through digging into our experience and struggling with the right language that we finally realized that we were not talking here about suffering but about violence. Once we realized that, a lot of other pieces fell into place.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: This is an important point, because for all the years that Rita and I and you, too, Mary, have been engaged in working for the freedom of women and women's rights and for as long as we've worked on these theological issues of Christianity sanctioning violence, it was a long, slow process before we came to the simple clarity: We're not talking about suffering, we're talking about violence. Theologies of the cross often lump into the word "suffering" all human pain, some of which is not violence, but is just part of life — the suffering of disease, the suffering of the loss of ones we love who have died naturally. But this suffering is not identical to those experiences in which there are intentional acts by human beings that cause other human beings harm. The death of Jesus was a violent event. It was an event of human violence. This is something we have sought to clarify: It is not enough for theology to speak about suffering. Theology must address the problem of violence.

MARY HUNT: A lot of the men in the book were villains. But there were some heroes, too. In fact, there are a lot of men who are going to read this and say, "I didn't abuse my daughter and I haven't done this and I haven't done that." How can we help these men also to see the positive things they can do — such as the listening they need to do to women's experiences — to unleash creativity for justice?

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: There are two aspects: I think that often men don't understand silence in women's behavior or in the behavior of people who are marginalized. It's important not to be satisfied with silence, but also not to coerce speech. In the book, Bernard Loomer, from whom I took a christology doctoral seminar in college, could press in a way that compelled me to answer him. And if I didn't know how to answer him, I felt I could say I didn't know and that wouldn't be belittled.

The other aspect is that, along with the expectation that women be silent, there is a huge cultural phobia about women's anger. Many men, especially, I think, are really frightened of women's anger. So they dodge by being nice guys or they run away and try to evade it. Anger didn't seem to frighten Bernie Loomer or make him uneasy. I wrote an angry paper on feminist theology for his class and he not only gave me an "A," but told me to write my dissertation on the same topic.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: In our book, Rita tells about a gay man named Glen, who intervenes in a healing way during a discussion about rape which explodes into homophobic anger. The goodness of Glen is that he's not afraid of anger and he's able to stay with the process of anger until there's a breaking open of soul that moves the conversation into a new space.

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: What I found interesting about that moment was that Glen was present with the anger that was homophobia projected onto him; he could hear the hurt and pain that was behind the anger. He was not patronizing. Being patronizing is another way not to listen. Glen stood his ground in terms of his own dignity and a demand for respect for his personhood, but in a way that placed a

'Isolating Jesus from mutual relationships carried forward the trauma of violence without healing it.'

Children at school occasionally called me names, like Chink or Jap, and made fun of me by pulling the corners of their eyes up tight. Their taunting made recess time a minefield. Eventually, I figured out who the mean kids were and avoided them, but it was difficult. I grew more homesick for Japan, where I had lived for my first five years. No one there had ever treated me with such cruelty. How does a seven-year-old child defend herself against random and incomprehensible hostilities? It would be many years before I had an answer. I formed a flesh of bronze to shield myself from arrows of hate. Inside that metallic skin, I could pretend that I did not feel the sting of scorn, the humiliation of contempt, that I was impervious to hate. My pain remained hidden, as undigested lumps frozen in time. I worked to assure I did nothing to provoke ridicule, nothing to embarrass myself. I became disdainful of my own feelings of vulnerability. As long as I faced outward from my shield, I could deny the pain within. If I could scorn my own weaknesses, I could forestall succumbing to my fear, despair and homesickness.

Even now, when hurt, I sometimes retreat behind that shield; it gives me an air of imperturbability. I am emotionally hidden, unavailable to others. I can be indifferent or cruel. I ignore my own pain, resorting first to fury. Anger allows me to blame others, to deflect the pain off the surface of bronze. My capacity for empathy disappears. I survived a childhood being Japanese in Kansas this way, but sometimes I feel as though the fat white girl won.

I realized long after I was a theologian that my interest in religion and my focus on the violence done to Jesus are grounded in my childhood experiences of racism. I have concluded that the Christian theological tradition has interpreted Jesus' life in ways that reinforced trauma. I was isolated by the traumatic events of my childhood. The tradition has isolated Jesus as a singular savior, alone in his private relationship with God. Jesus is depicted as unique and separate, carrying salvation on his own solitary shoulders. His relationships to others are described paternalistically, as if they needed him but he did not need them. To be saved, I was supposed to have an isolated relationship with him, to need him when he did not need me.

I knew, from my own experience, that there is no grace in such isolation. Isolating Jesus from mutual relationships carried forward the trauma of violence without healing it. My theological obsession became how to show that vulnerability, mutuality and openness demonstrate love, that these bonds of love and care reveal the presence of God. If Jesus did not participate in such bonds, if he was isolated, he could not offer any grace. — *Rita Nakashima Brock*, Proverbs of Ashes mirror before the person, rather than an accusatory challenge. He wasn't being paternalistic, he wasn't being nice. He challenged with a kind of love that was transformative.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: Another one of the good men whose story we tell is Bill, who told me when I was a young minister about his process of recovery from how combat had affected his life. He comes to a transformed understanding of what it is to be a good man. I think it's very important for men who have gone through a transformation process of claiming themselves claiming their own lives as a site of God's presence — to speak about what they know. One of my male friends says our book has stimulated his thinking about his relationship to his children and about what good fatherhood is. It's so simple in some ways, but I think that men who think about what good parenting is must grapple with the kinds of issues we raise in this book.

MARY HUNT: I was thinking about that, too, around issues of child abuse. I really admired your effort, Rebecca, to figure out the truth with a kind of scrupulous fairness — and I wondered if there was a religious motivation that went into that?

REBECCA ANN PARKER: A lot of things came to mind. I am religiously committed to truthfulness — including emotional truthfulness, which has been a struggle for me. Part of what was so helpful to me was the good fortune of working with a very gifted — and wise — therapist. I was able, in going back and reworking the experience of having been sexually abused as a child, to come to know how I actually felt about what happened. Some of that was very difficult to face because part of what I felt was an incredible compassion for the perpetrator. And the depth of compassion I felt was actually problematic! I had to come to see that compassion can bind one into unhealthy relationships. So I don't think compassion is an unqualified good!

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: One of the most powerful insights from Rebecca's story which I really appreciate is the critique of any attempt to universalize one emotion over another as good and others as bad. Love itself has limits. And compassion has limits. And anger has limits, but they all are there.

MARY HUNT: That leads to my last question: What are you working on? What's the sequel?

REBECCA ANN PARKER: Let me answer the second question first. We are working on the anti-Judaism in the Gospel of John. The anti-Judaism issue is complicated because it is linked to why John's Gospel doesn't present Jesus' death as having what is of saving importance about Jesus. John is an alternative, if troubling, voice right there at the beginning of Christianity. It presents a salvation focused on the presence of God and on the commandment, "Love one another as I have loved you." So we're working on unraveling the complex, troubling way John's Gospel simultaneously blames Jews for Jesus' death and offers an alternative to atonement theology.

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: The other interesting thing about the Gospel of John is that it doesn't have a eucharist, it doesn't have Jesus saying, "This is my body broken for you."

REBECCA ANN PARKER: No, it has a meal with a foot washing and a speech about love, which is an interesting difference

MARY HUNT: The dinner party Gospel!

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: Yes, exactly, it has a dinner party! And its picture of baptism is very different from the tradition that sees it as a dying and rising in imitation of Christ.

What we call Christianity was a series of social movements that had a lot of different ways of interpreting what his death meant. The tradition has attempted to harmonize into one voice and one theology a series of different books by different authors. It's important to pay attention to the different voices and the different interpretations of what Jesus' death means. In John, he's a sacrifice to Caesar. In Mark, he's a political martyr. Paul's not real consistent about what he thinks the death means except that it's a puzzle to him. So, I think we must be more honest about the ambiguity of even the earliest recorded voices in the tradition and hear them as a multiplicity of theological voices in dialogue with one another.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: For some reason I'm thinking about the story of Peter's denial — it has a double meaning. Jesus says to Peter, you're going to deny me. We always read that as, "You're not going to keep faith with me." But another way Peter — the church — hasn't kept faith with Jesus is by denying violence. It's that denial of violence that makes it more possible for violence in all its forms to continue. If the church can tell the truth about the violence that happened to Jesus, it will be more able to resist and redress violence in the world now.

MARY HUNT: That's right. My view is that people like you and me and others will be seen as apologists in the long run — not as people who tore down a faith tradition, but as people who in a funny sort of way helped to build it up, because they made the foundation much more secure.

REBECCA ANN PARKER: Rita and I and other feminists are often accused of wanting Christianity without the cross — and of not having suffered enough to understand the cross. But we don't want Christianity without the cross. We want Christianity to grapple with the violence that happened to Jesus. Reflection on violence should be at the center of Christian theology. We know it is possible to resist and recover from violence and Christianity also has this saving message.

RITA NAKASHIMA BROCK: What saves life isn't death, but resistance to violence through the work of love and justice.

BOOK REVIEW

Confronting abuse

by Marianne Arbogast

Journal of Religion and Abuse:

Advocacy, Pastoral Care and Prevention Marie Fortune, editor The Haworth Pastoral Press

hile Martin Luther stressed the solemn responsibility of parenthood, he failed to question the assumption that children were property and took physical punishment for granted. And while he recognized human sexuality as a blessing (albeit a "marred" one) and showed sensitivity to women's experience of rape as violence, he employed startling metaphorical rape imagery to describe Christ's work in the soul. For survivors of sexual and domestic violence, the Lutheran tradition is ambivalent, carrying some themes that can be helpfully emphasized and others that must be rejected.

This is the subject of an article by Mary Pellhauer, a retired Lutheran seminary teacher and child abuse survivor, in *The Journal of Religion and Abuse: Advocacy, Pastoral Care & Prevention* (Vol. 2, No. 2), a quarterly journal addressing issues of abuse from an interreligious, interdisciplinary perspective, published by Haworth Press and edited by Marie Fortune of the Center for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence.

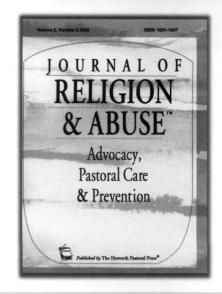
Founded by Fortune in 1977 in Seattle, Wash., the Center marks its 25th anniversary this year. From its beginnings as a resource for education, training and pastoral care of survivors of sexual assault and domestic abuse, the Center has grown into an internationally recognized organization addressing a wide range of issues through a multicultural lens — from clergy sexual abuse to child abuse to healthy teen relationships. Staff members have produced an array of books, videos and workshops on these themes, and publish a quarterly newsletter, Working Together, which is available on the Center's website, <www.cpsdv.org>. The Journal of Religion and Abuse was launched in 1999.

Despite the Journal's academic format, the articles collected in it are, with rare exception, remarkably jargon-free and accessible to a wide range of readers. Many, like Pellhauer's on Luther, examine aspects of religious tradition (primarily Christian, Jewish from scriptural interpretation (the rape of Dinah in Genesis 34) to liturgical custom ("giving away" the bride) to pastoral practice (positive and negative models of the Church's work with prostitutes). Some address social and psychological issues that affect particular groups, such as the pangs of disloyalty that Jewish women can feel if they speak out on domestic violence in the lewish community.

Substantial book reviews are included in each issue of the *Journal*, and some issues contain transcripts of panel conversations — in one issue, a dialogue on "Men and Women Working Together to Stop Violence Against Women" sponsored by a Presbyterian men's organization; in another, a conference presentation on the responses of Muslim and Christian communities to domestic violence.

"There is no question in the overall strategy to end sexual and domestic violence, that our congregations, mosques, stakes, etc., as well as our denominations, movements, and organizations are key to the effort," Marie Fortune wrote in a recent issue of the *Journal*. For anyone pursuing this goal within a religious institution, The *Journal of Religion and Abuse* is an important resource.

Marianne Arbogast is The Witness' associate editor.



Too often our religious communities have been roadblocks for victims and survivors. Many women have been abandoned by their communities, shamed with guilt trips while their perpetrators have had a license to continue their abuse. The final consequences of all this has been the destruction of families, of individuals and an erosion of people's trust in their religious institutions. If our religious institutions are going to be of any help in this whole situation, they need to begin with confessing that they have not been helpful up until now. No woman should ever be forced to choose between safety and her faith community. She should be able to access the resources of both, advocacy and shelter as well as a faithbased support or counseling response. These two resources should be working collaboratively to provide consistent advocacy and support for safety and healing for victims or survivors. If a woman is put in the position of having to choose, she will often choose her religious affiliation and community because it is familiar and because it is a high priority in her life. If she finds leadership that does not understand her experience and does not empathize with her experience and proceeds to blame and shame her, she will be further cut off from the resources she desperately needs.

— Marie Fortune, excerpted from "Domestic Violence: The Responses of Christian and Muslim Communities," Journal of Religion and Abuse, Vol. 2, No. 3, 2001

ADDRESSING A



any women and men, boys and girls need and yearn for a community of faith to restore their spiritual, physical, emotional and mental health after they have experienced violence. Some of them may want to celebrate a liturgy for healing.

Let me give four examples of people who have come to my colleagues and me for help in planning a healing liturgy.

Sara, a social worker in her mid-40s, requested support and assistance in planning a liturgy to mark publicly her survival of childhood incest.

Suzanne, a nurse in her 50s, spoke out about the sexual abuse she experienced from a former pastor while she was in counseling with him. Members of her community needed to create a liturgy of lament to remember those who have been victimized by church leaders, and to voice the need for effective change in attitudes and church practice.

Gina, a teenager, was raped by a counselor at church summer camp. Her counselors and friends needed to gather for a service of healing.

Francesca was invited to be on her church's team that responds to violence against women. Her community wanted to create a commissioning to bless her and the team.

Liturgy, *liturgia*, "the work of the people," brings to public expression the faith life of the community.

Communities use healing liturgies to restore spiritual, physical, emotional and mental health to members who have been hurt through broken relationships and scarred from sexual harassment, molestation and misconduct or abuse of a sexual nature. They light candles and burn incense, read texts and pray, lay hands on one another and anoint with oils, bathe in salts, bless with water, drink herbal teas, talk and listen and break bread. The liturgies gather and renew the collective energy of a community of people who are engaging in liberation from patriarchy and kyriarchy. They raise up the voices of the abused and make visible the faith of individuals, families and congregations.

"Creating a service of healing is often helpful for the transition from victim into survivor," says S. Amelia Stinson-Wesley, an ordained Methodist minister who is founder of Response: A Religious Response to Violence Against Women and Children in North Carolina. She calls for healing liturgies in her 1996 article, "Daughters of Tamar: Pastoral Care for Survivors of Rape" (in Through the Eyes of Women: Insights for Pastoral Care, ed. by Jeanne Stevenson Moessner, Fortress Press, 1996). But, too often, official liturgical texts fall short of what's needed for this to occur. Marjorie Procter-Smith, an Episcopalian liturgist and author of Praying with Our Eyes Open: Engendering Feminist Liturgical Prayer (Abingdon, 1995), shares an experience that many have. "A woman survivor of family violence asked me to help her plan a healing service for herself. ... In turning to conventional models of Christian prayer, I found myself unable to claim anything in this tradition of confession, thanksgiving, and petition that seemed appropriate to the occasion. Certainly there was much to confess in this woman's life, but not on her part ... certainly all of us there could and did give ample thanks for the courageous and creative woman for whom the ritual was held; and petitions for her continued wellbeing were in all our hearts. But the conventions failed miserably to acknowledge her - and our anger and outrage. ... What needed to be said to God could not be fitted into the form of traditional Christian prayer."

people' may be to say 'no, no, no.'

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The

by Diann L. Neu

CRISIS OF PRAYER

Many women survivors of violence, and the women and men who work to end the violence, find themselves in a crisis of prayer. They often feel anger at God and the church. They feel betrayed. They need prayers of refusal: refusal to accept, to yield, and to assent to the terror of things as they are. They need to say "no" in prayer because saying no and being heard is essential to survival.

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Some communities create healing services to meet the specific needs of their members for this kind of prayer. I share the following with you so you can imagine the liturgies your community may need to create. But they come with a caution: Make sure the person, family and community is ready for such a liturgy. As Stinson-Wesley notes, "Suggesting a healing service is a delicate matter. Be careful not to insist upon anything or any form. Let the survivor decide whether and when and how any ritualized form of healing will take place. Offer resources such as prayers, litanies, and songs related to the surviving of violence. Help her plan, but do not create the entire service without her contribution."

Sara's liturgy: Break the silence

Sara's father, her perpetrator, had died within the year. His death was the catalyst for her, as she said, "to give myself the gift of integration and healing." Her liturgy began with a purification of her home to establish safety. Four women lit four candles to symbolize the collective power, tears, life and support of women. Sara's daughter invited participants to each take an evergreen branch and place them around the house to create a safe space. Each placed oil, an ancient symbol of strength and healing, on one another's foreheads to invoke healing, saying to one another, "Reclaim your healing powers for yourself and for others."

Sara told her story about the terror and

violence of her incest, named her wounds, read some of her poems, and put her father's knotted handkerchiefs in the center of the room to represent the tears of children, her tears. She then took scissors and cut the knots from the handkerchiefs. The women did the same with the handkerchiefs they used. Some women spontaneously untied the knots. Many wept. Sara proclaimed a litany to which all responded, "Be gone! Be gone! Be gone!"

I release the chronic pain of 45 years.

I release the pain in my jaws, my legs, my head, and my entire body.

I release the pain of disturbed intimate relationships.

I release the need to maintain silence about my incest.

I release the attachment to wanting my father's admission of raping me.

The women blessed Sara's home and work. They wrote notes to her telling her how she is a blessing to them, shared what they had written, and gave her the papers as a keepsake. They sang and danced. To close, they passed the four candles around the circle and committed themselves to breaking the cycle of violence, saying, "My sister, as long as your light burns, violence will be overcome."

This liturgy broke the silence that surrounds incest. It offered Sara another aspect of healing and invited the community to touch their healing powers.

Suzanne's liturgy: A service of lament

Suzanne spoke out about the sexual abuse she experienced from a former pastor while she was in counseling with him. Members of the community came together angry and hurt that their souls had been stolen from them by God's servant. In their sorrow they created a liturgy of lament to remember those who have been victimized by church leaders and to voice the need for effective change in attitudes and church practice. They prayed:

LEADER: Who are our enemies in the context of working to stop abuse and violence in the church? Who are hostile and rejecting when we speak out and challenge our churches? Who are not our friends in this matter?

VOICE 1: Those who put stumbling blocks in the way of children. Those who hide crimes and misconduct from lawful and appropriate investigation.

VOICE 2: Those who commit violence against women in the home, at the workplace, in the streets, in cults and those who abuse women and men in pastoral relationship.

VOICE 3: Those who listen to victims' stories with sympathy, yet speak badly of them to others and do more harm by their actions. VOICE 4: Those who play at being advocates, abandoning victims when their status in the church is at risk, leaving others to pick up the pieces.

VOICE 5: Those who manipulate and obstruct processes of accountability for clergy. Those who exploit the letter of the law and negate its spirit.

VOICE 6: Those who talk of justice, of right relationships with each other and sexuality as a gift from God but who do not discern when their colleagues abuse their professional power.

LEADER: What do we want for our enemies?

VOICES 1-6: That they be held to account. LEADER: What do we want for ourselves? VOICES 1-6: Justice, healing and vindication.

LEADER: What does God want for us? VOICES 1-6: To know the truth, to set the oppressed free, to have life abundantly. This liturgy, created by Coralie Ling and members of Fitzroy Uniting Church in Melbourne, Australia, broke silence about clergy sexual abuse and acknowledged publicly that it is a church issue.

Gina's liturgy: Be healed

Gina was raped by a counselor at church camp. Her youth minister and friends gathered with her to help her reconstruct her world which had been shattered and will never be the same again. They each took a scarf, tied a knot in it, raised it high over their heads and shouted: "No! No! No!" LEADER: To counselors who rape and harm, ALL: No! No! No! LEADER: To men who harass women and

girls walking down the street,

ALL: No! No! No!

LEADER: To fathers, brothers, grandfathers and uncles who sexually abuse girl-children, ALL: No! No! No!

LEADER: To husbands, lovers and partners who batter and rape their partners, ALL: No! No! No!

They blessed oil and anointed their friend with it. After asking her permission, they laid hands on her and one close friend offered a healing prayer that included:

LEADER: From violence to your body, be healed.

ALL: Be healed.

LEADER: From violence to your feelings, be healed.

ALL: Be healed.

LEADER: From violence to your mind and spirit, be healed.

ALL: Be healed.

LEADER: Holy Spirit of Original Blessing surrounds you, upholds you on all sides, flows round about you, caresses you, loves you, and wills you to be restored. Be restored, dear friend. We are here. We are with you.

This liturgy broke the silence of rape and invited the counselors and friends to be healers.

Francesca's liturgy: Blessing a healer

Francesca was invited to be on her church's

team that responds to violence against women. Her community blessed her and the team for this healing ministry.

LEADER ONE: Let us lay hands on N. and N. (Names of the team) and bless them for healing ministry.

N. and N., you are called to healing ministry for (Name your congregation).

LEADER TWO: Spirit of Healing,

Time and again throughout history

You call forth Your ministers from the community

And send them to do works of justice: to heal the sick and broken,

to feed hungry souls,

to give drink to thirsty ones,

to free captives.

Come, Holy Wisdom, Healing Spirit, Regenerative Source,

Bless us, to do Your works of healing.

ALL: Give us Your Spirit.

LEADER THREE: We ask You to bless us, who, in the cry of the people and in the word of the community, are called to participate in healing. We ask You to pour out Your Spirit upon us, that we may have the gifts of health and healing, see visions, dream dreams, break bread, do justice.

ALL: Give us Your Spirit.

LEADER FOUR: Give Your Spirit, Holy Wisdom, to your people with whom we minister.

Give Your Spirit to women and men, boys and girls recovering from clergy or ministerial misconduct of a sexual nature, that they may stand up to the powers and principalities of the church, ask for what is rightfully theirs, and refuse to be silent or disappear.

Give Your Spirit to ministers, pastoral counselors, supervisors, seminary professors and church representatives who have sexually exploited the faithful that they may recognize the harm they have done, seek help and offer restitution.

Give Your Spirit to church decision-makers, bishops, cabinets, pastors, response teams and

others that they may walk with truth-tellers.

Give Your Spirit to the churches that the whole people of God may benefit from our work.

Give Your Spirit to families and friends, wives and children of perpetrators, congregations and communities that they may be offered loving care, understanding and support.

ALL: Give us Your Spirit.

LEADER FIVE: When the bread is not enough,

When our hope is dim, When our energies are frazzled, Refresh us with Your Spirit.

ALL: Give us Your Spirit.

This liturgy broke silence about violence against women in church communities and invited the church community to respond by blessing members for healing ministry.

These stories reveal the healing powers of liturgy. Women's healing liturgies can also empower change in church and society. They can give women, men and children courage to break the cycle of violence that exists in church and society. Like Suzanne's lament for clergy sexual abuse, they provide opportunities for healing. Women and church communities need to affirm and reclaim the power of collective healing. These liturgies are a beginning.

Diann L. Neu is co-founder and co-director of WATER (Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics and Ritual) in Silver Spring, Md. She is a feminist liturgist and a licensed psychotherapist and spiritual director. This article is based on presentations made in December 2001 at the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass., and in July 2001 at a training in Colorado Springs, Colo., for "Teams Responding with Intervention and Healing Related to Clergy or Ministerial Misconduct of a Sexual Nature" sponsored by the General Commission on the Status and Role of Women of the United Methodist Church.

WOMEN FOR AFGHAN WOMEN

Solidarity for the long haul

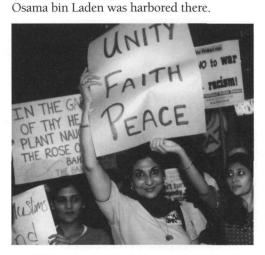
by Sunita Mehta

www.is a women's collective in New York founded in April 2001, a full five months before the Twin Towers were razed to the ground. Fahima Danishgar and I co-founded WAW because we were both distressed by the oppression of Afghan women by the Taliban — and disturbed by the absence of Afghan community women in the world discourse upon this matter. Fahima is a 23-yearold Afghan activist and political scientist; and I am a 33-year-old women's rights and South Asian community activist.

On September 10, 2001, Fahima and I drove together to Falls Church, Va., to visit an organization working with Afghan asylum seekers. On the drive back, we talked about *jihad*. Fahima explained that she was brought up with the understanding that *jihad* is a very personal struggle, and certainly not a violent struggle. A Muslim must always expose and condemn evil, external and within oneself, never tolerate it: This is the core of *jihad* for my friend.

The next morning, when I saw the black cloud in the sky above my son's school in Brooklyn — and then the repeated TV images of the planes crashing into the World Trade Center — Fahima's interpretation of *jihad* rang in my ears. If *jihad* was a personal and internal battle with one's demons, what was this? I have come to know many feminist Muslim women through this work who believe that women's rights are guaranteed under the *Qu'ran*. It seems that the Islam that these women embrace has also been hijacked.

I remember walking with my sister and cousin through Manhattan on that piercingly bright and desperate day — I had never been more acutely conscious of being an immigrant, a South Asian; and yet I had never felt more a New Yorker, an American. Terrorists had intended to attack the ultimate symbol of America — only the victims of 9/11 hailed from all corners of the world, and were of every possible religion and class. It was instantaneously apparent that a bloody retaliation was inevitable against Afghanistan since



WAW co-sponsored the earliest Muslim peace rallies and teach-ins in New York. We advocated that every effort to address Afghan women's rights, in order to be effective, must be built upon a sincere acknowledgement that the vast majority of Afghan women are Muslim. We asked that the feminist debate shift beyond a fixation with the burga or chadori. While we were tortured by the jingoism and war-mongering that pervaded the media, we could not adopt the unrealistic pacifism of the American peace movement. We knew the urgency of Afghanistan's liberation from terrorist rule, and asked how peace might come about without forceful intervention. We did not desire a unilateral invasion by the U.S., but rather by a global coalition under U.N. auspices, which would remain with Afghanistan until peace and economic stability were not a distant pipe dream.

The U.S. did retaliate: We dropped food and bombs on the innocent men, women and children of Afghanistan. In December 2001, WAW Board member Masuda Sultan went back to her place of birth, Kandahar, with a film crew. Masuda found 19 members of her extended family dead, killed by U.S. bombs. Despite her pain, she believes that an intervention was necessary for Afghanistan to be led by a government chosen by its people.

In January 2002, when the Interim Prime Minister Karzai spoke to the Afghan community at a public meeting in New York, we shared the community's hope, faith and optimism, laced with a chilling realization that the odds were steeply stacked against him.

The reality is a mixed bag. There are two women in the interim government, one the deputy to Karzai himself. We read that girls are beginning to attend school, women's magazines are being started, there is radio transmission for a few hours a day, and newspapers are being published. There is even an effort to ensure an Afghan presence at the 2004 Olympics. And yet, the Tourism Minister has been assassinated, brothels are proliferating, poverty has led some families to sell their children, and widows continue to beg on the streets. Security is the foremost concern: We hear of pervasive warlordism and rape.

Noeleen Heyzer, of UNIFEM, warns that gross women's rights violations are the surest sign of broader and more entrenched human rights abuses. UNICEF's Gulbadan Habibi asks the world to stay with Afghanistan for the long haul, since a country which has been destroyed by over two decades of war cannot be rebuilt overnight. These sentiments will guide WAW in the years to come.

Sunita Mehta is the Grants Director at the Sister Fund.

LIVING THROUGH PAIN





... to live beyond and whole

An interview with Carol Gallagher by Martin Brokenleg

arol Gallagher, formerly a parish priest in the Diocese of Delaware, will become Bishop Suffragan of the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia early this month. A member of the Cherokee nation, Gallagher will be the first native woman in the worldwide Anglican Communion to serve as a bishop. In this interview with Witness contributing editor Martin Brokenleg, a Lakota priest and professor of Native American Studies at Augustana College in Sioux Falls, S.D., Gallagher reflects on her experience in the church as a native woman — and on the alternative vision she will bring to her new role. Her commitment to work that fosters the honoring of family and community relationships comes, in part, out of deep personal knowledge of family and racial violence.

MARTIN BROKENLEG: Carol, I remember another native person, who is a bishop right now, who at one time asked me, "Should I leave my name in?" for nomination. And I said, "Well, God won't say, 'Yes' if you take your name out and God will say, 'No' if he doesn't want you there." So, how were you nominated?

CAROL GALLAGHER: A colleague of mine, with whom I had served as a deputy to General Convention and on other committees, sent my name in. Southern Virginia is his home diocese, and it's the home diocese of Delaware's bishop, Wayne Wright.

I was a little bit hesitant — just the basic, "What, are you, crazy?" But one of the things that Gary said was that they were looking for somebody to be the pastoral bishop for the clergy. Working with clergy issues is one of the things that I had been doing in Delaware — the health and well-being of the clergy is primary to me. The other thing Southern Virginia wanted was someone to encourage small congregations, many of which are poor and the more ethnically diverse parishes in the diocese. I also have a lot of passion around that sort of work. So I said, "Well, okay." Pretty reluctantly. But I thought it was a really nice thing that my friend wanted to nominate me.

I made it through several of the hoops and hurdles and then went on what they were calling a walkabout — which all the rest of the church calls a dog and pony show. I came away saying, "Well, that was really nice that they included me, but it's never going to happen!"

M.B.: What did you tell people? What did they want to know?

C.G.: Well, most people were concerned about the kinds of programs we've developed here in Delaware. Many were concerned about my family, about how they would respond to this and all those kinds of things. Many of them were questions I find that are fairly commonly asked of women clergy. "How do you balance your home life and being a mother?" and all that kind of stuff.

M.B.: Women are expected to do that, but men aren't!

C.G.: It's still so new for the church in many senses — particularly around positions of what would be perceived as authority. I guess people were really concerned that I would leave the church for my family or some such thing. When they came here and interviewed me, one of my parishioners was really clear with them. She said, "You know, she DOES put her family first! I mean if one of her children is sick, she's going to stay with her children. But she would also encourage any of the rest of us to do that for our family, too. That's just the way she lives her life."

M.B.: Well, the only bishop I know who has resigned his episcopacy because of his family is Steven Charleston, a native person! Is that significant for us — for native people, that is? What's that gift to the church?

C.G.: Well, I think that as native people we have an integrated awareness of how much we're grounded in our family — and in our tribe and community — and that we really can't go forward if there is over-

ALSO IS A PROMISE ...

whelming pain and distress. The family or gtribe has to find a way to heal together. So gwould I walk away from being a bishop if I ghad to? I wouldn't think twice about it! You know, my family will always be my priority. That's a gift that we as native people can bring to the church and to the rest of the world.

M.B.: Well, in Lakota culture women are more important than men and that's the reason that women are in charge of home and family and children. That stuns my mostly Norwegian Lutheran students! They're stunned to think that that's such an imporgitant thing, and that that's why we put the women in charge of it.

C.G.: Right! I was in Oklahoma — in Tahleguah — the weekend before Christmas. **M.B.:** Cherokee center-of-the-universe!

C.G.: Really! Lois Neal, who just recently retired from the Methodist Church, and Chad Smith, the principal chief, were talking about matrilineal cultures and he said, "I may be principal chief, but we all know who's in charge!" So there's an importance to the role that the rest of the world would call "women's work." Those things have a different honor than in the mainstream culture. Lakotas and Cherokees would not say that the roles are the same, but there is that commonality of the importance of that role.

M.B.: Well, in our mythology, our revealer, our savior, our messiah is the White Buffalo Calf Woman! What do you imagine that kind of a psyche about women is going to bring into the church as a whole? To the House of Bishops, I mean. You're going to be a revelation to the House of Bishops!

C.G.: Well, maybe I'll have the opportunity to ask why things are done a certain way, or point out assumptions that are being made —

about roles and who people are and those kinds of things — where other people might not even see that assumptions are being made.

I also hope I can bring into the House of Bishops the sense of really honoring families. I mean honoring whatever that means where people are, honoring how we're related so intimately. I'm hoping that that will be helpful to the process of real dialogue.

M.B.: You speak of going home to Tahlequah. What is this Cherokee business in your life and your identity?

C.G.: There was a time in my life when I wanted it to just be a little place of visitation as opposed to going "home," but it's become sort of the major stream, the major artery of my life. I got a call from Willa Mankiller after Thanksgiving and she said, "We're having a service and we want you to come and speak. We want to do it before Christmas because I really think the Cherokee people need it before Christmas." And folks said to me, "Well, you're crazy. You've got all that work to do at the parish." And I said, "You don't say no to Willa Mankiller!"

M.B.: She was principal chief of the Cherokee nation for how long?

C.G.: Nine years, I think. So I went and spoke and they honored me afterward. My mother and I went out together. The service was incredibly powerful. The Cherokee Nation Children's Choir sang and several pastors spoke about healing and reconciliation and hope. One of the things I spoke about was how my mother had to leave Oklahoma when she was 11 years old, because of family violence and alcoholism. She was put on a bus with her name pinned to her dress at 11! In many senses it saved her life, but it also was in some senses a place

of no return for her. Her mother and brothers and sisters joined her within a short period of time. But her childhood then became a difficult historical period that she just didn't look back on at all, because it was too painful. At the service in Tahlequah, when my mother heard the children singing Christmas carols in Cherokee, she realized she knew every word. She said, "You know, somebody sang these to me when I was a tiny child. And I was able to sing along."

So for me, being a Cherokee is being able to more than just survive, but understand that living through pain also is a promise to live beyond and whole. We're always seeking that in our traditions.

M.B.: Non-native people in the church often ask, if not straight out, somehow implicitly, "Can you be Christian and be native?" My answer is that for me all of my spiritual and cultural tradition is my Old Testament. God would never have lied to my grandfather, a medicine man born in 1854 — the first Brokenleg. And so, all the imagery, all the hopes that God put in the heart of my grandfather were not lies. They were what my grandfather understood to be the nature of God.

And so, in my generation, I would say that if God was powerful then, God can be powerful now. The ceremonies and tradition of my own people are the vehicle God has given to us — like God gave Leviticus to the people of Israel to codify their worship. But we have our own customs and as long as I'm grounded based on that tradition — on my own Lakota tradition — I can understand what Jesus means when he says I have to be a "good relative" to the people who are mine, because the most common phrase in Lakota worship is, "You are all my relatives." And it doesn't just mean human relatives. It means plants, animals, spirit beings, everything. Everything is my relative.

I suppose for the Cherokee, it's probably much the same?

C.G.: It is. And it is important to note that there was a point in history when this question was not without economic or survival value. Federal government policy was about extermination and removal. Lots of kids that went to boarding school had to be Christians. If you practiced your tradition, you weren't welcome in the church. But there were economic incentives for those children to go to boarding school. It wasn't like parents had many choices. In the case of my people, they have been Christian for many generations. My great-great grandmother who walked the Trail of Tears in the 1830s was singing hymns, in Cherokee, with a little hymnal in her hand.

There have been a lot of politics between traditionalists and the church, but a lot of it had to do with the way Christianity was imposed upon us. In my generation we've been encouraged to incorporate our Old Testament and New Testaments. We've learned that we cannot thrive without a grounded identity in who we are, which includes our antiquity and the on-going traditions as well as being Christians. If we turn around and just discard all the stuff that's in the history or in the tradition, then we discard a huge part of ourselves.

I also don't think that God told our people lies. Each tribe, I think, interpreted their tradition and their experience of God in their unique way. So many of our stories tell us about our relationship with one another and with the Creator. And how we are to be to one another and why we are the way we are, and those kinds of things. That's also true of Jewish tradition and its teachings about a way of life so that people remain healthy and faithful.

We take an oath when we are ordained that we believe the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to our salvation. And I fully believe that, but that's about salvation as opposed to my personal identity. I'm not separating those two. I don't discount the Old Testament as it appears in Scripture. I think some of the most powerful stories in the world are contained in the Old Testament. I do think that there are powerful stories that companion with them that are essential for my understanding of myself, but also for our place in the world in North America.

M.B.: Let me push you one notch further. Unless Anglicanism can be completely incorporated into the theological world of Native American people, will it always be foreign to North America?

C.G.: I think so. Integration is the ultimate challenge because Anglicanism will always remain sort of a British thing, foreign, unless we native people are willing to integrate it forward.

M.B.: I'm right in line with you. But I would say that the Old Testament in our published Bibles — and that was a political decision also — is the history of God's relationship with those people. But it doesn't mean that God hasn't talked to my people at the beginning of the world until now. **C.G.:** Exactly.

M.B.: I know you've been a part of the conversations about justice for native people in the church — that whole Pan Pacific conversation involving native people from Canada, the U.S., Hawaii, New Zealand and Australia. **C.G.:** Yes. I guess there's been an in-breaking of justice, a breaking through. It hasn't been something that's been legislated as much as it's been brought about by people being willing to be vehicles or advocates or stand in the in-between times, because not always has the church been emotionally or politically or in any other way ready to welcome difference. Or welcome the people who have already been in the church.

What happened with my election in Southern Virginia was that God moved for something different and the people understood that. I wouldn't say my election is about justice as much as it is about people turning toward a way of being that embraces a just understanding of life in the church. And a healthy understanding of life in the church.

I also think that part of what happened in Southern Virginia had to do with the fact that I had been there in 1997, playing a prominent role in organizing a service of remembrance and reconciliation at Jamestown in preparation for the 400th anniversary of the first settlement at Jamestown, which signifies the first missionary thrust of the Anglican Church outside Britain. A new covenant between the church and native people was signed as part of the occasion. We worked hard to include the local native people in that diocese along with other folks from the diocese. And so it was a big cross-section of people who were there. And there were people from all over the country, from Canada and Hawaii and from some far-flung places, too. It was a moment of people recognizing that there were other ways to do ministry in native communities - instead of ministry to native communities, ministry with native communities and raising up leadership from native communities. My commitment to raising up leadership from all communities was made very clear at that event. Finding ways to help people, or at least non-traditional folks, get a place in the church is what I've been committed to doing all along.

M.B.: I have a friend who lives in the Diocese of Southern Virginia, who I think would define herself as kind of on the fringe. And she said, "I was certain Carol Gallagher would never be elected, because I liked her!" **C.G.:** Well, yeah, that's what everybody said.

M.B.: So what does that tell you about the grace of God?

C.G.: Complete and pervasive.

M.B.: One of the divisive issues in the Episcopal Church today is same-sex orientation and what to do about all of that. But you and I both come from a native tradition in which homosexual relationships are sanctified. Among us Lakota most of our medicine men are gay men. Most of our medicine women are lesbians. How do you see that aspect of what you bring into the episcopate influencing the rest of the church?

C.G.:When I was getting ready to leave my parish, a gay couple came up to me and said, "One of the things we want to thank you for is never making us feel any different. You accepted us from the moment you got here." One of the ideas that I've been brought up

with is that difference — whether it is sexual orientation or artistic talent — is a gift as opposed to a threat. That's where we should be as a church.

In Delaware, the bishop gave approval for same-sex blessings last fall and he caught a lot of flack from outside the diocese for doing so. But very little flak from his own diocese. We had decided to examine the issue as a community long before Wayne Wright was even elected bishop. By the time he had come on board, council had already voted to approve blessings. The community really worked through this together. No voice was left out and there was an ongoing conversation for the past six or seven years. The opinion of the people was, "It's the right thing to do."

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Now, saying that, that is not the case in the diocese where I will serve as suffragan bishop.

M.B.: So how is that going to mesh?

C.G.: Well, I consider my job to be one of DFMS. education. I don't think it's one of confrontation, because I've never known that to work well. There are some diverse and accepting communities in the diocese and some very non-accepting, but I think Southern Virginia is not unlike most dioceses that I've been in. I don't have the authority to set that kind of policy, but I can be an instrument of justice and reconciliation.

M.B.: What's coming down the interstate at us as issues for the church?

C.G.: At some point as a church we're going to have to deal with our environmental issues very seriously. I was talking to some-body the other day about oil and drilling in the Arctic and places like that. You know, that little bit of oil is not the problem. We need to look at how we use and abuse money and at the huge disparity between poverty and wealth that we have in this country. And there's got to be a better way of bringing justice to other places, places where every waking moment is a terror all the time.

So I hope the church is willing to take on its own sense of need to have pretty things as opposed to having a healthy world.

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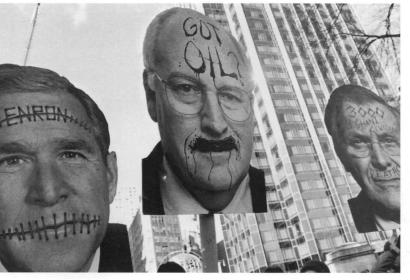
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Fast track to disaster for the world's poor

by Thomas E. Ambrogi





s this issue of *The Witness* went to press, it seemed certain that the U.S. Congress would approve legislation giving President Bush "fast track" authority to negotiate new trade agreements without any meaningful congressional oversight. Labor leaders, human rights activists and environmentalists recognize that Fast Track is crucial to the fate of the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) a bill that will be introduced in the Congress in the near future. The only way the bill can pass will be if the House and Senate abdicate their constitutional right to debate and amend trade legislation and rush it through by "fast track" presidential authority.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) will be a disaster for the poor of the 34 countries of this hemisphere. It is crucial to understand the roots and the context of this bill as it arrives under the urgent pressure of Fast Track.

'NAFTA on steroids'

FTAA is a trade and investment pact first envisioned in 1994, at the Summit of the Americas in Miami, by the 34 nations of Canada, U.S., Mexico, Central America, South America and the Caribbean (except Cuba). With a population of 800 million from Anchorage to Tierra del Fuego, and a combined GDP of \$11 trillion, it would be the largest free trade zone in the world. Intended for completion by 2005, there is some pressure, especially from the U.S. and Chile, for ratification by 2003.

FTAA is based on models from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1994 and the World Trade Organization (WTO), but it goes far beyond each of these in both scope and power. One observer has remarked that "FTAA is NAFTA on steroids." It incorporates from the WTO the General Agreement on Trade in Services, and contains all the powers of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, which was roundly rejected due to a concerted public outcry in 1998. It also expands on the Structural Adjustment Programs which have been imposed in recent years on most countries of the region by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, and which are in part responsible for so much of the crushing debt weighing down less developed nations. The principles of the FTAA represent the apex of the economic and political globalization process. There has been a massive restructuring of the global economy in favor of transnational corporations (TNCs) over the past three decades. Between 1970 and 1998, the number of TNCs increased by 800 percent. Of the top 100 economies in the world, 51 are now corporations and 49 are countries. Seventy percent of global trade is controlled by just 500 corporations. As with the WTO and NAFTA, the FTAA agreement will contain very few safeguards to protect workers and human rights, or health and environmental standards.

For the first time in any international trade agreement, transnational corporations will gain competitive rights to a full range of government service provisions. They will also have the right to sue for financial compensation from any government that resists, since publicly-funded services are considered "monopolies" in the new world of international trade. Services are the fastest growing sector in international trade, and of all services, health, education and water are potentially the most lucrative. Already over 40 countries, including all of Europe, have opened up their public education sectors to foreign-based corporate competition, and almost 100 countries have done the same in the health care sector. FTAA also significantly expands the investment chapter of NAFTA, the infamous Chapter 11, which many analysts have called "the very heart and soul of NAFTA." The exclusive focus of the FTAA mandate on investment is on the protection of foreign investors. Thus, the key question is whether FTAA will force governments to give up their sovereign power to regulate in the public interest.

NAFTA was the first international trade agreement to allow a private interest, usually a corporation or an industry sector, to bypass its own government and, although it is not a signatory to the agreement, directly challenge another NAFTA government if its laws, policies and practices impinge on the actual and potential profits of the corporation. Chapter 11 gives the right to sue for compensation for lost income, regardless of the legality of government actions. It incorporates the remarkable principle that a government cannot implement legislation that "expropriates" a company's future profits.

Corporations suing governments

A panel of trade bureaucrats can override a government's domestic legislation or force a government to pay substantial compensation if they continue to enforce it. To adjudicate all disputes, NAFTA's Chapter 11 sets up secretive "tribunals" at the World Bank or United Nations, made up of three persons named by the parties in dispute. These hearings are never open to the public, offering the confidentiality which corporate investors consider essential. NAFTA panels are not bound by the rulings of previous panels. No one knows for sure how many cases have been brought to NAFTA tribunals, or their outcome, since the whole process is highly confidential. But there are a few cases for which there is some reliable public information.

The first Chapter 11 case, brought before a NAFTA tribunal at the UN, was one in which the U.S.-based Ethyl Corporation sued the Canadian government for \$251 million in damages over its ban of Ethyl's gasoline additive MMT, which Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien once called a "dangerous neurotoxin." Canada settled the case in 1998, agreeing to lift the ban, allow the additive, and pay \$13 million in damages to Ethyl.

A case that is pending involves Sun Belt Water of Santa Barbara, which is suing the Canadian government for \$10.5 billion in damages. Sun Belt's claim revolves around British Columbia banning the export of its bulk water in 1993, thus preventing Sun Belt from getting into the water business there.

Public service providers are watching another case that involves the United Parcel Service, which is suing Canada for \$160 million in damages. UPS claims that government subsidies of the Canadian postal service represent an unfair trade advantage against UPS. Another important case still pending, the largest brought in the U.S., has the potential for creating a significant backlash against these outlandish suits. It is that of Methanex, a Canadian corporation which is the world's largest producer of methanol, a key ingredient in the gasoline additive MTBE. In 1999, California banned MTBE, after studies at the University of California at Davis warned that it may cause cancer in humans. Methanex claims that California's action is a "confiscation" of its property, what Chapter 11 calls "tantamount to expropriation." Though its quarrel is with a state law, Methanex sued the U.S. government for \$970 million, and if a NAFTA tribunal at the UN finds this a "regulatory taking," the U.S. government can be held liable for the corporation's lost profits.

Local government fighting back

But local government is starting to fight back at this erosion of people's right to know and determine how multinational corporations are litigating against their interests and safety. The Methanex case galvanized California's new Select Committee on International Policy and State Legislation, chaired by State Senator Sheila Kuehl, to make sure FTAA will not get by without intense public scrutiny. Following the lead of the Kuehl Committee, legislatures throughout the Americas could begin to open secret trade negotiations to public examination to make them more responsive to the concerns of civil society.

Because so much of NAFTA's workings still operate in corporate seclusion, it is difficult to get a reliable evaluation of its track record since it began in 1994. But Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch has recently released a lengthy and well-documented report entitled, "Down on the Farm: NAFTA's Seven Years War on Farmers and Ranchers in the U.S., Canada and Mexico." The report shows how independent farmers in the U.S., Canada and Mexico have seen agricultural prices plummet, farm incomes collapse and agricultural subsidy programs dismantled. For example, the Canadian government has slashed farm subsidies and farm income support, so that farm incomes in Canada have declined while farm debts have risen sharply. Canadian farm bankruptcies and delinquent loans are five times greater than they were before NAFTA. Dropping prices meant that farmers' net incomes in Canada declined 19 percent between 1989 and 1999, although Canadian agricultural exports doubled during the same period. The report's conclusion is that NAFTA's twin policies of free trade and elimination of domestic farm protections have handed the entire food production and distribution system over to giant agribusinesses, which have reaped huge profits while the majority of farmers and consumers have been major losers.

The negative outcomes of seven years of NAFTA have helped define the growing national debate over President Bush's urgent demand that Congress give him "Fast Track" power, quite obviously for immediate use as soon as the FTAA draft agreements are ready. The U. S. Constitution gives Congress exclusive authority "to regulate Commerce with Foreign Nations" (Art. I-8). "Fast Track" is a mechanism established in 1974, and used only five times since, that delegates to the Executive Branch what is constitutionally congressional authority for setting trade terms. It suspends normal congressional rules, and leaves Congress with 60 days to act, limits debate to a maximum of 20 hours in each chamber of Congress, and allows no amendments to be attached to the legislation.

Fast Track power expired in 1994, after it had been used by President Clinton the previous year for passage of NAFTA. Clinton's *continued on page 30* SHORT TAKES

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requests that Congress again delegate its trade authority in 1997 and 1998 were refused by the Republican-controlled House of Representatives. The Bush Administration has now renamed it "trade promotion authority." Representative Phil Crane (R-IL) originally introduced the Trade Promotion Authority Act of 2001, which was amended as HR 3005 and passed December 6. Two weeks later, the Senate Finance Committee approved the Baucus/Grassley Trade Promotion Act which, at this writing, has yet to be brought to the Senate floor.

Presidential Fast Track authority is crucial to the fate of FTAA, just as it was to NAFTA. It is simply astounding that the 20 hours of debate over NAFTA in the House and Senate in 1993 does not contain a single reference to Chapter 11, its most contentious provision. The debate, such as it was, was simply a rhetorical public relations battle, in which the two sides were largely cast as defenders or enemies of "free trade." Not surprisingly, NAFTA's advocates emerged as the clear winners on all counts. After all, who could oppose the abolition of barriers to free trade?

But NAFTA's Chapter 11 was never about trade at all. It was about the curbing the sovereign power of governments, elected by the people, to regulate in the public interest when faced with massive and rapacious corporate power. And this will be the central issue of FTAA, magnified many times through the entire hemisphere. For all who care about economic and social justice for the whole human family, the struggle over FTAA will be the defining political issue of the coming several years.

Thomas E. Ambrogi is an interfatih theologian and human rights advocate. He is a member of All Saints Church, Pasadena. A more detailed version of this story is available in the "A Globe of Witnesses" section of The Witness' web site, <www.thewitness.org/agw>. Ambrogi can be reached at <Tambrogi@aol.com>.

The face of evil?

The implication of the "good vs. evil" rhetoric used by President Bush to characterize the war on terrorism "is a sort of insight and ultimate judgment that most Christians are a little uncomfortable with," said James Dunn, a professor of Christianity and public policy at Wake Forest University (*Christian Science Monitor*, 2/6/02). "When that sort of ultimate certainty comes along, you have the Crusades, the Inquisition, the Puritan hangings.

"The great divide is economic, educational, medical — all those things that separate the haves from the have-nots," said Dunn, who is also concerned about the implications for separation of church and state in the president's language.

Food with strings attached

Anuradha Mittal, codirector of the Institute for Food and Development Policy (Food First), used the recent experience of her native India to explain the problem with "food aid" in an interview with *The Sun* (2/02):

"Of the 830 million hungry people worldwide, a third of them live in India. Yet in 1999, the Indian government had 10 million tons of surplus food grains: rice, wheat and so on. In the year 2000, that surplus increased to almost 60 million tons — most of it left in the granaries to rot. Instead of giving the surplus food to the hungry, the Indian government was hoping to export the grain to make money. It also stopped buying grain from its own farmers, leaving them destitute. The farmers, who had gone into debt to purchase expensive chemical fertilizers and pesticides on the advice of the government, were now forced to burn their crops in their fields.

"At the same time, the government of India was buying grain from Cargill and other American corporations, because the aid India receives from the World Bank stipulates that the government must do so. This means that today India is the largest importer of the same grain it exports. It doesn't make sense — economic or otherwise.

"This situation is not unique to India. In 1985, Indonesia received the gold medal from the UN Food and Agriculture Organization for achieving food self-sufficiency. Yet by 1998, it had become the largest recipient of food aid in the world. I participated in a factfinding mission to investigate Indonesia's reversal of fortune. Had the rains stopped? Were there no more crops in Indonesia? No, the cause of the food insecurity was the Asian financial crisis. Banks and industries were closing down. In the capital of Jakarta alone, fifteen thousand people lost their jobs in just one day. Then, as I traveled to rural areas, I saw rice plants dancing in field after field, and I saw casava and all kinds of fruits. There was no shortage of food, but the people were too poor to buy it. So what did the U.S. and other countries, like Australia, do? Smelling an opportunity to unload their own surplus wheat in the name of 'food aid,' they gave loans to Indonesia upon the condition that it buy wheat from them. And Indonesians don't even eat wheat."

Feminist economics

Feminist economists and global women's organizations have undergone an evolution in their approach to economic policy, Maria Riley explained in a recent Center of Concern newsletter (*Center Focus*, 6/01). She identifies four stages:

1) WID (Women in Development) focused on integrating women into the economic development process through measures such as credit availability, land reform, training and education.

2) GAD (Gender and Development) recognized gender — "the social roles, expectations and responsibilities assigned to women and men because of their biological differences" as a way to understand how political, economic and social policies impact women and men differently. GAD, for instance, looks at the way IMF and World Bank policies cause cutbacks in public sector services, shifting the burden of social responsibilities onto the household, the



"I'M SORRY, MR. LARABEE SAYS HE WON'T NEGOTIATE WITH TERRORISTS. "

realm of women's unpaid labor.

3) A call, based on GAD analysis, for "mainstreaming gender in all policies and programs" — demanding a voice in all areas of economic policy-making, not only in so-called "women's economic issues." Riley says this is a formidable task because "trade economists and negotiators consider trade and investment gender-neutral, and because the major NGO groups addressing trade and investment issues, such as organized labor, environmental groups and many Southern NGOs [non-governmental organizations], generally do not have a gender analysis."

4) An emphasis on empowerment and human rights, which would put social policies at the center of economic policies, so that "the soundness of economic policies would not be based on market criteria, per se, but in terms of whether they ultimately succeed in bringing societies to achieving social justice."

"Visitability" victories

Naperville, Ill., and Pima County, Ariz., became the first two municipalities in the nation to require wheelchair-accessible features in new private homes, *The New York Times* reported in February (2/07/02).

Naperville passed an ordinance Feb. 6 requiring that new homes be built with 32inch-wide ground-floor doorways, wood blocking behind bathroom walls capable of supporting grab bars, and the placement of electrical outlets and light switches at heights reachable from a wheelchair. Along with these measures, Pima County also mandated that new homes be built with at least one wheelchair-accessible entrance.

"The votes are a victory for the 15-year-old 'visitability' movement, which wants provisions of the Americans With Disabilities Act that now apply to public places and apartment buildings to be extended to private homes as well," the *Times* explained. "The goal of the movement is to ensure that disabled people can freely visit their neighbors.

"The issue has led to battles pitting minority rights against property rights, as home builders and others resist universal mandates that benefit only a small part of the population."

Proponents of the change argue that the larger community, and not just the individual,

has an interest in the way homes are constructed.

"When someone builds a home, they're not just building it for themselves — that home's going to be around for 100 years,' said Eleanor Smith, a teacher from Decatur, Ga., whose organization, Concrete Change, has lobbied for visitability legislation around the country. ...

"One man said the regulations were a matter as much of safety as of convenience, particularly in case of fire. A city councilman recalled the difficulty he had helping his wife, who needed a wheelchair temporarily, into the bathroom. Another man who uses a wheelchair pointed out that 'everyone is one accident from being in this chair.""

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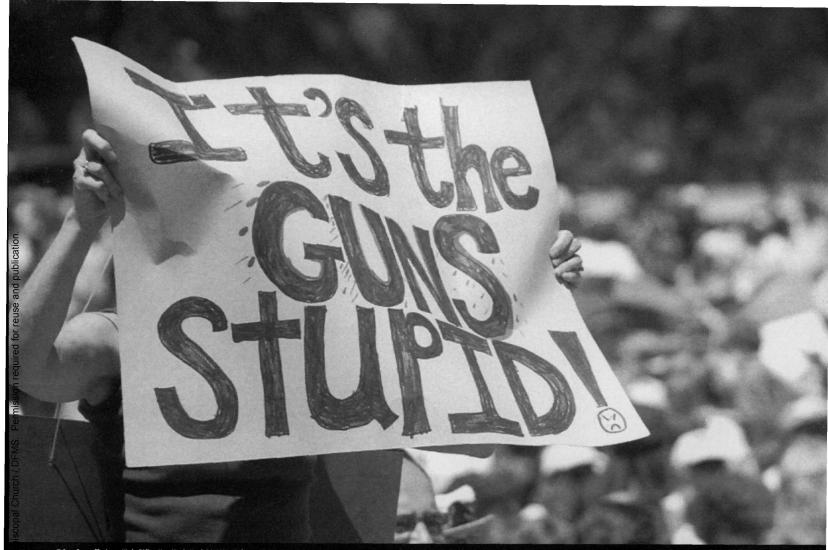
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Positive Futures Gathering

Explore impact of globalization with David Korten and Walter Wink at a conference sponsored by Sustainable World at All Saints Church, Pasadena, April 12-14, 2002. For information contact Sustainable World c/o Marty Coleman, 626-795-6131.



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Remember the value of human life

In the context of the rapid escalation of conflict in Palestine and Israel, we at the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center remember the call of the prophet Micah to seek justice, love kindness and walk humbly with God. In the spirit of this call, we ask the global community to raise one voice together:

To intervene and bring to an end the present deadly cycle of violence: the current Israeli invasion of the refugee camps and the terror it has created including the killing of Palestinian medical workers, the continuing bombardment of civilian areas under the Palestinian Authority by the Israeli forces, and the killing of civilians on both sides

To protest Israel's brutal policy against the Palestinian people: the prolonged siege, collective punishment and humiliation of the whole population

To support the protests against the Occupation voiced by Palestinians and those Israelis who stand for a just peace

To lift up in prayer the multitude of nonviolent methods that people are using to resist

To request once again for international protection for the Palestinian people

To pray for the victims of violence, the wounded, and all of their families on both sides of the conflict

To call on all the leaders of the region to come to the table with real offers for a just peace

To implement the United Nations Resolutions 242, 194, and 338 and other related UN resolutions immediately

To call for an end of Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories.

The Palestinian people are struggling for freedom and independence. Occupation is the source of this conflict. Until it ends, more suffering will take place. We appeal to the global community to bring about a just resolution to this long-standing conflict by enforcing the implementation of the UN resolutions and the Geneva Conventions.

Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, March 12, 2002

'Justice, not revenge'

I write in appreciation for the January/ February 2002 issue of *The Witness* on the problem of "Resisting a Culture of Punishment."

When I went to work in the FBI in 1936, during the first week I met with other new employees and J. Edgar Hoover, who usually began such meetings this way: "You are now working in the Department of Justice ... Justice, not revenge." He went on to explain that "we seek to protect the public from evildoers, but also to be so just that evildoers can become constructive citizens again."

I suppose it is correct to say that in his later years (48 years as director), he was somewhat less gentle. But he did also oppose the internment of the Japanese in World War II.

Ward McCabe

San José, CA

Random acts of kindness

I appreciate *The Witness* very much. It helps keep me focused. I was facing the Death Penalty until December and now I am facing Life.

I have seen many random acts of kindness amongst my sisters here in this county prison these past two years as I await trial. I have seen sisters give up their trays, giving the food to someone new or "fresh" because she is hungrier than those of us who are able to buy commissary. I have done this many times myself. I learned mercy acts from the best! I have been on both the receiving end and the front line in answering a sister's littlest need to the greatest. I have been able to work in the law library and reading library, attend classes and tutor in the G.E.D. program. I am very thankful to offer help when I can. I have spent many hours listening to tragedies, counseling, praying with my sisters and suggesting spiritual direction behind these walls. We encourage one another and find hope in that. We live in a valley of tears and most days the only compassion we receive is from each other.

Please keep me in your prayers. My trial will be the week of May 6th. God bless all of you and your work.

Robyn Maloney-George Philadelphia, PA

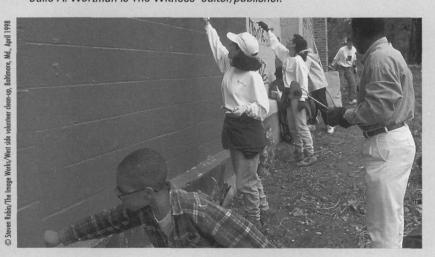
Beating new bounds by Julie A. Wortman

Every day I receive about 50 email messages aimed at keeping me informed of the latest breaking national and global news. I dread each download. Persistent word of economic, social and political outrage on a global scale only seems to feed my sense of impotence over the injustices perpetrated by the world's powers-that-be. I long to "delete all" and occupy myself with some appealing, apolitical diversion.

And yet I'm suspicious of my own yearning for escape. Corporate capitalism seems too eager to reinforce the inclination. Fly away, drive away, seclude away, dream away. A recent (and reluctant) weekend stay at a climate-controlled luxury hotel (with all rooms overlooking the artificial environment of a vast interior atrium in an effort to downplay the bewildering, generic business/industrial suburban-sprawl environment outside) left me gasping for fresh air and confused as to where, specifically, on the planet this place might be. I hunger, I realize, not for escape, but magnetic North. A reliable, grounded, point of orientation.

Too often, congregations appear to forget this stabilizing — and energizing — need. So proud to be part of the church universal, they inadvertently eschew the church incarnational — the church local and specific. Their self-image betrays this. If there are any Episcopal congregations that still "beat the bounds" as part of annual rogation celebrations, the farthest most processions would venture, I'd bet, would be to the limits of the church's property or the block on which it stands.

In this issue, we ask for more. We ask that church people get more intentional about claiming a wider acreage as the proper grounds of parish life and ministry. We ask that congregations think of themselves less as communities and more as community members. The world's economic, social and political realities are playing out on all of our doorsteps, ready for blood-and-guts engagement. There is, in the end, no escape. But at least we can begin with knowing where we are. *Julie A. Wortman is* The Witness' *editor/publisher.*



EDITORIAL NOTES

The church's call

by Richard Bower

T N EARLY JANUARY I received a news release from the Anglican Church of El Salvador and its bishop, Martin Barahona. It was the Salvadoran church's statement of concern about the January 1, 2002, layoff of 10,000 government workers. Under pressure from the IMF and the World Bank, and from other international lending banks who do business in Central America, the Salvadoran government has been following the neo-liberal economic policies so in vogue today among the wealthy nations of the West.

Who could be against more efficient, smaller, and less bureaucratic government? The problem lies in the fact that, for small, poor countries like El Salvador, those who benefit most from neo-liberal economic reform (read: free-market, unregulated, globalized capitalism) are not the masses of workers and the poor but the few rich families and large businesses who dominate El Salvador's politics and economics.

In the eyes of the Salvadoran Anglican church, the dismissal of over 10,000 workers in one month — without severance pay or follow-up training and re-employment programs — is a painful, unjust, and socially disruptive action. These lay-offs follow several years of government privatization and dismissal of workers, leading to over 27 percent unemployment in 2001.

The Salvadoran church sees its involvement in the social, political and economic life of its people as a primary mission. It believes its faith perspective needs to be part of the national dialogue. So it expresses concern publicly for the thoughtless, painful way these dismissals occurred. It expresses concern for the families of the dismissed workers, concern for the inevitable public protest and social upheaval that will occur and concern for the government's lack of will-ingness for public debate about these issues. And it promises concrete proposals on how to deal more honestly and justly with the women and men caught up in this crisis. This is the church doing what it ought to do in a difficult and complicated setting.

We in the U.S. also live in difficult times. In the months following September 11th a multi-billion-dollar U.S.-sponsored war has been waged in Afghanistan. According to the Associated Press, over \$60 billion

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in difficult times

had already been spent on "anti-terrorism" efforts in our country by the beginning of 2002. Despite a reported upturn, our economy is struggling, factories are closing, government social programs are being stalled and civil liberties jeopardized. A wave of uncritical patriotism and "government knows best" attitudes has emerged.

Where is the voice of our church these days? Where are the theological and social analyses, the proposals for alternatives to war-making, the public witness to peace? And why is our church raising so few questions over the rising nationalism of our time, a movement stifling questions and dissent in the major media? Where are people of faith challenging the simplistic, dualistic worldview of "good versus evil" or "civilization versus terrorism"?

I'm grateful that *The Witness* and our "A Globe of Witnesses" website project (www.thewitness.org/agw) are voices that seek to counter the privatization of religion and ethics and to foster the full and active participation of people of faith in the issues that challenge public life and the common good. This public theologizing and reflection is increasingly and urgently needed these days.

By "public theology," we mean the belief that God is as much concerned about the good of society as about religious activities and personal faith. As Archbishop William Temple expressed in *Christianity and the Social Order* (1940), it would be a great mistake to think that God is chiefly interested in religion.

Public theologizing is not simply the practice of reflection, but also the practice of analyzing our social/political/economic reality in the light of the biblical message and faith, with a commitment to action — which, in turn, calls us back to new analysis, prayer and renewed action.

Our sisters and brothers of the small and vulnerable Anglican church in El Salvador are taking the risk to do public theology. That, too, is our commitment here at *The Witness*.

Richard Bower is a member of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company board (publisher of The Witness) and founder of Fundacion Cristosal, a network of people and parishes concerned about the Salvadoran people that sponsors people-topeople exchanges and projects for the benefit of the Salvadoran church and people (see www.cristosal.org).

Pentecost Psalm

All Saint's Episcopal, Chicago, May 1999

It's raining; three plastic flamingos balance on wire legs in the parish yard, saluting us as we slip out of the wet into the sanctuary's sacred physics.

Yellow and orange crepe streamers are tongues of fire washing down like covenants from the rafters, are angels ascending and descending the molecules of our prayers like ladders to heaven.

The crucifer pokes his standard through the doorway; the processional begins. We come to You singing Lord, hearts popping and sparking like July 4th sparklers and singing.

The liturgy wraps itself around us, baptizes us and we're kissed by its rain, caught up in its firey chariot, drenched decent, short of breath.

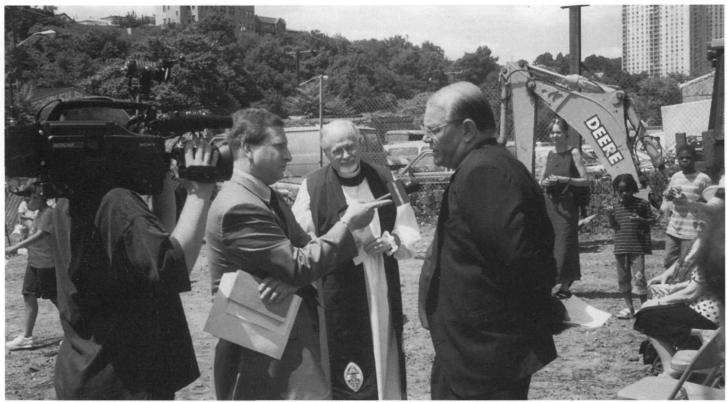
When the service ends, so does the rain and we watch the children tumble over the shimmering lawn flying weathered, plastic "Jesus Loves Me" kites.

Set me alight Lord, pick me up like a tattered kite, hang me in the sky like a beacon, sing through me in a thousand languages, stand sentry over my beating heart like three flamingos — Father, Son and Holy Ghost all balanced and wet with spring rain.

Wash down from heaven Lord, light me like incense, like an angel, like the pop and flash of a sparkler, hang me like a beacon in the sky, set me tumbling over the grass, Lord, let me shine, let me shine.

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CONTEXTUALIZING



Newark bishop Jack Croneberger looks on as Geoffrey Curtiss gives an interview at the groundbreaking for Hoboken's Jubilee Family Center.

An interview with **Geoffrey** Curtiss by Julie A. Wortman

EOFFREY CURTISS, president of the Episcopal Network for Economic - Justice, has since 1980 been rector of All Saints Episcopal Parish in Hoboken, floor N.J. Using the methodologies from the Urban Theology Unit (UTU) of the Sheffield Inner City Ecumenical Mission in Sheffield, England, his practice of urban ministry developed out of liberation and contextual theologies. His "UTU New Jersey" program offers individuals or teams of congregational leaders two years of training designed to promote radical Christian discipleship in city neighborhoods (contact UTU New Jersey c/o gcurtiss@allsaintshoboken.com).

JULIE WORTMAN: One of the questions I've heard you ask in the context of speaking about urban ministry is, "Should the local congregation have an interest in the people of its neighborhood?" Why is that an important question?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Over the last 30 or 40 years many urban neighborhoods have gone through an incredible dynamic of change, primarily as a result of our national immigration policies along with the federal resources provided to build suburban adjuncts to our cities. The question for the urban church is, how does the local

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congregation construct a ministry that is contextual to the neighborhoods in which it is located? The church, by and large, has attempted to bring into a neighborhood a style of ministry or a style of congregation that it adapts from another situation and then tries to supplant into a neighborhood. The church hasn't been thinking about how the people of a given neighborhood can have an impact on the kinds of things that a local congregation might undertake, or on its liturgy and worship. As the neighborhood changes, new people should be coming into the life of the church. Their impact upon the local church should be as much and as significant as whatever that local church is bringing to the community. Unfortunately, most congregations desire to continue on with what was once successful in the past.

JULIE WORTMAN: So when you're talking about contextualizing or caring about the people of the neighborhood you're not thinking in the usual terms about "outreach"? GEOFFREY CURTISS: No, not at all. "Outreach" means bringing something out of the congregation. I am more interested in "inreach," the way local people can reach into a congregation and change it. I'm really talking about making it a "we" by doing the work together and inviting "them" to become "us" and "us" to become "them." So we in the local congregation would be responding to the experience of the people of the local neighborhoods and how this experience should be changing us.

JULIE WORTMAN: This doesn't exactly sound like the normal idea of evangelism, either.

GEOFFREY CURTISS: That's correct. The usual evangelism is about making people into Episcopalians. We come with our set of doctrines and our style of liturgy and say, "This is what we're going to teach you to be and then you can participate in the life of the Episcopal Church." I'm not saying we just throw all that away, but I am saying that at the same time we can also allow the local community's identity into the dynamic. So if we're dealing with a lot of people who are of different ethnic backgrounds or of different social or economic stratas, that's going to have as much of an impact upon the style of the congregation as the church's tradition. For example, as gentrification grew in our city, families with children from all sorts of religious traditions inreached into our congregation. As a result we do a new liturgy at 9:10 A.M. on Sunday mornings in which the worship, while it may have the "rubrics" of looking like a Rite 3 Eucharist, in effect it uses little to nothing of the Prayer Book. The prayers, the scripture readings and the songs are coming from a variety of sources brought by the local community and its experience.

JULIE WORTMAN: What was Hoboken like when you first arrived at All Saints 22 years ago? How did you contextualize the church's ministry at that point?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: In the early 1980s it was the time of the "urban pioneers" in Hoboken. A lot of young people discovered Hoboken as an opportunity to purchase an old building, rehab it and establish a home. They literally were creating a place to live. One thing that was clear to these newcomers was that there were no local stores where they could buy fresh fruit, vegetables and cheeses. A couple of the young people who were becoming involved with the congregation approached me about whether the church was interested in starting a food cooperative. We joined together and rented a storefront and a relationship began with a group of people who inreached into the congregation, wanting to start a food cooperative that could share space with the church. And so on Saturday mornings and Wednesday nights, we were collectively running this food coop of fresh fruits and cheeses and the kinds of things that were not readily available yet. As a result, some of them said, "Hey, I'm interested in what you are trying to do here. Can we talk about it on Sunday mornings?"

Eventually, the Korean community moved in and opened several green groceries and they were followed by health food stores and a couple of eclectic stores. Our project had accomplished its work, so we closed up to move on to the next concern. We got into doing an interfaith sheltering ministry for the homeless and we got into exploring with other churches and the local synagogue the kinds of things that the changing nature of Hoboken was going to need. Eventually, that led us at All Saints to begin creation of an Episcopal day school that served a number of the younger families who had young kids and were getting involved in our community. We started as a nursery school and now, 15 years later, we're up to sixth grade. We've slowly built this day school out of a partnership between young families that are members of my congregation, along with a lot of other young families that are moving into the area.

JULIE WORTMAN: One thing I've heard you talk about before is the importance of mapping your neighborhood or mapping your community. What's that about?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: If you are going to be about the work of inreaching, then you must be able to see your neighborhood and its people for who they are rather than who you want them to be. God has placed them here for you to be among. The mapping opportunity gets me out walking the neighborhood with new eyes, the eyes of inreach rather than the eyes of outreach. Mapping has me asking not what can the church bring to this community, but what is this community asking the church to be? In my 22 years of mapping, I'm always amazed at the changes I notice even in neighborhoods where I walk daily. It is so easy for the local



Teens and adults from Redeemer and Guardian Angel churches prepare a Thanksgiving Day meal together (2001).

Sharing resources to build a community-based church

by Robert W. Ihloff

Guardian Angel, Baltimore, is a small church in a once blue-collar neighborhood now punctuated with crack houses and cheap apartments. The church has a long tradition of ministering to and with its neighborhood. It sponsors a food pantry, provides clothing, houses a program to train persons to go on job interviews, and hosts a number of neighborhood ministries. On Sunday or other days one finds a drug addict worshipping side-by-side with a social worker, a mentally challenged adult, a mother on welfare, an elderly lifelong resident of this Remington neighborhood. The congregation is racially mixed and truly welcoming of everyone. At a visitation some years ago, I had been praising the vestry of Guardian Angel for its commitments to social justice. A vestrywoman politely interrupted, "Bishop, what you keep calling social justice ministries we just think of as being the church."

She was absolutely correct. At Guardian Angel, social justice is integral, not one aspect of being the church in that neighborhood.

Less than three miles away from Guardian Angel is Church of the Redeemer, the largest Episcopal Church in the city. Located in a posh neighborhood, Redeemer is an upper-middleclass, white congregation made up of professional and business people. At first glance, it might not seem that the members of these two congregations even live in the same world, let alone in the same city. In fact, they share a common commitment to the ministry of Guardian Angel, and a growing commitment to sharing resources.

When Alice Jellema accepted the call as rector to Guardian Angel, she left a full-time position in a suburban parish to accept this part-time cure in the city. It necessitated her taking a second job as a receptionist. Alice longed to devote her full attention to the demanding ministries of Guardian Angel, but the parish could not afford to pay her more money. In her previous ministry, she had come to know a number of members of Redeemer. They encouraged her to seek assistance from Redeemer's Outreach Committee. As she shared the story of Guardian Angel's ministry in the city, many people saw an opportunity not only to provide a quarter of Alice's full-time salary and benefits (the Diocese agreed to pay a quarter as well), but also an opportunity to share talents and time. Now members of Redeemer are enthusiastically involved as volunteers in a number of ministries at Guardian Angel, the clergy engage in pulpit exchanges and resources are being shared in ways that are cooperative more than paternalistic. *(continued on page 10)* congregation to become blind or not pay attention to its surroundings or to only remember them the way they once were. The mapping helps you notice things like the cycles of change that local convenience stores go through, which indicates that different people have moved in. Or you become aware that industrial buildings that were warehouses or old garment-center kinds of factories have been redeveloped or replaced by a lot of new housing or divided up for artists and other small businesses.

Cities are usually made up of many layers of neighborhoods in which people move in and out with ease. The mapping exercise gets you into conversation about, "What did this neighborhood look like in the 1970s? What did it look like in the 1980s? In the 1990s? And what do the neighborhoods of Hoboken look like in the year 2002?" And so you ask, "Why have they changed, what is God up to in these changing neighborhoods?" This is a different theological perspective from always thinking, "I sit in my pew. I meditate and I have my personal relationship with God." This is an attitude that never thinks about God's work in the neighborhood, in the changing environment of the world and among the changing people outside the doors of the congregation.

JULIE WORTMAN: Can you give an example of seeing God this way?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Well, in the 1980s Hoboken was, by and large, heavily Puerto Rican, so we were focused in our congregation on how we related to the Puerto Rican community. Then, through the gentrification process, many of the Puerto Rican community were displaced. And so a whole new neighborhood came into being and we had to begin thinking about how to relate to this new neighborhood. At the same time, we saw what had happened to the Puerto Rican community, that they'd been pocketed into smaller neighborhoods on the west side of town rather than being spread out as they were before, so we began asking, "Well, how do we relate to that neighborhood?" And that has been the substance of a dialogue for the congregation and its leaders for many years.

As gentrification went forward, our church basically ended up on the main street of town. It's an excellent location, but it's in the part of town where most of the gentrification has occurred. So the question that I posed to the congregation was, "How are we going to continue our relationship with the poor who now live in a neighborhood quite separate from ours? If we're going to have a relationship and work with people who remain in poverty — if we're going to have a relationship with where most of the children of Hoboken now live, then we need to figure out how we are going to be on the west side of town."

So we bought a piece of land on the west side and we're now in this project of building a 9,000-square-foot building, a Jubilee Family Life Center, so that we can be the Episcopal Church in that neighborhood and have a place where the people who are living there and in other neighborhoods of Hoboken can come and work together and be together and hopefully build something.

JULIE WORTMAN: So, in response to the question, "What is God up to?" you're not answering, "Well, God's gentrifying Hoboken."

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Right! It is not enough, because a congregation must serve a variety of neighborhoods and not just one. It is this mixture of people and issues that creates the dynamic that challenges us to ask, "What is God up to here?" I accept the liberation theology perspective that God has a preferential option for the poor. I think that every congregation must figure out their way to develop a relationship with the poor. For me, both liberation theology and contextual theology remind me that the church is not for those who attend it, but rather we who attend it are supposed to be sent out into the world for our neighborhoods and for the poor. That is God's purpose for creating the church, even though we are good at contriving other reasons for our existence.

JULIE WORTMAN: And are those from the other neighborhoods then showing up in your church?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Not yet. We have hopes that it may happen over a long haul. But the real work is about building and sustaining relationships. This takes time and is done in small groups who share their hopes and practice their faith with one another. Our hope is that building a new facility in a neighborhood will help us have a place to undertake this work. Our church is really a church that you walk to and that is why we seek to explore a style of congregational life that involves being located in several of the neighborhoods of our city, yet joined together in a common ministry.

I guess that is another dynamic of the city, that for our local projects to be self-sustaining, we can't make them too big. We recognize that in the city you develop, in effect, small gospel projects that are located in various parts of the neighborhood or the city. You don't have to have big projects, you just have to have a network of how these projects fit together. So we have a shelter for the homeless that is located at 3rd and Bloomfield. And then five blocks away is our worship center at 7th and Washington and then eight blocks away, on the west side, there's going to be this Jubilee Family Life Center. In Hoboken, we have probably eight or nine different neighborhoods that have different groupings of people in them and we must find different opportunities to be the church in different ways.

JULIE WORTMAN: How would you take what you know and what your experience has been and be in a suburban location?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: I would want the church first to come to know its neighborhood in a new way. Not what you bring to the neighborhood, but what does the neighborhood need from us? Second, I would want the congregation to undertake to have relationships with people who are different. There is not much economic stratification in most suburban communities so this challenge is a hard one. But if the church is created by God to address the needs of the oppressed, then we must figure out who they are and get about the work of feeding the hungry, clothing the naked and binding up the broken.

JULIE WORTMAN: Does this idea come out of your training?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Yes. This comes out of my Urban Theology Unit (UTU) train-

ing with John Vincent at the Sheffield Inner City Ecumenical Mission. John Vincent is one of the great mentors of my life. His approach teaches us to reflect on the Gospel as it is unfolding in the neighborhoods and street corners around us in such a way that we are led into action. The action does not have to be any more than speaking or acting out a parable. The action can be the engagement of a couple of people in something that they feel is an "active parable." A new way of seeing the world or a window for others to see God's incarnational presence or activity in the local situation.

JULIE WORTMAN: That must require a fair amount of time spent in reflection with people in the congregation.

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Yes. Congregations get involved in doing a lot of "stuff" that institutional life generates and creates. If you sit with a group of people and have them make a list of all of the activities that the congregation is engaged in and then say, "Okay, now I want you to tell me a gospel story that interprets to others why you're doing this activity," what often happens is that for some of the activities they say, "I can't get you a gospel story." Which then forces them to ask, "Well, why are we doing this as a congregation?" You begin to become alive to the fact that there are some things churches really don't need to be doing because they are not things that have relevance to what we're supposed to be doing in light of the Gospel.

JULIE WORTMAN: And do you recommend this process primarily for groups?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: The UTU hermeneutical circle invites us to create and participate in disciple groups that are engaged in gospel actions. So it is for those who are working in situations that are ministry and mission and realise that the Gospel is an organizing tool for their work. Congregations gather around the places where the Gospel is not only proclaimed, but lived out. UTU helps those who are seeking to create and sustain gospel communities and actions.

Whether it's a food cooperative, a credit union, a sheltering ministry, a day school, a

(continued from page 8)

Moving from parochialism

All the resources we need to do all the exciting ministries we can imagine are right here in this diverse diocese of urban, suburban and rural areas, with pockets of dire poverty and of extraordinary affluence. However, they are not equally distributed, and some are not available in the places of greater need. More explicitly, all the talents and experience, all the time and energy and even all the money we need to accomplish the mission of God's Church are at our disposal. To effectively utilize them, acting morally and conscientiously, we need to move from parochialism into the sharing of resources across parish lines.

The diocese is the smallest unit for Christian mission and ministry! This flies in the face of the popular Protestant notion that the basic (and sadly for some, the only) unit is the parish church. No congregation, not even the largest, most active and dedicated, will be able to attend to all the ministries that need doing nor even to see and comprehend the full implications for mission. What too often happens is that large congregations with many resources simply multiply the ways they minister to their own constituents, thereby increasing their own comfort levels as they increase the gulf between themselves and the less well-endowed. In such parishes, little information comes from outside the congregation to inform leaders about other needs and possibilities for ministry. There are always some individual members who are dedicated to outreach, but, sadly, in most able congregations, outreach is not truly resource-sharing. Rather, it is a response from their largess, which enables members to feel that they are being generous while they continue to spend most of their resources on themselves.

What is needed is a larger sphere in which persons of considerable diversity interface; this is where the diocese plays an essential role. When all of the needs and aspirations for ministry in a wider area can be shared out of a rich diversity of persons and places, and where conflicting needs and ideas can be weighed, persons of faith and goodwill respond through sharing their resources. In my experience, this sharing is not only an exercise in stewardship worthy of the name Christian; it also deepens the spirituality of the participants, bringing each person to greater wholeness and deeper happiness. I believe most people want to be generous. When persons blessed with many resources are brought into dialogue with brothers and sisters with obvious needs, a sense of community ensues in which there is a wonderful opportunity for generosity and meaningful sharing. Such dialogues are time-consuming, not infrequently heated, often difficult to maintain, and absolutely necessary for the mission of the church. It is a major moral imperative and responsibility of dioceses to foster and sponsor such dialogues in a variety of ways and to encourage sharing their vision and their resources.

The diocese as broker

The diocese should be a broker of talents and expertise, enabling persons to contribute these in places other than their own parish. Bishops and other members of diocesan staff should understand themselves as catalysts for this sharing. Diocesan budgets should reflect this by placing resources in areas of greater need. For example, our diocesan budget largely funds one of our inner-city parishes. This parish is not a mission but its work is integral to the mission of the diocese. Although there are few financial resources and insufficient persons with talents and time within that community, many volunteers from other parishes participate in a number of community ministries through this parish and we all contribute to its budget. This ministry is a priority even though it will never likely be self-sustaining. Our diocese similarly sponsors a number of city and rural parishes, providing some financial assistance and/or people. These augment the resources available locally. We do this without the stigma of calling churches missions or aided parishes; they are simply integral to our mission, which assumes the sharing of resources. Moreover, we encourage special relationships among parishes. Eight congregations in a region sponsor a program to house homeless families; none could do this alone. In another region, a school is being built through resource-sharing. It is, after all, one ministry --- Christ's ministry, in which each of us has a part to play and resources to share.

Robert W. Ihloff, D.Min., D.D., is the Episcopal Bishop of Maryland.

non-profit housing corporation or an afterschool program, you start to see that these projects are really what keeps the congregation alive. And then growing congregations become, in effect, a network of a variety of gospel projects. So that small groups of people say, "Well, this is our project." You bring a variety of issues and a variety of people who are working on these issues together and you say, "We're going to support each other."

So some people are out there in relationship with Jesus working on a food pantry, while another group is saying,"Well, you know we want to start a church school for our kids, because we really think teaching the kids the Jesus story is very important," and yet another group is working on some social-justice campaign because Jesus is present in the national agenda of our nation. But all of these become gospel projects that three or four or five or a dozen or more people in the congregation get connected to. This is different from thinking that we are all one happy congregation doing one thing. Instead, many of us with a variety of gifts are engaged in the work of Jesus as he has become known to us.

JULIE WORTMAN: At one level a church that's doing this wouldn't necessarily look a lot different from another congregation that's got various things going. But it sounds like there's a significant difference in the process by which people arrive at what they're doing, a process that offers people something deeper than the doing of good works just because you should! GEOFFREY CURTISS: Right. I feel I'm often caught between spending a lot of time to have Sunday mornings work in a way that the gathered congregation can function, versus spending time with the group of people who are going to meet on a Tuesday night or a Thursday night or a Wednesday noon to work on a specific project. I also find that many people who get engaged in a project are not as interested in "the Sunday morning" effort because they're feeling very much connected and alive to the project itself. What the UTU model then tries to do is to push to the place where that much smaller group of people understands itself to be related to the larger gathered community, but doesn't necessarily have to be incorporated into the gathered com-

munity. Some of that has happened inside our church. So a group of women that have these effective meetings on Thursday may not show up on Sunday because they would say, "Well, my church time is going to the noontime service on Thursday and then having lunch with these women and working on something together."And that is really good church. I mean, they don't have to show up on Sunday morning. Whether it's the dayschool community or the Jubilee Ministry community or the shelter community, those groups of people are in themselves coming together as church and they don't have to necessarily show up on Sunday morning to be church together.

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reuse In England, John Vincent, who was a for Methodist superintendent, developed an education and training component much like at Church of the Savior in Washington, D.C., where on Mondays, Tuesdays and ² D.C., where on Mondays, Iuesdays and ³ Wednesdays he would offer classes much ⁴ out of the Paulo Freire model of action and ⁴ reflection. So the people would engage this reflection. So the people would engage this relationship between the Gospel and their neighborhoods and talk about how to prax-is the Gospel. It's been hard to figure out when we can gather people together to do that because of the hours people give to their work. Maybe the development of the permanent diaconate that seems to be occurring in our midst will be a means occurring in our midst will be a means Archives of the whereby some of this will start to happen. Of course, most people seeking to be in ordained ministry these days do not see urban ministry as an opportunity, but as a

JULIE WORTMAN: For many, the attrac-tion of diaconal ministry is that the people involved act as a bridge between the diaconal involved act as a bridge between church and world. But isn't that simply Christian vocation? **GEOFFREY CURTISS:** Right. I think it also goes back to that issue of how does the local congregation see itself. Does it see itself as forming disciples or does it see itself as representing the Episcopal way? Is the congregation a network of gospel projects that a variety of people are working on together, but separately, or does the congregation keep buying into the idea of one congregation, one priest, with all congregations being basi-

cally the same so that clergy can be interchangeable? Contextualization means leadership and ministry that will be unique to the particular location. Liberation theology invites us to become transformed as we move down the ladder into the places of oppression. What would it be like if we could look at Episcopal congregations as, first, training centers for disciples, not Episcopalians, and second, as places concerned about the local neighborhood, not the maintenance of a common way? Third, what if they were places that were open to the challenges and changes brought by the people who ask something of them instead of places that say, "We only do it this way"? And finally, as we enter into interfaith partnerships, what if our churches were committed to the welfare of the whole community as a means to enable us to be one with one another?

JULIE WORTMAN: The Industrial Areas Foundation has also been significant for the work that you're doing?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Right. I worked with the Industrial Areas Foundation for 10 years and now with the Gamaliel Foundation for a couple of years. What they're onto is trying to figure out how to have a public life together as the community of faith. How can we together bring about change and transformation in a larger context than just simply a neighborhood and realize that we struggle against forces larger than simply neighborhoods and that we share the same problems, the same concerns? So to me it's real interfaith work, for we are working on how to be more effective in our faith witness in the public domain. Again, it's an alternative way of being church that recognizes that power is not something to be avoided, but power is something that is a tool for creating strong neighborhoods, for creating quality of life, for creating a place in which we can engage the world and be at it together without fighting over the fact that you're a Methodist and I'm an Episcopalian and you're a Lutheran. It doesn't matter that we worship Jesus differently from one another or that we see God differently from one another, because we're seeking to know the

one who we all believe calls us to love and justice.

JULIE WORTMAN: Right. So you're not struggling for market share!

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Correct. It's not about market share. When you recognize that, as congregations coming together and raising up local leaders in our neighborhoods, we can go down and witness to the fact, say, that we need community-based police and then engage the mayor and the city council and other groups of people who can deliver that, we are, in effect, making our congregations stronger. People see that the value of this congregation in this public community is that this congregation is caring about the neighborhood that it's in.

JULIE WORTMAN: It strikes me that, in the process of claiming neighborhoods as the province of activity, you're saying that ecumenical activity is inevitable?

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Well, it is inevitable. But it's going to be about supporting and strengthening the various existing congregations in the neighborhood that want to take on a public role and understand that the betterment of the neighborhood is critical to their health and vitality. It's interfaith, too. Figuring out how to get synagogues and Muslim communities engaged is certainly a challenge for us. And it also involves working with unions. The whole relationship between religion and labor has certainly moved back into a very strong position.

JULIE WORTMAN: Yes. It seems like living-wage campaigns and other workers' struggles have become an important area of faith-based activism.

GEOFFREY CURTISS: Right. The livingwage campaign translates for urban congregations quite simply. If we don't have people attending our church who can participate in a stewardship program, then we're not going to have congregations in the city, just socialservice kinds of churches that are responding to the needs of the desperate.

Julie A. Wortman is The Witness' editor/publisher.

FAMILY, CHURCH



Latinos of faith exercising collective power to improve daily life by Timotby Matovina

Residents of a Mexican neighborhood in Detroit protest pollution from local factory.

EACON CARLOS VALDÉZ was angry. Gang member intimidation of seventh and eighth graders on the school playground of his parish, Ascension Catholic Church on the north side of Minneapolis, was so intense that the school principal had begun to patrol the schoolyard with a baseball bat. Frustrated by the lack of police response to the principal's pleas for help, in 1996 Valdéz enlisted the support of the Joint Ministry Project (JMP), a local faith-based community organization that addresses urban issues. Armed with JMP training in community organizing and public action, Valdéz and other parish leaders joined with JMP to gather 600 people and demand that the police chief and mayor increase patrols to deter gang recruitment. While at first city officials refused to negotiate, the media coverage that local organizers fostered soon shamed them into action. The

following week "Safe Teams" comprised of civilians and police patrolled the schoolyard and adjacent neighborhood every afternoon. Gang members fled. Elated at their success, Valdéz and his fellow parishioners concluded that these events represented far more than just winning back their schoolyard. More importantly, they had learned that they could exercise collective power for the good of their community. As Deacon Valdéz summed up his own transformation after the victory, "I feel alive, and I'm being called by God to organize in my community, the Latino community."

Subsequently Valdéz played a leading role in founding Sagrado Corazón parish; hundreds of Latino Catholics from this congregation have received leadership training in faith-based community organizing. Along with numerous other small victories stemming from this organizing effort, Latino leaders have created a Mercado Central business cooperative, raised \$3 million for the cooperative's 40 small businesses, and compelled the Immigration and Naturalization Service to process immigrant applications in a more timely and humane manner (Valdez' story is chronicled in the 1999 annual report of Interfaith Funders, Jericho, N.Y.).

Changed face for civic landscapes

The Latino Catholics of Minneapolis are part of the long-standing and growing Latino Catholic presence in the U.S. With the addition of newcomers from such diverse locales as Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Argentina, along with ongoing Mexican immigration, to the ranks of an established Hispanic population comprised primarily of Mexicandescent Catholics, Hispanics are the largest

AND NEIGHBORHOOD

group of U.S. Catholics as well as the largest group of recent Catholic arrivals; they will comprise the majority of U.S. Catholics during the first decades of the new century. This demographic shift, which is also affecting other religious denominations, has changed the face of numerous Catholic parishes and U.S. Catholicism generally and, as the efforts of Deacon Valdéz and his collaborators illustrate, the civic landscape of cities and towns across the nation.

Participation in faith-based community organizations like JMP is the most consistent and extensive form of Latino Catholic political activism. Sociologist Richard Wood contends that faith-based community organizations, that is, organizations whose membership is comprised primarily of local congregations, "arguably represent the most widespread movement for social justice in America." Wood's recent study (with Mark Warren), Faith-Based Community Organizing: The State of the Art (Interfaith Funders, 2001), reveals that there are 133 such organizations in the U.S. with an office and at least one full-time staff person. Collectively, these organizations link 3,500 congregations plus 500 other institutions such as public schools and labor union locals; congregations engaged in faith-based community organizations encompass between 1.5 and 2.5 million members and are in nearly all major urban areas and many secondary cities across the nation. Latinos comprise a majority in about 21 percent of the aforementioned 3,500 congregations. This figure represents a level of Latino involvement that nearly doubles their population ratio, currently about 12.6 percent of the national total. In cities and regions with large Latino populations like Los Angeles, New York, Miami, Chicago, San Antonio, El Paso, and the Rio Grande Valley, Latino participation and leadership is even more conspicuous.

For example, in Texas half of the member congregations in faith-based community organizations are Hispanic Catholic parishes. Not surprisingly, the five states with the largest number of faith-based community organizations are California, Texas, Illinois, New York, and Florida, the five states with the heaviest concentration of Hispanic population.

Four major organizing networks

Most of the 133 organizations are associated with one of four major organizing networks. The most famous of these is the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), which Saul Alinsky founded in 1940. Like the IAF, the Gamaliel Foundation is also based in Chicago, while the Pacific Institute for Community Organization (PICO) has its headquarters in Oakland and the Direct Action Research and Training Center (DART) is in Miami. The four networks contract with local organizations to provide professional organizers and leadership training. The Gamaliel Foundation, for example, supplied the organizer and training for Deacon Valdéz and others in Minneapolis. Although the local organizations remain autonomous, at times they work with other organizations on state and regional issues. Professional organizers often forge these collaborative links through their respective organizational networks. Latinos account for 16.3 percent of the professional organizers employed through the four networks and 21 percent of the board members in faith-based community organizations. Moreover, various Latinos are key leaders within the four organizational networks, such as Mary Gonzáles in the Gamaliel Foundation, Ernesto Cortés Jr. in the IAF and Denise Collazo and José Carrasco in PICO.

Religious leaders like the U.S. Catholic

bishops have offered strong support for faith-based community organizations. In November 1969 Catholic bishops launched the Catholic Campaign for Human Development (CCHD, formerly the Campaign for Human Development) to address "the problems of poverty, racism and minority tensions" made painfully evident through the Civil Rights Movement and the rage and despair of poor urban Black Americans. In founding the CCHD, the bishops articulated two explicit goals: educating Catholics and other interested persons about contemporary social ills to promote "a greater spirit of solidarity," and funding support for "organized groups of white and minority poor to develop economic strength and political power." The latter goal has led CCHD to consistently support faith-based community organizations. Warren and Wood's study showed that the CCHD provides more funding for faith-based community organizations than all other religious givers combined; CCHD support totals nearly one-fifth of all income for faith-based community organizations nationwide.

Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS)

The most renowned faith-based community organization that is overwhelmingly Latino is the Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS) in San Antonio. IAF organizer Ernie Cortés worked with lay leaders and priests like Edmundo Rodríguez, Albert Benavides, Charles Herzig, Patricio Flores, Hector Rodríguez, Bill Davis, and David García in the 1974 effort to found COPS among six Mexican Catholic parishes on San Antonio's west side. By the first organizational meeting that summer COPS had expanded to 27 churches, each of which agreed to provide leaders and annual dues to support the organization. Parish dele-

'The important thing is to relate the stations to what is happening in the community.'

Perhaps the most overlooked dimension of the Latino public presence in the U.S. is their ritual and devotional traditions, faith expressions that often spill out into streets and plazas of U.S. cities and towns. While such public ritual has been a long-standing tradition at San Antonio's San Fernando Cathedral, the oldest cathedral sanctuary in the country (and a member of COPS), similar faith traditions are increasingly evident in the streets of U.S. towns and cities. Like European Catholic immigrants from previous generations, more recent arrivals from Latin America and the Caribbean bring treasured expressions of faith with them, such as the Puerto Rican devotion to their patron San Juan, the Cuban veneration of their patroness Nuestra Señora de la Caridad del Cobre (Our Lady of Charity), Guatemalan faith in El Cristo Negro de Esquipulas (the Black Christ), and El Salvadoran dedication to Oscar Romero, the slain archbishop of San Salvador who is popularly acclaimed as a martyr and saint. In New York, Miami, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and other locales with significant Latino populations across the nation, Latinos celebrate their feasts and religious traditions with processions through city streets, outdoor Masses and prayer services, televised worship, and other public manifestations of devotion that alter the sacred landscape of numerous U.S. communities. One of the most widespread traditions among all Latino groups is the extensive devotion to the crucified Jesus and his suffering mother on Good Friday. As at San Fernando, in many Hispanic parishes this devotion encompasses a public reenactment of Jesus' trial, way of the cross, and crucifixion or some other procession through the streets. Parishes like St. Bridget's on Manhattan's lower east side, St. Stephen's in South Bend, Ind., St. Anthony's in Milwaukee, St. Clement's in Santa Monica, Calif., and eight Catholic congregations along 18th Street in Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood are just a few of the many predominantly Latino parishes that annually observe this public ritual tradition.

Along with commentary on the ethno-religious origins and significance of Good Friday and other public rituals, media coverage often focuses on messages of political protest against injustice and violence that these rituals embody. *Chicago Tribune* reports of the Good Friday Way of the Cross in the Pilsen neighborhood, for example, have made links between the suffering of Jesus and the suffering of contemporary Latino communities (see, e.g., 3/26/91,



Good Friday Stations of the Cross, Pilsen neighborhood, Chicago

gates at the inaugural meeting decided that the organization would initially focus on a single goal: improving the horrendous storm drainage on the west side. For decades the frequent flooding in west-side neighborhoods had caused school closings, accidents, stalled cars, damaged homes, potholes, impassable roads, bridge collapses, a dearth of business establishments, even deaths. Amazingly, when COPS leaders researched past efforts to address flood problems they discovered that many drainage projects had actually been authorized in bond issues passed as far back as 1945. Outraged, they sought meetings with the city public works director and the city manager, but with no satisfactory results. Then, after a period of heavy flooding, COPS members filled city hall during a council meeting and related their horror stories of flooding catastrophes, as well as their findings on the city's failure to fulfill authorized drainage projects. Mayor Charles Becker, stunned by the crowd and the overwhelming evidence presented, ordered the city manager to devise a drainage project implementation plan. In November 1974, COPS took the lead in passing a \$46.8 million bond issue for 15 west-side drainage projects.

This initial major victory was only the beginning of COPS' long series of successful efforts at development and revitalization in neighborhoods on San Antonio's west and subsequently east and south sides. COPS has achieved more than \$1 billion in infrastructure improvements for these primarily low-income and working-class neighborhoods. These improvements include new streets, sidewalks, libraries, parks, streetlights, clinics, affordable housing and drainage systems, as well as significant advances in educational reform, job training, economic development, living wages, voter registration and active citizenship campaigns, after-school enrichment classes, college scholarships and adult literacy. The organization's Project QUEST (Quality Employment through Skills Training) won the 1995 Innovation in American Government Award from Harvard University and the Ford Foundation. More importantly, COPS has transformed its members and the wider civil society of San Antonio. In the words of former San Antonio mayor and HUD secretary Henry Cisneros, "COPS has fundamentally altered the moral tone and the political and physical face of San Antonio. It has also confirmed ... that one way to overcome poverty is to empower the poor to participate more fully in decisions that affect their lives." Grassroots COPS leaders agree, like parishioners from Our Lady of the Angels who attested on the occasion of COPS' 25th anniversary that "many positive changes have come about in our community [because of COPS], but the most positive change has been in the attitude of our people. Twenty-five years ago, we couldn't imagine that a city council member would attend our meetings, now we know that with the power of educated, organized people, anything is possible."

'No permanent enemies and no permanent allies'

Beyond San Antonio, COPS set the tone for the establishment of other faith-based, multi-issue community organizations by transforming Saul Alinsky's model for organizing religious congregations. Under the innovative guidance of Ernie Cortés and COPS clerical and lay leaders, the organization adapted Alinsky's highly confrontational style of organizing to the cultural and religious sensibilities of Hispanic Catholics on San Antonio's west side. To be sure, COPS was necessarily confrontational, particularly in its early years, as an entrenched political and business establishment sought first to thwart and then to limit the organization's influence. But over time COPS leaders also worked collaboratively with elected officials and business executives, living out the dictum, common in faithbased organizing, to have "no permanent enemies and no permanent allies" but instead remain focused on the issue at hand. COPS also transcended the initial issue of drainage improvements to focus on a wider agenda, and ultimately on the primary agenda of creating a power organization that could address any number of issues and concerns that might arise. Moreover, like most faith-based organizing efforts, COPS' effectiveness and longevity are further enhanced by having an ongoing contractual relationship with one of the networks for leadership training and the services of professional organizers.

Scholars, reporters, and other observers often overlook yet another of the key innovations that Cortés and COPS leaders introduced into Alinsky-style organizing: the importance of integrating politics and faith. As sociologist Mark R. Warren, author of Dry Bones Rattling: Community Building to Revitalize American Democracy (Princeton, 2001), has observed, "while Alinsky took a rather utilitarian view of churches as repositories of money and people to be mobilized, the modern IAF developed a close collaboration with people of faith, fusing religious traditions and power politics into a theology of organizing." For example, the figure of Moses, whom faith-based organizers often deem "the first organizer," is regularly engaged as a model for the vision, courage, relationship-building and public action of organizational leaders. Similar parallels are drawn with Jesus, Paul and other significant biblical figures. Moreover, unlike efforts that IAF organizers initiated during the Alinsky era, the primary leaders in COPS are not activists committed to the cause, nor even clergy with social reform sympathies, but parishioners who perceive their activism as an extension of their commitment to family, church and neighborhood. All but one of COPS' seven presidents has been an Hispanic woman, most of them middle-aged mothers with strong familial and parish ties. COPS leader Inez Ramírez summarizes the sentiments of many organizational members



Marchers in Toledo, Ohio, last September carried crosses to remember Mexicans who have died trying to cross the U.S. border since 1995.

4/14/95). In fact, as Tribune reporters have noted, it was the suffering of the community that led Mexican Catholics and parish priests in Pilsen to initiate this annual public ritual. On Christmas eve in 1976, 10 children and two mothers died in a fire that swept through an apartment building two blocks from St. Vitus parish. Because they did not understand Spanish, Chicago firefighters who responded to this emergency were unaware that these victims were trapped inside the burning building. In a public meeting following this tragedy, parishioners from St. Vitus and other Pilsen parishes argued that these deaths resulted from a lack of Spanish-speaking firefighters, as well as absentee landlords, overcrowded housing, and city neglect of public services. The following Good Friday they began their annual Way of the Cross as an expression of faith intended to draw the community together in a collective act of solidarity, remember their lost loved ones, and connect their deaths and the plight of the Pilsen neighborhood with the unjust crucifixion of Jesus. Subsequently the annual procession links the Stations of the Cross (the events that comprise Jesus' painful walk on the road to Calvary) with "community problems such as housing, crowded schools, immigration and gang violence." In the words of Father James Colleran, pastor of St. Vitus the year of the first Pilsen Way of the Cross, "the important thing is to relate the stations to what is happening in the community" (Chicago Tribune 3/26/91).

Another significant but frequently overlooked element of the story is the practitioners' notion that their rituals embody a religious experience that transcends time and space. Anthropologist KarenMary Davalos' outstanding study of Pilsen's Way of the Cross encompassed numerous conversations with leaders in the Good Friday ritual like Patricia, who summed up the intersection of yesterday and today: "Christ suffered way back 2,000 years ago, but he's still suffering now. His people are suffering. We're lamenting and wailing. And also we are a joyful people at the same time. ... So this is not a story, this is not a fairy tale. It happened, and it's happening now."

In a society that focuses more and more on individual spiritual quests and frequently neglects the human need for collective ritual, Latino traditions and congregations offer a significant model of one way the church can fulfill its public role and provide a religious experience that transcends cultural and denominational boundaries. — *T.M.* in Mary Rogers' *Cold Anger: A Story of Faith and Power Politics* (U. of North Texas Press, 1990): "This is not merely politics we are engaged in, but correcting injustice, which is God's work and the mission of the church. There is more to our spirituality than just going to Mass on Sundays. Our spirituality embodies a deep concern for the physical well-being of every individual."

So strong is COPS' interest in vital congregations that the organization has even taken on the role of parish development, a process that encompasses identifying and training new leaders, collective learning based on Scripture and church teachings, building congregational unity around common goals and needs, expanding church outreach and ministries, and even the enhancement of stewardship and church finances. Leaders at Sacred Heart parish reported during COPS' 25th anniversary that "parish development has been key in our growth and success as a COPS parish." With Catholic parishes closing in the core of many U.S. cities, IAF organizer Sister Mary Beth Larkin offered perhaps the most blunt praise for the role of COPS in congregational life: "Not one parish on the west side of San Antonio died after COPS started."

COPS has provided an organizing model that numerous other community organizations have emulated. IAF organizers in Texas, many of whom initially served an apprenticeship with COPS, helped establish organizations in locales like Houston, El Paso, the Rio Grande Valley, West Texas, Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, the Gulf Coast region around Beaumont and Port Arthur, Fort Bend County south of Houston and the Eagle Pass-Del Rio border region. At COPS' 10th anniversary assembly in 1983, Ernie Cortés announced the formation of the Texas IAF Network, which he then served as director. That same year this statewide network of local community organizations won its first major victory on the issue of school finance equalization and reform. Subsequently the network lobbied successfully to gain critical funding for indigent health care and infrastructure improvements in the colonias, poor,

unincorporated communities along the Texas-Mexico border which were completely bereft of potable water, sewage systems and other basic amenities before the Texas IAF Network. The Network's Alliance Schools educational initiative, an effort to build strong schools in low-income neighborhoods through the mutual collaboration of parents, teachers, administrators and community leaders has received national acclaim from school reformers. In 1999, organization leaders pronounced COPS' 25th anniversary assembly as an occasion to celebrate "25 Years of Organizing in the Southwest." Representatives from IAF-affiliated organizations across the Southwest had delegates present; these organizations now include groups from various locales in California, New Mexico and Arizona. Cortés, who is now based in Los Angeles, heads this new effort to link IAFaffiliated organizations on a regional basis.

The faith-based perspective: construct a just and more vigorous democracy

Significantly, faith-based community organizations like those affiliated with the Southwest IAF provide an alternative model for people of faith to engage in politics. As sociologist Warren has noted, the IAF and similar networks attempt to build local power organizations from the ground up, enabling working-class and other congregational members to participate more actively and effectively in our democratic society. Unlike most food banks, clothing drives, rental assistance programs and other "charitable" social service efforts, faith-based community organizations do not focus on temporary assistance but on constructing a more just and vigorous democracy. Unlike the Christian Coalition and any number of groups who in large part attempt to lobby policy decisions at the national level, faith-based community organizations focus on building mediating institutions that provide the "missing middle" in American politics. Rather than propose a fixed moral agenda that they promote in public policy debates, faith-based community organizations are efforts to build institutions that primarily address the need of reestablishing a more participatory democracy.

Not surprisingly, community organizers like Ernie Cortés frequently bemoan the widespread (and often unconscious) presupposition that voting is the sole means for ordinary U.S. citizens to participate in our democracy. While not diminishing the importance of voting, they stress that "what you do after the election" most clearly reveals how active you are as a citizen. Building strong community organizations is their way of enabling congregations and their members to engage meaningfully in public discourse and decision-making processes that affect their lives. This organizing model presumes people from diverse backgrounds and religious traditions engender values and perspectives that can enliven and enrich this public discourse and the decisions that flow from it. In other words, faith-based community organizing offers an inherent critique of a political culture with limited alternatives and thus represents a vital contribution to the revitalization of American democracy.

Challenges and obstacles

While accentuating the promise for rejuvenating democracy that faith-based community organizations offer, Mark R. Warren and others have noted several challenges and obstacles that still lie ahead for community organizations like those in the IAF network. One of these challenges is the difficult transition from organizations focused explicitly on local needs and concerns to regional and even national coalitions that are a force for a wider political transformation. This challenge and its potential for effecting policy decisions and social change will make the recent emergence of the Southwest IAF, as well as other statewide and regional organizing efforts like the PICO California Project, even more fascinating to observe over the coming months and years. Additionally, while organizations like COPS and the wider Texas IAF network have been highly successful at attracting

member congregations among Catholic, historically African-American, and mainline Protestant churches, they have few Jewish, Islamic, or other non-Christian congregations and a similar dearth of evangelical or Pentecostal churches. In Texas IAF-affiliated organizations, for example, the lack of Anglo-American Southern Baptist congregations — the predominant denomination throughout the northern half of the state poses a significant challenge for these organizations to achieve their objective of building within their ranks as broad a base of support as possible. Among Latinos, who abandon Catholicism for evangelical and Pentecostal congregations at an annual rate of some 60,000, these churches' lack of participation in community organizations drastically curtails the possibility that their Latino members will engage in organizing activities. The recent establishment of Christians Supporting Community Organizing (CSCO) in Boulder, Colo., is an attempt to address this concern; CSCO's initial project is to link evangelical and Pentecostal congregations to faith-based community organizations in Philadelphia, Boston, Rochester, Chicago and Spokane. The success of this effort is another emerging story in the ongoing development of faith-based community organizing among Latinos and other groups in the U.S.

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ENTITLED NEIGHBORS

A biblical perspective on living wage

by Walter Brueggemann

From the commandments:

If you lend money to my people, to the poor among you, you shall not deal with them as a creditor; you shall not exact interest from them. If you take your neighbor's cloak in pawn, you shall restore it before the sun goes down; for it may be your neighbor's only clothing to use as cover; in what else shall that person sleep? And if your neighbor cries out to me, I will listen, for I am compassionate. (Ex. 22:25-27)

From the prophets:

Like fowlers they set a trap; they catch human beings. Like a cage full of birds, their houses are full of treachery; Therefore they have become great and rich, they have grown fat and sleek. They know no limits in deeds of wickedness; they do not judge with justice the cause of the orphan, to make it prosper, and they do not defend the rights of the needy. Shall I not punish them for these things? (Jer. 5:26-29)

From the Psalms:

Their eyes stealthily watch for the helpless; they lurk in secret like a lion in its covert; they lurk that they may seize the poor; they seize the poor and drag them off in their net. they stoop, they crouch, and the helpless fall by their might. They think in their heart, "God has forgotten, he has hidden his face, he will never see it." Rise up, O Lord: O God, lift up your hand; do not forget the oppressed. Why do the wicked renounce God, and say in their hearts, "You will not call us to account"? (Psalm 10:8-13)

From wisdom:

Those who oppress the poor insult their Maker, but those who are kind to the needy honor him. (Prov.14:31)

Conclusion:

Every strand of biblical faith shows God to be deeply engaged in and passionately concerned for economic issues. It does seem that the God of the Bible — contrary to much popular religion — cares a great deal about debts, mortgages, wages and interest, and is preoccupied with the well-being of the poor.

THE CENTRAL and defining narrative memory of biblical faith is the story of the Exodus. While popular religion is preoccupied with the great divide of water in the Exodus story, in fact this defining memory is not about water; it is about rescue from unbearable poverty and abuse in debt slavery.

It is clear that the slaves in the book of Exodus did not just "happen" to be slaves as "the less fortunate." According to the drama of Genesis 47, they got into slavery because the great food monopoly of Pharaoh charged them for life support until they lost their marginal "means of production." They ended in slavery because they had no capital except their bodies that were eventually placed in hock to the power of the food monopoly with its concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

The wonder of the biblical story is that God paid special attention to these poor in their wretchedness:

God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. God looked upon the Israelites, and God took notice of them (Ex. 2:24-25). God intervened decisively in the distorted economy of Egypt on behalf of the poor who were being ruthlessly exploited in their helplessness.

That rescue, however, was not by an easy, heavenly miracle. It was accomplished through tedious, nerve-wracking negotiations led by Moses, supported and authorized by God. In some part, this emancipation of the helpless poor who became Israel is accomplished by human agency that refused to accept degrading poverty and economic injustice as a permanent or legitimate social condition.



THE EXODUS is a defining tale of rescue from economic disaster. It makes a grand religious narrative that feeds our imagination on the wonder of God's powerful love. The Bible, however, always intends that religious sentiment should have practical expression in policy formation and concrete public action. Thus in the book of Deuteronomy Moses ponders how the Exodus narrative is to be transposed into economic policy and practice.

The outcome of that pondering is the remarkable policy statement of Deuteronomy 15:1-18, wherein Moses, at the behest of God, commands that the people reduced to debt slavery by their inability to pay their debts must be held in debt only as a shortterm affair. This teaching provides that no matter how great the debt, it must be cancelled and forgiven after six years, so that the poor person is freed to reenter the economy. (This is rather like a bankruptcy procedure, except that it pertains to resourceless poor people, not to those with smart lawyers).

This command of God via Moses is a remarkable cornerstone of a vision for a covenantal, neighborly economics. It is concerned a) that there should be no permanent underclass and b) that the will of the Exodus God pertains precisely to economic matters.

Moses says: That there will always be poor people, and so this procedure must be scrupulously followed in all times and in all circumstances (v. 11).

Moses says: That if this practice of debt release is practiced, you can eradicate poverty: the "poor will cease in the land" (v. 4).

Moses says: Not only must you cancel debts and let the debtor free; you must "provide liberally" extra resources to the poor so that the poor can be economically viable (v. 8-10). (This provision sounds strangely like economic "reparations.")

Members of the Episcopal Urban Caucus (EUC) join in a living-wage action during the EUC's February 2002 Assembly in Los Angeles.

Moses says: You, the monied and the propertied and the privileged, shall do this, because you were debt slaves in Egypt, freed from your debt bondage. You must do what God has done for you (v. 15).

LONG AFTER MOSES, the prophets, the great advocates of an Exodus-economy, considered a) positively the possibility of an Exodus economy and b) negatively the consequence of an exploitative economy whereby the rich get richer and the poor become even more hopeless. Amos, among the prophets, speaks of the consequences of unrestrained acquisitiveness at the expense of the neighbor, greed exhibited as self-indulgence:

Alas for those who lie on beds of ivory, and lounge on their couches, and eat lambs from the flock, and calves from the stall;

who sing idle songs to the sound of the harp, and like David improvise on instruments of music:

who drink wine from bowls,

and anoint themselves with the finest oils, but are not grieved over the ruin of Joseph! The practice of immense satiation that does not take into account the deep social destructiveness that it produces with its dire results:

"Therefore they shall now be the first to go into exile, and the revely of the loungers shall pass away" (v. 7).

Amos anticipated that an economy that is not restrained enough to share with the poor will end in disaster ... as indeed it did in ancient Israel!

NOW these are very old texts, quite remote from the issues facing us in a complex urban, post-industrial, technological society. Except that the fundamental economic issues remain constant. It is not very difficult to get rich in our society, if that is what one wants. The hard part is self-congratulatory acquisitiveness while we are keenly aware of neighbors (fellow citizens and members of the same economy) who lose out and suffer from unequal arrangements of education, housing, and health care — not to mention the stacking of the cards on mortgages, credit, interest and taxes. The Exodus narrative, the Mosaic legislation, and the prophetic poetry are all agreed. The rich are not autonomous, but are under divine mandate to act in solidarity with the poor. It is the bottom line of this biblical, theological tradition. If solidarity with the poor is not to be welfare (that offends and is currently out of style among us) and is not to be charity (that never fully touches the big systemic issues), then a fair, living wage is precisely the vehicle through which a) we express a deep theological conviction about God's will for the neighbor, b) we enact neighborly solidarity that cannot be denied, c) the advantaged are sheltered from the destructive consequences of acquisitiveness.

It requires a little imagination — but not much! — to transpose this ancient teaching from a peasant economy into a post-industrial, technological economy. The bottom line in either arrangement is that every member of the economy is valued by God and therefore entitled (!) to a share of the communal economy, in terms of social power, social goods and social access. This theological tradition, rooted in the character of God, has no patience with an unrestrained acquisitiveness that imagines one can disregard the neighbor. The theological word for such economic disregard of the neighbor is sin; the certain outcome of such disregard is the collapse of the social infrastructure.

Conclusion:

Moses taught: "You shall not withhold the wages of the poor and needy laborers, whether other Israelites or aliens [illegal immigrants] who reside in your land in one of your towns. You shall pay them their wages daily before sunset, because they are poor and their livelihood depends on them; otherwise they might cry to the Lord against you, and you would incur guilt" (Deut. 24:14-15).

Moses understood about the flow of money, the practice of monopoly, and the sharp practices that the powerful can perpetrate (by remote control) upon the poor. He would have none of it! Moses, moreover, is echoed by this strange wisdom teaching that may haunt us:

"Those who mock the poor insult their Maker;

those who are glad at calamity will not go unpunished" (Prov. 17:5). We mock the poor when we imagine that they are not present to us and we make them invisible. We mock the poor when we imagine they are not entitled (simply because they are among us). We mock the poor if we blame them for their status which is created by hidden power arrangements and unacknowledged social advantage. We mock the poor when we resist viable ways through which to share the well-being of society. We mock the poor, and they are helpless to retaliate (except, of course, in random acts of violence). We mock the poor ... and God is unsettled ... and the stakes are upped severely.

The counter to mocking the poor is to take the poor with economic seriousness as entitled neighbors, as legitimate members of the community who are not going to go away. It is God's practice to notice the poor. It is God's delight when God's powerful and blessed also notice ... and act accordingly.

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A 'winnable issue'

by Ethan Flad

People of faith are among those participating in an emerging nationwide grassroots movement of living-wage campaigns. Most of the initiatives to date have focused on pressing large employers or local governments to raise the minimum wage by several dollars above the federal standard (\$5.15 per hour) to a rate between \$9 to \$13 per hour. According to James Lawson, longtime civil rights activist and theologian, the living-wage movement comes out of a deep, healthy commitment to social justice. As Lawson declared during the 2002 Assembly of the Episcopal Urban Caucus held in Los Angeles earlier this year, "Racism will not be dismantled unless we dismantle the economics that systematize it."

Living-wage legislation has now been passed in more than 80 communities around the country. The first victory occurred in Baltimore, Md., in 1994. New laws passed in early 2002 in New Orleans, La., and Marin County, Calif., herald good tidings for campaigns in an additional 75 cities this year. [Visit www.livingwagecampaign.org for an updated listing.]

Santa Monica: SMART

Vivian Rothstein works with SMART (Santa Monicans Allied for Responsible Tourism). "We see a real synergy between the most progressive unions, which are working to organize the lowest wage workers, together with emerging Latino leadership and activist clergy," she reports. "We've all been on the defensive for so many years, and now we're actually winning."

Santa Monica's campaign dates back to the city's prescient decision a quarter-century ago to center its economic development strategy on tourism. The tourist economy grew quickly in this coastal community of 90,000 residents, but legislation passed in the 1980s froze new hotel development. The handful of luxury hotels in the city benefited from this law and became among the most profitable in the state. Yet, as they



Episcopal bishops join in Los Angeles living-wage action during Episcopal Urban Caucus Assembly, February 2002.

charged upwards of \$400 per night for a room, their workers didn't make that in a week — and were paid some of the lowest wages statewide.

According to Rothstein, new union leadership in the mid-1990s faced a "last stand" when the only remaining union hotel tried to decertify its union. Using pressuring tactics that included the firing of a Salvadoran woman union leader, the hotel forced a vote over the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) — and won. In response, ba community coalition created a "Truth Commission" and held a "safe election" at another applace in which the union prevailed.

That fight energized the coalition to begin a livging-wage campaign. But the hotel and its big-busianess allies were quick to detect the changing momentum. Sensing growing community support of living-wage legislation, they authored their bown law. In November 2000, Proposition KK, which Rothstein calls the "Fake Living Wage Ordinance," was put to a vote in the city. "They took our fname," complains Rothstein. "The proposition would have prevented any living-wage ordinance from EVER getting passed to regulate the hotels." However, hard work by living-wage organizers dealt a decisive defeat to Prop. KK — by a 79–21 percentage margin.

Just as importantly, in that same November 2000 gelection, the coalition had worked to elect a supportive city council, which passed a living-wage ordinance on July 24, 2001. The ordinance called for bemployers that make over \$5 million per year to pay wheir employees \$10.50 per hour (if health benefits fowere included, or \$12.15 per hour, if not).

It didn't take long for the wealthy business community to respond. "On July 25th the opposition hit the streets with a petition to suspend the new living-wage ordinance," reports Rothstein. "They spent \$438,000 in just a few weeks!" The referendum was successful, placing the new living-wage ordinance in a state of limbo. The issue will come to a vote again this November.

Rothstein remains optimistic, and credits her church allies for being integral to the campaign through thick and thin.

"The Episcopal clergy — from the bishop [first Fred Borsch, and now Jon Bruno] on down — are angels. They have gotten arrested with us in civil disobedience. They have door-knocked with us. They've held press conferences."

With recent victories under their belt, she

believes the living-wage coalition can win again.

San Francisco: 'full-time working homeless'

Living-wage activist Barry Hermanson in San Francisco concurs with Rothstein's assessment of the "winnability" of living-wage as an issue.

"I think every person understands the basic premise of a living wage, which is that every person who works full-time should be able to pay for the basic aspects of life: food, clothing, health care."

But, despite a politically liberal populace, the living-wage fight in his city has been difficult.

The campaign began in the late 1990s when labor and religious activists began reporting a significant increase in San Francisco's homeless population. While many factors led to this rise, Hermanson notes that numerous stories were emerging of "full-time working homeless" - people who held down 40-hour-per-week jobs, yet still couldn't make enough to pay rent in one of the nation's most expensive regions. It wasn't that big a surprise, he says, since the California Budget Project had issued a study called "Making Ends Meet" that showed it was impossible to live on the federal minimum wage anywhere in the state even in the rural Central Valley. When a study by the Association of Bay Area Governments ---which Hermanson calls "hardly a liberal think tank" — came out indicating it would cost \$14.50 per hour for a single parent to live in San Francisco, the campaign took off.

Focusing on local jobs that were being funded through taxpayer money — via companies from whom the city was purchasing goods and services — they originally intended to shoot for \$14.50 an hour, based on the study. Soon afterward the campaign dropped the figure down to a less intimidating \$11 per hour if the employer provided benefits or \$12 per hour if not.

"We were faced with a mayor [Willie Brown] and a board of supervisors [the city council] that were opposed to this legislation," says Hermanson. "But in less than two weeks we got 15–20,000 signatures to put this legislation up to a vote."

At that point, as in Santa Monica, the powers changed their tactics, and decided to negotiate. Mayor Brown met with the campaign and a compromise was struck — low-wage workers would be paid \$9 per hour plus benefits, or \$10 per hour with-



out. Hermanson notes that this victory was just the beginning. "We came back with a health-care accountability ordinance the following year, and now we are going back to enact a citywide minimum wage."

Hermanson, who himself is the CEO of a temporary employment agency, faults fellow members of the business community for this debate.

"I believe that we have a certain number of employers who take advantage of the public subsidy system." They know that the government will have to cover the extra costs of people's lives, he says. "If people had enough to provide for their basic needs — if they were paid enough to begin with — I probably wouldn't have to spend so much time working on these issues."

Ethan Flad is editor/producer of The Witness' web site, including A Globe of Witnesses. Visit A Globe of Witnesses at www.thewitness.org/agw/ for a new article discussing what "living wage" really means, authored by Dick Gillett, an Episcopal priest involved with Los Angeles' CLUE (Clergy & Laity United for Economic Justice) coalition. Volunteers willing to work for the living-wage vote in Santa Monica November 1–5 should contact SMART at smart@laane.org or call 310-451-9703.

www.thewitness.org

AIR-WAVE



Blessing of eagle staff pole intended to keep Wisconsin community radio station WOJB, which serves five Native reservations, out of harm's way.

Community radio making a difference

by Charlie Bernstein

OE STEINBERGER of Rockland, Me., recently performed a minor miracle. He started a 24-hour, full-service radio station for less than \$10,000. Taking to the air on Valentine's Day 2002, WRFR-LP is, as of this writing, the newest member of the community radio family, a phenomenon that, in the U.S., spans more than 50 years.

"I saw an article somewhere about the FCC offering this new type of license and went to their website. They decided they'd go forward with these new licenses, and Maine was one of the first states they were doing it in."

The new licenses, for low-power radio stations which reach no more than seven miles, were, at least for a short while, easy to acquire. Steinberger talked to other people, drummed up some interest — and some donations — and got one.

May 2002

NEIGHBORS

Early on, he heard it called "micro-radio." "I thought: This isn't micro. It's local. We don't think of it as a micro-station or Rockland as a micro-city. And it's really not alternative radio. We're simply local — both a physical and a radio neighborhood. Most people who receive the station are in walking distance."

and publication Micro or not, the "LP" ("low power") in its call letters identifes the station's special radio niche — a niche that enables it to serve exactly one community, and well. By charter, WRFR is not designed to be alternative or cutting-edge or politically positioned. It's a place where any local citizen who has something to say can say it. As such, its weak signal is, paradoxically, its strength.

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Permission At WRFR, Sunday morning starts wi gospel, with local singers and pastors. Stei berger co-hosts a weekday local news/di cussion/call-in show with regular visits i local legislators. And Friday nights featured punk program put together by a high-scho student, followed by a hip-hop sho WRFR's music programming, in fact — an this is typical of community radio — wildly eclectic. "The modern trend is all-th same," Steinberg explains. "But we're findin that what people actually like is that they listening to Bob Dylan one minute an African music the next." **But is the station meeting a need?** "There's a [commercial] station here doin an all-sports thing," Steinberg says. "I At WRFR, Sunday morning starts with gospel, with local singers and pastors. Steinberger co-hosts a weekday local news/discussion/call-in show with regular visits by local legislators. And Friday nights feature a punk program put together by a high-school student, followed by a hip-hop show. WRFR's music programming, in fact - and this is typical of community radio - is wildly eclectic. "The modern trend is all-thesame," Steinberg explains. "But we're finding that what people actually like is that they're listening to Bob Dylan one minute and

"There's a [commercial] station here doing an all-sports thing," Steinberg says. "It's almost entirely nationally programmed. But back in the 1950s and 1960s it was a very local station. So now a lot of the old-timers are saying WRFR is great, it's what radio was, a center of the community. You're talking about neighborhood. It's a way to be part of a community, and we're really losing that."

Just two weeks into operation, the station had received over 100 volunteer applications (there are no paid staff positions), and 30 people were already on-air.

KPFA-FM: volunteers with political motivation

Broadcasting a continent away, KPFA Berkeley, Calif., is the opposite of WRFR in almost every way. The oldest community radio station in the U.S., KPFA was founded by pacifist writer Lewis Hill in 1949. True to those roots, it has a proudly radical tradition, quite unlike to WRFR's determined apoliticalism. The station is located in a fast-paced big city, not a chatty small town, and is part of a larger network, Pacifica Radio. It has a paid staff of about 20. And most listeners do not live in walking distance. The station is big, reaching the entire Bay Area, with much of its content filtering out to a third of California via other stations.

What the two stations have in common is their strong community roots.

Hali Hammer is one of the volunteers who help out at KPFA, especially during pledge drives. A singer-songwriter, she started volunteering during the Gulf War, "basically because the only thing keeping my sanity was the radio station. I decided to come down and help out, and I've been here ever since."

For Hammer, the in-depth news and information KPFA supplies seems vital to her community's well-being. "Volunteers here have political motivation," she says. "We want to make sure the world doesn't deteriorate into a worse state than it's in now. We care about the community, and want to be informed and make sure that other people are, as well. I've traveled all over the world and anywhere else you go you can get news about other countries, but here in the U.S. you get nothing but pap. KPFA gives you things you just don't hear on mainstream radio."

Mary Berg is what many community stations call "unpaid staff." An audio tech and book editor in her work life, she hosts a music program and a news show each week, and is on the station's program council and local board. Berg has been active in the station's struggle to maintain its local integrity in the face of Pacifica's efforts to "dumb down" the station's sound to give it more mass appeal as a way to increase the number of listeners and revenues.

Over the past 10 years, Pacifica imposed what Berg calls a gag rule on its five stations from Los Angeles to New York. Stations were asked to eliminate unprofessional-sounding volunteers and to double audience, revenues, or both. The stations resisted. At KPFA the conflict came to a head in 1999. when Pacifica locked the station's doors and fired the staff.

"The firing was a really stupid move to make," Berg says. "The lockout galvanized people."

Thousands of community members of every description marched to save the station. "Housewives would come down from the Berkeley hills to camp out," Berg recalls. "You'd see people huddling to come to consensus about what to do when the police came."

The lockout lasted three weeks. Pacifica backed down there, as it has elsewhere. Staff have been reinstated and sweeping changes have been made. There is a new optimism and a new cooperation — but there is also a \$4.8 million debt to deal with.

Berg's talk is rapid-fire, a verbal barrage of ideas, data, opinions, history and asides. Her music program, however, is anything but. She goes on the air Sunday at 5 A.M. with one of the rare community radio programs to offer classical music.

"I play music and don't talk very much. Some people who don't like organized religion say it's their church. I think we need to show our communion, our commonality. If we don't, we're done for. We're dependent on one another, so in music I tend to play Jewish and Arabic music, or African and Irish. I do it without saying anything. The music relates. It's a musical statement, not a verbal statement."

Positive signs for independent radio journalism?

These days, the freedom to broadcast statements of either sort is considerably at risk. The New York Times reports that the federal courts are aggressively dismantling existing broadcast media regulations, with the support of the FCC, White House and much of Congress. Scott Harris, executive producer of the weekly independent radio news show, "Between the Lines," has serious concerns. "Voices of activists, from labor to environmental groups worldwide, are eliminated from corporate journalism. And when they are there, they're reduced to soundbite journalism. Commercial radio doesn't have the time to explain things. Noam Chomsky telling you in 20 seconds why the U.S. war against terrorism is misguided just doesn't make it."

Harris, who has been in community radio since college in the 1970s, produces and distributes his in-depth news and analysis program for free to about 20 stations around the country — and online as well. He also sees positive signs for independent radio journalism. The World Trade Organization demonstrations in Seattle, he says, proved to be a watershed for the field.

"And because there's so much more activism on campuses these days," he says, "it swells the ranks of interest in independent radio programming among younger people. Refugees from the 1960s probably always liked that stuff, but now there's a new phase of activism."

He even sees corporate consolidation as fueling independent media, in the sense that by removing probing journalism from its programming, corporate media is creating a need for it.

The challenge is in keeping air space where independent voices can be heard. According to National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB) director Carolyn Pierson, deregulation has crowded the dial in urban areas to the point where no more community stations can be licensed. New community stations are going on the air only in rural areas, especially Latino and Native American communities. That means that low-power stations are the future of community radio. Six licenses have been issued so far and Pierson expects about 1,000 to be issued in all.

In the 1920s, many American radio stations were run by unions, civic groups, colleges, and churches. But by 1930, the Federal Radio Commission (now the FCC) had, in "the public interest," reallocated most of those frequencies to for-profit companies. Against widespread citizen outcry, the commercial radio lobby defended and solidified those gains, winning passage of the Communications Act of 1934. That law had been the basis for most broadcast regulation until passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act, which dismantled most of the ownership controls under the old law. An enduring Newt Gingrich legacy (but ultimately embraced by leaders of both major parties), it allows, among other things, almost unlimited ownership of radio stations by one company. A result has been the airwayes ascendance of Clear Channel Communications, which now owns nearly 1,200 U.S. stations — about a tenth of them — including over half the nation's most-listened-to Top 40 and rock stations. It produces such programs as The Doctor Laura Program and The Rush Limbaugh Show and owns about 100 concert venues - the cause of recent anti-trust action.

Clear Channel's stated mission is "to broadcast the best programming to the broadest audience providing the best value to advertisers." This programming has included, among other things, on-air animal killings and a "Push for Rush and Bush." Miami University broadcasting professor Bruce Daschel calls Clear Channel "the company that made radio unlistenable."

WOJB-FM: making a difference for the good

WOJB-FM, Hayward, Wis., doesn't bring in that kind of money. But if Clear Channel is an effective advertising vehicle, WOJB is effective at something that matters to its volunteers and listeners more: serving its community.

More than a decade ago, then-program director David Keller wrote: "WOJB is a lot like other community radio stations broke. We are among the working poor. So why are we smiling? Maybe because sometimes we actually do something here that makes a difference, for the good."

The community in question is the home of the Lac Courte Oreilles (la-coot-o-RAY) band of Ojibwe people. The general manager, Camille Lacapa, started there as a temporary secretary soon after the station went on the air in April of 1982 with a mission to provide a Native perspective on community issues.

When Lacapa arrived, a major controversy was raging around a pair of Obijwe brothers who had begun spear hunting, a Native tradition. They were in violation of state laws, but existing treaties exempted traditional practices.

Many local non-Natives, however, incensed at the activities of what they called "timber niggers," had begun using the hunting furor as a pretext for agitating against the Ojibwe.

"So we started having panel discussions with Native and non-Native people, and educated people on the treaties," says Lacapa. "We provided opportunities for anti-Indian organizations to be part of a panel discussion and let listeners form their own conclusions. We just let people speak their minds."

According to Lacapa, listeners appreciated being able to hear both sides speak for themselves. Most decided not to support hatepreaching groups, and the tension was defused.

WOJB serves five reservations, reaching between them and far beyond as well. Its signal covers the northern part of the state and large parts of rural Michigan and Minnesota. As a result, it has more white listeners and volunteers than Indian.

Don't expect a lot of Native American songs, chants and drumming if you tune in. (And if you have internet access, you can.) Says Lacapa: "We play everything except classical music: Bluegrass, Native American, rock, classic country, jazz, blues. People like our music mix and coverage of local events. We do the strangest things. This week we have the Berkabiner ski race. It's 25 K. We're there at the start and stay until the last person finishes."

The Berkabiner is the only major crosscountry ski race in the country. And WOJB covers other kinds of marathons, as well. When power transmission lines cutting through the reservation were proposed to serve towns farther south, the station carried the public hearings in their entirety — sometimes for 16-hour stretches. Lacapa knows of instances when, upon hearing the broadcasts, drivers actually detoured to the hearings to testify.

Another purpose of the station is to revive the Ojibwe language. "Over the years we've had people come in who would play music and tell stories. Now we're starting out with the Ojibwe phrase of the day, with English translation," Lacapa says.

It's another way of maintaining focus on the station's original purpose. "The station is important because we've helped erase stereotyping. Some people have called the station to ask if it's safe to bring their kids to the reservation, like for pow-wows. I want to laugh, but they're sincere and they want to know. It's a great place to bring people. I've had people come and thank me afterward for telling them it was okay."

Behind the 'Cotton Curtain'

If you live around Atlanta, Ga., WRFG-FM (Radio Free Georgia) is "Your Station for Progressive Information." Like WOJB, it acts as a sort of station-of-record on important current events — it was, for instance, one of the few radio stations to air the Iran-Contra hearings in their entirety.

The station went on the air in 1973 as an intentional alternative to the mass media. Ebon Dooley, who manages the station, has been there from the start.



Community radio vs. public radio

The freedom community radio stations have to address the programming needs of their listeners comes partly from their non-commercial status. Briefly, there are five types of non-commercial radio:

- College radio is licensed and primarily funded by a sponsoring college. Students get on-air experience and have a large say in programming. The results — the sound — range from the sublimely sophomoric to the unconditionally world-class.
- Community radio is locally based, volunteer-driven, and of widely varying geographic reach. It is funded by underwriters, listeners, and often the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). Its music mix is highly eclectic and frequently features local artists. Its talk programming airs views and voices of the community served, as well as nationally produced programs.
- Pirate radio is low-power, unlicensed, illegal and aggressively traced and prosecuted by the FCC. Pirate operators are the graffiti artists of the airwaves, using their own resources to broadcast individualistic brands of music and commentary. (KFPA's Mary Berg feels the word pirate would be better applied to commercial radio, which she feels steals the air from its real owners, the people.)
- Public radio reaches large geographic areas, airing mainly talk and classical music, though other forms of music, especially jazz, folk and blues, have crept in as listener tastes have evolved. Its listeners are briefed on stock market activities continually and in depth. National Public Radio (NPR) and its many affiliates are funded by the CPB, listeners and corporate underwriters.

Religious radio is essentially a listener-funded airwaves pulpit with varying proportions of music and talk.

The differences between college, pirate and religious radio are obvious. But the differences between public and community radio, though seemingly nuanced, are of critical importance to community radio supporters.

WOJB-FM in Hayward, Wis. airs NPR programming, and station manager Camille Lacapa appreciates having access to it. But she acknowledges limitations. "As a Native person, I don't think public radio is public enough," she says. "They're geared to a certain audience, the classical listeners who give lots of money. It has nothing to do with rural communities, Native communities, minority communities. I don't think any NPR people came to the reservation to ask people what they thought about September 11. But I can tell you, here on the reservation, people have a lot to say."

Research by Fairness & Accuracy In Media (FAIR), a media watch-dog group, supports her perception, citing an NPR "Beltway bias" that treats heads of government, major parties and generally conservative Washington think-tanks as primary news sources while giving scant air time to citizen groups and ordinary people.

Rockland, Maine's Joe Steinberger, manager of the town's new low-power station, is more critical. Low-power broadcasting got a big boost when President Clinton's FCC appointee authorized lowpower licenses for nonprofits wishing to fill very local gaps on the radio dial. Commercial radio lobbyists fought the new low-power licensing hard, of course, smelling loss of listeners, thus ratings, thus ad dollars. Clear Channel led the assault. "They argued that it would cause [airwave] interference," says Steinberger. "But interference with their market, that's what they were talking about."

More unexpectedly, Steinberger says, NPR joined Clear Channel in decrying low-power licensing, possibly also fearing audience loss. "NPR became a leader in their fight. They took contributors' money and used it to limit the amount of choices their listeners had. They've had a virtual monopoly and they won't give it up." As a result of the lobbying, he says the FCC's new leadership has reduced the number of available low-power licenses by about 75 percent. — *C.B.*

and publication

Today, with about 50,000 listeners, WRFG is an established hub of community activity.

In Atlanta, says Dooley, "We were first to do jazz, reggae, bluegrass, underground, hiphop." But not the last. The station's music mix seems to have infected the region. "Stations can imitate us as far as music is concerned," Dooley shrugs, "but they have a hard time matching our public-affairs programming."

In this category fall the station's top-of-the-hour news broadcasts, topical call-in shows and continuous news from 4 to 7 P.M.

The station is even a citizen-lobbying vehicle. "We do a poor people's day," says Dooley. "Low-income people gather from around the state to lobby the legislature, and we act as the media outlet for that whole thing. We do a day of education and a day of covering the lobbying. We have several organizations that take part. It's led by the Georgia Coalition on Hunger. We also have a very large coalition working for a local liveable wage."

WRFG's roots are in Atlanta's African-American community. Today's listeners represent a broader spectrum of identities, but Dooley notes a common characteristic: a thirst for information beyond regular sources. "When people want to know something, they call the station. The other thing is our emphasis on multicultural music and entertainment. The old style was thinking in terms of black and white. Atlanta has transcended that, and the immigrant community has adopted our station. We broadcast regularly in English and Spanish. We'll have some French, Swahili."

As the economy tightens, as our sense of security becomes less absolute, as media consolidate and as our ability to experience our communities diminishes, we increasingly value connectedness. As mainstream radio withdraws further from where we live, people are creating their own airwave neighborhoods — independent sources of news, opinion and entertainment.

And they're not just creating them. When push comes to shove, they're standing up for them.

The challenges are enormous, but so is the payoff. And people from all walks of life, from tradition-steeped Rockland, Me., to counter-cultural Berkeley, Calif., are using radio to fashion communication in their own communities' image.

Freelance writer and community radio fan Charlie Bernstein lives and listens in Augusta, Me.

TRULY PUBLIC

Noncommercial television should address itself to the ideal of excellence, not the idea of acceptability. — E.B. White, 1967

WHETHER YOU KNOW it or not, your local cable television franchise is waiting for you to come to their offices and make a TV show expressing your opinion.

Now that your attention is snagged, we could talk about the caveats and broken promises. But the fact is that many more cable systems are offering public access broadcast time — including free production facilities and training — than people in communities are using them. According to the Global Village CAT (www.openchannel.se/cat/index.htm), a Sweden-based web site, some 2,000 PEG channels (public, education and government) are currently in existence, and many people reading this article could quickly take advantage of this media opportunity successfully.

This is an optimal time to get to know the possibilities in your community, because a significant change in technology is about to change the television landscape: digital television. Once the transmission format issues are resolved, video is going to be all digits all the time, meaning that you and your consumer videocam and your Mac-based editing software (or those of your local school or library) are going to be shooting and editing shows from tabletops — perhaps even sending the signal from your house. This represents a significant reduction in technical barriers (see "Hire a teenager" below) and a significant increase in shooting flexibility.

Part of success is finding out everything you need to know, and that's the easy part. The Internet is full of resources:

- **www.alliancecm.org** The Alliance for Community Media is a wellestablished, well-connected source of information, contacts and strategies for local communication activity.
- **//world.std.com/~rghm/** This special-interest group has a comprehensive list of stations currently offering PATV by city or locale. Check them out to find the opportunity near you.
- **Dir.webring.com/rw** From the home page, search for the Public Access Television Producers webring, and you'll find a wide range of links and contacts to people who are out there doing it and eager to share.
- **www.publicaccess.org** Resources, references to legal issues and links to stations.

The other part of success — pulling it off — is the real work. Some of the stories these web sites tell are either of intransigent cable franchisees who put up logistical barriers to community members, often in the name of law-suit protection, or of local politics that have created a kind of electronic red-lining to keep some in and some out. Good old-fashioned community mobilizing can be brought to bear to take care of these hurdles.

Then the only remaining part is the show-making aspect. The websites listed above are thorough and point to references that give a complete rundown of the planning, production and promotion processes. On the strategy side, here are a few considerations:

TELEVISION by Bruce Campbell

Think "unique"

The best use of PATV happens when the programming achieves something that can't be done in other ways such as public rallies, sermons, door-to-door campaigns, or online chat rooms. Can you show pictures of living conditions, cross-cultural activities, sewer drainage or performances? Can you get people to speak who are articulate or vivid but who don't usually get a chance? Better your production values suffer a little if it means getting out of a studio and showing something in a unique way. Sometimes just putting the production means into the hands of people who have never used it before is not only empowering, but fascinating television.

Involvement = viewership

Given that your show will go unlisted in even the local paper, unpromoted on-air and probably unseen except by people who push the wrong buttons on the remote, your best strategy to attract an audience is to involve the potential audience in the production. You could put your parish outreach committee on the air, but why not the whole local church council or coalition, in one form or another? If you must air a discussion by three-people-and-a-pottedplant in a studio, at least make a live audience out of your friends and neighbors. Can your programming idea or issue be co-produced with local partners — high-school classes, community college classes, senior centers, libraries or clubs? Partners also bring access to their publicity vehicles — not to mention much-needed assistance in scrounging up a continuous feed of content ideas.

Hire a teenager

Natural technophiles are an important ally for you, as are high energy levels. An important side benefit is putting media access into young hands at an impressionable age; in addition to empowerment, this goes a long way toward interrupting the creation of patterns of passive media consumption.

Be realistic

You are not going to draw Oprah's numbers. But that shouldn't be a goal. E.B. White was speaking specifically about public television in the quote above, but his point obtains for public access as well. Excellence in this case means demonstrating the kind of diverse and complex ideas that make up the fabric of any community, so that the process of "manufactured consent" is interrupted the next time that tough questions are raised. Do it well, and let your neighbors know when you're on, and you may have a small audience but high impact.

One side note: If your community is small enough, you may have a crack at commercial television. During 15 years as rector of Trinity Church in Alpena, Mich., and with no background in television, the Rev. J. Thomas Downs ran a half-hour news and discussion program on Sunday mornings and succeeded in garnering Nielsen numbers. Partnering with a Congregational church nearby, he purchased time at a "not wildly prohibitive" rate from the local CBS affiliate. "We didn't see any point in public access," says Downs. "Where we live, no one would have seen us." In larger markets, of course, public access may be more widely used and visible. Public or commercial, if you'd like to learn more about the challenges and opportunities of planning a weekly program, Downs is happy to field inquiries: tdowns@eastmich.org.

Bruce Campbell is a media editor for The Witness who lives in Tarrytown, N.Y.

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Reframing war on terrorism debate

Public debate of the war on terrorism can be reframed through attention to effective communications strategies, Hunter Cutting writes in ColorLines (Spring 2002). "It is extremely difficult to persuade an audience by starting your communication from a place of disagreement. Right now, the initiatives and public policies that the peace and social justice movement would propose as a response to the suicide plane bombings and the war in Afghanistan are at odds with the thinking of the vast majority of the general public. ... Therefore, we must first lay the groundwork to argue for these policies and initiatives by speaking an agenda that the majority of the American public can support. Right now, many people in the U.S. do not feel safe. They feel that the country is weak, that there has been disrespect for human life, and that justice must be obtained. Because of these factors, there is an opening to have public debate that speaks to the questions of how to build safety, strength, respect for human life and justice. ... When secret military tribunals are discussed, we can push for open international civilian trials with verdicts that honor the families of the victims. Such trials will do far more to strengthen our international prestige and quell calls to violence against citizens of the U.S.

"Expanding the war in Afghanistan to Iraq and other countries is a dangerous invitation to accelerate and amplify the cycle of violence which grips the U.S. and the Middle East. Our ability to force other countries into submission is vast, but our ability to translate that submission into a peace that guarantees the safety and lives of U.S. citizens is questionable at best.

"We must present a vision of strength in which power is not measured by our ability to retaliate and kill enemies, but by our stature as a country that does not find itself engaged in war after war, decade after decade. ... The trillions of dollars spent on defense and the tens of thousands of U.S.



lives lost in the last 40 years signal a fundamental weakness that is paid for in blood, sweat and tears."

Sanctions are "a wound that will never heal"

"When it comes to relations with the Middle East, it is no secret that the United States has a poor track record," Karima Diane Alavvi of Islamic World Educational Services writes in America magazine (3/4/02). "U.S. support for Israel obviously continues to exacerbate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While America's ties with Israel have received media attention during the war in Afghanistan, the effect of U.N. sanctions on Iraqi civilians seems to be a 'non-event' in the eyes of the American public. In the Middle East, however, these sanctions are like a wound that will never heal. I cannot imagine any American who has not shed tears over the loss of innocent lives in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania because of the terrorist attacks. This loss of approximately 3,000 lives was agonizingly painful for all of us. Iraq experiences a similar loss every month. According to recent Unicef statistics, the American-led sanctions are causing 4,500 deaths in Iraq every month.

"The majority of those victims are children, who are dying from diseases that could easily be cured by basic health care or avoided by access to safe drinking water. American citizens must insist that our nation no longer kill innocent children in pursuit of the overthrow of Saddam Hussein. A threeyear-old dying of dysentery is not the enemy of the United States. The current situation only foments further resentment toward the United States and does a great service to those who are recruiting future Osama bin Ladens for their ranks. Therein lies our greatest danger.

"Imagine a future Osama bin Laden trying to drum up support against the United States, if we were to help the Palestinians achieve a small state of their own. Imagine trying to rally hatred against a nation that not only stops the sanctions against Iraq, but sends in technicians and supplies to repair the infrastructure that it destroyed during the Persian Gulf War. Imagine a world in which the powerful ones use their might to help the less fortunate, and you will be imagining a world in which terrorists would have a hard time drumming up support."

Pricing bananas

Workers on banana plantations in Belize complain of chest pain from aerial pesticides sprayed while they work, according to a story by Elizabeth Swain in gristmagazine.com (3/11/02). Mothers bathe infants in the same tubs used to rinse the pesticide-coated bananas.

"At the store where I shop, organic bananas cost 79 cents per pound," Swain writes. "Non-organic bananas cost 40 cents per pound. Otherwise, the fruits look identical: bright yellow, cheerful, innocent.

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"But somewhere between Central America and the U.S. almost the whole story of these bananas has been stripped away. Did the person who picked them earn a fair wage? What chemicals were used? How were they used? All that complexity is reduced to a sticker that says 'organic' or 'conventional' — and a Permission required price tag. ... None of us can act on information we do not have. The organic label doesn't guarantee that the pickers were paid enough to feed their children. The conventional label doesn't mean that pesticides were used irresponsibly. And 39 cents extra per pound doesn't mean anything except 39 cents extra per pound. ...

"The missing information is vital, because a system that makes decisions based on a single variable can only fulfill a single goal. You wouldn't expect a healthy garden if you only optimized the phosphorous content of

only optimized the phosphorous content of your soil. You wouldn't expect a healthy fam-ily if you made all choices based on the needs of only one of your two children. "And yet the reigning assumption in our world is that an economy that takes only price into account can still somehow deliver the goods. Under this assumption, if chil-dren are in poverty we must have a 'child-poverty crisis.' If ecosystems are struggling poverty crisis.' If ecosystems are struggling we must have an 'environmental crisis.' But these are not distinct problems. They are symptoms of a single deep crisis — the crisis of an economy operating with insufficient information and a fundamental inability to pursue any goal beyond that of price.

"If Fed-Ex can track the exact location of any package anywhere in the world, why can't we know the history of a bunch of bananas? We can handle countless reviews of books and movies without clogging up

the entertainment industry, so why can't we have reviews of the social and environmental impacts of wedges of cheese, bottles of wine, and bouquets of flowers? Why can't we estimate the true costs of products and make sure that cost shows up in the final price?"

Environmental web action center

The Union of Concerned Scientists has set up a Web Action Center at http://www.ucsaction.org, to facilitate contact with legislators on issues of ecological concern. The web site encourages visitors to set up profiles, so that "after your first action, sending a letter will be as easy as entering your email address or replying to an email. Your message will automatically be sent to the appropriate decision-maker or your member of Congress. Periodically through the year, we will send you email alerts on critical issues to encourage you to take action. You will be able to choose between visiting the Action Center to personalize your message and simply clicking 'reply' to communicate with key policymakers."

Episcopal elders

Episcopalians are among the four U.S. religious groups with the greatest concentration of adults age 65 and older, according to statistics gathered by the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (Sojonet, 3/6/02). Twenty-eight percent of Episcopalians surveyed in 2001 were over 65. The other groups were Congregational/UCC (35 percent over 65), Presbyterian (29 percent over 65) and Jewish (28 percent over 65).

The survey also reported the groups with the greatest concentration of adults 18-29 years old: Muslim/Islamic (58 percent), Buddhist (56 percent), Evangelical Christian (35 percent) and Mormon (29 percent). Thirtyfive percent of respondents who identified with "no religion" were between the ages of 18 - 29.

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Positive Futures Gathering

Explore impact of globalization with David Korten and Walter Wink at a conference sponsored by Sustainable World at All Saints Church, Pasadena, April 12-14, 2002. For information contact Sustainable World c/o Marty Coleman, 626-795-6131.



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WITNESS MAGAZINE



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WITNESS MAGAZINE

MOVING TO CHANGE THE WORLD

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The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of **The Witness** magazine and related web site projects, seeks to give voice to a liberation Gospel of peace and justice and to promote the concrete activism that flows from such a Christianity. Founded in 1917 by Irving Peake Johnson, an Episcopal Church bishop, **The Witness** claims a special mission to Episcopalians and other Anglicans worldwide, while affirming strong partnership with progressives of other faith traditions.

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on the cover

Jews and Palestinians join in urging an end to Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories last April in Washington, D.C. © Harvey Finkle

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LETTERS

End the aid

FACT: No other nation in the entire world supports the position of Israel and the United States in the present military invasion of the West Bank and Gaza.

FACT: U.S. taxpayers have given at least \$90 billion in military and economic aid to Israel, and, according to best estimates, that aid continues to run at a level of about \$4 billion every year.

FACT: Because of this military and economic support, U.S. taxpayers are directly complicit in the widespread destruction of Palestinian life in the West Bank and Gaza which has been wrought by American-made F-16 jets, Apache helicopters, and tanks of the Israeli Defense Forces.

FACT: The continued occupation of Palestinian lands in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as the continually increasing number of Israeli settlements in those terrorities, is clearly contrary to international law embodied in the Geneva Conventions and numerous United Nations Resolutions.

FACT: It is the unanimous opinion of Palestinian and other Arab voices that the occupation of Palestinian territories both gives rise to Palestinian suicide attacks and is the central block to any peace settlement.

THEREFORE: The overwhelming diplomatic power of the United States should be used to declare that unless the State of Israel agrees to end the occupation and dismantle the settlements now, all military and economic aid will be immediately terminated.

Thomas E. Ambrogi Claremont, CA

Wholesome approach to ministry

I enjoyed reading the interview with Carol Gallagher (TW 4/02). Just one minor correction. As a Canadian Anglican priest may I draw to your attention that Bishop Gordon Beardy, a Cree Native, resigned as Bishop of Keewatin for the very same [family] reasons

as Bishop Charleston. He surprised the Canadian Church by his resignation, but the reasons given may lead to a more wholesome approach to our mutual ministries.

Enjoy your publication. Geoffrey Howson Anglican Diocese of Montreal

'Lord, how long?'

the killing ovens of Auschwitz ... the 'killing fields' of Vietnam ... the killing caves of Afghanistan ... the killing streets of Jerusalem ... The Psalmist cried out, "Lord, how long?! ..." Jesus taught us, "Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us." Lord, how long? ... Mary K. Rouillard Fort Edward, NY

A knockout

Your March issue is a knockout, with Julie Wortman's commentary a big plus. Is she related to Tunis Wortmen (1822), an American lawyer who said, "It is impossible that the imagination should conceive a more horrible and pernicious tyranny than that which should restrain Intercourse of Thought"? Her editorial suggests a true relationship. I congratulate her. And I envy her daily walk with her dogs on "coastal Maine" waving a global flag. Your March cover, flaunting a wonderful placard stating, "Why do we kill people who killed people to show that killing people is wrong?" with a page 7 placard stating "No U.S. War for Big Oil" is devastating. These remind me of our pioneer days on The Churchman where I learned values.

Edna Ruth Johnson Editor Emeritus The Human Quest (founded as The Churchman in 1804) St. Petersburg, FL

The time has come (again) to move

by Julie A. Wortman

AST APRIL I found myself writing a letter to the Christian Science Monitor complaining about its lack of coverage of a speech given by Archbishop Desmond Tutu at Boston's Old South Church. [And I hereby apologize for that letter: The very next day the Monitor ran a thought-provoking inside piece about Tutu and other progressive Christians who are calling for peace with justice for Palestinians and Israelis alike, a call that is quite different from the pro-Israel position of evangelical Christian Zionists.] About 500 people heard Tutu say that the situation in the Occupied Territories is "even worse than under apartheid [in South Africa]" (see www.thewitness.org/agw

for the full text of his speech).

Surely this veteran of the South African liberation movement should know. But both U.S. leaders and the mainstream press have discounted the importance of his perspective on the conflict. Perhaps this is because, as many now say, the U.S. Congress is just another of the Israeli Occupied Territories.

I'm enraged that this should be so. Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories is unjust, pure and simple. As Tutu observed, "The Arab nations made a mistake in not recognizing Israel's sovereignty [following partition]. So it is understandable that Israel would be nervous and on military alert. But what is not all right is what Israel has done



Concepcion Picciotto, a long-time peace activist

to others to maintain its security." The litany of U.N. resolutions that Israel has violated is long. U.S. complicity in their violation is stunning. I find myself itching to do something to shift the situation, like signing on to be part of a peacemaker delegation or to serve as a human-rights monitor.

Only a few weeks earlier I had called each of Maine's U.S. senators urging their opposition to drilling for oil in the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). Somehow, for the person now occupying the White House, oil drilling in ANWR (and in other wilderness areas) is so crucial to U.S. national security that both the rights of the Gwich'in people and the welfare of one of earth's last pristine wilderness areas are worth the sacrifice. Attacking Iraq is to be next. I find myself preparing for more resistance.

I'm not sure what is happening to me. I'm not usually an outraged letter-writer or phone-caller. I've never met the criteria of "activist." I've participated in Washington protest marches about a half dozen times. Been arrested in a pretty no-risk way at the Nevada Test Site. Refused to pay my phone tax during the Vietnam War. Worked to set up a homeless shelter. Banned factoryfarmed meat from my diet. Been an election monitor in El Salvador. Stopped patronizing big-box chains. Boycotted my city's newspaper to support striking journalists. Protested construction of a nuclear power plant and vigiled outside a nuclear-weapons factory.

But I've never belonged to an affinity group planning civil disobedience, never done jail time, never helped organize a single direct action or protest, never walked a picket line. I've simply made my witness as my outrage and conscience have dictated. Moved when moved. Changed my life when I couldn't live with myself if I didn't. Spoken up when silence seemed an act of violence and destruction.

Somehow, it seems, the time has come, again, for me to stand up and be counted to play a part in this global movement for social change that appears to be finding fresh energy and clarity through the calls to "End the Occupation" and stop oil drilling in what remains of the wild.

But I don't fool myself that my willingness to act now has much to do with the strength of my personal moral compass. In fact, I credit any justice-making I've ever been involved with to the activist movementbuilders in this world and their steady, usually uphill, efforts to keep people like me awake, urging us to show up, take action, embody the values we claim to hold dear. As James M. Jasper, the author of The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography and Creativity in Social Movements (Chicago U. Press, 1997), points out, the witness of these tireless social-change activists is crucial to society's moral health. "Protest quickly gets at the deepest moral questions," Jasper says. "How should we live our lives; what are our moral responsibilities, and to whom?"

Archbishop Tutu told those gathered at Old South Church last April that he is heartened by the "End the Occupation" protests by college students, Women in Black, Israeli soldiers and others. "We're free [in South Africa] because of people who cared even when it seemed impossible [that apartheid could be overcome]," he said. "God has no one except ourselves. God doesn't dispense lightning bolts to depose tyrants. God says, 'You are my partners.'"

Movement activists, it seems, understand this better than most. Now, more than ever, I'm grateful for their witness and the way it empowers mine.

Julie A. Wortman is Witness editor/publisher.

The Witness wins Associated Church Press awards

We're pleased to announce that The Witness magazine won two first-place Awards of Excellence and two Awards of Merit at the Associated Church Press 2001 Awards in Birmingham, Ala., last April.

With a global vision and concern for all who struggle for liberation *The Witness* magazine balances analysis, opinion and reflection with a unique blend of reporting, essays, interviews, poetry, photography and media reviews. A thematic approach to topics encourages depth and allows for nuance. *The Witness*, founded in 1917 by Episcopal Bishop Irving Peake Johnson, is published by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

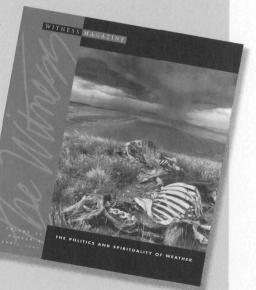
In presenting the prestigious Award of Excellence for Best in Class for the second year in a row, the judges said *The Witness* "tackles important subjects with good writing and editing throughout, uses good art and photos, is excellent all-around."

Outstanding design was recognized with an Award of Excellence for Magazine Cover: 1, 2, or 3 Color for the April 2001 cover. The issue was entitled "The politics and spirituality of weather." The judges commented, "This is a well-designed cover. The photo is intriguing and compelling and draws viewers in. The space is used well and the simple design is visually appealing."

■ "The Gwich'in and ANWR" by Murray Carpenter in the January/February 2001 issue won the Feature Story Award of Merit, the judges praising it as a "nice synthesis of material, a well-written, well-organized piece, informative and thorough."

"'Grace — is a transgender person who loves women and men'," Mary E. Hunt's review of Omnigender: A Trans-religious Approach by Virginia Ramey Mollenkott commanded recognition for "intelligent opinions presented in a clear, concise way." This work won an Award of Merit in the category of Critical Review Section in the July/August 2001 issue.

The Associated Church Press is a community of communication professionals brought together by faithfulness to their craft and by a common task of reflecting, describing and supporting the life of faith and the Christian community. Members represent nearly 160 publications, with a combined circulation of nearly 28 million in print and countless others on the Internet.



'I want to organize and agitate, but I also want to pray'

by Laura E. Crossett

N 1969, A GROUP OF STUDENTS at Grinnell College turned the American flag upside down as a protest against the Vietnam War. My father, then a professor at Grinnell, spent a good part of the next two days standing beneath the flag, hand on the halyard, to prevent anyone from doing so again.

My mother told me this story when I was a freshman in high school and en route to a protest against the Persian Gulf War. I pointed out that, had I been there, I probably would have been one of the people trying to turn the flag upside down. "Yes," she said. "You and your father would have disagreed about a number of things. Call if you need to be bailed out."

Mostly I tell this as a funny story, but in

fact I've been thinking about it for many years-turning a flag upside down may not

Smashing up the windows of Starbucks, while satisfying in a certain way, is not going to help.

seem like much, but in Grinnell, Iowa, it's a very extreme tactic. As an activist, I am con-

Laura Crossett shows her UE Local 896-COGS card — the graduate employee union at the University of Iowa (she was Labor Solidarity Chair this past year) during a lull in a protest at the School of the Americas in Fort Benning, Ga., last November.

stantly thinking about how to proceed about how to make the best strategic decision, about how to be true to yourself and what you believe, about how to reconcile the difference between those who just want to witness and those who want to print everything in Impact font, and how to do this all in the face of what seem like overwhelming odds — in the face of a system — call it that seems relentlessly determined to crush most of what I consider precious in the world.

A few days after September 11, I put Phil Ochs's song "The War is Over" on my stereo on continuous repeat, and I've been listening to it almost every day since.

One might say, quite accurately, that I was being a little premature. But Ochs wrote the song in 1967, when the Vietnam War had not even reached its peak. In those years, the people trying to end the war were going increasingly nuts. They'd moved from protest to resistance: It wasn't enough to rally on the streets; they had to shut down induction centers. It wasn't enough to march on Washington; they had to try to levitate the Pentagon. Eventually, for some, it wasn't enough until they'd given their whole lives to the struggle, until they were fighting in the streets, destroying property, trying to bring the war home.

Yet what Ochs needed in 1967 was to declare that the war was over, and what I needed, even back in September, even as I was helping to build a new anti-war movement, was to hear that the war was a state of mind: that if I believed it enough, the war could be over.

I didn't mention this to the people I was

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REFLECTION

working with: people who believed we just had to write enough letters, or get enough people to a demonstration, or dismantle the war machine and the forces of globalization by any means necessary.

I know kids now who are involved in Black Bloc. I don't join them: I can't. When I can, I try to persuade them that smashing up the windows of Starbucks, while satisfying in a certain way, is not going to help - and that undoubtedly that destruction will have to be cleaned up by low-wage laborers — the very people whose side (I'd like to think) we are on. But I know also that there are days when I want to smash things, as much as there are days when I want to move to the mountains, become a hermit, and pray. When we evaluate the actions of others, we must take care to make a very careful distinction between the action and the people behind that action, and we need to try to understand the ways in which the systems which surround that person have led to the kinds of actions they've taken. We must strive as well to try to understand, respect, and deal with the terrible toll that living in this world and working to resist and change its systems can take on us.

I don't know what ended the Vietnam War (supposing, that is, that it did in fact end), or what it will take to end this war, or to stop the global economic forces that lie behind it. I want to get out there and educate and organize and agitate, but I also want to pray: I want to believe that believing in a better world is the best way possible to change it.

Where the balance between these is, I do not know. I know only that we must, if we want to change the world, first change ourselves, and practice forgiveness.

Laura E. Crossett is a 26-year-old writer and activist. Most recently, she's worked with University of Iowa Students Against Sweatshops, with a local anti-war coalition, Iowans For Peace, and with the UI's graduate employee union, UE Local 896-COGS.

Working for the common good

MOST PEOPLE describe working for the common good as memorable, and contrast this with their day-to-day work. They refer to their daily jobs as "the real world." The experiences that give them energy and hope are labeled as unique or different. What keeps us from seeing these experiences of human goodness and talent as real? Why do we take what's boring and destuctive and call that the real world? How did we develop such poor expectations for what's possible when we work together?

What if we used our experiences of working for the common good as the standard? We would stop tolerating work and lives that gradually dissolve our belief in each other. We might begin to insist on the conditions that bring out our best. If we stopped accepting the deadening quality of "the real world," if we raised our expectations, then it wouldn't take a crisis for us to experience the satisfaction of working together, the joy of doing work that serves other human beings.

And then we would discover, as the Chinese author of the Tao Te Ching wrote 2600 years ago, that "the good becomes common as grass."

If you want to be a leader ... stop trying to control. Let go of fixed plans and concepts, and the world will govern itself.

The more prohibitions you have, the less virtuous people will be. The more weapons you have, the less secure people will be. The more subsidies you have, the less self-reliant people will be.

Therefore the Master says: I let go of the law, and people become human. I let go of economics, and people become prosperous. I let go of religion, and people become serene. I let go all desire for the common good, and the good becomes common as grass.

(Tao Te Ching, 600 B.C. China, Stephen Mitchell, translator)

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hargaret j. wheatley

[—] from turning to one another: simple conversations to restore hope to the future, by Margaret J. Wheatley (Berrett-Koehler Publishers, San Francisco, 2002).

BUILDING A NEW

An interview with Jan Adams and Rebecca Gordon

by Ethan Flad

AN ADAMS AND REBECCA GORDON are among the founders of War Times (www.war-times.org), a national antiwar tabloid created to help broaden and deepen the fight against the Bush administration's "permanent war against terrorism at home and abroad." War Times is to be "a free, mass-produced, nationally distributed tabloid-sized newspaper" that the editors hope will be "a valuable outreach and education tool for organizers on the ground and an entryway for new people into the peace and justice movement." Until recently, Jan Adams was associate director of the Applied Research Center in Oakland, Calif. She is now an electoral and community-organizing consultant. She was a founder of a statewide political advocacy organization, Californians for Justice, and has been a long-time activist in solidarity with people's struggles in South Africa and Central America. Many years ago she was a member of Catholic Worker communities in New York and San Francisco. Rebecca Gordon, who is now in seminary at Starr King School for the Ministry at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, Calif., has spent many years in political work, including in movements for women's liberation, racial justice and in solidarity with the peoples of Central America. She was a founding editor of Lesbian Contradiction: A Journal of Irreverent Feminism (along with Adams) and is the author of Letters From Nicaragua and Cruel & Usual: How Welfare Reform Punishes Poor People (Applied Research Center, 2001). The two women are life partners.

Ethan Flad: Last fall Jan told me, "There is the need for a new peace movement." So I want to start out by talking about how you define a movement — and what is the need for a peace movement at this time?

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Rebecca Gordon: To start with, there's a difference between a movement and an organizing project. A movement develops its own momentum — it's inherent in the meaning of

the word. It becomes bigger than the people who started it, because it arises in response to particular historical conditions. Unless the seed falls on good ground, you're not going to get a mustard plant. You're not going to get anything. But when the ground is there — and the ground is very often there both because of obvious injustice and wrong that needs to be corrected and because people perceive there is some possibility that it could be corrected — it's possible for a movement to take hold. When that happens, what you will see is not just one single set of leaders that are directing something in one particular direction. More what you will see is a lot of organizations and people surfing a wave that is moving in a particular direction. We at War Times all think that, since September 11th, we are in a moment that is both horrific in what it threatens, but also in which it is possible to break through the typical U.S. refusal to look outside the borders of the country. The permanent "war on terrorism" is opening people's eyes in a new way to the activities of the U.S. government around the world. A lot of these activities are the things that Jan and I have spent the last 20 years trying to reveal — the so-called "low-intensity warfare" in Central America, the U.S. complicity in the apartheid regime in South Africa, the various counter-insurgency projects that the U.S. has been involved in, now in Colombia, for example. These are all things that in some sense haven't really increased, although certainly the war in Afghanistan has stepped things up, but this is a moment when people can become aware of them in a different way.



Jan Adams: A movement is not professional. It is something that is done in volunteer activities, because people feel that they have to. Growth of the non-profit sector in the

last 40 years has had great effect on inhibiting what I think of as movement activity. Because it's professionalized the work people expect to make a living at it. Certainly, these professionals have better training and have more idea of what they're doing and possibly spin their wheels less, but they're all tied up in strategic planning processes and fulfillment of grant conditions and are not available to respond to realities on the ground in quite the same way as they would if they were doing it as voluntary activity. We won't have major, large-scale movements in this country unless we have that. I think it's possible that the "war on terrorism" has created a situation where a broad mass of people in this country, maybe 3 percent, feel like they have to have a movement.

PEACE MOVEMENT

Rebecca Gordon: But 3 percent is sufficient to really ...

Jan Adams:... do an enormous amount! It becomes possible to build various kinds of infrastructure to support that activism. That's what *War Times* is — it's providing the kind of infrastructure that a peace movement would need.

Rebecca Gordon: At the close of the efforts to stop the U.S. war in Vietnam and in subsequent movements, a lot of people made a fetish of information. People thought the problem was: "The mainstream media isn't covering it and if we could just get the information in peoples' hands, then the movement would happen." But although and the knowledge base of the U.S. public has been intentionally eroded, in my lifetime certainly — the fact is, information does not make a movement. Showing people that there is something that they can do and that there are other people who are doing something — that's what makes a movement. That's what gives people hope. So War Times would not be a project I was interested in if it were only going to be read by a bunch of lefties, who would say, "Yeah, that's right, I totally agree with that. Ain't it awful." The point is that it tells people, "Oh, I'm not the only one who feels this way, and in Fresno there's been a vigil every Friday night since September 11th saying war is not the answer. We could do something like that here in Peoria."

Ethan Flad: So you can't even think of starting a movement without knowing that there are lots of people out there who are already trying to do something?

Rebecca Gordon: Or another way of saying it is, people try to start movements all the time, and most of the time they don't go anywhere because the moment isn't there. With the civil rights movement there were a



whole bunch of things that came together at once that made that movement possible: the end of World War II, the experience of black soldiers overseas and how that compared with what they found when they came back to the U.S., the U.S. government's competition with the Soviet Union for colonial power in Third World countries which made it no longer useful to have this embarrassing problem in the southern U.S. Rosa Parks could have refused to stand up in the bus, but if a bunch of things hadn't also been in place, it wouldn't have made a difference. At the same time, it's also important to remember that Rosa Parks was not just a random woman who decided not to give up her seat because she was tired. She was an organizer who had trained at the Highlander School [in Tennessee], and who conceived of herself as being part of organizing a movement. So it takes those two things. It takes the willingness to go out there and hope that there's going to be a wave to catch. And it takes the wave.

Jan Adams: Movements take off when people go beyond their everyday activities and are prepared to accept some level of personal sacrifice.

Rebecca Gordon: Too often this is overlooked. In addition to fetishizing information, we fetishize certain tactics as being a movement, or as being the content of the movement. So, for example, there's a whole culture now of "getting arrested": the nonviolence training that's the preparation for getting arrested and the whole ritual in the court where you get to make your statement about why you chose to get arrested. But the risk of arrest that black people faced in the South meant something very different and functioned on a different level than what happens when a group of white people negotiate the terms of their arrest.

Ethan Flad: What made the two of you so involved in movement stuff?

Jan Adams: We're different. I've never been particularly ideological. I think I have a vocation to go where the action is. So if something that seems liberatory is moving people, I am drawn to it. As I've become an experienced person, I am then drawn to trying to help it work.

Rebecca Gordon: I was brought up in a home where it was important to know what was happening and it was important to be there if there was a movement happening. So my mother essentially brought me up to be an activist by example — by the kinds of things that she drew my attention to from my earliest childhood. When I think about Christianity and the meaning of Incarnation, part of the way that I believe the Divine is incarnated in the world is in that struggle for justice and liberation. So in a sense it's my connection, however tenuous, to the Divine that has in some way kept



me doing all of this. That doesn't mean it's always pure delight. It can be extremely unpleasant working with your *compañeros* sometimes, but there is real joy in feeling that you are part of something that is bigger than you are, that began before you were born and is going to go on, God willing, long after you die.

Jan Adams: When I was managing the Northern California campaign against Prop. 187, a 1994 California statewide initiative which denied social services and education to undocumented immigrants, that was being in a movement. That was one of the

most extraordinary campaigns I ever had anything to do with because Prop. 187 was such a violent violation of basic humanity. That's how it was experienced in the Latino community — that for some reason the State of California wanted to turn around and tell them: Your children should starve and they shouldn't be allowed in schools.

Rebecca Gordon: And they shouldn't have health care.

Jan Adams: My job was to take this incredible outpouring of feeling of injustice and turn it into something effectual in an election. There wasn't a huge amount you could do, but we did enormously well where we were able to give people outreach activities. It was unbelievably painful. During that time period I had on the wall a poster with a picture of a Guatamalan woman and a poem that said in Spanish: "We have more death than they do, but we have more life than they do." Very often that is profoundly the condition of people in struggle. I felt that somewhat with some of the people I worked with in South Africa. And we've certainly felt that in the civil rights movement here.

Rebecca Gordon: I worked with Witness for Peace, living in the war zones in Nicaragua for six months in 1984. Living in a war is the most bizarre thing because you are simultaneously preparing for death tomorrow and planning for things that might not come to fruition for another 20 years! So it's this strange dual consciousness. But in that context, you could sense among the people who were part of it that they were both very much more aware of death, because they were losing people all the time, and more aware of the life that they were hoping for and that they were, with their own hands, trying to construct.

Jan Adams: So I think we think a movement is the thing that unleashes the forces that carry people very near to that place where life or death are close.

Ethan Flad: You mentioned Rosa Parks. Hearing about Central America brings to mind the Mothers of the Disappeared; and what you're talking about right now strongly evokes the Middle East, and I'm thinking about the Women in Black. Do women bring to movements a different consciousness?

Rebecca Gordon: Yes, but it might not be what you would think. There is a way that women understand that you can't be in struggle forever, that it is impossible for an individual, a community, a country, a family to live its entire life at that pitch of revolutionary fervor. It tears the soul apart. The Sandinistas were voted out of office in 1990. Part of the reason was that the women in that country knew that as long as they were in power, the U.S. was going to continue to make war on them. They were never going to stop sending their kids off to be killed and the war was not going to stop. Now you could say the women were reactionary or a conservatizing force or something like that. But I don't think that's true. Women are often at the very front of movements. But I think we're also sometimes a brake on the romanticizing of war and violence. I think we understand better why peace is necessary. I think that's as true in cities that are torn up by gang warfare as it is in Palestine today.

Ethan Flad: With all the work you've done over the years, what's brought you in the last couple of years to what you're doing now?

Jan Adams: That's a good question. The last thing I wanted to be doing was trying to build a peace movement at this moment. But we need a peace movement, so I guess I have to try to build one. I never really quite know how I made those transitions. And I'm not sure I know any more now than I did 15 years ago. But as I said earlier, I have in me this sense of, "OK, I've got a responsibility to put my shoulder to the wheel," where something liberatory is happening. And I've had a wonderful life as a consequence.

Rebecca Gordon: We do an awful lot of pointing each other in directions that we might not go otherwise. We spent the first summer we met, when I was 13 and she was 18, arguing about the war in Vietnam. I was opposed to it; she wasn't sure. We've been arguing about politics every since. I dragged her into the movement to oppose what the U.S. was doing in Central America, and we spent a large chunk of the 1980s doing work about that and trying to support those revolutions. Because — well, for their own precious selves — but also because they represented some hope in a hopeless world. And she pulled me, in the 1990s, into an involvement in electoral politics, which is actually one of my least favorite activities. But it has the benefit of being a place where you can really give people the experience of working together in an effective way, in an organized way that's very powerful.

I also pulled/pushed us into doing stuff in the early 1980s in the women's movement, into publishing *Lesbian Contradiction: A Journal of Irreverent Feminism*, which we did for 12 years. It was never gigantic, but it was influential in its own little way.

Ethan Flad: How did you get to seminary?

Rebecca Gordon: I had come to the point in about 1999-2000 when it felt as though a lot of progressive movements had run out of useful ideas. And I thought: "This is a good moment for me to step back and take what I've learned over all these years and see how I might incorporate the faith dimension more directly in the work that I do." The other thing was that I had spent the last eight or nine years taking care of my mom. Especially the last couple of years. She died in April of 2000 after a long bout with emphysema. After she died I no longer had to make quite as much money, because Jan and I had been supporting her financially, too. Also, I just suddenly had evenings. I majored in religion 25 years ago in college, and I had thought about going on to seminary then. But that was at the moment when the radical women's movement was really breaking the world open. It was very hard for me. I left college with no language at all to talk about God, because the wound of the hatred of women that I experienced in Christian churches, in Judaism, in the world around me, was just so raw. I started to be able to have language again and to think about some ways I could consider coming into the church when I was able to work in Nicaragua and see in action the theologies of liberation in Christian-based communities. Now I'm in seminary and I have not had so much fun in years!

Ethan Flad: How did you become involved with starting Seminarians for Peace?

Jan Adams: I'm not a student at the Graduate Theological Union (GTU), but I took one look at the situation after September 11th and what it said to me was that people needed to talk with each other just to process what had happened and what was going to happen. The way people could do that talking would be through little local organizing projects in workplaces and schools and wherever people were. Since Rebecca and I already knew how to found an organization and because Starr King is the kind of place that it is, it seemed like we could probably start Seminarians for Peace out of that consciousness and people would want it. And the fact is, people have proved to want it.

Rebecca Gordon: But the faculty is not doing anything! I don't understand why there isn't nationally an organization of divinity school faculty who in a public way are saying: "Stop this!" These are the people who both are supposed to be the religious leaders and are training the religious leaders. So where is the leadership?

Ethan Flad: Is Seminarians for Peace at this point overwhelmingly focused in Berkeley at the GTU?

Rebecca Gordon: Yes. It's not a national movement. I wish it were a national movement, but it's not. Now we're putting easily 30 or 40 hours a week each into War Times — we had to make a decision which vehicle was more likely to do something bigger faster and decided it had to be War Times. That kicked off last Halloween here in our living room with our friend Bob Wing, the former editor of ColorLines, and Max Elbaum, who's a former editor of a publication named Crossroads and a long-time leftist activist. We were sitting around and talking about the war and suddenly the idea of doing War Times developed among the four of us. We were talking about how during the war against Vietnam there was a national paper that provided people with

information that wasn't available other places — the information really wasn't available. In a way that is less true today, because we have the Web and if you look for international sources of information you can get it.

Jan Adams: But the available information is not contextualized.

Rebecca Gordon: Right. So we decided to pull some other people into this, especially more people of color, and see whether they thought this is such a good idea. Unfortunately, they said, "That's a great idea! Y'all do it!" So we've got a core group now of 12 people who are the organizing committee, and then there are other groupings around the editorial function and around the fundraising function and the distribution function. So there are 500 distributors nationally. And there are about 40 or 50 people in the Bay Area who have something to do with War Times. We're now in the process of bringing out the second issue. The first issue went to press in February. We had a big kick-off event

Jan Adams: We went through 75,000 copies in six days and said, "Oh, my God, we've got to reprint!" We printed another 25,000 and we are almost out.

Rebecca Gordon: This is the new technology: Over the years each of us had developed email lists of hundreds — or in the case of Bob Wing — thousands of people. And so we sent out emails describing what we would want to do. And don't you know that before it ever even existed people sent us money and said, "Yes, do this!"

Ethan Flad: Looking back to some of the movements you've been in, what are some of the lessons?

Rebecca Gordon: Check your race stuff. That is lesson number one. It's crucial that a peace movement in the U.S. *not* be built and run by white people. That doesn't mean there isn't a lot of space for white people in a peace movement — and there are more white people than people of color in most places in the country, although not in California. But a peace movement that is not consciously, intentionally anti-racist will not succeed in this country. Because it won't speak to the people who are the most likely to be skeptical about what the U.S. government is doing — on a tactical level and on a moral level. On the same grounds, I'd say, check your sexism.

Jan Adams: Actually, your queers are very useful, too. [Laughter]

Rebecca Gordon: It's true! We tend to have more disposable time. Especially those of us who weren't part of the lesbian baby boom! If you look at most of the movements that I've been in, whether closeted or openly, there have been large numbers of queer people.

Jan Adams: Yeah. It's a reality that is very hard sometimes for other people among us to deal with. Especially in the churches.

This peace movement is very hard to build in this country, because peace is not in any easy way in the interests of Americans. Being "head empire" is in the interest of the living standard of almost all Americans. And yet, peace is essential to the world. So raising peace as important to the U.S. involves moral leadership, which means that the churches — who at least claim to be in that business — are extraordinarily important.

Rebecca Gordon: I think also we are in a moment when - and you can see it in Newsweek and everywhere — people in the U.S. are described at least as experiencing some kind of spiritual hunger. We're fed to the teeth with stuff in this country, but there is something that people are hungry for, and right now the government is feeding it with patriotism. And that desire to be part of something bigger than you are, and that desire to be in connection with humanity and with the holy - the U.S. government is taking that desire and perverting it and turning it into a murderous kind of patriotism. So there is really a place for the spiritual leadership of the church in the peace movement. We have to have the guts to do it.

Ethan Flad is editor/producer of The Witness' web site, including the site's "A Globe of Witnesses" project.

Celebrating an

On May 20, 2002, East Timor declared its independence, the first new nation of this millennium

I FIRST VISITED East Timor in 1989. My wife, Brenda, and I were on a trip to the South Pacific following my retirement. As members of Human Rights Watch, we were urged to go to East Timor, which had just been opened to unannounced visitors for the first time since 1975.

In 1974, after hundreds of years as a Portuguese colony, the new government in Portugal pulled out, leaving this tiny nation vulnerable. Indonesia deliberately destabilized its politics and used the ensuing unrest as an excuse to invade East Timor. Henry Kissinger gave them a go-ahead for this internationally illegal occupation. He condoned their use of U.S. weapons, which, by act of Congress, were not to be used except in self defense. In fact, he and President Ford were staying with President Suharto of Indonesia the night before the invasion. Out of a population of 700,000, as many as 200,000 died in the ensuing occupation.

The occupation was brutal. I have visited many places from Russia to South Africa under apartheid and have never seen such severe military control. Soldiers stood on almost every street corner in Dilli, the capital. Military checkpoints were set up every few miles on the main roads. People were arrested, "disappeared" and tortured. Young people in peaceful demonstrations were picked up by the military and some were never heard from again.

Our first visit, in October 1989, was to Bishop Carlos X. Belo, the Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor. Despite a letter of introduction from one of his old friends, he was so frightened that he did not speak for several minutes. He told us he would probably be assassinated any day. Two dozen youths were

www.thewitness.org

independent, but still vulnerable, East Timor

by Paul Moore, Jr

staying at his residence for sanctuary. Brenda and I were followed. When we wished to speak to an official or a priest, we would have to meet outside the city or on the beach. Rooms in the hotel were said to be bugged. We stayed a week and came to love and admire the courage and spirit of the people.

In 1991, a peaceful procession from a church to the cemetery of Santa Cruz commemorating the murder of a youth leader in front of a church, was attacked by soldiers. About 250 young people were killed. A courageous British journalist filmed the massacre. The brutality continued, despite growing international protest, until a new president of Indonesia, B.J. Habibie, authorized a so-called Consultation (a plebiscite) on independence. Eighty percent voted for independence. When the announcement was made on September 4, 1999, the army was so enraged that they laid waste the country, destroying over 70 percent of the buildings and massacring at least a thousand people, if not more, some as they huddled for sanctuary in a church. Finally, U.N. peacekeeping forces stepped in and have been in charge ever since.

This truncated summary of the tragic history of a gallant people cannot do justice to the endless frustrations, the incredible gallantry, the fierce bravery and the deep Christian faith of the people of East Timor. In large part because of the bishop's courageous leadership, the Roman Catholic Church has grown to an estimated 90 percent of the population. Bishop Belo and Jose Ramos Horta, who had been working as an informal ambassador for his people over the years, received the Nobel prize in 1996. I attended the solemn ceremony on a chilly December day in Oslo, remembering the terror abroad in the jungles of East Timor for so many years and praying for peace and freedom for the people.

You can imagine why Brenda and I took up the cause of East Timor after that fear-laden

week in 1989. Arnold Kohen, a journalist by profession, whose wife once lived in East Timor, had spent many years working for the cause. We joined forces and have been trying to do what we could for the people ever since.

We have visited Washington regularly: Congress, White House staff, and the State Department. The lowest moment during these visits was an audience, in 1991, with the Republican-appointed Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East. Two young journalists, Alan Nairn and Amy Goodman, who had witnessed the Santa Cruz massacre, accompa-



nied us. Alan's head was still bandaged from a fractured skull he received while protecting Amy from being beaten by a soldier with a rifle butt. We showed the Secretary a video of the massacre. His comment was, "Well, Bishop, you know people are being killed all over the world."

The Clinton administration was more courteous; I knew Under Secretary of State Talbott and Assistant Secretary Winston Lord, but the administration would not put real pressure on Indonesia because of our commercial interests and the geopolitics of the region. (The only channel deep enough for nuclear submarines between the Indian and Pacific oceans runs past Indonesia.) Now, thank God, we are sending an Ambassador to the independent nation of East Timor, which bodes well for the future.

However, until the oil reserves of the Timor

Sea begin to come in, the economic situation is dire. There is over 80 percent unemployment at the moment. Coffee plantations are the main source of revenue, but this is scarcely enough. Only 50 doctors are there, and few lawyers. The infrastructure is skeletal. We are afraid that once the spotlight of independence is removed, the world will forget about this gallant land.

Last year, with this in mind, I took a delegation from Yale to East Timor, representatives of the medical, nursing, law and forestry schools. We hope to establish long-term assistance in those fields. Secretary General Kofi Annan gave us a luncheon with his staff and we were treated with great courtesy by the U.N. forces when we arrived. Recently, we visited Washington again to urge increased humanitarian aid and assurance of security in case Indonesia attempts to meddle once again in the affairs of East Timor.

I have many vivid memories of East Timor. In 1999, the bishop sponsored a youth pilgrimage to place a statue of the Virgin Mary on the highest peak on the island. We drove out with him and witnessed a beautiful Mass in a jungle valley at sunset. Many thousands of young people were there, in reverent attendance. Halfway up the mountain the next day, one was stabbed to death. What was to be a glorious uplifting moment for the young people, a moment to encourage a peaceful attitude, turned into a stark tragedy. The bishop had to call off the pilgrimage. However, he continued the long weary vocation of working for independence and at the same time trying to keep his beloved young people safe and all his people dedicated to nonviolence.

East Timor has a long way to go, but at last they are free after almost 500 years. Please keep them in your prayers and do all that you can to sustain interest in their welfare.

Paul Moore, Jr., is the retired Episcopal Bishop of New York.

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A 'People's School' of discipleship

by Bill Wylie-Kellermann

I N JANUARY 2001, some 50 activists gathered in retreat just outside of Detroit to imagine a school of discipleship, one which might help in the renewing and rebuilding of a movement for justice and nonviolence in this country. Some of us had, in effect, been talking about this gathering for years. The retreat was a word-of-mouth affair. And frankly, the time had come to put up or shut up. Pull it together or quit the talking.

What a wondrous and odd lot collection of folk we were: Catholic Workers, hip-hop poets, retreat center directors, youth and community organizers, mendicant movement scholars, street actors and preachers, magazine editors and freelance writers, seminarians and professors with a foot on the margin, theologians, spiritual directors, jazz and gospel singers, convicted felons and urban pastors.

There was, of course, newsprint sufficient to paper the walls (pages to fill with brainstorming curricula and structure), but we spent much of our time together not so much in planning a new institution, as in simply telling the stories of how we had come to the circle. All of us had seen our own lives altered and transformed by some process of movement formation which we knew to be the crucial matter. It was really that which we were after. And we all brought diverse pieces to the vision taking shape.

Diverse movement histories — and Bible study

For some of us, myself among them, this gathering marked the resurrection of a project with historical roots in the Finkenwald experiment which Dietrich Bonhoeffer had headed up in the late 1930s at the behest of the Confessing Church in Germany. In our experience that same vision had been reanimated in a sequence of events hatched more recently in this country by William Stringfellow and Daniel Berrigan: an ad hoc series of Biblestudy weekends convened specifically to

We would gather to help each other become radically biblical and biblically radical.

nourish the nonviolent resistance movement of the late 1970s and 1980s. Mentored in that tradition, we tended to reference the whole idea broadly as "the underground seminary."

Others of us came to the idea out of the memory of the Freedom Schools — a tradition which could gather up the alternative high schools of the Northern student movement, the sort of strategic conversations held at the Highlander Center, and the constant host of training sessions required to organize campaigns of direct action in the civil rights struggle.

Some of us came to the circle having been awakened by the fierce and whimsical pedagogies of Christian feminism, including alternative theological reflection offered in places like Grailville, or in the struggles either for Womenchurch or for ecclesial inclusion of sexual minorities.

And others yet arrived among us walking the path of liberation theology, tutored and tested in the base-community movement where the language of preference is Spanish and the pedagogy entails a risky cycle of action and reflection.

These were not tidy, but overlapping and echoing stories. Ones that resonated, each in their own way, with the biblical narrative that we held in common esteem. Which is to say, we also spent time doing Bible study together. One evening an astonishing session: Prompted by an obscure and appended passage from II Samuel about the grief of Rizpah for her sons publicly impaled and tortured, we found ourselves hearing from one another accounts of grief and death friends bloodied by Klan bullets dying in someone's arms; death-row inmates befriended in constant visitation, executed by the state before our very eyes, others more distant disappeared and tortured out of sight by death squads; and yet other friends suffering the slower but relentless assaults of cancer. We were suddenly and abruptly a community of grief and solace, a community which had tasted the fire, one which was beset by death and yet lived nevertheless.

Groundwork of the Spirit?

This calls to mind another point, mysterious, crucial, and providential. All of this was convened and set in motion prior to September 11 and its aftermath. And yet throughout these recent months, it has all but seemed the calculated groundwork of the Spirit. I've clung to it personally as a constant source of

Worship and analysis by Joyce Hollyday

FROM ALL OVER THE U.S. and five other nations, a hundred eager souls converged on Greensboro, North Carolina, in mid-April. With a clear hunger not only to learn from one another, but also to pray together, we launched the first "Word & World" week with Sunday morning worship at Faith Community Church. Then, with uplifted spirits, we took our prayer

Then, with uplifted spirits, we took our prayer to the streets.

Sunday afternoon's tour began at

Woolworth's, where four freshmen from North

Carolina A&T University went to sit on the afternoon of February 1, 1960. While students at other universities were holding discussions, plotting strategies, and conducting nonviolence workshops, these four simply decided that the time was right to take a stand for equal access to lunch counters. Their bold action sparked the student sit-in movement of the 1960s. We paused at this holy ground to offer and take blessing.

How appropriate it was that "Word & World" would launch its inaugural school in this historic city. Our mornings were steeped in stories of courage from the Civil Rights era, the 1979 massacre of marchers by Klan and Nazi groups, and ongoing labor struggles. Pain, poignancy, and prayer drew us together as we moved through each day.

Rivers of music and poetry also flowed around us — jazz, hip hop, spirituals, chants. A brother from El Salvador sang to us from the *Missa Campesina* ("Popular Mass"). Discussion bubbled up from every corner as we wrestled with biblical texts, social analysis, and hope. From early-morning prayer to the last camp song offered around the bonfire at night, energy was high as we celebrated this new expression of education and nurture for radical discipleship.

Tuesday evening we gathered to focus on the topic of "working for the reign of God in a post-September 11 world." Before engaging in a time of animated discussion, we invited individuals directly affected by the tragedies of that day to tell their stories, following each poignant rendering with a healing ritual. Another highlight was Wednesday evening's worship at Genesis Baptist Church. Members of

"Word & World" offered gifts of song and poetry to the gathered Greensboro community, and they in turn graced us with their many talents.

A "circle of elders" offered wise counsel and reflection throughout the week. Dr. Vincent Harding brought the experience of his own long history with freedom movements, as well as the faces and voices of some of his colleagues in the Civil Rights struggle through the "Veterans of Hope" videotape project. Our closing communion on Friday night elicited tears of joy and testimonies of gratitude for a most amazing week.

Before the last student headed toward home,



those of us on the "Word & World" national steering committee were looking ahead to the next school, in Tucson, Arizona, November 9–16, 2002. We celebrated that Greensboro "worked" — with local history and biblical reflection providing the underpinning for an intensive week of worship and social analysis. Tucson holds its own challenges and treasures: border issues, the historic Sanctuary movement, labor struggles and racism in a different context. If Greensboro is any indication, Tucson — and all the sites to come (we hope there will be many) — promises to be another rich feast. Please consider joining us.

— Joyce Hollyday, who is an Associate Conference Minister for the Southeast Conference of the United Church of Christ, serves on the national steering committee and faculty of "Word & World."

hope for the future. The proper and precise response required by events.

Word and World, Greensboro, N.C., 4/02

When the symbols of global power come crashing down; when the military machine is abruptly unleashed and finally unconstrained by the last vestiges of the Vietnam syndrome; when the major media speak as one, hyping an atmosphere of patriotism which silences conscience and brooks no alternative; when legislation (the Patriot Act) creates a new crime of "domestic terrorism" which could readily be applied to civil disobedients; when the same law sanctions unchecked powers of surveillance and investigation (already applied against Denver anti-globalization groups); when borders close and xenophobia runs rampant; when profiling is officially justified against Arab Americans and others; when security becomes the primary function of the state; when prisoners sit in jail uncharged - what then? Seems like just the appropriate time to start a training center for movement renewal, a freedom school of discipleship, an alternative institute for building biblical and social literacy, an educational forum for the renewal of church-as-movement (and renewal of the movement-as-church). I can't help but think that in all these regards the Spirit was ahead of the historical curve.

Resisting 'the seminaries we come from'

The need, of course, had preceded in other ways. In the days of the Stringfellow seminary underground, one of our gatherings was convened around the following summons: The seminaries we come from tend to be parochial in their concerns, and those concerns narrow daily as financial problems make "survival" a deathly institutional preoccupation. We would gather to connect with one another and broaden our vision of ministry. The seminaries we come from tend to follow cults of academia, worshiping professionalism and expertise. We would gather free of idolatrous enslavements. Seminarians and seminaries seem to have forgotten how to read the Bible, reducing it to an intellectual exercise, to a matter of proper critical technique. We would gather to help each other become radically biblical and biblically radical. In short, the seminaries we come from are more and more swallowed up by the culture. We would gather to come out, to turn again.

How I wish it didn't still ring so true.

Only a few years prior Paulo Freire had introduced the perspectives of popular education and conscientization, and yet even now, 30 years later, the prevailing teaching practices — let's say in seminaries just to stay concrete — still tend to breed dependence rather than empowerment; privilege content over process; and nurture intellectualizing abstraction rather than concrete praxis. In short, they function largely as a form of gatekeeping which fosters (nay, guarantees) the professionalization of the clergy.

Sad to say, the academy of Scripture and theology has long been separated from the sanctuary, but even more so from the street. Ched Myers, one of the January retreat participants, has written: "The social location of most seminaries make them accessible only to educated, middle-class persons, remote from the life of the poor, and insulated from social movements. And most seminary curricula fail to address the whole range of practical skills needed for contemporary ministry: One can learn preaching and the theology of pastoral care, but not community organizing, social analysis, or nonprofit administration."

A moveable, one-week institute

This is the breach into which the January retreatants and a wider circle of ongoing conversants are praying to step. When we moved from roots and storytelling to constructive imagination we began to feature something which would have rigorous substance but travel institutionally light, something which could have a common curricular heart, but be flexible to the needs of place and moment. We conceived of what has since come to be called Word and World: A People's School. The name echoes many things, not the least of which is Karl Barth's old line about doing theology with the newspaper in one hand and the Bible in the other.

Think of Word and World as a moveable. one-week institute which is hosted and organized by local/national collaborations. Let it be said and frankly, these are not intended as conferences open mostly to those with the time and money, but intensive schools requiring and presuming commitment. The hope is that they be more than "entry-level" encounters to "taste and see," designed for people already actively engaged in movement work (broadly defined as involvement in some significant way with service, education, advocacy, or organizing for social change). The aim is to help a new generation of such folk go deeper, developing the gifts and skills which movement work demands. Our intention is that each school would be a momentary educational village, heavy on mutuality and shared responsibility. Like any good village, we are seeking out a circle of movement elders, wise ones to anchor us in Spirit and history. We have, likewise, set goals to balance local, regional, and national participation. We want these gatherings to grow the capacity of local movement efforts (which means a baseline of regional participation), but we also want local resources and work to cross-fertilize and nourish efforts elsewhere (which summons the national participants).

To guard such a balance, to ensure that commitment rather than means should predominate, and to factor affirmatively for diversity (youth, women, people of color, poor folk, gays/lesbians and disabled people), we have instituted, with some sense of trepidation, a simple process of application and admission. And for this first round it seems to be working. Those interested produce a personal statement of their history and commitments in faith-based social change work for a joint regional/national committee to consider.

Curriculum: church practices, social practices

The curriculum for these events is being broadly structured around what we are call-

ing "church practices" and "social practices." For example, focal points for nurturing competence include: biblical literacy; political, social and cultural analysis; Jubilee/Sabbath economics; the history and ethics of movements for social change; spirituality of praxis; and building alternative communities, institutions and networks. Pedagogical practices will be ecumenical, contextual, inclusive, applied, and holistic. Almost all of the courses in the first round are being team taught.

The first go-round was in Greensboro, N.C., and picked up strongly on the Freedom School tradition. (See sidebar.) The next is scheduled for Tuscon, Ariz., and will necessarily draw more heavily on the popular education of the base-community movement. We are already taking applications and soliciting support for that one (contact Deborah Lee, W&W Administrative Coordinator, 924 N. 6th Avenue, Tucson, AZ 85705; 520-670-9048, email: ultreya67@hotmail.com). And more are on the horizon — a Philadelphia gathering in the mold of the alternative seminary, others in Detroit or Chicago, and one hopefully in the northwest. It's budding and building as we go.

All this has been done (and perhaps properly so) on a shoestring. A couple of grants have enabled us to put some part-time staff on the project, but the base of the funding has been small and regular gifts from individuals. And the lion's share of the work has been done on a volunteer or in-kind basis. A circle of fine folks have put their heart and soul into making this happen. Let this be a bald-face solicitation. Send money!

Let this also be a candid invitation: Join us, dear friends. The times bode ill, but the Spirit, thank God, is on the move and way ahead of the curve. Take heart. Bring your need, your labor, your gifts. It's happening.

Bill Wylie-Kellermann, a contributing editor to The Witness, is on the Steering Committee of Word and World. He is director of Graduate Theological Urban Studies for SCUPE in Chicago and lives in Detroit with his wife Jeanie and daughters Lydia and Lucy.

WINNING BATTLES BUT



An interview with Philip Shabecoff about today's environmental movement

s a reporter at The New York Times in the 1970s, Philip Shabecoff lobbied Lto cover the environment before it was even an official "news beat." After nearly 15 years of environmental reporting, he left the paper in 1991 to publish the environmental news daily, Greenwire. He's also authored two books on the environment, including Earth Rising: American Environmentalism in the 21st Century (Island Press, 2000), a detailed description of the history of the movement and a prescription for its future. In 1990, Shabecoff won the American Library Association's James Madison Award for leadership in expanding freedom of information and the public's right to know. Shabecoff argues in Earth Rising that "the chief obstacle to getting the environmental story to the public lies not with environmentalists, but with the media."

Colleen O'Connor: How did you manage to land one of the nation's first jobs covering the environment?

Philip Shabecoff: I've always been interested in the environment — the outdoors. the woods and the camping. I was a Boy Scout. When I came back to America after being away for most of the 1960s as a foreign correspondent, I was assigned to the Washington bureau. I said I wanted to cover the environment. The editors of the Times said, "No, it's not important enough, you have to do other things." So I did other things, including covering the White House during the Nixon and Ford administrations. When I came out they said, "What do you want to do now?" I said, "I want to cover the environment." They said, "Okay, okay, but you've got to cover other stuff, too, because the environment isn't important enough." Then Ronald Reagan became president and appointed James Watt to head the Interior Department and Ann Buford to run the Environmental Protection Agency, and they tried dismantling environmental protections, and it became a hot political issue. So my editors said, "Okay, Phil, now you can cover the environment full-time," and I did. I did it for 14 years at the Times, but there were a couple of editors who thought I was writing too much about what the economy was doing to the environment and not enough about how environmental regulation was hurting the economy. Which it wasn't, but they thought so, and they were listening to people who thought so. So they took me off the beat, and I quit, and founded Greenwire.

Colleen O'Connor: How do you rate media coverage of the environment today as compared to 20 years ago?

Philip Shabecoff: When I started covering the environment in the 1970s there was only a handful of environmental reporters. Now there are a lot of them. The Society of Environmental Journalists has well over a thou-

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sand members, and the quality of coverage has gotten much better. Unfortunately the quantity has not. Most media are paying less attention to the environment story than ever, for a number of reasons. Environmental news tends to be a downer. Bad things are happening to the environment. It's not infotainment. Advertisers don't really like it. They don't like anything that criticizes industrial and commercial activity. Most media managers still don't understand the environment story, the significance of it, and don't like it and try to stay away from it. In the 1980s environmental journalism was the fastest growing sector in American journalism, but I think that's history.

Colleen O'Connor: Was that growth a reaction to the anti-environmental policies of the Reagan years?

Philip Shabecoff: Exactly. There were also a lot of mega-stories like Chernobyl, Bhopal and the Exxon Valdez. These are front-page stories — drama that the media likes to cover. They don't like to cover some of the long-range stuff. Sometimes when I used to write a story like global warming, my editors would say, "Another story about the end of the world, Shabecoff? You wrote last week about the end of the world."

Colleen O'Connor: What's the nature of the environmental movement today? What are its strengths and weaknesses?

Philip Shabecoff: It's a very diverse movement, united by a certain set of principles and values. The major one is that humans are an inextricable part of the entire natural community, but what they are doing is destroying that natural community through their economic activities, population growth and technologies, and that something has to be done about it. So morality is on the environmental movement's side. Environmentalism is widely supported by the American public. Poll after poll shows that two-thirds of Americans consider themselves environmentalists. The majority say they're willing to sacrifice economic gain for more environmental protection. Another strength of the movement is that it has attracted very dedicated people who have become increasingly professional — in law, in science, in politics and lobbying.

These are formidable strengths, but there are a number of weaknesses. It's not a united movement at all, and groups are frequently at odds. Further, they have not been able to translate the support of the American people into a political gain or even into having the American people change their own destructive patterns of consumption and waste. The reason for this is that they've not reached out to Americans at the local level. I think also that some of the transcendental fire that characterized the early environmental movement has gotten somewhat dimmer over the years.

Colleen O'Connor: What comes to mind when you talk about this is forest activist Julia "Butterfly" Hill. She had that transcendental flame.

Philip Shabecoff: She does, and it certainly hasn't disappeared — the Earth First! movement has an element of that in it. Personally, I think that the radical environmentalists have not accomplished all that much, and may have set up a disaffection for environmentalism among many Americans. But you're right. The people sitting in the tree or chaining themselves to a riverbed that's about to be dammed — that sort of passion is important and seems to be missing in a lot of the environmental movement today.

Colleen O'Connor: I know social sustainability is also important. You believe we can't have economic and environmental sustainability without it.

Philip Shabecoff: One of the failures of the environmental movement is the failure to

recognize that the destruction of natural resources and the systems that support life on earth springs from the same flaws in our society - from social institutions and systems that cause other injustices, particularly racial and economic injustice. The flaws of the economic and political systems that lead to disappearing land and polluted water and skies are ones that keep people in poverty, keep people of color suppressed, and lead to assaults on immigrants. The environmentalists never seem to have understood the relationship between what they are doing and the broader drive for social justice in this country and around the world. The environmental justice movement is mostly people of color, mostly poor people, who address the fact that the worst environmental pollution is heaped upon the poor. Because they are poor, because they are people of color, they are politically neutered. Corporations can get away with doing these things because they know they will not face political or economic reprisals.

Colleen O'Connor: So what happened when the environmental justice people reached out to the mainstream groups? Philip Shabecoff: The mainstream movement said, "Hey, you're right. We're going to correct this." But essentially the people seeking environmental justice have had to go their own way. There are reasons from both sides why they have not gotten together. But the main failure has been on the part of entrenched environmental groups, not to act upon the fact that social injustice is environmental injustice as well. Unless they start dealing with these basic flaws in our social structure they're not going to be able to achieve their goal of saving our habitat for the future. They're certainly not doing it now. You can see they're losing ground because they have not been able to influence the political and economic structures in this country.

Colleen O'Connor: This seems like a huge, if not impossible, task!

Philip Shabecoff: Until national and community movements are in alliance they're not going to be able to generate any political power. The environmental movement groups have to devote much more resources to politics than they now do. They need to be able to reach the level of political clout that the trade-union movement had at the peak of its power. The way they're going to have to do this is the old-fashioned way, by organizing, by recruiting, training and deploying an army of organizers to send out there. They also need to develop a much better ability to communicate with the public. The environmental groups are not particularly good at getting their message across, except on specific issues, but not in the broader political context of what is happening to the environment.

Now, there's no way the environmental movement as presently constituted can do this. They don't have enough people and organizational skills to do it, and certainly don't have the financial wherewithal to do it. There's a growing number of voices from within and without the movement that environmental groups are going to have to become entrepreneurial.

Colleen O'Connor: You call them "green capitalists." Is there a good example of this? Philip Shabecoff: There was one major operation. The National Resources Defense Council supported an effort to create the Bronx Community Paper Company in association with a local community group. It looked very promising. They raised lots of money from state, city and federal governments, and a couple big corporations said they were willing to invest. But that fell apart for a number of reasons, including failures within the South Bronx community to agree on this and support it sufficiently. But I think it can be done. Some people think that instead of just more lawyers and lobbyists, the environmental movement is going to need more MBAs and investment bankers in the future. They're going to need to become richer and more powerful than they are now to solve the problems of the 21st century.

Colleen O'Connor: One environmentalist you interviewed says the movement is "winning battles but losing the war." You suggest that lack of cooperation between grassroots organizations and national environmental groups is a fundamental problem.

Philip Shabecoff: My view is that the national groups really need the local organizations to achieve their goals. They have all sorts of skills — political skills, street smarts, organizational skills that the nationals don't have, as well as a lot of knowledge about what is really happening with the environment in the field. They're much more determined to win because they have to — it affects their children, their schools, their homes. They cannot afford to lose, whereas the national environmentalists are often willing to compromise far too much.

Colleen O'Connor: In writing about environmentalism and the world's religions, you quote an article in *The Los Angeles Times* that says: "Churches, temples and synagogues across the land are seizing the environment as a top-priority concern." Is the environmental movement effectively leveraging this interfaith religious movement?

Philip Shabecoff: No, they are not. I think it's a major mistake. I'm not quite sure I understand why. The national environmental groups have become much more institutionalized and professionalized. So far, the idea of religion and spirituality has not assumed any sort of major role within those organizations.

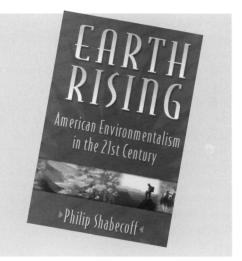
Colleen O'Connor: That's odd, because there's a whole eco-theology movement.

Philip Shabecoff: There is, but that's another part of the general environmental movement, not part of the mainstream national groups. So far the eco-theologists — who have made some very moving and eloquent statements about the responsibility of humanity to the creation — have begun to address the laity on this issue. But we have an administration in Washington now that seems intent on letting the destruction of God's creation go forward without hindrance, and you don't hear the churches speak out or march on Washington or conduct pray-ins or anything. **Colleen O'Connor:** How can the environmental movement change our behaviors?

Philip Shabecoff: David Orr, head of environmental studies at Oberlin College, says our environmental problem is a prior failure of mind. Most people are not educated to understand the stakes involved in the degradation of our environment and what needs to be done about it. The media are not giving the American people enough information to educate people and make them want to take positive action. So the environmental movement has a huge task in front of it or else we're going to be in very serious trouble by the end of this century, with environmental conditions so bad they could erode our democratic institutions and our liberties.

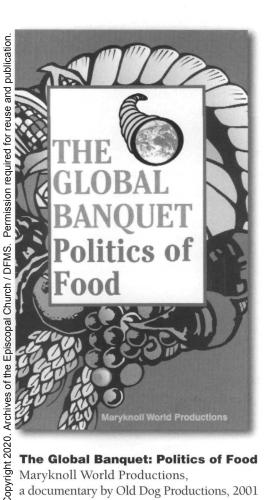
At the moment the environmental community lacks the resources, energy, will and money to do this. But we're talking about the 21st century. Think about the difference between the beginning of the 20th century and the end of the 20th century, and how far we've gotten on the environment. At the beginning it meant saving some public lands and some trees. By the end it had become a mass social movement concerned with all aspects of the degradation of our habitat. Looking at what has happened over the last century, we can hope - and maybe expect - that we will grow and learn and become concerned and strong enough to address these ills.

Colleen O'Connor is a freelance writer based in San Francisco, Calif.



Food, agribusiness and ecology

by Jeff Golliber



The Global Banquet: Politics of Food Maryknoll World Productions, a documentary by Old Dog Productions, 2001

HE GLOBALIZED FOOD SYSTEM as it exists today is incredibly complex, L yet the documentary video "The Global Banquet: Politics of Food" tells the story with unusual clarity, insight and faith, which makes it congregation-friendly. While this is not an overtly religious film, it is sacramental in its meaning and intent because it helps us to remember that food is sacred. The film concludes with a quote from Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis (1941). It appears on the screen long enough to emphasize one of the film's principal messages: "We can have democracy in this country or we can have great concentrated wealth in the hands of a few, but we cannot have both." The film extends the meaning of what Brandeis said to the realm of global agribusiness, so viewers will reflect deeply, prayerfully, on how dangerous the precarious state of our contemporary food system really is.

While this is not an overtly religious film, it is sacramental in its meaning and intent.

The filmmakers want us to understand the scale on which the struggle for democracy has been overshadowed by unimaginable concentrated wealth along with its political, economic, ethic, spiritual and ecological consequences.

"The Global Banquet" is divided into two parts, each about 25 minutes long. The first part addresses the question, "Who's Invited?" A farmer from North Dakota who inherited his land — and love for the soil — from his father tells of his efforts to preserve the ecological integrity of the land and to grow healthy crops through organic farming methods. Testifying to the tragedy of high suicide rates among many small farmers throughout the country, he says the problem cannot be traced to honest competition, locally or internationally. Instead, the cause lies squarely on governmental and global-trading agreements

that, in effect, force small farmers, who are regularly blamed for using "traditional" farming methods that do not keep pace with socalled "advances" in biogenetic science, to join the agribusiness monopoly. In other words, "get big or get out."

The second part of "The Global Banquet" addresses the question, "What's on the menu?" and explores the impact of global agribusiness. For example, the free-trade global food system is designed to ensure that local food self-sufficiency will become subordinate to a system in which people will have to buy foreign exports. But where will they get the money to buy food? Perhaps by moving off their farms to work in maquiladoras owned by garment conglomerates or as migrant workers in fields controlled by Cargill or Monsanto!

Or consider the example of the patenting and control of biogenetically engineered seeds, which is replacing traditional ecological knowledge and the practice of saving the right kinds of seeds by local farmers. They are the people who best know the soil and the characteristics of their ecosystems. The fact of "owning" seeds is troublesome enough, but taking stewardship of the land out of the hands of farmers and placing it, in effect, in the hands of Wall Street is bizarre by any ecological standard. It's a disaster in the making.

In 1992 environmentalist William Greider wrote a book entitled, Who Will Tell The People? "The Global Banquet" takes a very positive step in precisely that direction.

The Rev. Canon Jeff Golliher, Ph.D, works in the Office of the Anglican Observer to the United Nations and is Canon for Environmental Justice and Community Development at New York's Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

PRIME-TIME STATUS

'Gay Liberation' goes global and transgender

by Camille Colatosti

BC'S HIT THURSDAY NIGHT comedy, Will & Grace, features a lovable single gay lawyer who faces conflicts not unlike those of other single men on TV sitcoms. He searches for a partner; he looks for love; he dates with mixed success; and he helps his friends, especially roommate Grace, out of jams.

On Wednesday evenings on ABC, Daman Wayans stars in *My Wife and Kids*. Married, with three children, father Wayans, like Will, experiences his share of TV sitcom adventures and conflicts. Even on this show, featuring a typical middle-class family, gay characters are presented sensitively and without fanfare. When Wayans and his TV wife experience marital trouble, they visit psychiatrist Dr. Steven Michael, a gay counselor, who helps them repair their relationship.

A recent Sunday night movie on NBC focused on gay hate crimes. "The Matthew Shepard Story" (aired in March) told of the 21-year-old gay University of Wyoming student who was beaten to death by two men in 1998. According to entertainment reporter J. Max Robins, "MTV and Showtime are in 'serious discussions' about launching a gay channel." There have also been discussions at HBO, USA Networks and Rainbow Media.

According to Michael Hopkins, an Episcopal priest who is president of Integrity — a 27-year-old Episcopal organization whose purpose is to educate the church about, and work for change on, issues of concern to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people, and to represent the Episcopal Church in the lesbian and gay community enlightened television programming may not mean that the LGBT movement has won all its battles, but the shows are still important. "The more exposure people have through all kinds of media to gay and lesbian people, the more comfort they will have. Some of the TV portrayals are on the banal side, but that is television. This is a sign of our arrival in American culture, and, in the long run, it is good. Of course, the real work of changing hearts and minds is always one-on-one."

Discrimination and legal rights

According to the Lesbian and Gay Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union, the most important work in the LGBT movement right now focuses on two areas: ending discrimination and gaining legal recognition for gay families. Efforts to end discrimination based on sexual orientation concern, among other things, employment and housing issues, as well as treatment in the military. Family issues involve custody and adoption of children and health insurance coverage and survivor benefits for partners.

According to Ken South, a United Church of Christ pastor who works with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the National Religious Leadership Roundtable, an interfaith association of LGBT organizations and denominations, "The federal government is far behind on gay and lesbian issues. Nearly half of all Fortune 500 companies, thousands of universities, counties and cities, already have same-sex and domesticpartnership benefits and non-discrimination policies that protect people on the basis of sexual orientation."

In fact, as Paul Mazur explains in an article in the January 2002 issue of the *International Journal of Public Administration* entitled, "Developing a Paradigm for Worldwide Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Public Policy and Administration," 11 states plus the District of Columbia have passed laws that provide some form of civil rights protection for gays, lesbians and bisexuals. Transgender people are the glaring exception. "Only Minnesota provides comprehensive civil rights protection for transgender individuals. California prohibits discrimination in schools based on transgender status," writes Mazur.

The National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce reports that 22 states include sexual orientation as a protected category for pursuit of hate crimes. As of August 2000, 3,572 companies, colleges, universities, states and local governments were offering health insurance coverage to domestic partners of their employees.

Marriage key to benefits and equity

Key to issues of benefits and equity is the subject of marriage. Thirty states officially prohibit same-sex marriage. In 1996, when the Supreme Court in Hawaii ruled that denial of marriage licenses to same-sex couples is sex discrimination, a conservative religious organization sponsored a statewide ballot initiative to create legislation defining marriage as a union of opposite-sex partners. The legislation passed in 1998 and was followed by the Defense of Marriage Act, federal legislation, signed into law by President Bill Clinton, that defines marriage in a similar way.

In the U.S., only Vermont officially recognizes same-sex partnerships as "civil unions." As Paul Mazur explains, "These civil unions, created in light of a Vermont Supreme Court decision declaring that denial of marriage rights and privileges to NYC, 6/94

Gay Pride

Nubile/The

ISN'T ENOUGH



same-sex couples violates the Vermont State Constitution, come with all the privileges and responsibilities of marriage, but without being called marriage."

Even in Vermont, South notes, there is talk of an effort to repeal the state's recognition of civil unions. This parallels other regressive ballot initiatives. On Election Day 2000, citizens in Nebraska banned domestic partner benefits and gay marriages. Voters in Nevada defined marriage as a relationship between a man and a woman. And Maine voters barely defeated an effort to repeal civil rights protections based on sexual orientation.

To South, "It is imperative that people of faith get out front in these matters and say that the Christian Coalition [the conservative religious group that backs many of these anti-gay ballot initiatives] doesn't speak for all people of faith or for all Christians."

Save Dade

This year is the 25th anniversary of singer Anita Bryant's anti-gay Save Our Children campaign, mounted in response to passage of a Miami-Dade County Commission ordinance making it illegal to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation in 1977. Bryant, a devout Baptist and a former Miss America, believed that gays, armed with their newfound civil rights, would be out abusing and recruiting children. Three years ago a referendum was held, and the county's citizens voted to overturn the ordinance. Now, the Christian Coalition has put a referendum on the Dade County September 10, 2002, ballot to ask the public to reinstate the original discriminatory ordinance. Save Dade is a group working to stop the repeal.

"This is a benchmark campaign," says The National Religious Leadership Roundtable's South. "On the one hand, people say it's just one ordinance in one county in the U.S., but the symbolic nature is huge. Really, we see this as a way for us to say where the gay community is 25 years later."

Enduring symbol: Stonewall

For many, Stonewall marks the beginning of the gay liberation movement. As the website www.stonewallrevisited.com explains, "The word 'Stonewall' signifies quite possibly the most important single landmark in the worldwide struggle for gay rights." In 1969, patrons of New York's lower-Manhattan (largely gay-frequented) Stonewall bar fought back when Stonewall was raided one hot summer night by New York City policemen, who came hoping to arrest gay individuals for engaging in then illegal sex acts.

"Eyewitnesses claim that the homosexual patrons' counter-riot began when one burly Stonewall patron hurled a lidded, metal garbage can filled with empty liquor bottles through a police car window," the website says. "Ever since that night, Stonewall has been revered as an enduring symbol of the gay militant spark ... which has become a gay/lesbian/bisexual militant conflagration setting America — and the world — aflame with gay rights issues and conflicts."

Michael Hopkins of Integrity agrees that Stonewall was a defining moment, but also notes that the movement has changed so much since then. "I'm not part of the Stonewall generation," he explains. "I am a sort of post-1980s person. It is not always easy to articulate how the movement has changed. In some ways it is less of a political movement and more of a self-actualization movement now, and it is sometimes hard to get people motivated to do political activism until it really impinges on them."

He discusses one of the challenges facing Integrity, the LGBT presence in the Episcopal Church. "Once progress has been made, it is hard to keep people interested in the larger movement. When there is that local comfort level, it is hard to convince them to work for change. In typical American fashion, as soon as I begin to get comfortable I stop caring about larger issues."

Hopkins continues, "This is not unique to the lesbian and gay movement. Other justice movements have this same experience. Women who have been ordained since 1985 or 1990 weren't part of the original [ordination] struggle and so don't have the same motivation as women who were involved to be politically active in today's struggles because it seems they have already arrived."

Louie Crew, the founder of Integrity and a member of the Episcopal Church's Executive Council, sees shifts in Integrity's organizing efforts. "In the beginning, most chapters met once a month, for Eucharist. We were primarily in a single parish setting. Success meant that more and more Integrity members were becoming involved in their own churches and dioceses and so the need for a regular Eucharist gathering was diminished."

For Integrity, and for the Episcopal Church, Crew says, the focus right now is on getting authorization for rites of blessing for lesbian and gay relationships. According to Crew, whether people like it or not, this issue "is on the front burner and it will stay there until it passes. Justice issues do not go away. We don't get past issues until we resolve them."

"For the record," Crew adds, "I don't believe that the gay and lesbian issue is the cutting-edge issue of the 21st century. Those issues are racism, poverty and neglect of children, but God is using gay and lesbian people as the canary in the coal mine. You send a canary into the coal mine to see if there are toxic gases in there. If the canary dies, then you know not to go in. A whole lot of people who are in need of what the church has to give are watching how the church treats gay and lesbian people. If the church abuses gay and lesbian people, people who are divorced, or who have drug addictions or who have any less visible problem will say to go to the church."

A movement going global

Integrity President Hopkins believes that it is important to help gay and lesbian people around the globe win their struggles for equality and justice. Integrity sponsored a conference on human sexuality in Brazil, and helped found an Integrity organization in Uganda. Hopkins will return to Uganda this month to help activists there with their work.

U.S. LGBT activists are also looking to the successes of Canadian and European organizers. In Canada, explains Paul Mazur, "a groundbreaking Supreme Court decision on October 27, 2001, redefined the word 'spouse' so that the parliament of Ontario revised 67 statutes, extending to same-sex couples all of the rights and responsibilities enjoyed by common-law heterosexual couples, including obligations involved in a break-up, adoption procedures, and hospital-visitation rights."

In Holland, lawmakers approved a bill to

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convert the country's registered same-sex partnership into full-fledged marriages, complete with divorce guidelines and wider adoption rights for gays.

In Germany, a law allows gay couples to register marriages officially, have the same tenant and inheritance rights as heterosexual couples and some joint parenting rights for children living in a gay couple's house. Denmark, Hungary, Iceland, France, Sweden, Norway and other European countries have begun to provide domestic partnership benefits.

'Transgender issues are cutting-edge'

Maintaining a global perspective is important to current organizing and so is moving past a simple or clear focus on the heterosexual/homosexual duality, says Virginia Mollenkott, author of the groundbreaking book, *Omnigender: A Trans-religious Approach* (see *TW* 7-8/01). "The church is still talking in terms of homosexual versus heterosexual and that is very rapidly becoming passé. Transgender issues are cutting-edge."

The reason, says Mollenkott, is that transgender people challenge the idea that a person is either straight or gay, male or female. "The presence of transgender people of every sort — feminine men and masculine women — indicates that this duality is not the way God set things up.

"If we look at same-sex marriage and domestic partnership issues, transgender forces us to shift the ground. It would be impossible to support the concept that marriage should be between a man and a woman because we realize that the definitions of 'man' and 'woman' are unclear. Many scientists don't know how to define them."

Unfortunately, says Mollenkott, a survey in the *Advocate*, a popular magazine of gay and lesbian topics, "showed that 64 percent of readers didn't want to include transgender issues with gay and lesbian issues because it would slow things down. This is very un-Christian and wrong. Acceptance isn't what we should care about. Justice is what we should care about. If just getting a piece of the pie is all we want then we want nothing important."

Witness staff writer Camille Colatosti lives in Hamtramck, Mich.

Claiming the blessing

"I will bless you ... so that you will be a blessing" (Genesis 12:2)

In 1985, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church resolved that "homosexual persons are children of God who have a full and equal claim with all other persons upon the love, acceptance and pastoral concern and care of the Church." Since that time we have been blessed to see great strides taken toward achieving the full inclusion of LGBT people into the Episcopal Church's life, worship and witness. But God is not finished with us yet.

Some of us are blessed to have experienced a church that welcomes us, affirms our ministries, blesses our relationships. Having been so blessed, we are committed to claiming that blessing for those who cannot yet claim it for themselves: those outside the church who do not know that the "Episcopal Church Welcomes You" sign includes them, as well as those inside the church who have not yet received the love, acceptance and pastoral concern and care of the church.

"Claiming The Blessing" is a partnership of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and straight people and organizations who believe that until all of us are invited everywhere the Reign of God has not yet been realized. We believe that we are called to the work of abolishing prejudice and oppression, promoting wholeness in human relationships, and to healing the rift between sexuality and spirituality in the church. To that end, we commit ourselves to obtaining approval, at the 2003 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, of a liturgical blessing of the faithful, monogamous relationship between two adults.

To achieve these goals we have formed a three-year intentional collaborative partnership. The collaborative includes the three leading LGBT justice organizations in the Episcopal Church (Integrity, Oasis and Beyond Inclusion), several other justice organizations (among them *The Witness*, the Episcopal Women's Caucus, Oasis California, the Bishop's Commission on Gay and Lesbian Ministry in Los Angeles) as well as individual leaders in the Episcopal Church. Our work has three primary program goals:



Creation of a clear, definitive, accessible theological statement in support of the liturgical blessing of same-sex relationships. This work will be done by a team of several respected theologians and then disseminated in a number of media formats (website, video, and print) to laity and clergy. We also plan to make available stories of lives being changed,

churches growing and the Spirit moving in progressive, inclusive congregations and in LGBT relationships;

Establishment of a systematic program for educating and encouraging support from General Convention Deputies for legislation to create a liturgy for same-sex blessings, including offering a training conference for Deputies;

Convening a major conference in November 2002, led by prophetic theologians, to educate, train and plan for "Claiming the Blessing" at General Convention 2003 in Minneapolis.

We believe that we have been blessed in order to be a blessing — and we are determined to see the day when the promise of "full and equal claim" is realized for all people. Our passion for this work comes out of our passion for the Gospel, out of our understanding that the liberating work of the Spirit of God will not be done until all people are free and welcome at the banquet table. Won't you join us in "Claiming The Blessing"?

Susan Russell is an Episcopal priest serving in the Diocese of Los Angeles.

THE TIKKUN COMMUNITY

'To mend, repair and transform the world'

by Marianne Arbogast

THIS PAST DECEMBER, more than 700 people gathered in New York for the founding conference of the Tikkun Community, described by co-founder Michael Lerner as "a new national organization of spiritual politics." The weekend meeting included music, dancing, prayer and presentations by speakers ranging from Buddhist scholar Robert Thurman to Pacifica radio host Amy Goodman to writer Naomi Wolf, along with Arthur Waskow, Susannah Heschel, Lerner and others associated with the Jewish Renewal movement articulated in *Tikkun* magazine, which convened the gathering.

Tikkun is a Hebrew word translated as a mandate "to mend, repair and transform the world," and the Tikkun Community founders aspire to nothing less.

"I really got a renewed sense of how much people would love to have a national movement that was talking about love and caring, about the deprivation of meaning and the spiritual crisis generated by the ethos of selfishness and materialism of American society," Lerner wrote in a conference report on the Tikkun website (www.tikkun.org). "And how much they'd love to have a movement that could legitimate our desire to respond to the universe with awe and wonder and could transcend the narrow utilitarian and manipulative frameworks that dominate most politics (including even Green or leftie politics)."

September 11 provided the "immediate impetus" for the creation of the Tikkun community, Lerner said in an interview with *The Witness*.

"What we were seeing coming out of 9/11 was a view of the world that basically saw the alternatives as either supporting American penetration and domination of the world, or going with the forces of Islamic fundamentalism. We wanted to present a third alternative."

The third alternative is one that Lerner has been advocating for many years, as editor of *Tikkun* magazine and author of books including *Jewish Renewal*, *The Politics of Meaning*, and, most recently, *Spirit Matters*. Lerner, who studied under Abraham Heschel, has sought to articulate a vision "that people in spiritual communities and people who previously didn't even think of themselves as spiritual can buy into."

A religion of secular materialism

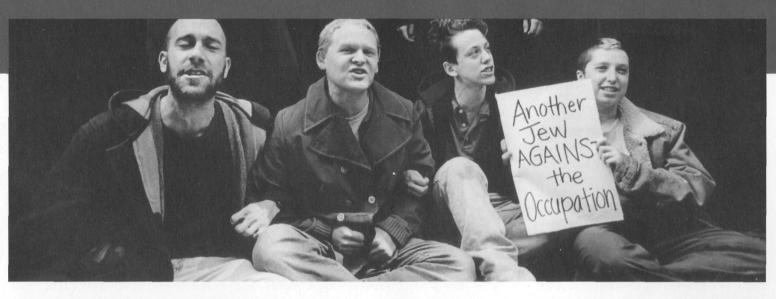
"Our fundamental message is that the central deprivation in people's lives is a spiritual deprivation," Lerner says. "In this society the central thing that's wrong with global capitalism is not that it doesn't deliver enough material goods to people. It's that it values the wrong thing."

In Lerner's worldview, secular materialism is no less a religion than Islamic fundamentalism.

"The world system of which America is the dominant beneficiary is based on a religion. This new religion historically emerged as a rebellion against the misappropriation of religion in the ancient and medieval world as an instrument for domination by ruling elites over everyone else. So this new religion said that there should be no authoritative decisions about what's right and wrong in the public sphere, that moral judgments are purely subjective because what's objective is that which can be verified through sense data. This religion preached a vision of the world in which the highest value was to maximize the individual and his or her self-interest."

While this new religion offered some benefits — the advancement of science, respect for individual rights and liberties, and a realm of privacy — it also brought negative consequences: "It drove moral, spiritual discourse totally out of the public sphere and created a new group of priests and ministers that call themselves 'profession-als' — people who profess the dominant religion.

"This made possible the sprouting up of a society in which each individual is pursuing his or her own selfinterest without regard for the consequences for anyone else, and the disintegration over time of the bonds of caring and mutual support — whose highest articulation was in the dismantling of welfare programs — a society with the greatest wealth that humanity has ever known, and yet with extremes of poverty that could be eliminated very easily were anyone to use our collective resources for that purpose."



In this analysis, it is a clash of religions that underlies current global conflict.

"When capital globalizes, it brings with it the dominant religion, and its very strong conflict with existing religious systems that preach a different vision of the world. When people say, as Bush said originally, 'This is a crusade,' he was right. Because it's not just that global capital is presenting an economic system — it's presenting a worldview, and it's very much in conflict with traditional religious systems that have a different view of where ethics and spiritual concerns should fit into our lives."

Traditional religions, Lerner says, "emphasize that human beings should be cared for and valued not for what they can produce in the economic marketplace, but because they are fundamentally valuable in and of themselves, because they are part of a particular religious or spiritual community — although you could substitute here the word 'national community' to explain the appeal of nationalism also. The good part is that people are valued simply by virtue of their connection to a particular kind of community. The bad part is that that community is an exclusivist community."

Emancipatory spirituality

If there is one thing the new Tikkun Community is not, that is exclusivist. Although some two-thirds of participants in the founding conference were Jewish, Lerner strongly desires greater diversity.

"I'm certainly hoping that it will shift to not have a Jewish majority," he says. "I'd like to go to every religious community in the country to start with, and try to appeal to people in those communities to become core elements in the Tikkun Community. We're trying to invite Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and others to be part of building it."

The community's "Core Vision and Founding Principles" is a 16-page, densely worded document covering innumerable facets of social reality. Inclusion, says Lerner, is at the heart of the "emancipatory spirituality" he sees as an antidote to the errors of both traditional and secular religion.

"Emancipatory spirituality rejects the ethos of materialism and selfishness of the capitalist order and instead values a spiritual and ethical vision. But with regard to the religious world, it rejects the exclusivism of those communities, and says that people are to be valued not because of their membership in any particular community. Instead it emphasizes the Unity of All Being and the fact that every human being is equally a creation of God, equally embodying the spirit of God, and equally deserving of love and caring, regardless of what their beliefs are, what their particular approach is of connecting to God or connecting to the spiritual realm."

A new bottom line

"If I have to say what's fundamental, I sort of summarize in one sentence what we're about: We want a new bottom line," Lerner says. "We want a new definition of productivity, efficiency and rationality. Because in the contemporary capitalist world, the bottom line is money and power, and the definition of productivity and efficiency is that anybody who maximizes money and power is running an efficient institution, or a social practice is efficient. What we're saying is, no, that definition has to be transformed, so that institutions and social practices are judged efficient, productive and rational not only to the extent that they maximize money and power, but also that they maximize people's capacities to be loving and caring, to be ethically, spiritually and ecologically sensitive, and to be capable of responding to the universe with awe and wonder at the grandeur of creation. Schools would be judged failures if they produced great computer experts who didn't give a damn about other human beings."

Does this raise concerns about the separation of church and state?

"I'm not for the state imposing a particular religious approach, but I am in favor of it supporting a particular moral and spiritual consciousness," Lerner says. "I'm just as troubled by the First Amendment fundamentalists as by the right-wing fundamentalists. And the separation of values from the

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public sphere is a terrible error.

"In the Jewish world, we've been the first ones to advocate that separation because we've been afraid that the Christians would go right back and start throwing us in the concentration camps or burning us at the stake or whatever. So we wanted a public sphere that had no values in it, because we didn't trust that once they started going with their values, that they wouldn't kill us. But I think we're in a different historical period in which Christians won't kill Jews on these differences. I think we're moving to a point in history where it's possible to have a spiritual, ethical debate in the public sphere which is nonviolent and mutually respectful."

Campaign to End the Occupation

Still, Lerner's own experience demonstrates that such debate is not without risk. In a fullpage ad in the Oct. 1, 2001, issue of *The Nation* featuring a photo and letter of support from Cornel West (who collaborated with Lerner on the 1995 book, *Jews and Blacks: A Dialogue on Race, Religion and Culture in America*), *Tikkun* magazine appealed for contributions in the face of death threats to Lerner and financial losses to the magazine because of its stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The Tikkun Community organized its first major campaign around that issue, calling for a fast day on March 27, the day before Passover, and taking out ads in *The New York Times* and an Israeli newspaper in support of the Israeli army reservists who are refusing to serve in the West Bank and Gaza. Lerner hopes that the fast day will become an annual event and draw Christian as well as Jewish participation.

"One important component of our campaign is to try to speak to Christians about the reluctance that many Christians have to criticize Israel and Israeli policy," he says. "Christians are absolutely right to feel guilty that their traditions have caused a huge amount of pain and cruelty to the Jewish people. But the way to rectify that is by internally challenging all of the kinds of teachings in the Christian tradition that have generated anti-Semitism and by taking responsibility for that history, not by giving a blank check to Israeli policy — particularly once you understand that the current Israeli policy is self-destructive and against the best interests of the Jewish people."

Tikkun Community goals

The Tikkun Community founders have established a leadership structure with Lerner serving as the first executive director. A National Advisory Board will select a Council of Spiritual Pathfinders to work with Lerner on a day-to-day basis. In addition to education and organizing around peace for Israel and Palestine, Tikkun leaders have set five other initial goals, which Lerner spells out on their website.

One is building a "network of support" to "create a way for people who are committing themselves to the principles of an Emancipatory Spirituality to be able to learn from and support each other." Practical steps include a yearly week-long gathering and a website forum for members to share their experiences in trying to live out the Tikkun Community vision. The long-term vision includes youth programs, retirement facilities and a matchmaking service ("to create a network for singles to meet each other while actively combating the false ideology that there is something wrong with being single").

A second is the Planetary Consciousness Project, which includes a Media Education Committee and a Religious Education Committee to help promote awareness of global interconnectedness and the threats from climate change and nationalism. It also includes a Campaign for a New Bottom Line, which will work to enlist support for the Social Responsibility Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (a Tikkun proposal that ties renewal of corporate charters to ethical impact assessments). Thirdly, Tikkun Community members are also asked to volunteer to help conduct and analyze telephone polls which will ask questions designed to elicit people's highest ideals — as opposed to "narrowly shaped questions asked in public opinion polls shaped by the dominant media" which convince people that they are the only ones who want change.

A fourth goal is the creation of a "network of spiritually oriented professionals and business people who support a new bottom line in the world of work." Suggestions for building it include website sharing, monthly telephone conferences with others in the same field, workplace caucuses, and national conferences.

Finally, the community will establish a National Office to coordinate activities and advance its goals.

Some 3,500 people have joined the Tikkun Community to date — meaning, at least, that they offer a financial contribution above and beyond the cost of a *Tikkun* magazine subscription (which all members receive); and, potentially, that they become active in one or more of the Tikkun Community projects. To Lerner, 3,500 people is "minuscule," a small fraction of the numbers he hopes to organize.

"The purpose of the Tikkun Community is to help people recognize each other. If they can recognize each other, they would see that they are much less alone than they thought. The founding conference was an amazing experience of people from many different backgrounds recognizing each other as allies, and that giving people a sense of hope that something could actually be different in the world."

The Witness' associate editor, Marianne Arbogast lives in Detroit, where she is co-manager of a Catholic Worker soup kitchen.

More information on the Tikkun Community can be found on their website, <www.tikkun.org>.

'A movement-building vocation on poverty'

ON THE LAST TUESDAY IN MARCH, Jim Wallis and other members of Call to Renewal met first with members of the Congressional Poor People's Caucus, then with a group of Republican Senate staffers, and finally with White House staff members involved with welfare reform.

"It was a very bi-partisan day pushing the agenda of poverty," says Wallis, the convener and president of Call to Renewal, a five-year-old effort to link Christians across the political and theological spectrum in anti-poverty advocacy.

In one of the meetings, conversation got bogged down in the language of "poverty reduction" vs. "self-sufficiency," Wallis says. "I looked around at all these faith-based leaders — they're grassroots, on the ground — and they're shaking their heads, you know, what the hell are we talking about, this is a Washington conversation.

"So we try to build common ground. We say, yes, we want self-sufficiency, we want sustenance for people who are poor — not endless subsidy, because that doesn't end poverty, that just maintains poverty at some barely sustainable level. But how do you help welfare families and single moms? You've got to deal with child care and transportation and affordable housing and health care. Is work the way out of this? Yeah, but only if it works — if you work and you're poorer than you were on welfare, something's not working."

Wallis feels that the greatest achievement of Call to Renewal has been "getting the warring factions of the churches together on this issue of poverty. It's the only thing we really can agree on — we disagree on almost everything else. We have been able to bring together a wide spectrum of people. We really do have evangelicals deeply involved — the National Association of

Evangelicals is at the table and so is the National Council of Churches. The NCC and the NAE have been like the Crips and the Bloods — they've been literally acting like rival gangs. We joke that when the NCC and the NAE are there we put a Mennonite between them at the table."

This constituency means that Call to Renewal has "access across the political spectrum where just a liberal group wouldn't," Wallis says.

In addition to Call to Renewal's national office in Washington, D.C., about a dozen local Call to Renewal "roundtables" are meeting across the country. Each works independently on local projects, but also participates in national efforts such as the recent "Pentecost 2002" mobilization on TANF (welfare reform) reauthorization.

"Our job is to help them connect with each other and then connect with the national agenda," Wallis says. "Springfield, Ohio, has a very active Call to Renewal roundtable, and their work has resulted in the construction of a new health clinic for low-income kids, which serves 5,000 kids a year. But they're also putting together a delegation of faith-based leaders to come to our mobilization in May to meet with their Senator on welfare reform."

Call to Renewal intends to expand its efforts to organize local groups, Wallis says.

"Wes Granberg-Michaelson, our board chair, said, 'We've shown that we can convene and inspire, now we have to show that we can organize.' So the task ahead now is state-by-state, community-by-community organizing. I think our vocation is to help local efforts to connect with each other across these chasms in the churches — even within the churches — and then to connect them together for a national agenda. It's a movement-building vocation on poverty."

Movement-building is a necessary component of social change, Wallis contends.

"Do you think we'd have a civil rights law and a voting rights act if there had been no SCLC? There was lots of local activity for years. The local activity, initiative, creativity, leadership — all of that is the prerequisite for social, cultural change. You can't build a national anything if it doesn't have local feet. But at some point, that's got to be networked and connected and lead to some national agendas.

"What a social movement is is that people in Albany, Ga., and Raleigh, N.C., know that their struggles and their hopes and their dreams and their failures — that others are going through it, too, in different places, and they feel connected to that. Mostly what I do, I think, around the country is I help people not to feel alone. It's not just them — there are people like them in other places, and the more we can connect together and support each other and then come together on things we all care about, the more we can accomplish.

"We just saw a big victory on campaign finance

reform. I had lunch with Scott Harshbarger, the head of Common Cause, and Scott is clear that this victory happened because for the first time all the campaign finance organizations who normally fight each other worked together on this. It was like networking the networks. And on poverty we have to do the same thing."

In addition to working with churches, Call to Renewal builds alliances with other groups working toward the same goals.

"There's this new group called the Campaign for Jobs and Income Support, and I think they have the best network around issues like welfare reform," Wallis says. "A lot of welfare moms' groups are in this, a lot of immigrants' rights groups, a lot of living-wage efforts. Just as we have a strategic alliance on welfare reform with the Roman Catholic bishops and with Bread for the World, we're also working with Campaign for Jobs and Income Support. They're organizing poor people's organizations, we're organizing churches and faith-based groups, and we're tracking the debate — and we're going to impact the debate in a way that's allied to each other."

Wallis also met recently with Jim Hightower, who is working with Michael Moore and Molly lvins on a project called "Rolling Thunder."

"They are going from city to city trying to have a big revival with speakers and music to get a whole new progressive movement going. They want a clear, strong, faith-based component in this, and that's why they want us to come in with them."

Wallis feels that Call to Renewal's Christian identity is helpful to its mission.

"If you go interfaith too quickly, you get all the liberals together who are interfaith. And that's fine, but we've done that, that's not new. Call to Renewal has succeeded where no one else has in getting evangelicals together with liberals and Catholics, and black and white churches. We've got to get our own act together. I think interfaith things are better when each tradition is the best they can be and then makes alliances."

— Marianne Arbogast

More information on Call to Renewal can be found on their website, <www.calltorenewal.com>.

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Tea parties for economic democracy

"Ultimately, we must design a corporate system in which all economic rights are equally protected, not only the rights of shareholders," Marjorie Kelly, author of The Divine Right of Capital, says in an interview with Hope magazine (3-4/02). "We start by changing our minds, by changing our internal pictures of reality that tell us shareholder primacy is normal and legitimate. The way to do that is with pranks. How did the American Revolution start? Not with writing laws, but with folks dressing up like Indians and throwing tea off ships. It started with a prank. Same with the feminist revolution, where women crashed the Miss America pageant, and did a sit-in at The Ladies' Home Journal. We need some great pranks. I'd love to see some folks stage a sitin at Business Week or Fortune, and refuse to leave until they put out a special issue on economic democracy. Or, in the spirit of Rosa Parks, refusing to sit in the back of the bus. How about employees running John Q. Employee for the board of directors? They could put up bogus campaign posters all over the company and wear sandwichboards at the stockholders meeting: "No Governance Without Representation." It might lead to some interesting conversations with the press: Why can't employees run for the board? Aren't employees part of the corporation? ... At our web site, DivineRightofCapital.com, we're hoping to encourage tea parties like these around the country. ... Pranks help us wake up. And which is the only way to do things, when you are a marginalized group fighting a huge entrenched power. You've got to be light-hearted. You need esprit-de-corps, so you don't feel overwhelmed. The aim is to educate people that the problem isn't greedy executives or evil individual corporations like EXXON. The problem is the system



design. The problem is state law that says corporations exist only to maximize gains for shareholders."

Forks can lift a culture

"Europeans, along with many Asians, too, look at agriculture as a culture," David Andrews, executive director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, said in an interview with *U.S. Catholic* (3/02). "They want to keep the landscape, the villages, the farmers on the land; they want to keep a food system that's nutritious, healthy and safe. They invest heavily in the cultures of rural communities.

"I think the way we in the U.S. maintain ties to our rural roots is through country music. The Europeans do it by way of public policy. Here in the U.S. we've valued the music but not the land or the farmers or the villages.

"When people go shopping, they look for the cheapest food. They don't realize that their fork is a powerful lever. Change could happen if people who eat — and I don't know too many who don't — would think about how the food got to their fork, about whom they bought it from, and about what impact this food has on the environment, on farmers, on their own nutrition. ...

"Europeans are willing to pay up to 20 percent of their income on food because they care more about the food they eat. We pay 9 to 10 percent — of course poorer communities pay a lot more. Actually between our doctor bills, health clubs, and subsidies to large food companies, not to mention the taxpayer bills for environmental cleanup, we pay plenty. If we looked at our fork as a lever that can lift a culture, we'd realize our food choices carry a lot of power."

Nuclear "firewall" crumbling

The Pentagon's nuclear policy review, revealed in March, is a culmination of a movement over the past several years "to

make nuclear weapons more 'usable,' or pertinent, in a world troubled by terrorism, rogue dictators, crumbling Russian might and ascending Chinese power," Raffi Khatchadourian writes in the April 1 issue of The Nation. "The review states that countries such as Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Syria and Libya should be added to nuclear targeting plans. It also advocates new, smaller nuclear weapons that would be incorporated into conventional warmaking tactics. However, these ideas have long been in the making.

"If current policy does not change course, 20 years from now we could experience the following: Rather than pursue the path to total nuclear disarmament, Washington will command a new class of small-scale atomic weapons intended for use on the battlefield. The cold war arsenal will have been substantially reduced, but in case unforeseen threats arise, the deactivated warheads will have gone into storage, rather than been destroyed. Meanwhile, America's remaining cold war atomic weapons will be targeted not just at Russia but also at an array of developat Russia but also at an array of develop-ing countries. The conceptual firewall currently separating nuclear weapons from conventional ones will have largely crumbled, and the United States will have openly abandoned its unwillingness to use nuclear weapons against nonnuclear threats."

Disembodied finance

The largely invisible system of international finance is more destructive than global trade, former Jubilee 2000 coordinator Ann Pettifor said in an interview with Megan Rowling (In These Times, 3/18/02).

"You know, the anti-corporate left sometimes gets it wrong,' [Pettifor] confides. 'They focus on what they can see and touch, which is trade. And because

the international financial regime isn't visible, it isn't attacked. But in reality, it has a much greater power of determination than trade.'

"It's not McDonald's or Nike that rule our world," [Pettifor] argues - 'at least they make things' — but the international giants of the banking world like J.P. Morgan Chase and Citigroup. 'The problem with globalization lies in the liberalization of cash flows, [not] trade flows. Those who own capital operate in a global economy detached from real political, social and environmental relations. And this detachment has not come about accidentally' — it is a result of 'structural imbalances' that have been deliberately constructed by those in power."

Cincinnati reaches racial-profiling agreement

In early April, negotiators in Cincinnati reached a tentative agreement on steps to end racial profiling in the city. The agreement was the result of a year-long collaborative process undertaken as a result of a civil rights lawsuit filed by the Cincinnati Black United Front with the A.C.L.U.

"The proposal includes a court-sanctioned monitor to oversee the agreed-upon changes in police training and patrolling," The New York Times reported (4/4/02). "It also provides for a new Citizens Complaint Authority intended to allow the public a more responsive way of filing grievances against police officers. ...

"Mayor Luken requested a Justice Department inquiry into the city's policing methods last April after four days of street protests and violence followed the fatal shooting of a young black man by the police. The Justice Department recommendations for improving police methods eventually became part of the agreement. ...

"The unusual collaborative process, con-

ducted under federal court oversight, was an alternative to full-scale litigation. Negotiators sought a wide spectrum of proposals in interviews and meetings with 3,500 people, including police officers, residents of all ethnic groups and government officials."

CLASSIFIEDS

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VOLUME 85

WITNESS MAGAZINE

TRANSPORTATION AND CONSCIENCE

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The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of **The Witness** magazine and related website projects, seeks to give voice to a liberation Gospel of peace and justice and to promote the concrete activism that flows from such a Christianity. Founded in 1917 by Irving Peake Johnson, an Episcopal Church bishop, **The Witness** claims a special mission to Episcopalians and other Anglicans worldwide, while affirming strong partnership with progressives of other faith traditions.

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Environmental and community activists in Lynn, Mass., gather in front of two auto dealerships to

on the cover

voice concern about the environmental impact of sport utility vehicles. The SUV Action day was the first of its kind in the nation. © 2001 Marilyn Humphries/ THE IMAGE WORKS

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LETTERS

Now that the silence is broken

In the April 2002 issue on "Women challenging violence," Julie Wortman wrote, "The silence of violence needs breaking" and that women of faith are committed to doing that.

The Executive Council Committee on the Status of Women (CSW) [of the Episcopal Church, USA] salutes The Witness for taking on such a complex and taboo issue. We wholeheartedly endorse what Pat Castillo says ("A Latina activist speaks out") in commenting on hearings the CSW has held on domestic violence: "The church should play a much more active role as a teacher with regard to domestic violence." And "the church must address the roots of violence towards women." Many of those roots are found in Hebrew and Christian scriptures.

In the 1990s, the CSW published a booklet, Break the Silence of Violence. It has just released Now that the Silence is Broken: The Next Step, in collaboration with the Office of Women in Mission and Ministry (WIMM) at the Episcopal Church Center and Forward Movement Publications. This is a "how to" resource for congregations, clergy and adult and youth groups. It will "continue the educational process in our parishes and dioceses about the issues and implications of domestic violence in our society and churches." Available for \$1 from the WIMM Office or Forward Movement, this resource can be the stimulus for a diocesan-wide program or a special Sunday or sermon in the congregation. It is important to speak about a subject that has long been considered "unspeakable."

CSW enjoyed collaborating with The Witness to present this issue to the wider church. Thanks very much for a difficult task verv well done.

Sally Bucklee, CSW Chair Laurel, MD

Basic life concerns

Thank you for another excellent edition of

The Witness (May 2002). The features, Julie Wortman's editorial "Beating new bounds" and the letters touched on issues that are basic life concerns to all who call ourselves "Christians."

The article "Entitled Neighbors" was a timely reminder that God does indeed pay special attention to the poor and needy people of the world and that He chooses to do that through His followers. Even while the administration touts the "success" of the American economy, many people are left out of that "success" because the corporate world in whose employ they find themselves believes that economic injustice is a normal way of life.

I was glad to see the article on sanctions in "Short Takes" that reminds us that the sterile, abstract sanctions that are so easily enacted and so glibly touted by the administration are nothing less than war on the poor and helpless. As the quote from America magazine reads, "A three-year old dying of dysentery is not the enemy of the United States," yet we blindly wave the flag and scream for sanctions against any and all that the administration decrees must be our "enemy," even if that does include three-year-old children. May God forgive our ignorance and national selfdeception on this issue.

Thanks also for the "Short Takes" feature on the environmental web action center. As a professional environmentalist I very much appreciate the Episcopal Church's addressing these urgent issues. My own church has seriously neglected environmental issues although some of us keep pointing out that we ARE "keepers" not only of our brothers but of our planet, as well. (Psalm 24 is a beautiful reminder.)

Thank you for the encouragement you provide this "liberal" Baptist environmentalist (isn't that a weird combination) by reminding him that he is not alone in thinking that if we call ourselves followers of Christ, we are called to actually DO something for others in a culture that chooses to ignore the "least of these."

Tim McDonald Chattanooga, TN

The benefit of taking in the world at a walk

by Julie A. Wortman

his past June 1, the Shalem Institute for Spiritual Formation (based in Bethesda, Md.) held its seventh annual Slow Walk for Peace. This year's event was dedicated to the world's refugees. "Often people around the world are forced to flee their homes and homeland to escape persecution, war or starvation," Shalem noted on its website (www.shalem.org). "At times, these refugees walk many miles through difficult terrain in search of a new place that is safe to call home. ... We will walk in solidarity with these people who long for peace — and a resting place."

The slow walk is a form of meditation. Shalem explains, noting the work and practice of Thich Nhat Hanh. "The practice of walking meditation," this Vietnamese Zen Master says, "opens your eyes to the wonders and the suffering of the universe. If you are not aware of what is going on around you, where do you expect to encounter ultimate reality?"

I'm not sure my hyped-up, multi-tasking, deadline-oriented self is capable of slow walking yet, but I know that even at an ordinary pace a person takes in the world at a level of consciousness impossible at faster speeds. At a walk, a driven mind can downshift enough to match speed with the soul it left behind. At a walk, it is possible to notice the details of life - dogs who spend



neglected lives at the ends of chains, styrofoam coffee cups and beer cans clustered abundantly in roadside ditches, lilacs in bloom, drooping party balloons hanging from a mailbox, a street squatter's digs, white sheets flapping in the sun.

I'm not categorically against traveling at faster speeds, but working on this issue I've become aware of what a radical act walking in this culture can be. Walking requires no special equipment, no ticket, no roads, no fuel beyond one's daily bread. Moreover, it contributes nothing to global warming and seldom results in roadkill or roadrage.

If there are obvious advantages to vehicles that proceed at a faster rate, there are certainly significant costs - economic, environmental, social and psychic - associated with their use. This issue is about weighing those costs. Most often, speed is primarily about consumption, privilege and profit. Can our individual and collective choices about transportation be instead primarily about justice and peace? Plenty of people are praying hard over the requirements of an affirmative response and taking action.

And yes, some are beginning by taking the world in at a walk.

"When you practice walking meditation in the morning, your movements will become smooth and your mind will become alert," Thich Naht Hanh notes in The Long Road to Joy. "You will be more aware of what you are doing all day long. In making decisions, you will find that you are more calm and clear, with more insight and compassion. With each peaceful step you take, all beings, near and far, will benefit."

May it be so.

Julie A. Wortman is Witness editor/publisher.

The Island of Lost Luggage

Korean Airlines Disaster

by Janet McAdams

for Kevin McNiff

What breeze whispers when you step onto the black slate of the shore?

And what hooves pound the green valley beyond the flat beach? Caribou, you think,

or bison in the wild. A woman in aviator glasses weaves through the cabanas — a tourist? you wonder

and join the queue from the 747, but you still hear the roar of the missile, still feel the shock

of cold air. At the head of the line, a clerk hands you two sets of car keys, a single glove,

an unopened letter mailed so many years ago. Kevin, some things are lost forever,

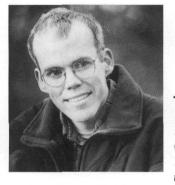
and at the Island of Lost Luggage, they line up: the disappeared, the lost children, the Earharts

of modern life. It's your bad luck to die in the cold wars of certain nations. But in the line at Unclaimed Baggage, no one mourns for the sorry world that sent them here. Memory fails

among these easy trees, beside this sheet of agate water, where an lvory Bill calls and calls ...

"The Island of Lost Luggage" from The Island of Lost Luggage, by Janet McAdams. © 2000 Janet McAdams. Reprinted by permission of the University of Arizona Press.

WHAT WOULD



An interview with Bill McKibben

by Julie A. Wortman

Built MCKIBBEN is a former staff writer for *The New Yorker* and author of *The End of Nature* (Anchor, 1989), *Maybe One* (Plume, 1999) and, most recently, *Long Distance: A Year of Living Strenuously*

(Simon & Schuster, 2000). He has been a longtime climatechange watchdog, rare in his strong faith-based perspective.

JULIE WORTMAN: Last summer I saw a newspaper article about an anti-SUV protest you were involved with outside a car dealership in Lynn, Mass., just on the outskirts of Boston. What was that about?

BILL MCKIBBEN: Well, during the 2000–2001 academic year I was a fellow at Harvard Divinity School's Center for the Study of Values in Public Life writing a book on human genetic engineering. But one of the things that I was doing while I was there was a lot of volunteer work on SUVs, among other things. I've worked for most of my life on climate-change issues — I wrote sort of the original book for a general audience on it all, The End of Nature, way back in 1989. And, of course, transportation is a big part of that. One of the great difficulties of working on climate change is that it has remained largely an abstract issue in this country and we've made extremely little progress - in fact, none! Americans, in the year 2000, managed to produce about 15 percent more carbon dioxide than they did in the year 1990. So, it's very clear that we're losing badly on this issue. So a lot of us have been thinking over the years that we need some very real symbols to make it real for people. The SUV is probably the perfect one, because it's very practical. I mean, it's very much a part of the problem. Just as the back of the bus was a very real phenomenon for people in the South in a certain era.

If you have a normal car — an Escort or a Taurus or something — and you go in and you trade it in and you get one of the larger SUVs and you drive it for one year, the difference in the amount of energy you use — and hence the amount of CO_2 that you produce — is the same as walking over to your refrigerator this afternoon, opening the door and leaving it open until 2009.

So it's a very real issue. By far the biggest reason that America's CO_2 emissions kept climbing so quickly in the 1990s was because we were converting our automobile fleet into this urban assault fleet. So the SUV is a tremendously good symbol of our heedlessness in the way that we use energy, because so much of it is unnecessary. I mean, no one would begrudge a big vehicle with four-wheel-drive and high clearance to a forest ranger, you know? That makes a lot of sense — if you're a good forest ranger, you've got to be out in the middle of nowhere all the time.

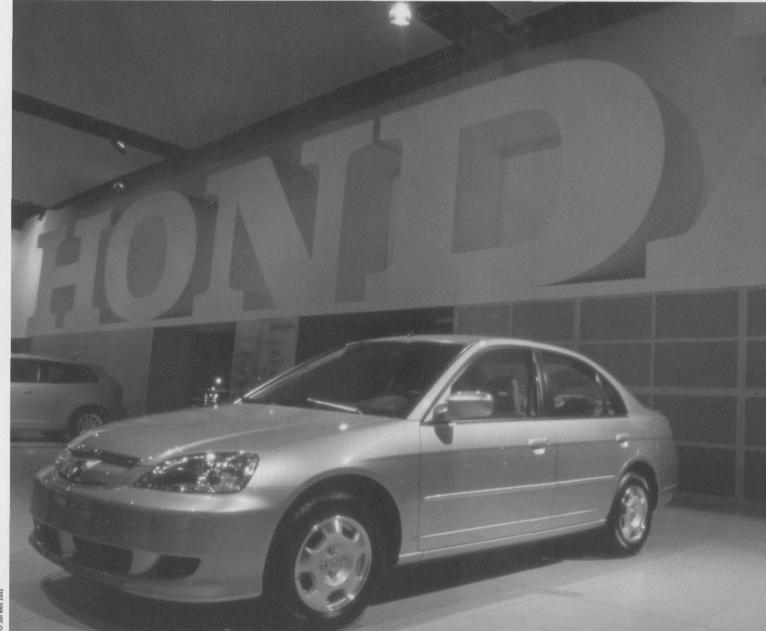
But for the most part we have no need of these kind of vehicles. We've bought them for some combination of putative safety concerns, which turn out to be illusory when you examine them, and much more for some kind of status and image concerns, you know? Someone in Madison Avenue was able to convince us that you are somehow, among other things, more closely bonded with the natural world if you are driving one of these. That's what all the ads are about.

JULIE WORTMAN: I noticed that you had a number of people at that particular protest who were prominent people of faith? **BILL MCKIBBEN:** Yes.

JULIE WORTMAN: Why is it so important that people of faith be involved?

BILL MCKIBBEN: Well, what can I say? I'm a Methodist Sunday School teacher. For me, this has always been part of my reason for caring about the environment, this sense that we're talking about this creation. So we wanted very much to involve this community that hadn't been involved as deeply as it should. Every important American social movement that I can think of has required the participation of the church to get its

JESUS DRIVE?



© Jim West 2002

The Honda Civic gas/electric hybrid at the North American International Auto Show in Detroit.

message across and I think that the environment is no exception. And I think it's really starting to happen.

JULIE WORTMAN: What are the signs you see?

BILL MCKIBBEN: Well, I've been working on this for a long time and talking to church groups is one of the things that I do. Ten years ago it was, "Huh?" People didn't really get it. Now people know that they need to be involved and the question is how much and how radical should our involvement be? I think that within a very short period of time — as with peace issues and hunger issues it's going to be taken for granted that this is one of the prophetic witnesses that the church is called to make, especially because it's so the better part of three months — under high, deep water — and that's because of us! They're not producing any CO_2 . The basic method of transportation in Bangladesh is the bicycle-powered rickshaw! We produce one quarter of the world's CO_2 . If they're walking around in water, it is our responsibility.

JULIE WORTMAN: Environmentalist Philip Shabecoff [see *TW* 6/02] says that one of the failures of the environmental movement is that it hasn't made those connections with social justice kinds of issues. Would you agree with that?

BILL MCKIBBEN: I don't know to what extent it's been a failure, but it's certainly been an important part of our work over the years.



SUVs on the lot at a Detroit auto dealer.

linked to all the other justice issues. There's no more effective way that Americans have ever figured out to screw up the lives of people around the world — and goodness knows than changing the basic daily physical stability of the world those people depend on. I was in Bangladesh not long ago and it was a great country, a beautiful country - very crowded, but food self-sufficient. Their only problem is that they're a river delta and they're very low to the ground, very low to the water. So if you raise sea level even a little bit, which global warming does because warm water takes up more space than cold water, then you'll be getting very regular and massive floods. In 1998 two-thirds of the country was under water for

JULIE WORTMAN: I was just thinking that maybe it's faith communities that can best make those connections?

BILL MCKIBBEN: Yeah! I think you could run it the other way, too, and say it's been a major failing of faith communities over the years not to understand that one of the things that they're called upon to do is witness to and protect the integrity of creation. There have been too many examples of faith communities whose involvements in issues like hunger and social justice and whatever is incredibly episodic and limited largely to giving people tents after they've had some terrible disaster and very little to figuring out what the real root causes of all these problems are. **JULIE WORTMAN:** Yes. I think sometimes that what happens among people of faith is they're very comfortable with disaster relief, but not very comfortable with the substantive issues — economic and social issues — that need to be addressed.

BILL MCKIBBEN: In this case they're not very comfortable with the idea that they're the cause of the disaster. One of the points that I've been trying to make in recent years is that it's inaccurate to talk about such things as huge floods as acts of God. There was a time when that language made perfect sense, but sometime in the last 20 or 30 years, human beings as a species have grown large enough that we really do alter the basic climatic patterns on the planet because of our use of fossil fuels.

Warm air holds more water vapor than cold air does. Therefore you get more evaporation, more drought in arid areas and you get more precipitation, more deluge in wet areas. So it shouldn't be a surprise that 1998, which was the warmest year on record, also saw 3 million human beings, one human being in 20, forced from their homes by flooding. That's not an act of God; that's not a natural disaster. That's at least in part a man-made disaster. And we need to start thinking about them in those ways and taking responsibility for them.

JULIE WORTMAN: What's your take on U.S. energy policy?

BILL MCKIBBEN: I think U.S. energy policy is a complete joke! And I think it's been a bipartisan commitment to do nothing about these issues now for a number of years and it continues.

JULIE WORTMAN: Why is that?

BILL MCKIBBEN: Well, for two reasons. One: There's an enormous vested interest of energy companies, also fuel industries, in our political system and we see that all the more clearly in the wake of things like Enron or in the wake of the acknowledgment that the Bush administration energy policy was written by the fossil-fuel industry!

And probably even more important is that our political leaders are extremely scared that if they do anything to change our absolute reliance on cheap oil that voters will punish them for it, that people are unwilling to pay a little more for gasoline, or make the other fairly modest changes that would be necessary to jump-start the transition to a sensible and at least semi-sustainable way of life.

JULIE WORTMAN: What would be your top three picks of changes people could make? BILL MCKIBBEN: Drive less. You know, if Americans eliminated one car trip in 14, if they were able to plan ahead sufficiently to go to the grocery store three times a week instead of four, it would overnight reduce our fossil fuel use about 5 percent.

Drive small. We just traded in our old Honda Civic, which got 40 miles to the gallon and got a new Honda Civic hybrid — we actually got the first one in the state of Vermont — two weeks ago. So we're tooling around now in a car that's cheap — \$20,000, so way below the median price of a new car — and that drives absolutely ordinarily. Nothing in it is odd or unusual. You don't have to plug it in. It's just a Honda Civic the most vanilla car there ever could be, but because it's got this small engine with an electric battery to assist it, we're getting about 55 miles to the gallon!

So that's number two. And number three is engage in the political action necessary to make these changes permanent. The Senate last month, with 19 Democrats going along, voted against the proposal — the modest proposal — to raise average gasoline mileage to 35 miles per gallon by the year 2015! So, you know, way less than the Honda Civic that I traded in to get this new one.

JULIE WORTMAN: Now, here's a question: We had some people that we gave a Witness award to in 2000, Wally and Juanita Nelson, who are long-time activists and people who live simply on the land and so on. We wanted to fly them to the place where we were having this awards event and Juanita said, "If we come, we're going to have to come by train" because of the huge amounts of energy that airplanes consume. Now, I know you travel a lot by air. Would you recommend reductions in that kind of travel?

BILL MCKIBBEN: Well, the same things apply. I do my best and I'm extremely cognizant of the fact that there's something

extremely odd about flying to parts of the world to urge people to produce less CO_2 . What can I say? One makes one's pacts with the devil where one feels one absolutely has to!

But that's absolutely right. Now in statistical terms, it's driving that's the single biggest problem by far. That's where fuel gets used the most. On the other hand, it's air travel that often is the most discretionary of all transportations. It's crazy the way that we all hop on airplanes at the drop of a hat, especially now, when there are emerging good technological alternatives. Like video conferencing and things like that.

JULIE WORTMAN: Right. I think a lot of people learned that after 9/11.

BILL MCKIBBEN: Yes, and they get tired of being searched like criminals every time they take an airplane now. 9/11 certainly highlighted a lot of these questions for everyone and should have made it clear to us what a stupid idea our very centralized energy system and our deep reliance on cheap oil is for security things as well as everything else. But at some deep level this really should be much more of a moral issue for us than it is. And that's one of the reasons that we were trying to get clergy so involved. To me the highlight of that SUV protest in Lynn was my friend Dan Smith, who's the assistant pastor of the church where I grew up, and his big sign that said, "What would Jesus drive?" That was the image that the newspapers fixed on for the most part and rightly so. I mean, there is no more important environmental decision that most people make in the course of a decade. The only other one is how many children should I have? What car you are going to drive is the kind of decision that one needs to pray over.

JULIE WORTMAN: What do you say to the people who have become convinced, but they own an old Explorer?

BILL MCKIBBEN: I think that if they're able to go and get something like a hybrid vehicle that it makes real sense, because not only are you dramatically decreasing your fuel use, you're also kind of jump-starting these alternative technologies.

JULIE WORTMAN: One of the other posters at the Lynn protest said, "Test drive your feet. Walk away from SUVs." That's a nice poster because it can be read on a number of different levels. I've been noticing that more and more people are talking about walkable and bikable communities.

BILL MCKIBBEN: Absolutely. Bikes and feet. I love being able to ride my bike to work. It's one of my greatest pleasures at the moment. But we've become disembodied as Americans, and that is hard to cure because we've set up living situations that make it unfriendly to walk or ride — suburbs, for example, where things are farther away than they should be. But an awful lot of people manage to overcome that anyway and in the process to become slightly less alienated from their bodies as well.

JULIE WORTMAN: So it sounds like churches could really take a lead on a spirituality of embodiment?

BILL MCKIBBEN: Absolutely. And do it in very practical ways with small steps like having church outdoors and for the minister to make sure he's out on his bike all the time. The town we're in at the moment is a wonderful town — Middlebury, Vt. — and our local Episcopal pastor, Catherine Nichols, was the first person in town to have one of these hybrid cars. The license plate says "70 MPG" and there she is, in her collar some of the time, driving that around. Well, that's a powerful witness. There was a big Earth Day celebration on the lawn of her church, too.

JULIE WORTMAN: There's a guy, Jan Lundberg, in Arcata, Calif., who has an alliance for a paving moratorium. And then there's also a group called Wild Lands CPR, which means Center for Preventing Roads. What do you think of these anti-road campaigns? BILL MCKIBBEN: At the very least, I think everyone should be able to agree that we have enough roads. We don't need more of them and in fact in all sorts of cases, like old service roads and things, it makes great sense to be retiring roads that we no longer need. And some day we'll retire a lot of them.

JULIE WORTMAN: Well, I'm kind of fascinated by this, because while the anti-SUV campaign has the virtue of being very concrete, the anti-road campaign has the virtue of catching people off guard.

BILL MCKIBBEN: Yeah, absolutely. I've worked hardest on the things that have the most immediate payoff, because I've spent my career worrying about CO_2 . And we really only have a very, very few decades to dramatically reduce the amount of it that goes into the atmosphere. We've already waited far too long to avoid serious damage. Everything I do is predicated at some level on most bang for the buck in terms of results. But I think that people like Jan Lundberg are real visionaries doing absolutely crucial work.

JULIE WORTMAN: It's encouraging to see the creativity that's out there with respect to approaching the question.

BILL MCKIBBEN: Absolutely. It's so exciting to go places and see places that have managed to pioneer all sorts of new alternatives. I wrote about a city in Brazil once in a book of mine, a book called *Hope, Human and Wild*. I wrote about a city called Curitiba, south of Brazil. A city of now I think almost four million people. It has the best bus system in the world and it's just amazing beyond belief what a wonderful transit system it has and as a result, its citizens use about 25 percent less fuel than other Brazilians. That's a really big number. And it highlights the point that changes in behavior are possible.

If you go to any poor part of the world you realize that when people don't have the luxury of being able to buy their own huge machine to drive around, then people come up with dozens and dozens of other completely effective ways to move around. And then when you go to other rich parts of the world, like Europe, you realize that with a very little thought people are able to conceive of infinitely more elegant systems than we've come up with.

JULIE WORTMAN: And why is that?

BILL MCKIBBEN: They've taken these issues more seriously for a longer time. They live in somewhat more concentrated circumstances that make other transit alternatives a little bit easier and they're not as thoroughly evangelized by the gospel of comfort and convenience above all as we have been.

The kind of complete and utter hyperindividualism that would lead someone to drive by themselves down the highway in a 3-ton SUV hasn't infected Europe to quite the same degree.

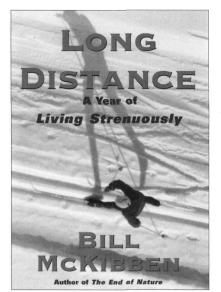
JULIE WORTMAN: After September 11, we were asked to spend money. **BILL MCKIBBEN:** Go shopping.

JULIE WORTMAN: I probably should remember who said this, but a columnist pointed out that people were eager to be contributing to the welfare of the nation and that it could have been a moment to call for energy conservation.

BILL MCKIBBEN: There are a lot of people saying this was THE great opportunity. On September 12, the President could have said, "Look we've got two jobs. One job is we've got to track down this guy bin Laden and the other job is we've got to change forever our reliance on fossil fuel."

We could have done it! We still could do it. There's something pathetic about the sight of people going out and buying SUVs, sticking American flags on them. You might as well stick a Saudi flag on them — that's who benefits if you're driving around in one. It doesn't help us.

Julie A. Wortman is editor/publisher of The Witness.



The camp

by Jackie Alan Giuliano

CACH DAY, whether at sea or in port, a L typical cruise-ship passenger may generate one kilogram (2.2 pounds) of burnable waste, half a kilogram of food waste and one kilogram of glass and tin - five or six times as much as a person on shore. On a ship carrying 3,000 passengers, this could be as much as 7,500 kilograms a day (16,500 pounds) of waste, much of which is dumped at sea into fragile marine ecosystems. Since international law only concerns itself with the waters a few miles off shore of most countries, these ships are not being held accountable for their destructive actions. In fact, most international treaties governing cruise ship pollution specifically allow ships to dump waste, including untreated human waste, at sea. Every month, 200 cruises take 400,000 visitors to Caribbean ports alone.

Cruise ship companies have paid substantial fines in the last few years. In 1998, Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd., the world's second largest cruise line, was fined \$9 million for dumping polluted water off the coast of Miami, Fla., and Puerto Rico. Last March, the company was fined another \$500,000 for dumping off Los Angeles. In July of 1999, Royal Caribbean agreed to pay \$18 million in fines to settle a 21-count felony plea agreement. The company's ships violated federal environmental laws in Miami, New York City, Los Angeles, Anchorage, St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands, and San Juan, Puerto Rico. In October 1999, Royal Caribbean pleaded guilty to falsifying oil discharge records on one of its ships that was stopped in a Los Angeles port, agreeing to face more than \$1 million in fines.

It is unimaginable that international governmental bodies can claim that any level of open ocean dumping is acceptable. The toll that this waste takes on marine life is stag-

aign to 'green' the oceans

gering. Each year, millions of animals become trapped or poisoned by marine refuse. Sea turtles will often die from eating plastic bags that they mistake for jellyfish. Sea lions, birds and other sea life become entangled in plastic six-pack holders, nets, and other debris. Their fate is a slow, painful death as they grow into the entanglement. It is estimated that as many as 30.000 Northern fur seals die annually from entanglement in debris. In one year, nearly 15 billion pounds of trash is dumped at sea worldwide. About 77 percent of all ship waste comes from cruise ships. Cruise ships will also dump bilge water, a blackish liquid that contains oils, fuels, solvents and many other toxic chemicals that gather in the bilges of the ship.

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DFMS.

gather in the bilges of the ship. The enforcement problem is magnified since many U.S. ships register their vessels under foreign flags. Even the Disney com-pany's 2,200-passenger vessel *Magic* sails under a foreign flag. The Royal Caribbean company registers its ships in Norway and Liberia, a scheme that saves the company nearly \$30 million in U.S. taxes. A U.S. study found that only two out of 111 cases referred to other nations by the U.S. were acted upon. Although there are signs that regulations are increasing in some countries, we must chal-lenge, once and for all, any ocean dumping. There is no such place as "away" on our Earth, and we must work hard to get all people —

especially politicians and corporate leaders to realize that our oceans are all connected and vital to the health of our planet.

The ultimate enforcer of environmental protection is the consumer. If you are planning a cruise, investigate the cruise line to be sure their ships are not polluters. If they are, do not patronize the company. Ask the same of your friends. If you do take a cruise, take along a video camera and record any dumping or suspicious slicks on the surface. The



horrors caused by marine debris — all in the name of recreation — must stop.

RESOURCES

• Visit the Center for Marine Conservation's Marine Debris website to learn what you can do about marine pollution at www.cmcocean.org/mdio/.

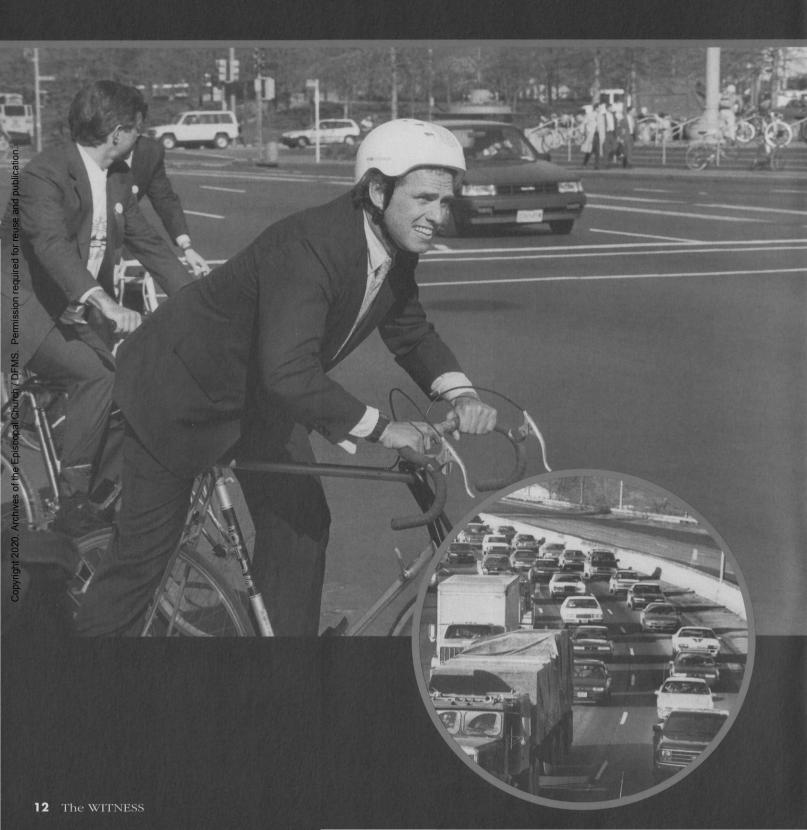
² Learn what you can do about strengthening ocean dumping laws at www.cmcocean.org/mdio/laws.php3.

3 Read a comprehensive report on cruise ship pollution at www.guardiannewsltr.com /Subscribers/environews/mar_apr99.htm and at www.ourplanet.com/imgversn/103/07_whisp. htm.

4 See the National Center for Environmental

Health's cruise ship sanitation program at www.cdc.gov/nceh/programs/sanit/vsp/vsp.htm. **6** Visit the Bluewater Network, a project of the Earth Island Institute at www.earthisland.org/bw/ for information about an ongoing campaign against cruise ship pollution.

Jackie Alan Giuliano is a writer who is the Environmental Education Programs Manager and the Manager of Discovery Park for the City of Seattle Department of Parks and Recreation. Reprinted with permission from the author and the Environment News Service (http://www.ens-news.com). The author may be contacted at jackie@healingourworld.com and his website, containing an archive of his commentaries and information on his new book, is at <http://www.healingourworld.com>.



A SOULFUL COMMUTE

Turning practical transport into 'pleasing travel'

by Colleen O'Connor

P OR ALMOST 20 YEARS executive chef Cindy Pawlcyn navigated a daily four-hour roundtrip commute. She lives in Napa Valley, home of her famed Mustards Grill restaurant, and after working there she would drive off to work some more at Fog City Diner and her other San Francisco restaurants. But one rainy night, during the rush-hour commute, she got snagged by a grisly 23-car crash.

"It was like watching a pool game when they break the table and the balls go everywhere," says Pawlcyn, who sat aghast in her Volkswagen Beetle. "There were Jeeps upside down with wheels spinning, people upside down — it was nuts. I couldn't even get my fingers unpeeled [from the wheel]."

A man rushed up from the car behind her. "He said, 'Are you okay?' I said, 'Yeah. I think I'm gonna quit commuting, though.' He said, 'Good idea. I think I am, too.'"

Within six months, Pawlcyn had sold all her San Francisco restaurants. Ending her commute yielded an extra 20 hours of free time each week, which she devotes to tending her organic garden, helping her husband make apple cider in their small winery and cooking dinner twice a week at the home of her octogenarian neighbors, who aren't getting around as easily as before.

"Now when I walk down the street people go, 'Hi, Cindy!' I was never around before. People knew who I was, but didn't know me well enough to stop and talk. It's so nice."

Increasing congestion — and costs

Like MTV and SUVs, commuting seems here to stay. It fragments our communities and takes its toll on our peace of mind. Between 1990 and 1996, incidents of highway violence increased 51 percent, according to the American Automobile Association's Foundation for Traffic Safety. Gridlock and congestion trigger tempers and the problem is getting worse. According to the Association for Commuter Transportation, between 1982 and 1999 traffic delays increased by 235 percent.

Back in the 1960s, Thomas Merton uttered prophetic warning against this addiction to automobiles in his book *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander*. "We waste our natural resources, as well as those of undeveloped countries, iron, oil, etc., in order to fill our cities and roads with a congestion of traffic that is in fact largely useless, and is a symptom of the meaningless and futile agitation of our own minds."

But he was a voice crying in the wilderness. By 1999 the cost of traffic jams totaled \$78 billion, including the cost of 6.8 billion gallons of fuel wasted while sitting in traffic and 4.5 billion hours of lost time due to traffic delays. The average American now spends 443 hours a year in the car, the equivalent of 55 eight-hour work days, according to John Holtzclaw, Transportation Committee Chair of the Sierra Club in San Francisco. "People just don't have an option," he says.

Historic conspiracy

There's a reason for this. Early in the last century, public policy goals took second place to the needs of private business. Back then America had a vast network of public transportation, including an admirable system of electric trolley cars. In 1936, that system took a quantum leap forward when 100 modern streetcars hit the tracks — some herald this as the greatest advance ever made in the history of electric rail transportation. But that same year, with an eye on its bottom line, General Motors formed National City Lines, a group of auto and oil companies such as Firestone Tires and Standard Oil of California. Together, they bought more than 100 electric-railway systems in 45 cities — including Los Angeles, Oakland, Philadelphia and Baltimore — then ripped out the tracks and built new roads.

Later convicted of criminal conspiracy, General Motors was fined \$5,000. Its corporate treasurer, who helped mastermind the plan, was fined a whopping sum of \$1. But despite the conviction General Motors continued to buy electric-rail companies until 1955, when 88 percent of the nation's electric streetcar network had been destroyed. In 1936, when General Motors formed the conspiracy, there were 40,000 streetcars in action. By 1965 there were only 5,000.

Today, bias against public transit continues in the form of hidden subsidies fueled by tax dollars. One of the largest is the public expense of building roads. A prime example is the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st century, passed in 1998, which set federal transportation spending for six years. Over \$173 billion is allocated for highways, but public transportation projects received only \$41 billion. The Transportation Equity Act is up for renewal next year, and activists are already working to win public transportation projects a fair share of the tax dollars.

But even if the impossible happened and public transportation won the entire lump sum, change would still be glacial. "We spent 50 years building ourselves into this situation, and it will take 50 years to completely reverse it," says Holtzclaw.

Bikes, jetpacks and sails

This means that every 16-year-old who receives a driver's license this year will be fighting commuter traffic long past retirement age. For adults, it's a life sentence. Many people — some saying they bordered on road rage — have downshifted to alternate means of transportation: trains, subways, carpools, bikes, ferries and scooters. Telecommuting is a popular option, and so is flextime — workdays staggered around rush-hour traffic.

Meanwhile, visionaries are busy concocting possible solutions. Flying to work, without the hassle of airports, could create a Disneyesque commute. Aerospace engineer Michael Moshier recently conducted a test flight of his space-age invention: the Solo Trek Exo-Skeletor Flying Vehicle, a 325pound machine that resembles a Buck Rogers jetpack (www.solotrek.com). Eight feet tall, it allows the driver to fly in standing position using two joysticks to control its direction. The Defense Department is paying him \$5 million for a prototype to be delivered by 2003, envisioning that his invention will help soldiers quickly enter and exit tight spots. But Moshier, who lives in Silicon Valley, is intimately familiar with roads that are more like parking lots than freeways. So he thinks Solo Trek might be a smart solution, imagining commuters soaring through the air like a host of techno-angels at a breezy 80 miles an hour, getting 150 miles per tank of gas.

Anti-road activist Jan Lundgren, founder of the Sustainable Energy Alliance, also has visions. But his harken back to the golden age of shipping, when everything from citrus to silks was transported over the oceans: all powered by trade winds. Reducing this global scale down to the self-contained marine bio-region of Puget Sound, Lundgren has created the fledgling Sail Transport Network. This summer, his 35-foot sloop will transport musicians from one port to the next, where he hopes to attract the attention of other sailors to help re-establish sail transport as a sustainable alternative to trucks and motorized shipping.

"This is not about moving huge boxes of manufactured junk from one port to another," he says. "I'm talking about a whole new age of relying on local resources — about moving ideas, music, information and culture."

As a social statement, it's both political and spiritual. "You're close to the earth when you're sailing," he says. "The water is alive, much more so than land. When you're participating in a project with such earthfriendly values, you're coming from a spiritual perspective, whether you call it that or not."

Soul of new commute?

But not everyone is gifted with such futuristic vision. Further, lots of commuters are land-locked. And many live in towns that lack mass-transit infrastructure. Then there's a whole subset of commuters — moms with carfuls of kids — who find buses, bikes and scooters highly impractical for their tightly organized shuttling services.

People like this, unable to change their situation, have opted to change their minds. It's as if they read these sentences from *The Re-Enchantment of Everyday Life* by Thomas Moore, and created the soul of a new commute:

"If we imagine transportation as the process of getting from point A to point B, we are reducing it to absolute unadorned pragmatism whereas it can be an exciting sensual and emotional experience in itself," writes Moore. "Sometimes the difference between practical transport and pleasing travel depends on a simple decision to care for the soul."

Call it the spirituality of community, finding the sacred in the ordinary. Experts on commuter stress recommend that people make their cars into pleasant environments so that, if stuck, they're at least serene: keeping things tidy with waste bags and drink holders. But road-worshippers take this much further. If our bodies are our temples, they reason, so are our cars. Rosaries, prayer beads and Buddhist icons dangle from rearview mirrors. Jesus, Krishna, and the Virgin Mother grace dashboards. Pujas, Arabic prayers and the haunting beauty of Tibetanbowl music waft from CD players. Bumper stickers are lectio divina, and ashtrays converted to altars brim with sacred rocks. Highways are holy places where random acts of kindness take to the road. Call it car karma.

"I've tried to adopt a rather benign atti-

tude toward others in traffic," says Gary Haslop, the information and services technology manager at a Northern California supply company in Brisbane. "I might let someone back out of his driveway, or make a last-minute lane change. I may see the driver behind me drumming fingers on the wheel and then, lo and behold! He's letting someone make the maneuver they need. It's the kind of infectious spread we might all consider supporting."

There's also toll-booth dharma, where drivers pay the toll of the stranger in the car behind them, lifting the spirits of both giver and receiver. Such road-worshippers are driving a new brand of spirituality, one that's evident in the popularity of such books as *Saint Benedict on the Freeway: A Rule of Life for the 21st Century* by Corrine Ware, and *My Monastery is a Minivan* by Debbie Roy.

Traffic as spiritual discipline

It was Gregorian chant playing one afternoon on NPR that gave Roy, a self-proclaimed soccer mom, the idea of her car as sacred space. This idea really seized her imagination later, during a silent retreat at a monastery. Sitting in the chapel and absorbing the silence, gazing at the stained glass windows, she made a startling connection between commuting and the Benedictine hours of the day, where every moment is devoted to resting in the presence of God.

"In the monastery, I meditate. In my minivan, I meditate," she writes. "Repetitive schedules are found in both the monastery and the minivan: 8 A.M. chapel, 8 A.M. car pool; 3 P.M. chapel, 3 P.M. car pool; 6 P.M. chapel; 6 P.M. car pool."

From Buddhists to Christians, road worshippers see traffic as the new spiritual discipline. Impatience, even anger, become tools for developing virtues like humility.

In his book *Living the Mindful Life*, Charles Tart, professor of psychology at the University of California at Davis, writes that he was discussing the nature of evil one day with a group of religious scholars. The next day, driving in the fast lane on the freeway, he struck a deep insight.

"I noticed that a man was trying to pass me, but I was blocking the fast lane and there was too much traffic in the other lanes for him to go around me on the right. Well, I felt I was going fast enough and it was just too bad if he would have to wait a minute to get around me. Suddenly, I realized that, for all my claimed aversion, I was indulging in evil. I was enjoying another's suffering and feeling powerful and satisfied with what I was doing and feeling."

Many of the experts' strategies for commuter-stress management are actually spiritual principles in disguise. For example, one manual advises: "Remind yourself that becoming upset over situations beyond your control is unproductive." In Eastern religions, this is called detachment. In Western religions it's considered acceptance or surrender. Either way, its a priority for Richard Hasselbach, a former priest who now works as executive assistant and legal counsel for the president of the Borough of Manhattan Community College. His four-hour roundtrip commute is a daily education.

"One of the things I've learned is not to fight with the inevitable," he says. "If traffic is hopelessly tied up I have no choices. There's no point in sitting on the horn."

Still, he admits that he's not perfect. The biggest challenge usually comes when he's finally off the freeway and more than halfway home. "I find myself sometimes frustrated by the slowpoke in front of me, driving five miles below speed limit," he says. "This aggravates me almost more than traffic. In those moments I sometimes sit on the horn, but in better moments I catch myself feeling this truly irrational anger."

He then uses this emotion as a tool for selfreflection. "What I'm encountering with that irrational anger is a piece of my own darkness that I don't usually look at. Since it tipped its hand, I want to get to know it. So is my need to be on the fast track? To always be out in front? If so, how healthy is this? And being in front of what? It becomes a source of meditation, really."

But for Mary Wilkin, who works at a small hospital 50 miles from her home in northwest Ohio, driving and the spiritual don't mix. "I prefer to practice meditation and breath prayer alone in the early morning with a single candle burning. That doesn't translate well to the automobile."

Even the car radio jams her nerves. "Talk

radio could tempt me to drive into a ditch and end it all," she quips.

Then she discovered books on tape. "Not self-improvement tapes, not inspirational tapes, but murder mysteries, science fiction, even a few Oprah book club titles. I found that for two hours a day I could enjoy a simple story. It gave me a reason to get in the car every morning at 7 A.M. and again at 4:30 P.M. I looked forward to seeing what happened next."

Susan Hodder, director of a strategic marketing company in Boston, prefers a combination of mindfulness and gratitude. She could focus on the negative aspects of commuting. After all, her daily commute from the Boston suburbs to her downtown office has been massively complicated by construction of the Big Dig — the largest, most complex and technologically challenging highway project ever attempted in American history. Its goal is to dramatically reduce traffic snarls in one of America's most congested major cities, but its construction has tripled weekday commutes.

"Rather than dwell on the hassles of urban commuting, I decided that I would focus on how lucky I am to be in such a world-class city," she says. "I changed my route to work to follow along a winding thoroughfare that follows the banks of the Charles River past Harvard and MIT. Now, as I sit in traffic, I watch the scullers pulling past me, and the geese diving for their breakfast, and I marvel at the range of local architecture as the beautiful Boston skyline unfurls before me. If the Big Dig ended tomorrow, I wouldn't change back to my old route."

Even mass transit doesn't guarantee peace of mind. Meg Carter doesn't own a car, so she uses public transportation to travel from her home in Oakland to her job at a San Francisco bank. According to the recent census, San Francisco has the nation's third worst commute — trailing only New York City and Chicago.

"It can be stressful," she says. "It's a long trip and I have to be at the office at a certain time. There are always several transfers involved, which increases the potential for delay."

Many of the bus drivers won't stop to pick up passengers unless they're dropping people off. "Some of them intentionally look straight ahead so that they can pretend they didn't see any people waiting at the stop, which causes some people to step out into the street and knock on their doors. It's pretty dangerous, on those hills, but people get frustrated after four buses have passed them up and they're half an hour late for work."

But her spiritual practices lend higher vision. As a member of a weekly Benedictine prayer community, she's become attuned to rhythms of the day and the connection to the natural world.

"Early in the morning when I'm leaving home, and late at night when I'm returning, I encounter people out walking their dogs. Cats are hanging out on the doorsteps, and birds are hanging out in the trees. Sometimes I see raccoons and possums in my very urban neighborhood. You're very close to the weather, and not just rain, but wind, heat and cold. There's nothing to mediate between you and the elements when you're walking or waiting for the bus."

Traffic as art

Ultimately, commuting is an intriguing paradox: It's about choice within no-choice.

Back in the 1960s, when the monk Merton lambasted the automobile as the symbol of everything that was wrong with American society, one of his contemporaries offered another way of thinking. Al Hansen, an artist, was a founder of 1960s happenings the art form melding theater, music, and the visual arts. For him, traffic was a symbol of all those gritty things in life that serve to wake us up.

"There is the traffic jam, the construction job, the bus that gets four flat tires all at once for no readily explainable reason, the train that stops mysteriously in the middle of the tunnel under the East River," he wrote in *A Primer of Happenings*. "To the average person, these might be minor tragedies; a happening person would exult that the normal, mundane order of things has been suspended or changed vividly. To us, the unexpected is not a threat; it is welcome."

Colleen O'Connor is a freelance writer based in San Francisco, Calif.

TRANSPORTATION

Failing the civil-liberties test?

by Camille Colatosti

■ INCE SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, I've flown five times. Three times I flew roundtrip, from Detroit, where I live, to Boston, where I have family. Once I flew to Baltimore and once to Paris. My experience with airport security differed each time.

The first time I flew, in November 2001, I couldn't check bags at the curb. But a month later, when I traveled for Christmas, I could do this easily. Several times, I sailed through security just as I did in pre-September 11th days — no one checked my baggage or me in a special way. Once I needed to remove my laptop from its case and run it through the conveyor belt. And once I needed to remove my shoes. A security guard examined them, waved the wand over them, and ran them through the conveyor belt.

Another time, a guard practically massaged my body with a security wand. It beeped at my brassiere and at the snap at the waist of my jeans. I felt violated.

When I flew to Paris, I followed airport guidelines and arrived three hours before my international flight.

It took 15 minutes to make it through security. When my plane landed in Paris, I picked up my luggage and walked out the airport doors without anyone so much as checking my passport.

Anyone who has flown since September 11 has similar stories to tell. Certainly, airport security is important. Many security violations contributed to the September 11th

attacks. But are new security measures, new federal agencies and new legislation solving the problem? Of special concern to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a nationwide, non-partisan organization dedicated to protecting the individual liberties and freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution and laws of the U.S., is whether new programs to increase security will violate fundamental American liberties.

Three-pronged civil-liberties test

"The ACLU supports efforts to ensure our security from terrorist threats," says Katie Corrigan, ACLU legislative counsel on privacy, "but we remain convinced that we need not sacrifice our civil liberties to protect safety."

The ACLU articulates what it calls a "three-pronged analysis" to promote safety and to reduce the likelihood that new security measures violate civil liberties.

"First," says Corrigan, "any new security proposals must be genuinely effective, rather than creating a false sense of security.

"Second, security measures should be implemented in a non-discriminatory manner. Individuals should not be subjected to intrusive searches or questioning based on race, ethnic origin or religion.

"Finally, if a security measure is determined to be genuinely effective, the government should work to ensure that its implementation minimizes its cost to our fundamental freedoms, including the rights to due process, privacy and equality."

The problem with new federal programs designed to address "homeland security," many civil-liberties watchdogs say, is that, aside from their uncertain impact on safety, few, in fact, pass the three-pronged test.

Office of Homeland Security

President Bush has proposed a budget of \$38 billion for the new Office of Homeland Security. Directed by Tom Ridge, the office's stated mission is to coordinate the efforts of federal, state and local agencies that have programs designed to prevent terrorist attacks in the U.S. But although preventing duplication of services seems a worthy goal - no one disputes that government agencies have a poor track record of working with each other - Ridge's new protocols and recommendations may go largely ignored. Ridge lacks authority to enforce recommendations to the 40 federal agencies and more than 200 federal programs that deal with issues of public safety.

Since safety of the safety of American people

SECURITY AFTER 9/11



Armed National Guards watch airline passengers pass through metal detectors and x-ray machines at Sacramento International Airport.

What bothers those concerned about the office's impact on civil liberties is that Ridge is a presidential advisor who lacks cabinet status. As such, he is not required to make the work of his office public. Nor is he required to testify before Congress or to justify his budget requests. While he has spo-

ken to legislators in closed-door sessions, he has not testified publicly.

NorthCom

The Pentagon's new Northern Command will also be working in secrecy. Announced April 17, 2002, and scheduled to take effect

on October 1, 2002, Northern Command or NorthCom will be responsible for homeland security in the continental U.S., Alaska, Canada, Mexico and portions of the Caribbean. Directed by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, NorthCom will operate independently of the Office of Homeland

'Our roads ought to be avenues of escape'

ACCORDING TO LEAH BRAESCH of Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation, a Washington, D.C.based non-profit organization, security issues have been a U.S. transportation policy concern since the creation of the first highway. "In 1919, then Lieutenant Dwight D. Eisenhower was part of the first transcontinental motor convoy, 81 trucks and autos, to travel across the U.S., from Washington, D.C., to California. The goal was twofold: to see whether it could be done and to judge the vehicles' military capabilities. On its first day, July 7, the convoy traveled 46 miles in seven hours. After three days' travel totaling 29 hours, the procession had covered 165 miles for an average speed of five and two-thirds miles per hour.

"The journey ended September 6, 1919. The convoy had taken 62 days to cover 3,251 miles — about 50 miles per day.

"After that, the U.S. began building highways but without an overall plan," says Braesch.

"In 1938, Congress called for a feasibility study of a toll superhighway network but this was shot down and states began building their own limited access highways — New York's Bronx River Parkway in 1923 was the first to use medians, and Connecticut's Merritt Parkway, the first toll road, was built in 1938. But highway planning stopped in the 1940s with the war.

"In 1952, when Eisenhower was elected President, he made a commitment to build a nationwide highway network to help U.S. industry move goods swiftly and to provide homeland security. As he put it, 'Our roads ought to be avenues of escape for persons living in big cities threatened by aerial attack or natural disaster.'"

The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 created what has since been called the National System of Interstate and Defense highways.

The 2001 Aviation and Transportation Security Act that created the Transportation Security Administration continued a tradition that Eisenhower began — that U.S. transportation policy should serve the needs of both industry and defense.

— Camille Colatosti

Security, although Rumsfeld says he will consult with Ridge.

NorthCom will consist largely of aerospace operations, such as those that the Air Force and Air National Guard have been providing over major U.S. cities since September 11. It will also coordinate naval defense of American shores out to at least 500 miles. As Rumsfeld explained in a press statement, "This is the first time that the continental U.S. will be assigned a commander. The new commander will be responsible for land, aerospace and sea defenses of the U.S. He will command U.S. forces that operate within the U.S., in support of civil authorities."

Transportation Security Administration

NorthCom will also work with the newly formed Transportation Security Administration (TSA). Located within the Department of Transportation, the TSA was created on November 19, 2001, when the President signed into law the Aviation and Transportation Security Act. As a part of the Department of Transportation, the TSA is subject to public oversight.

By November 2002, the TSA is supposed to assume control of screening at the nation's 429 commercial airports and to oversee the purchase and installation of thousands of machines to detect bombs in luggage. Congress created a new \$10 tax per airline ticket in order to generate \$1 billion a year to fund the agency and to hire about 28,000 people. The TSA now estimates that it will need to hire 72,000 people to accomplish its task and that it will need approximately \$6.8 billion.

As of May 2002, the TSA had hired only 1,200 airport screeners and 13 federal security directors to oversee airport security plans.

Many have criticized the TSA not only for the slow pace of its work, but also for conducting random searches and implementing haphazard security measures. There are no consistent standards to assess who is a genuine risk. Airport security personnel have no access to FBI lists, for instance, nor are they trained on how to assess behavior factors, such as past travel patterns.

Likewise, alternative and less invasive airline security measures — such as limitations on the number of carry-on bags, baggage matching to be sure that passengers always travel on the same plane as their luggage, and strict control of secure areas in airports — have not been emphasized.

National ID cards?

The TSA also plans to conduct background checks and issue identification cards to airport personnel: pilots, maintenance workers and others. Tom Ridge of the Office of Homeland Security supports extending this kind of pre-screening to passengers, at least on a voluntary basis. Proponents argue that a voluntary national identification program would give people the opportunity to gain expedited treatment at airports and borders as long as they are willing to submit personal information for a detailed background check. At this point, the TSA is so overwhelmed with its current duties that issuing voluntary national identification cards seems a long way off, but, says ACLU's Corrigan, there are many reasons to reject this proposal.

"Over the past few decades, proposals for a national identification system have appeared as a quick fix to a national problem of tracking one segment of the population or another, including immigrants and deadbeat dads," she explains. "Since September 11, national ID proposals have been discussed as a possible counterterrorism measure. But a national ID card would substantially infringe on the rights of privacy and equality of many Americans, and would not prevent terrorist attacks. "The rationale for creating a national ID system post-September 11 is to create a clear line between 'us' (innocent people) and 'them' (dangerous terrorists). Everyone would like an ID card that would put them squarely on the right side of the line. Unfortunately, none of the proposed identification systems would effectively sort out the 'good' from the 'bad.""

As Corrigan explains, identification cards simply confirm that people are who they say they are, but they are only as good as the information supplied and they don't establish motive or intent to attack a plane.

"All 19 of the September 11th hijackers had social security numbers, although not all of them were legitimate," she notes. "One of the hijackers was listed in the San Diego phone book. And still others rented automobiles with their debit cards and lived in suburban Florida neighborhoods. But only a few of the hijackers were on FBI watch lists. An ID card would simply have reaffirmed the hijackers' real or assumed identities. It would have done nothing to establish their criminal motives."

Corrigan is also concerned that national ID cards would not only threaten the basic freedom to move freely, but provide a new tool for racial and ethnic profiling and lead to more harassment of people who are perceived as looking or sounding foreign. "Latinos, Asians, African Americans and other minorities would become subject to more and more status and identity checks — and not just from their employers, but also from police, banks, merchants and others," Corrigan says.

Bridges, pipelines and hazardous material

The TSA is also charged with protection of bridges and pipelines. National Guard troops charged with protecting Bay Area bridges against terrorism, however, claim that they lack the necessary weapons and training. Soldiers say they don't have basic equipment to maintain weapons, are saddled with vehicles that don't run and are not adequately trained on how to use their weapons or on carrying out a wartime mission in areas crowded with civilians.

The bigger question may concern the necessity of National Guard troops on civilian bridges in the first place. Even with appropriate weapons and vehicles, what real protection would they provide? Could they accomplish anything at all or do they simply provide a false sense of security?

Progress has also been slow with the TSA's efforts to increase pipeline safety. After September 11, the Office of Pipeline Safety opened a 24-hour crisis management center in the Department of Transportation head-quarters in Washington, D.C., in order to manage emergencies and to "protect pipelines from becoming a weapon against the United States." Yet, proposals to increase safety have not been made public.

Federal policy regarding the transportation of hazardous material has also recently come under fire. On April 8, 2002, Nevada Governor Kenny Guinn, a Republican, vetoed President Bush's endorsement of an Energy Department plan to dispose of 77,000 tons of high-level radioactive waste and spent fuel, currently being stored at facilities across the country, in Nevada's Yucca Mountain.

Congress selected Yucca Mountain in 1987. To date, the project has cost \$7 billion. To reach Yucca Mountain, hazardous material needs to travel through 43 states and, says Governor Guinn, it would put 123 million Americans at risk. He argues that there are insufficient protections in place to make transport safe. The project is based on bad science and bad public policy, he says. "The demands of industry are taking priority over the safety of the American people."

The conflict between the needs of industry and the requirements for public safety is also visible at the nation's borders. Trade between Canada and the U.S., for example, has been adversely affected since September 11, as border checks slow down trucks carrying goods between the two nations.

The Customs-Trade Partnership Against Terrorism has, since April 16, 2002, enabled thousands of trucks carrying goods for automakers and other large corporations to avoid U.S. Customs inspections at the Ambassador Bridge, between Windsor, Ontario, and Detroit. A computerized fast lane at the U.S.-Canada border allows wellknown businesses that use the border daily — like General Motors, Ford and Chrysler — to transmit information on truck cargo electronically to Customs computers. General Motors, for instance, has approximately 600 trucks running between Canada and the U.S. each day.

Both safe and free?

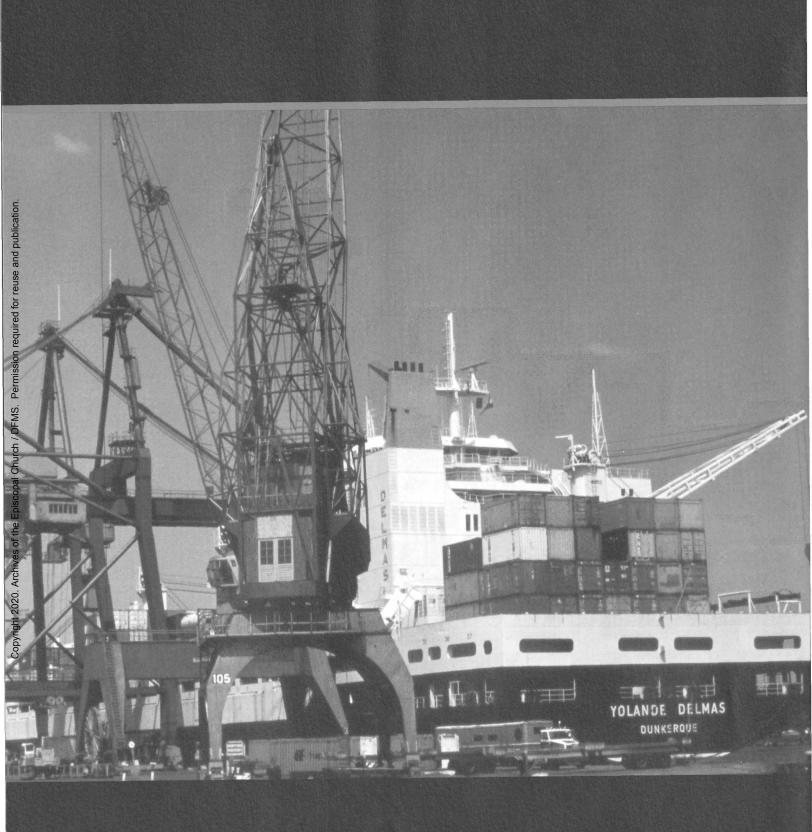
Since September 11, many national leaders have downplayed concerns about eroding American freedoms, saying that polls show the people of the U.S. believe that limitations imposed on civil liberties during wartime are almost always temporary and that we can expect a return to normal conditions once hostilities are ended. But, as the ACLU has pointed out, the war on terrorism, unlike conventional wars, is not likely to come to a public and decisive end. Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge, for example, has equated the war on terrorism with the nation's continuing wars on drugs and crime.

"The civil liberties restrictions that are being put in place are extremely expansive in two ways," ACLU President Nadine Strossen said in a recent press statement. "First, most of them apply far beyond the anti-terrorism context, undermining rights of individuals not even suspected of any crime at all, let alone a terrorist crime. And, second, most of these restrictions are unlimited in time."

That is why, says Strossen, Congress and the American people must carefully scrutinize actions that the government is taking actions that limit liberty without adding anything to safety.

Adds Strossen, "If we choose the path of advancing both safety and freedom, the benefits to our constitutional democracy will be universal and ever-growing."

Witness staff writer *Camille Colatosti* lives in *Hamtramck*, Mich.



SEAFARERS' RIGHTS

Advocating for the 'forgotten people of the world'

by Marianne Arbogast

N THE MORNING *The Witness* interviewed Douglas Stevenson, he had just hung up from a phone call with a government official in Cyprus. A ship had been abandoned by its owner in the Suez Canal area, Stevenson explained, leaving the crew stranded without food, wages or any means of returning home. Since the owner was residing in Cyprus, Stevenson was attempting to enlist the aid of the agency that regulates shipping in that country.

Such interventions are routine for Stevenson, a former U.S. Coast Guard lawyer who now serves as director of the Center for Seafarers' Rights of the Seamen's Church Institute of New York and New Jersey. Its name is potentially misleading: Although based in New York, the work of the Center is international in scope.

It is "the only maritime ministry in the world that has a full-time legal staff devoted exclusively to seafarers," Stevenson says. "What we try to do is be an advocate for seafarers who don't otherwise have a voice. Foreign seafarers are not a constituency of any legislature in the U.S. They are visitors, they're transients. They don't vote."

Although we rely on seafarers for many of our daily needs, most people rarely consider their situation, Stevenson says.

"They're the forgotten people of the world. We don't realize how much we depend on ships to sustain our life. I hear estimates that 90 percent of everything we consume has traveled on a ship at some stage, particularly in this global economy. We very much depend on shipping, but we don't know anything about it." Today's seafarers are increasingly from developing countries, Stevenson says. "The largest group of seafarers are Filipinos. But there's also a growing number of Chinese, and there's a number from Eastern Europe." Most — with the exception of maids and housekeepers on cruise ships — are men, although some Eastern European women are employed in traditionally male seafaring positions.

They face all of the usual workers' issues, in an unusual work environment.

"When you work at the Cadillac factory in Hamtramck you go home every night," Stevenson points out. "If you've got a problem with your employer you can walk down the street and sue him in court — or you have the police next door if there are other problems."

But ships' crews are "living and working in the same place, in a mobile working environment that goes from one legal jurisdiction to another through very hazardous conditions. Because of this mobility, an unscrupulous ship operator can try to avoid regulation and avoid standards."

National security and shore leave

From time immemorial, the sea has been understood to be a dangerous place. But the respect accorded those who brave its hardships seems to have diminished.

Traditionally, "if you worked on a ship, your pay was considerably more than working on land, as compensation for the long separations and dangers involved," Stevenson says. But recent years have brought "an erosion of the traditional rights of seafarers, eroding pay and benefits and eroding lifestyle."

The Center for Seafarers' Rights works on

several levels, from direct intervention in crisis situations to advocacy for legislation to better protect seafarers.

Seafarers have felt the impact of tightened security regulations over the past year, Stevenson says.

"You have ongoing problems of seafarers not being paid their wages, not being provided with medical care, and other forms of abuse and intimidation, but the big issue I'm dealing with today is the backlash from 9/11 and the preoccupation of government agencies with protecting security by denying shore leave to seafarers," he explains.

The Seamen's Church Institute is located very close to Ground Zero, Stevenson adds — and, in fact, provided extensive hospitality to rescue workers after the attacks.

"There aren't any agencies that have a better understanding about the need to protect security than we do, because we were directly affected by it. So we are not saying that government agencies should not be allowed to exclude people from entering the borders if they pose a security risk, but those measures should be reasonably calculated and not just be a knee-jerk reaction to keep people from entering the country — particularly those on ships."

A Seamen's Church Institute press release points out that "maritime law and practice has long recognized that shore leave is essential for maintaining seafarers' mental and physical health." Moreover, it explains, "mariners who are well-paid and well-treated by their employers are extremely unlikely to jump ship. Greatly increasing penalties to the owners or operators of ships from which crew jump

Rescuing seafarers in Tampa

CHRISTIAN VILLAGOMEZA, an Episcopal priest in Tampa, Fla., says he didn't even know where the port was until he got a call from his seafarer brother-in-law, whose ship was coming into Tampa. Villagomeza made his way to Tampa Bay to find his brother-in-law waiting for him outdoors on a cold February day. A large group of men were lined up nearby, waiting their turn to use a single pay telephone.

Villagomeza, who now serves as a full-time port chaplain, traces his concern for the needs of seafarers to this initial contact. A 1998 graduate of the Seamen's Church Institute port chaplain training program, Villagomeza began his ministry in Tampa Bay in 1999.

Initially he was regarded with suspicion by some of the other chaplains, whose emphasis

differed from his, he says. "They would climb up on board and give you the Bible. I just go there and be with them, and if there is a problem, they come to me." But over time, Villagomeza was able to build rapport and help to establish the ecumenical "Tampa Port Ministries," which occupies a double trailer at the port.

The most frequent problem Villagomeza encounters is seafarers not being paid their wages, he says. He is able to help them interpret their contracts, suggest possible courses of action, and occasionally intervene with an agent or owner. Sometimes he contacts the Center for Seafarers' Rights for assistance.

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"In one case, I was contacted by a chaplain in Paducah, Ky. [where the Seamen's Church Institute's Center for Maritime Education is located], and they told me that a ship was at the anchorage, out at sea about 20 miles away in Tampa Bay, and they were fishing for food. They had three stowaways and no way of coming into the port. So I asked the help of the Tampa Pilots' Association and they helped me go there and deliver some provisions. Finally they came in, but they were still not allowed to step down, all of them were being detained on board. There were 15 Filipinos and five Haitians, and three of the Haitians were stowaways. They were being guarded by U.S. marshalls."

Villagomeza learned that the ship's crew had not been paid in five months, but they were so demoralized that they agreed to the ship owner's strategy of taking them in small groups to an airport in Texas, from which they were deported without pay.

"Those things I cannot do anything about, especially when there is no permission to bring it to the authority or to the ITF (the International Tradeworkers Federation union). They were not able as one body to ask for help — they had become too individualized and their selfesteem was very low. Some of their contracts had already been finished and they were still there."

Copyright 2020. Archives of the At the same time, however, another ship's crew was facing problems on the other side of the bay. They, too, had not been paid wages for five or six months. In this case, the crew members did ask Villagomeza to contact the ITF, and found a maritime lawyer to take on the case. The ship was "arrested" - taken out of the owner's custody and placed under the authority of U.S. marshalls. Villagomeza helped with food and other needs while the case proceeded, and eventually the crew members won seven months of back pay. Only one stayed on with the ship, and Villagomeza put the others up in his home while they made arrangements to return home.

Villagomeza and the other chaplains are currently raising funds for a seafarers' center on land given them by the port authority. Villagomeza is drawing up plans for a building in the shape of an anchor.

"I conceptualize this in such a way that every immediate need of the seafarers will be inside the building," he says. "Of course, the Baptists will not agree with me if I say we will have a bar inside. But there will be a communications center with telephones and email, a library, a fitness center, a little bank and post office and a chapel. We are looking at a sophisticated area where seafarers all over the world will say proudly, 'I can't wait to get back to Tampa.'" — M.A.

would prove a far more effective method of preventing illegal entry than increasing restrictions on shore leave."

The U.S. is the only major country in the world that requires crew members to have visas as a condition of shore leave, says Stevenson, who regards this as an unnecessary and burdensome requirement.

Legal training and assistance

The problem of abandoned ships, like the one near the Suez Canal, is one that Stevenson deals with on a regular basis. Owners facing financial difficulties will sometimes simply walk away, leaving a ship's crew stranded far from their homes.

"They're in a foreign place, they probably haven't been paid in several months, they have no ability to buy food or anything. It's really a horrible situation," Stevenson says. "We work to provide direct assistance to seafarers who are the victims of injustices, and at the same time, we try to work systematically to correct the problems so they don't recur. We are trying to promote legislation in the U.S. to require proof of financial responsibility for any foreign ship that comes into U.S. waters."

The Center also provides training to port chaplains worldwide, to help them better understand maritime law and seafarers' rights.

"Many ports around the world have church maritime agencies that provide services to seafarers. When they have legal problems with seafarers they contact me and we give them assistance. We're very collaborative in that regard and very ecumenical. We are also involved in helping develop and sustain new maritime ministries in ports where they don't now exist — we're focusing now primarily in Latin America."

The Center assists seafarers in understanding their legal rights and will assist with litigation when necessary. Although they do not directly file lawsuits, they can intervene with letters or phone calls, and sometimes help seafarers find lawyers.

"The leverage we have varies from case to case," Stevenson says. "Sometimes we have no leverage. Sometimes it's just the moral force of the church. Sometimes it just astonishes me that anyone would even open my letters. We generally have legal standing, but there are the practicalities — the cost of litigation may far



outweigh the amount in question."

Sometimes the Center's role consists in bringing publicity to abusive situations that might otherwise go unchecked. Last August, for instance, they learned that a recruiting firm was illegally taking money from Kenyan citizens in exchange for cruise ship jobs they could not have taken, due to lack of maritime certification. Stevenson's concerns were publicized in a Kenyan newspaper, on the web and in a maritime publication.

"This was another area in which we find absolutely unscrupulous people taking advantage of some of the poorest people in the world," Stevenson says. "They take the fee and give nothing in return. In the case of Kenya, the government was complicit in it, probably through some corrupt officials."

Lack of adequate maritime training is a growing worldwide problem that leads to unemployability, Stevenson says. "In the U.S. the unions provide a lot of schools, but in most other parts of the world the seafarers have to pay for it themselves. In some countries the schools are no longer certified, so the seafarers have no way of getting training. Basically the entire seafaring workforce of Tanzania has been put out of a job, because Tanzania doesn't have qualified schools any longer."

The Center's staff consists of Stevenson, one assistant attorney, and law school students who work as interns. Stevenson considers the mentoring of young attorneys "one of the hidden programs" of the Center.

"We've been fortunate in being able to attract the best and brightest from some of the top law schools in the country who have a desire to do some public service work before they begin their life career," Stevenson says. "And they have a very unique opportunity to really help people, in very interesting, handson work. We may not be dealing with a large number of young lawyers, but I think at least some of the future leaders of the legal profession will have a background of understanding that law isn't just about making money. They will have at the beginning of their career some very good experience in public service, and also see how the church can work in this environment."

Developing international standards

Stevenson is currently involved with two sig-

nificant U.N. efforts to develop international standards on living and working conditions for seafarers.

"The first is that the International Labor Organization (ILO) — which is a specialized agency of the U.N. headquartered in Geneva — has decided that it's going to try to consolidate its many different conventions dealing with seafarers into one major convention," he says. "This is quite a monumental task and one we strongly support."

There are currently two major maritime conventions that every country has to follow, Stevenson explains. One is SOLAS — the Safety of Life at Sea convention — which deals with technical safety standards for ships, and the other is MARPOL, or the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships.

"What we want to do is have a third major convention which would have equal status with the other two, which deals with the living and working conditions of seafarers. So instead of having a bunch of little conventions dealing with a variety of issues that no country has ratified, we would have one major convention that combines all of them that would be capable of being ratified. This would be a great way of raising the consciousness of states about the importance of ships' crews, and it would set worldwide standards for them."

As part of the International Christian Maritime Association delegation to the ILO, Stevenson is helping with background information as well as drafting work.

The second effort has to do with setting human safety standards on ships.

"The International Christian Maritime Association also got NGO status at the IMO - the International Maritime Organization. In the past few years the IMO has come to realize that since 80 to 90 percent of maritime casualties are caused by human factors, it's time to start looking at those human factors in developing safety standards. If people are fatigued, if they aren't well fed, if they're not taken care of, that reduces their efficiency and safety. Very few maritime disasters are caused by boilers blowing up, which used to be the major cause of maritime accidents 100 years ago. Now the world has pretty much legislated ships to be pretty safe machines — but the human beings are unsafe, because the standards for them need some development."

Stevenson travels to Geneva regularly, and recently spent a week at an IMO meeting in London.

"We feel that we have a very important voice in this process because really it's the maritime ministries, it's the port chaplains, who have a better understanding of the problems that seafarers are encountering than probably anybody in the world, other than the seafarers themselves. So it's a very important opportunity and obligation, I think — for the church to share its experience and knowledge with the bodies that are creating standards that affect the lives of seafarers."

Creating awareness of seafarers

The Seamen's Church Institute, which includes the Center for Seafarers' Rights, is a nonprofit ecumenical agency affiliated with the Episcopal Church that has existed since 1834. Its other programs include the Center for Maritime Education, an independent maritime education program to enhance mariners' safety and professional competency; and the Center for Seafarers' Services, which provides direct care to mariners in the greater Port of New York/ New Jersey and along 2200 miles of inland waterways. The Institute trains port chaplains and has initiated new programs such as Ministry on the River, which offers pastoral and practical assistance to mariners serving on river vessels, and to their families, through a network of "River Friendly Churches."

Stevenson feels that the church could play a stronger role in helping people become aware of the existence and needs of seafarers. Some churches observe "Maritime Day," he says, and he has put on educational programs in churches that have requested them. Anyone interested in supporting the Center's legislative efforts can find information on the SCI website (www.seamenschurch.org) or subscribe to their free periodic newsletter.

"Even if you could include seafarers in your prayers, there would be some focus on them," Stevenson says. "The first step is understanding and knowledge. We have to do a better job of bringing to the wider public's attention the world of mariners."

Detroiter Marianne Arbogast is associate editor of The Witness.

and publication

WELFARE AND

Will there be justice for the poor?

by Beverly G. Ward



High users of public transit are most likely to be of Asian, black, or Hispanic heritage; central city dwellers, particularly female workers, living alone; households with no vehicles; or low-income persons. Since these are characteristics shared by those who received Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), it would appear that transit should likewise meet the needs of adults participating in the new welfare reform program, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). Mobility problems certainly disproportionately affect poor blacks who live in inner cities.

After World War II, public transit systems, specifically buses and commuter rail companies, faced an unending spiral of fare increases and service cuts. Higher incomes, increased suburbanization, highways and private auto use, all contributed to this decline. The Federal Transit Act (formerly Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964) was presented by President Johnson as part of his

Great Society. But in light of the funding that was available for the interstate highway system, the Federal Transit Act was only a token gesture to address public mass transportation needs. Over the years, the funding for public transit has been reauthorized at 20 to 25 percent of the federal budget for surface transportation, while the needs for public transit have continued to increase, e.g., rural transportation, clean air transportation control measures, and in 1998, to provide transportation for welfare reform. The underinvestment in mass transportation and land use patterns have forced large segments of the U.S. population to become dependent on private automobiles to meet their basic needs. Marcia D. Lowe wrote in 1991, "One of the greatest ironies of the 20th century is that around the globe, vast amounts of such priceless things as land, petroleum, and clean air have been relinquished for motorization — and yet most people in the world will never own an automobile."

Former U.S. Department of Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater said transportation is the "to" in Welfare-to-Work (WtW) initiatives, realizing that many welfare recipients and the working poor have limited access to transportation. Welfare parents and others seeking employment need access not only to jobs, but other services such as daycare facilities, schools, training programs, and health care providers. Persons with private automobiles take for granted the ability to plan and control work trips, errands, shopping, recreation and other trips. Lack of automobile ownership, however, limits access. Automobile ownership is associated with class in that automobiles symbolize not only status in American society, but also freedom. Popular slogans abound such as "It's not just your car, it's your freedom" and "On

In 1967 the Kerner **Commission said:** "Most new employment opportunities do not occur in central cities near all-[black] neighborhoods. They are being created in suburbs and outlying areas and this trend is likely to continue indefinitely." It recommended expansion of aid to local public transportation service and routes serving the inner cities in an effort to allay the "civil disorders" of the 1960s. The Commission's recommendation has largely gone unheard.

TRANSPORTATION

the road of life, there are passengers and drivers." These slogans come to have real manifestations.

Violence, disenfranchisement, economic exploitation, and segregation laws have been used to limit black mobility on physical, psychological, economic, and other social levels since Africans were forcibly American colonies. moved to the Throughout this history, some aspect of transportation has been a major locus of dissent — the Underground Railroad, Plessy vs. Ferguson, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the bus boycotts, the Freedom Rides - continuing to this writing with the Los Angeles Bus Riders Union and the Environmental Justice Action in Atlanta, Ga.

The intersection of space, ethnicity, and income only intensifies the issues related to women's travel. Female-headed households comprised 88 percent of all U.S. households receiving public assistance in 1996. Women outnumber men in urban areas from 115:100, overall, to 157:100 for those over age 65. The concentration of women and female-headed families in the city is both cause and consequence of the city's fiscal woes. Women live in cities because it is easier and cheaper for them to do so, but because fewer women are employed, and those that are receive lower pay than men, they do not make the same contribution to the tax base that an equivalent population of men would. Concomitantly, they are more dependent on public resources, such as transportation and housing. Concerns about adequate childcare may restrict a woman from taking a job outside the home. Access to goods and services when traveling with small children may be limited by the design of public transportation facilities.

It is one thing to say that federal funds are available for welfare reform, but these funds do very little if the infrastructure, such as buses, 24-hour bus service, and daycare, is not available. Even in areas where there is relatively good bus service, research suggests that public transportation is not a feasible option for many rural and inner-city residents. Legislators, policymakers, and transportation providers often are not users of public transportation services. The real conditions that users face are often far removed from the decisionmaking arena.

The connection between work and access to employment opportunities was overlooked in the welfare reform legislative process. In 1998, the Federal Transit Administration (FTA) found that only about 6 percent of welfare recipients owned automobiles. While two-thirds of all new jobs were in the suburbs, three-quarters of welfare recipients lived in rural areas or central cities. In metropolitan areas with excellent public transit systems, less than half of the jobs were accessible by transit. The median price of a new car was equivalent to 25 weeks of salary for the average worker in 1991. (For a low-income worker, the price considerably would be more.) Approximately 9 million households or 10 million Americans of driving age, most of whom are low-income workers, did not own cars. There were no new funds, however. Congress "set aside" formula grant dollars that would have been used to provide general transportation services. Thus, the available formula grant funds have been reduced. Transit authorities now compete with each other and other entities for these funds through "innovative" grant proposals.

The disconnection between federal policy and reality continues with examples of the lack of coordination between federal programs. The FTA found "most state welfare plans submitted to the federal government barely mentioned transportation." Peter Edelman, former Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation at the Department of Health and Human Services stated, "[Welfare reform] closes its eyes to all the facts and complexities of the real world and essentially says to recipients, 'Find a job.'" Edelman resigned his post in protest over the bill.

Welfare reform mandates that TANF recipients "work first." The profile of the recipients at time of enactment suggests that those subject to employment mandates of the Act faced significant challenges in meeting this requirement. Lack of transportation seemed to be chief among the challenges. For many rural recipients there may be no transportation - no private automobile and no public transportation. Where public transportation is available in rural areas, temporal gaps may pose barriers. The service may be available days or hours during the week not compatible with commuting needs. Studies from three major metropolitan areas found that geographic and temporal gaps existed in areas with public transit systems ranked among the top 25 in the nation. Many TANF participants have passed the critical five-year period of program participation. Although welfare reform addresses transportation as an allowable support service for participants, few states have transportation elements as part of their statewide plans. Former Federal Transit Administration (FTA) Administrator Gordon Linton stated in 1999 that the failure of the legislation and state plans to address transportation needs of TANF participants was "poor planning."

Today's spatial patterns of poverty pockets, edge cities, exurbs, and "fortified enclaves" have been developing for many years and are part of the economic and other social characteristics of the U.S. Public transportation could and should provide us choices other than the private automobile, but the lack of it continues to contribute to the reproduction of social differences.

Beverly G. Ward is a transportation policy expert in Atlanta, Ga. She is a Quaker. This article is condensed from a longer paper which is available at The Witness' website, <www.thewitness.org>.

BUY AMERICAN?

Exploring an alternative politics of trade with Dana Frank

by Jane Slaughter

What RULES should govern the flow of goods from one society to another? The "free trade"/"fair trade" debate has raged for decades. Labor historian Dana Frank is intrigued by the "Buy American" campaigns that have won so many working-class enthusiasts. Perhaps the apex was the spectacle, in the 1980s, of local unions in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Alabama selling their members the chance to take a sledgehammer to a Toyota. Using economic arguments that sound credible on one level, "Buy American" crusades promote a self-righteous nationalism that spills over into jingoism.

Frank's book *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism*, argues that protectionism and "free trade" are not the only choices for economic relationships between countries; she proposes an alternative politics of trade based on working people's common interests.

JANE SLAUGHTER: What got you interested in the "Buy American" movement? DANA FRANK: I was thinking about writing a book about the history of the union label. There's a long history, that starts in the 1870s, of goods and services being marked as having been produced by union workers. People might remember restaurants carrying a sign that said "Union House." Or the TV campaign from the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, in the 1970s, with the workers singing that catchy little song: "Look for the union label …"

But I realized that by the 1980s the union label had mutated into "Buy American." It

had lost the class dimension and became nationalism instead. I was interested in how that happened, and I wanted to write for ordinary people about difficult issues of trade and globalization and make it acceptable from people's own starting point—because we've all thought about whether "Buy American" would save jobs.

I had also always been interested in anti-Asian racism, because in California I grew up with Asian Americans and knew what they had gone through and my family hadn't.

JANE SLAUGHTER: There is a movement that says we should try to keep our economic interactions closer to home, both to avoid spending so much on transportation and to encourage community. But you see "Buy American" as different. What's the logic behind "Buy American"?

DANA FRANK: When we think about Buy American campaigns, we need to think about "What's the goal we're trying to achieve?" The economic logic seems clear: we buy goods made in the U.S., and then the manufacturers will take the money they make from that and reinvest it in the U.S. And union folks, especially, want that to be reinvested in good union jobs. We're trying to create some kind of national community, and we're trying to say, "We want good jobs to be sustained within the U.S."

The problem with that logic is that while we're trying to make a deal with nationbased capital, the money the companies are making is being invested overseas as fast as it can, because the profit rates are higher and labor costs are often lower. Often for-



Buying 'local' can be good for the environment, but what values lie behind 'Buy American' campaigns? TAKE PRIDE IN AMERICA CONCERNED AMERICAN

eign-made goods are cheaper because they're the product of exploited workers.

So while we think we're in some kind of partnership with nation-based capital while they're waving the flag — they're taking their money and investing it overseas.

A good example is General Motors. General Motors is investing in Brazil and China and all over the world with the money that it might make selling cars in the U.S. They're looking for the highest rates of return; they're not looking to sustain community in the U.S.

So what happens is that we end up in alliances with the very corporations that are causing the problem we're trying to solve. We end up with the wrong friends, and at the same time we end up with the wrong enemies. We end up seeing workers in other countries as undermining us and as somehow our enemy, when we should be thinking of working people in other countries as our allies.

JANE SLAUGHTER: It seems that Buy American is often a sentiment that comes from the grassroots. It's not just something that's manipulated by the media or by corporate spinmasters. Why do people tend to jump on "foreigners" as their first explanation for what's wrong, and to economic nationalism as their first solution?

DANA FRANK: One reason is that it seems like a path to democratic control of the economy. It seems like the way that we can

be empowered to use our consumer dollars and create the good society.

And part of the reason is that we don't have a lot of other alternatives. We're alienated from the mainstream political parties. Both the Democrats and Republicans support free trade. Neither one is supporting the labor movement the way they should, since they're both largely corporate-controlled parties. So we're stymied at that end, and often the trade union leadership is not offering us a way to have democratic control of our unions and to use our unions the way we would like to use them. And so people are looking for a way to feel powerful in relation to huge global forces that are dragging down our communities. **JANE SLAUGHTER:** It ends up making strange bedfellows, but if a Buy American campaign was in fact able to increase consumption of U.S.-made goods, and somehow did increase, in some small measure, the number of jobs that were needed to produce those goods in the U.S. — don't people have the right to try to protect their own jobs, especially if they're higher-paying and it seems like the only people benefiting from imports are the owners of corporations?

DANA FRANK: First of all, the first part of your question just isn't going to happen, because the cat's out of the bag with globalization. All the trade agreements and federal policies, like NAFTA and now the Free Trade Area of the Americas, are greasing the wheels for that money to go outside the U.S.

The second problem is when we start identifying "us vs. them." When that's defined geographically, it sets up people in foreign countries as the enemy. You start drawing these circles of who is the "us" and who is the "them," and historically, again and again that line is defined in racial and anti-immigrant terms. So then you have this notion of a white, native-born "we" that's being protected from "them."

With the way the economy exists, we can't go backward. We have to acknowledge that there are transnational corporations, there are institutionalized trade systems—we have to fight them, but we also have to think of people outside our borders as our allies and comrades rather than as the people we're fighting against.

JANE SLAUGHTER: We have to think about transnational solutions because transnationalism is here to stay.

DANA FRANK: Yes. We can't make it go away. And there's also this very tricky question of "what's our community?" Is our community defined in geographic terms? Is it defined in ethnic terms? Is it defined in national terms? We are not going to get it about the way the world is structured if we don't start thinking of "our community" in class terms.

JANE SLAUGHTER: It seems like Americans are so quick to jump to

"American" as the community that they identify with. Why is that?

DANA FRANK: Like in many countries, there's a long history of nationalism that goes along with nation-states. And historically, in the U.S., it's also tied in with the U.S. desire to dominate the world, and the sense of arrogance that we're the best country in the world, or we have the only real democratic country in the world, and therefore we know what's best for the rest of the world. Since September 11 people are understandably scared, but the question is, again, does that mean that we fall back on the sort of "we" that says "we should dominate the world"? I believe that means landing right back into alliances with transnational corporations that are creating the same problems we're trying to fight against, like Lockheed Martin [Marietta]. These huge military contractors were running patriotic ads with flags in The New York Times within days of September 11, and they have a tremendous stake in militarization.

These corporations are waving the flag, but that's just greasing the skids to go overseas as fast as they can. They are backing agreements like the Free Trade Area of the Americas, or trying to give Bush "fast-track" authority, precisely so that they can leave the country.

JANE SLAUGHTER: The language used in Buy American campaigns has often been that of "invasion." How does that contribute to the emotional tone of the campaigns?

DANA FRANK: There's a whole set of language: not only invasion, but "flood." The flood of foreign products. People can watch for that kind of language in the press; it goes back to the notion of the "yellow peril" which was first promoted at the turn of the century. It also ties in with the notion that Pat Buchanan is pushing—that white people in the U.S. are being engulfed by people of color and immigrants. It's always a tidal wave-invasion-flood metaphor, that somehow we're being taken over. And of course the "we" that we're constructing is white.

JANE SLAUGHTER: Can you say more about how racism has been thoroughly

intertwined with Buy American campaigns? DANA FRANK: There have been three big phases of Buy American campaigns. The first was during the American Revolution, with the non-importation agreements and the Boston Tea Party. But the second and much bigger wave was in the 1930s. A lot of it was sponsored by William Randolph Hearst, the newspaper mogul. That campaign attacked both foreign goods and foreign workers. An imported product was seen as the product of foreign workers, who were dangerous whether they were in the U.S. or whether they were somewhere else. Hearst promoted the concept of "the yellow peril" - that Asians were about to take over the U.S., and that both their products and the people should be purged.

Most people are familiar with the Buy American campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s. You saw a resurgence of every stereotype in the book against Asians, and the notion that Japanese capital was taking over the U.S. You saw the equation of Japanese goods with Pearl Harbor —

JANE SLAUGHTER: I remember the United Auto Workers used phrases like "the Japanese are savaging our market." *Our* market.

DANA FRANK: Again, who is the "our," the "we"? And there were references to sneaky Asians, the various inscrutable Orientals — all these stereotypes that have been around since the late 19th century.

At some level there's a notion that it is not legitimate for Asian people, whether it's Japan or China, to be a viable economic competitor. And so racism is trotted out the minute there's any kind of economic power in Asia that is somehow seen as a viable competitor to the U.S. Especially with China as a growing economic power now, I think we're about to have the Cold War again, this time using the "yellow peril." You saw it when the Chinese captured the U.S. spy plane in the spring of 2001. People were calling up the Ethnic Studies Center at the University of Oregon and saying that all people of Chinese descent should be interned. There was a resurgence of every stereotype in the book.

The latest manifestation of Buy American is that since September 11th there's been a huge resurgence of nationalism and patriotism and corporate-sponsored nationalist campaigns. There's certainly been a lot of nationalism in ad campaigns — that you should buy a Chevrolet because of September 11th, for example.

JANE SLAUGHTER: Because a Chevrolet is the most all-American car!

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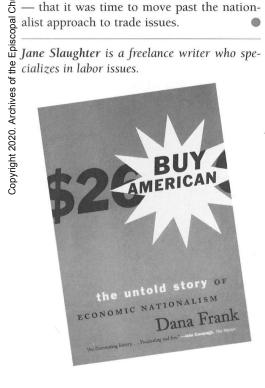
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DANA FRANK: Somehow, that would stop terrorism. There's a shameless willingness to manipulate nationalism and people's fears in order to support the corporate agenda. And there has been a resurgence of desire to buy American, but the economy is so transnational and mixed up now that it's almost impossible anyway, precisely because of this long-term restructuring that we call globalization.

JANE SLAUGHTER: What reactions have you had to your book from working people? DANA FRANK: Most people have been excited by what it was saying, because they knew there was something wrong in the Buy American logic. They liked what I was saying - that it was time to move past the nation-



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Small town names gay "Couple of the Year"

A gay couple was named "Couple of the Year" in Lincoln City, Ore., a small, vacation/retirement community of 6,300 people. The award was given to Rick Brissette and Dan Beck on April 13 during a "Community Days" celebration sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce.

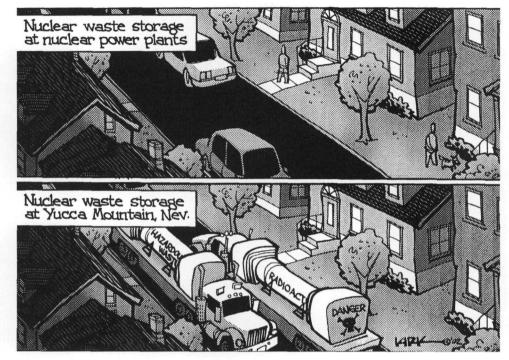
"Rick and I both arrived in Lincoln City about 15 years ago from opposite corners of the country," Beck told the assembled crowd. "We found, not only each other, but a community that just said no to the hate being promulgated in our beautiful state."

In an email announcing the award, Beck said that it "is sponsored by Lincoln City's newspaper, The Newguard, and when our names were announced by its publisher, a rather conservative man who just moved here, the banquet hall erupted with cheers, applause, yelling and general pandemonium. People were genuinely as surprised, thrilled and blown away as us. Our friends were jumping up and down on their chairs screaming. Afterward, the reception line felt like those one sees at weddings. People I did not even know slapping me on the back saying, 'Congratulations. You guys deserve it. It's about time. Maybe some day this kind of thing will not be so unusual."

Ground rules for dialogue

The ground rules that are accepted for interfaith dialogue should be applied to dialogue between progressive and conservative Christians, Rosemary Ruether suggests in *The National Catholic Reporter* (4/12/02).

"For years I have been a part of interreligious dialogues, between Christians and Jews, Christians and Muslims and Christians and Buddhists," Ruether says. "Certain ground rules have evolved that help make dialogue possible. Each side must give up the assumption that they are out to convert the other side to their faith, that they alone



have the true faith and the others are heretics, idolaters or demon-worshippers. Each starts with an attitude of mutual respect for each other's faith. They assume that there is some truth in both religious perspectives and both are partial and historically constructed, although pointing to deep truths. Each can learn from the other both to more deeply appreciate the other's faith, and also to better understand their own faith. ...

"I would suggest that the same presuppositions that make dialogue possible between religions are also necessary for dialogue between Christians, even Christians in the same denominations. Dialogue is impossible if some Catholics start with the assumption that those of the other side are stupid, perverse or evil, and that your group alone has the fullness of the truth, that the goal is to make the other side either submit to your fullness of truth or get out of the church.

"Such presuppositions, unfortunately, are exactly the presuppositions of right-wing Catholics and Protestants with regard to the liberals of their churches. It is these presuppositions that make dialogue impossible.

"What is to be done? I believe it is essential that neither side gain the power to drive out or silence the other side. Each must continue to coexist within their churches, even if it means constructing distinct media of communication, educational institutions and networks to maintain one's own existence. We must continue to clarify not simply the surface points of difference, but the difference of presuppositions. This will not lead easily to a new consensus, but rather to a clarification of the depths of the differences. But most sides must continue to exist and to try to communicate."

Elderly face crisis in developing world

"Aging is no longer just a first-world issue," United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan told the United Nations' Second Assembly on Aging, held in April in Madrid (*The New York Times*, 4/9/02).

In an article on the Assembly, Emma Daley

wrote, "Three-quarters of the people over 60 live in the developing world, while even rich nations have long wondered how they will continue to finance pensions and health care for future generations." The United Nations estimates that the number of people over 60 will rise to two billion in 2050, from 600 million today, with the 'oldest old,' those 80 or older, increasing to 350 million from 70 million.

"For many millions of older people, especially the rural poor in developing nations, food, water, electricity, medical care and security are still in scarce supply. The United Nations Population Fund commissioned a study of the elderly in South Africa and India, and concluded that urbanization, migration, the breakdown of traditional social structures and the AIDS crisis has forced many older people, especially women, into extreme poverty and isolation.

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"Thousands of older people who once expected to be supported by their children have instead watched them die of AIDS, leaving children to be cared for by grandparents who do not even know how the disease is contracted and who have no money to pay for food or medicine."

Work fetish?

The popular television show *The West Wing* "fetishizes workaholism," writes Susan J. Douglas (*In These Times*, 4/29/02). "Overwork is made to seem exciting and glamorous. Watch the way the camera moves. People in *The West Wing* — because they're so important — are always walking at a brisk pace up and down the halls, in and out of offices, in groups of at least two, and the tracking cameras virtually jog to keep up with them. …

"Millions of us have, over the past 15 years, been asked to do a lot more at work, in exactly the same amount of time, often with fewer resources. This speed-up has often been accompanied, and made possible, by downsizing and layoffs. It also imposes enormous stress on family and personal life. But we're supposed to feel that the busier we are, the more important we are, and tough shit for those out there without a job.

"*The West Wing* celebrates liberal politics and even, at times, social justice. Yet it also canonizes the expectation that staying late at work is more important than going to your kid's science fair — or even seeing an old friend."

"Bishop to the women" dies in Cambridge, Mass. May 30

Suzanne Radley Hiatt, organizer of the first ordinations of women priests in the Episcopal Church USA, died in Cambridge, Mass., of cancer on May 30. Hiatt, 65, was among the 11 women ordained at Philadelphia's Church of the Advocate on July 29, 1974, a service called "irregular" because it occurred without the permission of the women's



diocesan bishops. (The three ordaining bishops were retired or had resigned.)

In 1971, with Emily C. Hewitt, Hiatt co-authored *Women Priests: Yes or No?*, a book that became a primary resource in the movement for the ordination of women. Having refused to permit women's ordination in 1970 and 1973, the church's General Convention finally approved women priests in 1976. For her lifelong leadership and support of church women, Hiatt was often referred to as "bishop to the women."

Hiatt was the former John Seely Stone Professor of Pastoral Theology at the Episcopal Divinity School (EDS), in Cambridge, Mass., which has established the Suzanne Hiatt Chair in Feminist Pastoral Theology. A memorial service was held at EDS on June 17.

Court ruling upheld

Last May 22, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit affirmed a district court ruling that Samuel L. Edwards was not the legal rector of St. John's Episcopal Church in Accokeek, Md., and that the Vestry of St. John's could not deny Washington's Bishop *Pro Tempore*, Jane Holmes Dixon, access to St. John's for the purpose of exercising her ecclesiastical authority. (see *TW* 10/01). Samuels and the Vestry members in question do not accept the ordination of women.

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RECOVERING OUR KINSHIP WITH ANIMALS

WITNESS MAGAZINE

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The church and the animal movement

The beginning of a revolution?/Growing numbers of Christian activists and scholars are re-examining the human relationship with animals. In a sidebar interview, activist-theologian Carol Adams describes a feminist-vegetarian ethic. - by Marianne Arbogast

Animal voices 14

Does the recent spate of "talking-animal" movies mean the animals are trying to tell us something? — by Bruce Campbell

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An interview with Linda Hogan / A Chickasaw writer talks about traditional indigenous relationships with animals. An excerpt from her essay, "First People," from her book, Intimate Nature: The Bond Between Women and Animals, is included. — by Camille Colatosti

Horses, healing and liberation

Beginning a therapeutic riding center / A feminist theologian writes about her decision to open "Free Rein," a therapeutic horseback-riding program, reflecting on the connection between pastoral and political work. In a companion piece, she describes how "the horse is the priest." — by Carter Heyward

'Inseeing': the monks and dogs of New Skete

A community of Eastern Orthodox monks in upstate New York have found that their work of breeding and training dogs enriches their own spiritual practice. - by Morgan Van Wyck

Losing Heaven

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on the cover

miniature dachshund.

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Northern Dutchess Hospital in

Rhinebeck, N.Y., gets a holiday

greeting from Zena, a 4-year-old

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"Love knows no boundaries," even when that love is for a dog. - by Irene Monroe



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Because justice doesn't just 'happen' by Julie A. Wortman

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Book Review: Dogs That Know When Their Owners Are Coming Home by Rupert Sheldrake — by Marianne Arbogast

Short Takes/Classifieds

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of The Witness magazine and related website projects, seeks to give voice to a liberation Gospel of peace and justice and to promote the concrete activism that flows from such a Christianity. Founded in 1917 by Irving Peake Johnson, an Episcopal Church bishop, The Witness claims a special mission to Episcopalians and other Anglicans worldwide, while affirming strong partnership with progressives of other faith traditions.

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Proverbs of Ashes

In your excellent, thought-provoking interview with Rita Nakashima Brock and Rebecca Ann Parker (April 2002), Ms. Parker stated they were working on unraveling the complex, troubling way John's Gospel simultaneously blames Jews for Jesus' death and offers an alternative to atonement.

Looking at John's Gospel as a snippet of history which may repeat itself in principle from culture to culture, but not likely in exact form, nor necessarily carried through in the same culture to the same extent, we may consider that the Jews of John's Gospel were a religious culture in formative state seeking to define themselves in light of the world and their tradition as God's elect. This group is distinguished in part from other groups, established or on the rise. John's Jesus calls Nathaniel truly an Israelite in whom there is no deceit! (NRSV). There were other groups as well, however, this group is the one that gained supremacy in the Temple and synagogues and cast Jesus' followers out. It is inaccurate to generalize John as pointing to all of Israel (now generalized to Jews) as John's perceived enemy, either in that day or today.

The issue that emerges for me is that this group perceived themselves as a microcosmic representation of Israel and thus Israel's doorkeepers. They were ready to defend what they perceived as Israel's cause at any cost. If Israel is considered the priest-people for the world and thus representative of the world, then the events during the time of Jesus show the human condition as potentiating, despite a perceived connection with God, our propensity to miss the message and acts of God in our blindness to control, protect, and preserve truth (which, if eternal, is also indestructible) and in so doing to exclude from the religious conversation, even with violence, those who embody the work and message of God. Thus the Jews of that day excluded the Jesus followers, and the Christians of today exclude modern Jews, and other peoples who also embody, to no greater or lesser degree than we, the work and message of God.

I disagree in part with Ms. Brock's statement that, "What saves life isn't death." What is sav-

ing in the death of Jesus is the fact that though we are vulnerable to its power, it doesn't have the final say. For Jesus not to have died would have placed him in an exclusive class of one, in which there is no community. Jesus having died through submission to that which humans are subject without recourse is to have community to the ultimate degree with his fellow humans. The resurrection then demonstrates God's power over the most formidable enemy we have. With this understanding we are saved from retreating because of death. Violence, the tool of death, then, also loses its force because its ultimate end upon its victim is disemboweled.

Death saves us from the limitations of the former life. Please don't limit my statement to the traditional born-again idea. But if death were the final end, then the freedom would be pointless. Therefore, resurrection empowers us after death to live the renewed life. Without death, there would be no resurrection.

This all can be viewed in the context of a God who loves only and neither condones nor uses death, and thus violence. But it speaks of a God who takes the most destructive human-created implement and turns it against its original purpose and result in favor of and for the benefit of those whose intents were counter to the love that God intends. So love (Johannine love) creates a new place for us so that where Christ is we may be also, in this life or any other. It doesn't glorify death but illuminates the value and power of life.

We who abhor and stand against violence then know that our ultimate end is always the gift of life. Understanding God's work of transforming, or redirecting, death also helps us avoid creating a neo-morality of non-violence that would ideologically exclude those who commit violence from the grace of God, because violence, whether moral perpetrator or victim, cannot overcome the life that is a gift through Jesus Christ.

Just some rudimentary thoughts. Great article. Fantastic magazine.

Jim Reid, pastor

Colfax United Methodist Church. Colfax, LA

September 2002

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Needed: an ethics of responsibility

Thanks for Julie Wortman's powerful clarion call to join in the "global movement for social change" and the other articles in the June 2002 issue of The Witness. She defines the criteria of being a movement activists as planning civil disobedience, doing jail time, organizing a direct action or protest and walking a picket line and she could have added the other movement activities that she has done. I am in favor of all the things she and the other authors have commended in this issue. But I fear that the one thing she and almost all the others have omitted is the one thing that can actually achieve social change, namely, full participation in electoral politics. By that I mean running for public office, seeking and persuading good candidates to run, campaigning for them, lobbying elected officials and others, seeking legal recourse and, finally, voting, etc. (See my highly edited article in the October 1992 issue of The Witness.)

I know that movement activists are highly allergic to electoral politics ("my least favorite activity," says Rebecca Gordon), for they usually claim that it is totally corrupt, simply the tool of the corporations and thus hopeless. Therefore, it can be ignored, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the movement activists. I believe that this allergy was explained long ago by Max Weber in his famous essay of 1919 entitled, "Politics as a Vocation." He distinguishes two types of ethics, as "ethic of ultimate ends" and an "ethic of responsibility." The former lays emphasis exclusively on purity of motive or intention; the latter lays emphasis on consequences and teaches that "one has to give an account of the foreseeable results of one's action." Weber concludes that the only ethic which has a place in politics is the ethics of responsibility. "Anyone who fails to see this is a political infant." (I might add that the American version of the ethic emphasizing only purity of motive is derived from our tradition of puritan and pietistic religion.) This is why when movement activists "vote their conscience" they are "rewarded with their worst nightmare." (See Paul Winter's letter in the March 1991 issue of The Witness and my response in the June 1991 issue.) Gary Trudeau's Doonesbury on election day 2000 had it right: "If you'd like to see abortion recriminalized, if you're for unrestrained logging and drilling, and for voluntary pollution control, and if you favor more soft money in politics, then the choice today is clear. ... Vote Nader." Please, let's have an issue of *The Witness* on electoral politics.

Owen C. Thomas Berkeley, CA

A witness shared

Enclosed is our usual contribution to *The Witness*, which gets better and better. Also, a copy of our letter to the IRS refusing 26 percent of our Federal income tax. There's no witness if it isn't shared, so I'm sharing it with you.

Emmett Jarrett (and Ann Scheibner) St. Francis House New London, CT

To the IRS: In 1849 Henry David Thoreau wrote, "I meet this American government ... directly and face to face, once a year — no more — in the person of its tax gatherer; this is the only mode in which a man situated as I am necessarily meets it; and it then says distinctly, Recognize me; and the simplest, the most effectual, and ... the indispensablest mode of treating with it on this head, of expressing your little satisfaction with and love for it, is to deny it then." Thoreau wrote of a government that permitted slavery and that went to war with its neighbor, Mexico, to obtain territory on which it had no legitimate claim.

We write to you in the same spirit. While slavery has been abolished in the United States, we are still in possession of the territory we took from Mexico through superior military force. We are also in the process of completing a military intervention in Afghanistan and embarked as well on an unlimited and undefined "war on terrorism." In pursuit of this "war," we are subsidizing wars in Israel/Palestine, the Philippines and Colombia The New York Times reports today that the Bush administration has decided on a policy of "pre-emptive action" against states it deems to harbor terrorist groups and to intervene militarily in Iraq if it is not able to overthrow the government there in other ways. The moves by the government to limit domestic civil liberties during the current crisis is also ominous. ...

As Christians, and as people committed to nonviolence ... we cannot support such policies. ...

www.thewitness.org

Because justice doesn't just 'happen'

by Julie A. Wortman

hen Sue Hiatt — the woman who engineered the first ordinations of women to the Episcopal Church priesthood — died last spring, her many friends and former Episcopal Divinity School (EDS) colleagues moved swiftly with plans for the modest memorial eucharist Sue had requested. But the quiet, somber event Sue had envisioned never took place.

Instead, several hundred church feminists and peace-and-justice advocates showed up in Cambridge at the appointed time spoiling for a celebration and reunion. And, aided by a festive beating of drums and the conviviality of a standing-room-only crowd of allies and old friends, that's the kind of service they created. For to remember and celebrate Sue's life required a liturgy expansive enough to match the passion of a vocation to justice.

the passion of a vocation to justice. As her longtime friend, colleague and fellow 1974 ordinand Carter Heyward noted in the homily, Sue had all her life been at heart an organizer who saw the Episcopal Church "as a strategic location of social, economic and political power that needed to be organized and put to work on behalf of social justice." Sue lived, Heyward said, "on the basis of a tenacious faith in the capacities of her brothers and sisters, including white affluent folks like most of us here today, to help 'make justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an everflowing stream,' and in our willingness to step forward and offer ourselves as laborers in God's harvest. In this way, Sue Hiatt was an heir of the same hope and enthusiasm that have historically shaped the great Christian movements for social justice among such great Anglican divines as F. D. Maurice, William Temple, John Hines, Verna Dozier, William Stringfellow and Desmond Tutu."

Not that Sue was always a buoyant, optimistic activist. Her friends knew all too well-Sue's tendency to a "pessimism, even at times a cynicism and anger that bordered on despair" over a "world in crisis and a church too seldom up to the task."

But Sue Hiatt never gave up the struggle. She recognized, Heyward told us, that "we have to organize! Justice doesn't just 'happen.' We can't do it alone, not as 'heroes,' not as Lone Rangers or Superwomen or Spidermen. We must do it together."

I probably wasn't the only one in the congregation that high-spirited evening who wondered, "What is holding us back?" Some point to a lack of leadership at the highest levels of church governance. Indeed, many now hope that the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, will possess the needed charisma for inspiring Anglicans to activism. Certainly, last July's announcement that Williams would succeed evangelical conservative George Carey has been a great encouragement to Anglican progressives. For one thing, Williams opposes the U.S. War against Terrorism. Williams happened to be at Trinity Wall Street when the plans crashed into the World Trade Center on September 11. A few days later he wrote, "No 'Star Wars' shield of missile defence could have averted last Tuesday's atrocities. No intensive campaign to search and destroy in Afghanistan will guarantee that it will never happen again. If we fear and loathe terrorism, we have to think harder. Indiscriminate terror is the weapon of the weak, not the strong; it's commonly what the 'strong' aren't expecting, which is why they are vulnerable to it. It is the weapon of those who have nothing to lose. If we want it not to happen, we have to be asking what it means that the world has so many people in it who believe they have nothing to lose."

Williams is also a strong advocate for the full inclusion of lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender people in the life of the church. "Having been closed out of relationship with the Archbishop of Canterbury during the tenure of the current Archbishop, we look forward to someone who knows us, our faith in God, and our commitment to the Church," said Michael Hopkins, President of Integrity, an organization whose mission is to be a witness of lgbt persons in the Episcopal Church and to the world.

Undoubtedly, once he takes office next January, Williams will do all he can to use his position on behalf of peace and justice. But the key service Williams could render will be to help Anglicans understand not only that justice doesn't just happen, but also that justice is happening. Everywhere I go, I encounter people of faith doing amazing peace-and-justice work. We tell their stories in the pages of this magazine every month — and we regularly post their global witness on our website (www.thewitness.org).

But there is more that is needed. Because the organizing we all long for — the organizing that prevents the sort of depleting pessimism and despair that Sue Hiatt fought against and that makes us famished for celebration and reunion — is the kind that helps us stay connected between conferences, mobilisations and trainings so that we don't feel like we are the only people standing up to the powers and principalities of this world and so that we can show up for one another when numbers and diversity count.

We here at *The Witness* want to help make this kind of organizing possible. With the generous help of the KRB Group, a San Franciscobased foundation promoting peace and justice work in the Episcopal Church, I'm pleased to announce that we are building the web infrastructure to create a new network of faithbased groups and church activists, committees and commissions and to facilitate their interaction so that they can become the force for peace and justice Sue Hiatt dreamed of.

Watch for the changes. We think Sue would approve.

Julie A. Wortman is Witness editor/publisher.

www.thewitness.org

'A world of unending relationship'

by Marianne Arbogast

THIS TIME LAST YEAR, we were preparing this issue of *The Witness* on "Recovering our kinship with animals" for publication in December. Then came Sept. 11 and, with the rest of the country, we were jolted out of our routine and into an urgent focus on the attacks and their aftermath. We set aside the topic of animals and started thinking about religious fundamentalism and pluralism, about mass detentions and a culture of punishment, about faith and patriotism.

Yet curiously, as I think back to the days following the attacks, one of the things that stands out most clearly in my memory is an experience with an animal. For some weeks, I had been helping to care for Lucy, my friend Susan's cat. Lucy had cancer. While Susan and her family were on vacation, I took turns with other neighbors going to visit Lucy, feeding and stroking her, and changing the pain patches that kept her comfortable. It was a kind of hospice care, not unlike my caregiving responsibilities for my 100-year-old great aunt, who lives with me.

Lucy died on Sept. 14, and her backyard



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REFLECTION

funeral was one of two neighborhood gatherings I took part in that week — the other being a hastily assembled meeting for prayer and reflection on the attacks, culminating in a candlelight walk and vigil on a nearby freeway bridge.

The second gathering offered to friends is and neighbors the chance to share our grief gover the suffering of the victims, and to gsupport one another in our lonelier grief gover the paths our nation chooses that lead gso inevitably to war. The first offered the echance to honor a very particular grief over the loss of a much-loved companion.

Like many people, I experienced after the attacks a heightened awareness of what mattered in my life. Both of these gatherings felt important. Both, I'd argue, could be seen as expressions of resistance to the logic of Sept. 11, in which the lives of individuals — human and non-human — are of little consequence.

In late September of last year, *The Christian Science Monitor* ran a story reporting that "since the attacks on the World Trade Center, record numbers of New Yorkers have volunteered to adopt homeless cats and dogs." Although part of the response arose from concern for animals who had solost their human companions, "the desire to connect with an animal in need ended up transcending the immediate impact of the events of Sept. 11," the *Monitor* reported, quoting a shelter worker who said that people were "just suddenly interdested in any animals we have."

"I've been going up to strangers on the street and asking if I can pet their dogs," a woman who came to adopt a dog was quoted as saying. Another woman, who went home with two kittens, said, "I thought to myself, 'There's got to be some way of making a blessing come from this.' These kittens are going to be that blessing."

Could it be that this desire to connect with animals was an intuitive movement toward the sources of healing we most desperately need at a time when the world system we have constructed — a system utterly dependent on the exploitation of other humans, as well as animals and the living earth — threatens to destroy us?

Chickasaw writer Linda Hogan [see interview, p. 14] tells of the traditional native stories and healing ceremonies that restore people to their proper place in the world. They are "stories of a world of unending relationship" in which bonds with animals are central, she says ("First People," from *Intimate Nature: The Bond Between Women and Animals*, ed. Linda Hogan, Deena Metzger, Brenda Peterson, Ballantine, 1998).

"The stories that are songs of agreement and safekeeping, and the ceremonies that are their intimate companions, tell us not only how to keep the world alive, they tell us how to put ourselves back together again. In the language of ceremony, a person is placed — bodily, socially, geographically, spiritually and cosmologically — in the natural world extending all the way out into the universe. This placing includes the calling in of the animal presence from all directions."

Today "we stand between destruction and creation, between life and death, for other species and ultimately for ourselves," Hogan writes. The events of last September — and the war that followed — were a tragic reminder of that. Perhaps, if we are to find healing and restoration to our human place, we cannot do it on our own. The stories of our own tradition also teach that we share the garden with other earthcreatures formed from the same clay.

If we lose our relationship with the animals, Hogan says, "some part of our inner selves knows that we are losing what brings us to love and human fullness. Our connection with them has been perhaps the closest thing we have had to a sort of grace."

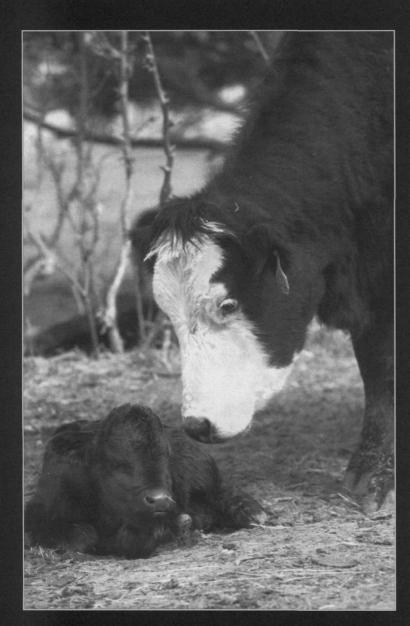
Marianne Arbogast is associate editor of The Witness.

And God said, "This is the sign of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for all future generations: I set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and the earth. When I bring clouds over the earth and the bow is seen in the clouds, I will remember my covenant which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall never again become a flood to destroy all flesh. When the bow is in the clouds, I will look upon it and remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth."

- Genesis 9:12-16 (RSV)

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THE CHURCH AND THE



The beginning of a revolution?

by Marianne Arbogast

HIS AUGUST, an Episcopalian high-school student in Cincinnati organized a downtown youth event called Compassionfest to promote vegetarianism and respect for animals. In the same city, animal-rights activists convinced Catholic bishop Daniel Pilarczyk to ask parishes to forego turtle racing and "rat-spinning" games at their summer festivals.

John Dear, a Jesuit priest and peace activist who has served as executive director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, wrote a pamphlet on Christianity and vegetarianism that is being distributed through PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals). And if you spot the slogan "WWJE?" it's not a misprint, but a campaign by the Christian Vegetarian Association asking people to consider what Jesus would eat today.

Limited though they might be, these efforts seem to point to a growing impulse among people of faith to examine the human treatment of animals more seriously.

"There's no question that people's consciousness is growing," says Bruce Friedrich, a PETA staff member who spent time in prison with John Dear following a 1993 ploughshares action in which they hammered and poured blood on a nuclear fighter bomber. "I think we are at the beginning of a revolution in the church with regard to how animals are viewed. The animal movement has drawn more and more people of faith who want to help the church move along in its understanding that God's covenant is not just with human beings. I think that mainstream theological scholarship will come to embrace animals for the same reason that it had to recognize that human relationships like slavery and subjugation of women were out of keeping with God's ideal, how God wants us to live our lives."

ANIMAL MOVEMENT

We're not the only ones that praise

Scholars point out that the tendency to view humans as separate from the rest of creation is not a biblical perspective.

"The whole idea of 'animal' as an utterly distinct category from the human is foreign to biblical ways of thinking," says Jay McDaniel, a process theologian who has articulated an ecological Christianity that views animals as beings with intrinsic value in and for themselves. "We humans come from the dust like other creatures, we're creatures of the flesh like other creatures. And it was obvious to biblical authors that we're not the only ones that feel, we're not the only ones that suffer, we're not the only ones that praise, as the psalmists would recognize."

Process thought offered McDaniel a way to integrate his intuitions about animals into a theological framework.

"I grew up with cocker spaniels, and from a very early age it was obvious to me that animals have souls — if by souls you mean a seat of awareness, that they're subjects of their own lives, that they count and that they're kin to us. But nobody invited me to link that with my Christian faith until my discovery of process theology in seminary, and especially John Cobb. Process thought did talk about a God who loves animals no less than humans, a God who lures each living being toward satisfaction relative to the situation at hand, a God who shares in the suffering of all living beings."

For McDaniel, this acknowledgement of spiritual kinship is connected with ethical responsibility.

"Justice can begin with anger or it can begin with love," he says. "My in-laws are birders, and I would have to say, in some way, that their religion, their spirituality, lies in delight and appreciation of the beauty of birds. There are many people in this world that have had similar relations with companion animals, and we would be quite incomplete without those other living beings who are sources of such grace in our lives. To be awed and amazed and moved by their sheer beauty becomes a foundation to want to care for them and treat them justly."

Concern for animals is a matter of social justice as well as ecological sustainability, McDaniel believes. In his 1990 book, *Earth, Sky, Gods, Mortals* (Twenty-Third Publications), he quotes from a 1988 report by a group of theologians commissioned by the World Council of Churches: "Concern for animals is not a simple question of kindness, however laudable that virtue is. It is an issue of strict justice.' … That we may not have considered 'justice' applicable to animals has something to do with how we have conceived the 'societies' in which we live. If we think un-ecologically, we think of societies as 'human societies' and of 'justice' as 'justice for humans.' It is as if we are insulated from nature, and nature from us, by an invisible boundary."

The best news for animals

Despite the development of multiple environmental theologies in recent years, relatively few theologians have focused on the status of animals as individuals or the human-animal relationship, McDaniel says. Of those that have, the most prominent is Andrew Linzey, an Anglican priest and professor at Oxford University, who began writing about Christianity and animal rights in the 1970s and has continued to provide a theoretical framework for Christian animal advocacy and activism.

"He set the tone and charted the ground," McDaniel says. "Andrew proceeds from a really traditional perspective — he's grounded in the biblical tradition and he knows his history of Christianity well. He would say that in the history of Christianity, it's probably been the lives of the saints that have been the best news for animals, and the theologians have not been such good news."

Linzey has documented an impressive history of concern for animals reflected in the lives of numerous saints and Christian writers from Tertullian to C.S. Lewis. Advocating for the "theos-rights" of animals as creatures of God, Linzey holds up the biblical vision of the Peaceable Kingdom as an image of God's desire for harmony in creation, and the self-giving life of Jesus — with its focus on service to "the least" — as a pattern for moving toward that harmony.

Nature as we usually understand it falls short of that harmony, Linzey says.

"If one takes the natural world as it is now as a source of moral illumination, then it is difficult to see how one could support the moral movements of the last hundred years — emancipation, justice and equality — because nature as we understand it appears to make very little room for individual rights," he said in a 1993 interview with *The Witness*. "It was once thought — and the Christian tradition helped sanction this — that the relationship between men and women was essentially unequal. It was thought there was something given in nature, that differences between race or gender were such that relationships of equality and harmony were not possible. It seems to me that moral insight begins at the point at which we say,



A feministvegetarian ethic:

an interview with Carol Adams

Carol Adams is an ecofeminist theologian, writer and activist who has worked extensively in the fields of domestic violence and animal advocacy.

The Witness: How do you see the connection between oppression of animals and the oppression of women and other human beings?

Carol Adams: For one thing, we often exhibit an anxiety about what we define as human, and historically Western culture has controlled that definition very tightly. For a long time what was human was really white male. There's a feminist historian who said the period of time after the American Revolution was a very traumatic time period for women, because you had all this talk about human rights and yet women's rights were receding during that time. Human was defined as man, and implicitly it was defined as white.

We get movements that try to expand the definition of human because the recognition is that when something is defined as not human it does not have to be taken seriously — it can be abused, it can be misused. When I see the pin, "Feminism is the radical notion that women are human," I can't agree with that. I don't want to simply redefine human to include women. I want to problematize the definition of human, and especially the theological point of view that there's God, us humans and everyone else in this hierarchy.

Secondly, we can't accept the notion that the ends justify the means. And it seems to me that both meat-eating and the oppression of other people are justified because the end result is something that people want. *In The Sexual Politics of Meat*, I talk about the structure of the absent referent, that animals are made absent to meat-eating because they're killed. And they're made absent conceptually — people really don't want to be reminded that they're eating a dead cow, a butchered lamb, a slaughtered pig. And the absent referent then becomes a free-floating thing. For instance, meat becomes a metaphor for what happens to women. Other beings who are not held in high regard may be equally victimized by the means/ends dichotomy.

Thirdly, I'm against violence. Do the least harm possible. Oppression requires violence and implements of violence, and this violence usually involves three things: objectification of a



'I'm acting contrary to the order of the world as it now appears to me.'"

What about all the suffering?

McDaniel also considers the violence in nature as a theological problem.

"If you're honest, you've got to ask the question, what about all the suffering?" he says. "When the fox chases the rabbit, maybe the rabbit is giving himself to the fox — but it doesn't look like that. And maybe that last moment of agony is, in fact, ecstatic union with the divine — but it doesn't look like that."

In his 1989 book, *Of God and Pelicans*, he presents the pattern of pelican reproduction as a theological dilemma. The mother pelican lays two eggs, he explains, one of which hatches two days after the first. If the first chick survives, the second is rejected, kicked out of the nest and killed or left to starve.

"That second pelican chick became for me a kind of symbol of all that suffers," he says. "I had to say, where is God for that chick? And is this God's great design? Were predator-prey relations part of the plan? Well, what kind of God is that? That's a God who cares for the big picture but not the particulars, for the eco-systems but not the nodes in the web. And that's not the God of Jesus Christ.

"One person that worried about that, strangely enough, was John Wesley. He had this funny little sermon called 'The General Deliverance' in which he imagined heaven as a place to which all animals would go, too. He built upon Romans — the whole creation in groaning and travail awaits redemption at the end of time. He actually pictured animals as transcending their predatorial instincts, so when you go to heaven the lion loses its carniverousness. I think of my biologist friends saying, gosh, just accept reality, don't make them into something they're not — and I think there's wisdom in that critique. But I also think there's wisdom in



Wesley's hope. This creation does involve a kind of tragic dimension, and in some mysterious way we do hope for a deep peace that all living things enjoy."

Feminists, Buddhists and evangelicals

Along with process theology and the tradition-based approach of someone like Linzey, feminist and particularly eco-feminist thought has offered a framework that takes animals seriously. Theologians including Rosemary Ruether, Carter Heyward and Marjorie Procter-Smith have written on the topic, and Carol Adams — whose first book, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, came out in 1990 — has made it her primary area of focus [see interview, p. 8]. Adams developed the concept of the "absent referent" to describe the animal whose needs, interests and individuality disappear in the production of meat.

Theological scholarship has trailed behind philosophy and animal activism, Adams says.

"You have Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation* coming out in 1976, and Tom Regan's *Case for Animal Rights* in 1983, but it's not really till 1990, 1991 that people who were animal advocates deliberately tried to engage theologians and professors of religion. I think many people who are religious care very much about non-humans, and they want their understanding of their religious beliefs to correlate with that."

Adams says she has seen a lot of change in the past 12 years, "not just within religion and theology, but in terms of more young people raising issues about animals. The greatest rise in vegetarians right now is in the age group of 8 to 13. I think kids are naturally interested in vegetarianism and do not really want to hurt animals. Then, when they get into high school, they somehow discover a book like mine, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, and this concern about animals suddenly is given a different framework — a framework that not only explains why it's so legitimate, but shows being so that the being is seen as an object rather than as a living, breathing, suffering being; fragmentation, or butchering, so that the being's existence as a complete being is destroyed one way or another; and then consumption — either literal consumption of the non-human animal or consumption of the fragmented woman through pornography, through prostitution, through rape, through battering. So I see a structure that creates entitlement to abuse because within the structure of the absent referent the states of objectification and fragmentation disappear and the consumed object is experienced without a past, without a history, without a biography, without individuality.

The Witness: Many people today, especially with the growth of the environmental movement, would say that we shouldn't mistreat the earth or non-human creatures — but they would see the food chain as a natural or divinely ordained thing, and would not see animals eating animals and humans eating non-human animals as mistreatment.

Carol Adams: I think we end up with two problems within religious circles. Meat-eating is both naturalized and spiritualized. This happened at the American Academy of Religion (AAR) where we did the first-ever panel on animals several years ago. What was so profound about the experience was that the arguments I heard from people there — the scholars — were the same arguments I hear when I'm on call-in radio stations here in Texas. When it comes to animals, the level of engagement and thought is pretty undeveloped.

So meat-eating is naturalized. There are two things we need to respond to here. One is that, supposedly, we humans get to eat animals because we're different from animals — and then suddenly the justification for eating these non-humans is that other non-humans do it. We become inconsistent.

Secondly — and I think this is part of patriarchal culture — we not only symbolically uphold carnivores in our culture, we uphold what are called the top carnivores, carnivores that actually eat other carnivores. Most meat-eaters eat herbivores. Humans are a good example — we eat cows, lambs, etc. Yet we uphold lions and eagles in a cultural mythology — carnivorous beings who are actually more carnivorous than we are. The fact is, less than 6 percent of animals actually are carnivorous. We just have such an overabundance of carnivorous examples around — nature shows celebrate the carnivore — that we have a skewed view of why other animals actually die. Most other animals do not die because they are eaten by carnivores.

Now there are some people — ecologists, environmentalists — who say, I want to use everything and I thank the animal for the sacrifice, etc. I feel that this has a tendency to use the sacrificial language that Christianity has sort of sanctified without ever saying, well, maybe it's our turn to sacrifice. Why all these years

Matt Klicker, 1997 / THE IMAGE WORKS

is it only the non-humans who are to sacrifice themselves to the humans? Maybe it's time for the humans to sacrifice ourselves to the non-humans by not eating them. And secondly, how do we know that those animals wanted to be sacrificed — especially if that argument is coming from someone who is not a hunter? They use — in a sense they abuse — a native relationship with animals. Out of all the native ways of relating to non-humans, the only ones that are brought into the dominant culture are the ones that can be used to justify what we're already doing. There are lots of native cultures that didn't eat animals.

When we were at the AAR somebody stood up and said, it's a dog-eat-dog world. Well, my response is, no it isn't, dogs aren't eating dogs. Andrew Linzey, who really pioneered in this field, asked, didn't Jesus come to change that world? If we're Christians, why do we accept that it's a dog-eat-dog world in any of our relationships?

And if the naturalizing argument doesn't work, then the spiritualizing argument comes in: Well, we were given dominion, we are not like the other animals. But what is that dominion? The dominion in Gen. 1:26 is granted within a vegan world.

People spiritualize and they naturalize because they don't want to change — you could easily spiritualize and naturalize a whole different argument.

The Witness: You have advocated an ethic of care, rather than animal rights. How is this different?

Carol Adams: Well, my concern about animal rights language is that it arises within the same philosophical framework that gave us a differentiation between what was man/human and everyone else. The universal rights language is part of the notion of the Enlightenment man, who was an autonomous being separate from everyone else. In fact, no one is autonomous. We first learn in relationship. We learn to walk, we learn to talk in relationships. So the ethics of care critiques the notion of the autonomous man upon which the fundamental right is based.

But secondly, the language of animal rights came out of a need to prove that not only was it non-emotional, but it was manly. We're not getting upset about non-humans, it's not that it's upsetting — it's the right thing to do. And some of us have come along and said, it *is* upsetting. Being upset is a legitimate form of knowledge. Why can't we trust anger and other emotions that we feel when we hear about chickens being debeaked and veal calves being removed from their mothers in less than 24 hours? Why can't outrage and caring truly inform who we are as people?

People come back and say, you're saying women care more than men. No, we're saying that a male-identified form of that it's connected to being concerned about the status of women, the status of people of color. This is what I hear from people all the time. They want to change the world and changing our relationship to non-humans is part of changing the world."

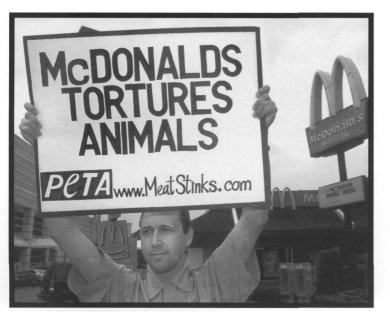
A recent book by Adams, *The Inner Art of Vegetarianism* (Lantern Books, 2000) is prefaced with a translation of a Sanskrit chant used at a yoga center: "May all beings be happy and free ... And may the thoughts and actions of my own life contribute in some way to that happiness and to that freedom for all." Adams wrote the book in an attempt to open dialogue between non-vegetarian spiritual practitioners and vegetarians without a spiritual practice, and her emphasis on Eastern spiritual practice (yoga and meditation) perhaps reflects another contemporary influence on Christian thinking about animals — namely, a growing interaction with Eastern tradition that held animals in higher regard.

As Mary Jo Meadow, a Christian teacher of insight meditation, writes in her 1994 book, *Gentling the Heart*:

"The first precept in Buddhist morality is not to kill any form of sentient life. This is not limited only to those animals we love to touch or pet. It also includes the kinds that crunch if we step on them, that whir or buzz around our heads, and that instill fear in us. Practicing *metta* [loving-kindness] extends this non-harming attitude into one of positive well-being.

"At Insight Meditation Society in Barre, Mass., where I frequently do long meditation retreats, animals seem to sense the non-harming atmosphere. Birds regularly alight on people's outstretched hands, even when they are not holding food. ... Dogs flock to the place from miles around; meditators must be asked to ignore them, so that they will be willing to return to their proper homes."

The ranks of Christian theologians and writers who are examining the spiritual significance of animals and our ethical responsibility toward them continue to grow. Evangelical writer J.R. Hyland — who wrote The Slaughter of Terrified Beasts in 1988 recently published God's Covenant With Animals. Stephen Webb, a religion professor at Wabash College and author of the book, On God and Dogs, wrote Good Eating, an examination of Christian vegetarianism from a traditional biblical perspective, and Baptist professor Richard Alan Young wrote Is God a Vegetarian? Unitarian minister Gary Kowalski, author of The Souls of Animals, has a new book titled The Bible According to Noah. A book called The Lost Religion of Jesus by Keith Akers - which suggests that the nonviolence, simple living and vegetarianism of early Jewish Christian communities may better reflect Jesus' teachings than the Pauline Christianity that won out in the canonical scriptures — has achieved significant popularity among animal advocates and is being taken seriously by theologians such as Walter Wink, who wrote the introduction. Although their approaches span the religious and philosophical spectrum and disagreements abound, all are grappling seriously with the human-animal relationship.



Rejecting 'might makes right'

For scholars and activists alike, the rubber often hits the road around questions of vegetarianism. Although not all would agree that meat-eating is inherently unethical, all would insist that it merits serious scrutiny, particularly in light of modern factory-farming practices.

"The vast majority of animals who live and die in the world are the animals who end up on people's dinner plates," Bruce Friedrich says. "Twenty-six billion animals per year, including sea animals, are eaten just in the U.S. — which is a daunting figure, since the human global population just passed six billion. So, for example, vivisection — which Gandhi called 'the blackest of black crimes that humanity is perpetrating' against other species — involves a fraction of that number, probably around 20 million animals. At the end of the day, I think that the taproot of humanitarianism, as Tolstoy said, is vegetarianism — because if, when we sit down to eat, we take the side of the strong against the side of the weak, and for no good reason at all we support violence and misery and suffering, I think it casts real doubt on all of our work for peace and justice in every other arena.

"I think of Jonah House and the Ploughshares movement, of which I remain a part, as working sort of top-down. It opposes the bomb, which is the epitome of an ecocidal culture. And then vegan advocacy works from the bottom up, recognizing that if people adopt compassionate diets — so that throughout the day you're making decisions against the moral paradigm of might makes right — that will cause a change in philosophical and religious understanding that would make the bomb impossible."

Friedrich recites the grim realities of modern factory farming. "As long as it's standard agricultural practice, anything goes." he says. "The animals have everything natural denied to them, they thinking has triumphed over a female-identified form of responding and thinking.

The Witness: Part of your argument is that we're dissociated from the animal we're actually eating, we don't see the animal because we've made it into "meat." But there's another kind of argument that says that the real problem is that we have become separated from farming, for instance, and living close to the land; that we're separated from all of those natural realities, and if we feel bad when we think about it it's just some kind of sentimentalism because farmers or hunters don't feel bad. Some people in the men's movement have felt they ought to go out and kill a deer almost as a ritual.

Carol Adams: What's wrong with being sentimental? It goes back to the ethics of care. Perhaps sentiment is what we need. If there's something that makes you uneasy, perhaps the thing is not to conform your emotions to what culture is telling you, but to conform culture to what your emotions are telling you, which is that there might be something wrong here.

I grew up in a farming community. I watched butchering as a child. My sister was allowed to dip the dead pig into the boiling water and there was a sort of gothic fascination there. And I'd go home and eat meat — there was a complete disconnect. We were fascinated, but those animals were others, those animals were objectified beings. It is a violent process — and most animals are not butchered down on the farm, they are butchered in a horrendous way.

And I think that this "be-a-man" notion is exactly what, as Christians, we challenge. What's the shortest verse in the Bible? "Jesus wept." What did Jesus do in the Temple? What was happening in the Temple? Animals were being sold, for heaven's sakes. Jesus was angry about a lot of things, but perhaps one of them was that other beings were being sold there.

The Witness: How do you see vegetarianism as a spiritual path?

Carol Adams: For me, doing the least harm possible is a very spiritual path and a path with integrity. People think they're going to harm themselves by giving up meat — there's some protective nature there that keeps them from connecting the dots about the environment and human well-being and health. It would be helpful for people to feel like being on a spiritual path includes interacting with change, even at the most basic level of what we're going to eat. Spiritual life is a life of abundance, but when it comes to meat-eating people think they're going to experience scarcity. The most important thing vegans can do is simply live a life of abundance.

Animal voices

by Bruce Campbell

IN A SPATE OF RECENT MOVIES, through the miracle of computer animation, animals have been talking back — in fact, they've been loquacious to the point of distraction, as if we'd uncorked millenia of unspoken animus. This is not new to art and literature, of course, in which animals have routinely intervened in human affairs to re-route our passions, acting as guides to truth or tempters to ruin. But movies have seized on this with a remarkable frenzy. We may not be far from the VeggieTales version of Balaam's ass.

At the level of the box office, it's fun, but what's really going on? When horror and science-fiction films of the 1950s depicted Blobs and Things and other experiments run amok, this was critically understood as an expression of our cultural neurosis about our growing dependence upon technology along with fear of our nuclear capabilities. The rise and fall of Westerns synchronized with the waxing and waning of our confidence in our ability to act as a global sheriff, rounding up the bad guys and suppressing primitive cultures. As this line of criticism goes, it's not that the writers meant it, or that audiences were conscious of it, but the popularity and timing tell us that something was going on.

Perhaps with these current films, we are sorting through whether animals are "trying to tell us something." We may have grown increasingly insecure with our beliefs about animals at just the point when we're trying to sort out when and whether fetuses are human, and how we will proceed with cloning and organ harvesting, and whether we'll transplant animals' body parts for our own. At the same time we focus more than ever before on meaning at the cellular level, the more the boundaries between us and the animal world have become flexible on the celluloid level.

We're in new territory, and we're desperate for answers. We've been comfortable with believing that humans were humans and animals were animals, but we're no longer comfortable with the distinction as we've framed it — in life or in film.

Bruce Campbell is a media review editor for The Witness.

have their bodies mutilated, they're pumped full of hormones and antibiotics. Chickens grow six to seven times as quickly as they did just 40 years ago — by the time they're slaughtered, in under two months, they can't even move comfortably anymore. I was just out in California looking at massive, feedlot-style dairy farms. These animals' udders are massive, they're just complete Frankensteinanimals. They're in chronic pain for their entire lives. Cows 30 or 40 years ago were walking around six or seven kilometers a day. Dairy cows these days basically just lie there on their massive udders waiting to be relieved of their agony. They're impregnated every year, their babies are stolen away from them within a couple days of birth — and in every single instance the animals scream out in fear and frustration just like a human mother would. I don't think anybody with a conscience should be supporting these sorts of relationships."

'The fear and dread of you will be upon them.'

Stephen Kaufman, an Ohio physician who is medical director of the Christian Vegetarian Association (www.christianveg.com), believes that many people simply haven't thought about food as a religious issue.

"Educating people about the facts of factory farming goes a long way toward helping them make choices about their diet that are consistent with their fundamental ethical principles," he says. "It's never made sense to me to see the species barrier as an appropriate place to define where compassion stops — and actually most people agree with me. Ninety-nine percent of people would say we shouldn't be cruel to animals. Most would assert that humans are much more important than animals — but such a perspective is not incompatible with what we're talking about. We don't maintain that the act of eating animals is inherently sinful or wrong, and we recognize that there are people who need to eat animals in order to survive. But here in America just about everybody has a choice. If eating animals is harmful to aspects of God's creation, I think our faith really encourages us to consider whether this is what we ought to be doing."

Friedrich sees parallels between the church's unquestioning support of meat-eating and its failure to question other injustices.

"I look at past social-justice movements and the unfortunate use of the Bible to entrench the wrong side in many instances, and I think we can see that happening with animals in some of the debates that continue to go on," he says. "If you look back to the debates in Congress as to whether slavery should have been abolished, the biblical citation that comes up is Genesis 9, where the Canaanites are sent into slavery — and that's cited as God's blessing of this human relationship. Interestingly, Genesis 9 is also what's cited as God's blessing on humans eating meat. If you look at the passage, it's very far removed from anything that we should be excited about identifying with." Kaufman agrees. "The price paid according to the story is a very profound one — that 'the fear and dread of you will be upon them.' We pay a heavy price for our taste for flesh, because we're no longer in communion with the other animals of God's creation. Will the sort of reconciliation that Isaiah prophesied happen? I don't know. But it's a vision that I find meaningful, so I try to make my life a part of that vision. The thing that I emphasize when I'm talking to people is, what is the compassionate world that we're hoping to live in? Even if we can't have that, isn't it something to seek and work toward?"

Many Christian activists — like Ryan Courtade, who organized Compassionfest are doing just that. Courtade, who became a vegetarian after seeing a pig being slaughtered while on a sixth-grade school field trip in Spain, has convened an extensive Internet community of animal advocates (www.loveallanimals.com).

"We have 50,000 members across the country — students, mostly," Courtade says. "Members receive action alerts — sometimes they send letters or petitions out in their own communities, or response letters to newspaper articles, or letters to government officials. Currently we have about 30 volunteers who run different campaigns for animal rights and compile the action alerts, petitions and letters."

Courtade is an active member of his parish, helping with a children's afterschool program, serving as an acolyte, and taking part in the Episcopal Youth Council. He feels supported by his church in his animal advocacy, he says.

"People in my church are always interested. I always get questions about the newest project that I'm working on, or the latest update on an event. I've never had anyone at church ridicule me for what I do. There's a lot of encouragement."

Courtade takes for granted the link between his faith and his activism: "When you have faith in God, you need to show compassion to every living thing."

Marianne Arbogast is associate editor of The Witness.

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HOLDING A WORLD



An interview with Linda Hogan

by Camille Colatosti

INDA HOGAN is an award-winning Chickasaw poet and novelist. Her works include *Red Clay*, *Eclipse*, *Seeing Through the Sun*, *Mean Spirit*, *The Book of Medicines*, *Solar Storms*, *Power*, *Sightings: The Mysterious Migration of the Gray Whale*, *The Woman Who Watches Over the World: A Native Memoir*, and *Dwellings: A Spiritual History of the Living World*. She is also co-editor, along with Brenda Peterson and Deena Metzger, of *Intimate Nature: The Bond Between Women and Animals*. Fulcrum Press will publish her forthcoming book, *Horses Running*, under the label of the Museum of American Indians.

Her writings explore the connection between humans and animals, as well as the relationships among all of the earth's creatures. As she explains in her preface to *Dwellings*, "As an Indian woman I question our responsibilities to the caretaking of the future and to the other species who share our journeys. These writings have grown out of those questions, out of wondering what makes us human, out of a lifelong love for the living world and all its inhabitants. They have grown, too, out of my native understanding that there is a terrestrial intelligence that lies beyond our human knowing and grasping."

Today Hogan, retired from teaching creative writing at the University of Colorado, lives in a small rural town, southwest of Denver. Her grandchildren are frequent visitors to her home, where she lives with two horses, a dog and a cat. There are also wild visitors: tree foxes, night owls, coyotes and at least one mountain lion. **CAMILLE COLATOSTI:** How did you become interested in the traditional relationship between indigenous peoples and animals? What is significant about this relationship?

LINDA HOGAN: When I think about the relationship between people and animals, the thing that I have always understood is that we are not only in relationship in an ecosystem but are as humble as the animals in our own rightful place. This is the difference between other religions and indigenous tradition. For Indians, if you are a seal hunter, you pray while you make your tools; you sing to the seal and you pray to the seal. You tell it why you are taking its life. If you are going to kill it, you respect it.

CAMILLE COLATOSTI: Did your background as a member of the Chickasaw Nation influence your relationship with animals?

LINDA HOGAN: My mother is of Germanic background and my father was Chickasaw. He was always good to animals but he was not traditional. My grandmother was kind and had a special relationship with animals. I remember that a large land tortoise was heading out and my grandmother stopped it and told the turtle not to go the way it was traveling because there were dogs there. The turtle turned around.

I have always had an empathic relationship with animals that can't be explained. I see this with horses. I live with two horses and am doing horse therapy with another named Thirsty. I have a brain injury and working with a horse is therapeutic for balance. Thirsty and I are an Cow worship, Nagpur, India 💿 DPA/JAH / THE IMAGE WORKS

IN BALANCE



Common people, like squirrel and sparrow

by Linda Hogan

IT IS A WARM AUTUMN DAY and we are driving east to release a golden eagle. We drive out past the farmlands with gold stalks of last year's corn bristling up from the flat fields, past hills showing the signs of a recent snow; moisture, a scattering of white. The front range of mountains is soft in the west behind us, the fields furrowed and lined where the mowers have been.

The eagle is quiet in a carrier in the back of the car. We drive with it past old, worn-looking houses, over railroad tracks, past trees twisted by years of shaping wind. We travel past a marsh of old, rattling cattails, and blue sky laying itself down on a snaking irrigation canal. There are rows of hay and grain silos. Antlers of deer and elk are nailed on the barns as if to say they are worshiped. And beneath all this is the black, rich earth.

As we reach the place where the eagle came from something inside the car changes; something strong and different is in the air. We stop talking, as if to listen. As soon as I feel it, Sigrid, the caretaker of injured raptors, feels it, too. She says of the eagle, "He knows he's home."

This feeling is a language larger than human, conveyed to us by the eagle we are transporting, the eagle we have held in our hands. Wordless, it seems to be a language spoken from and to the body. It enters skin, stomach, and heart. Feeling it, I can't help but think of the limits of our human language, what we can't speak, what we have no words for. It is clear there is a vocabulary of senses, a grammar beyond that of human making.

The eagle is still. He is waiting, listening. Looking back at him, I see what I can only call a look of wonder on his face, his beak slightly open, his eyes alert. The excitement and tension is strong and palpable, as if it had long been beyond the eagle's belief that he would ever return to this place. The changed climate in the car is so powerful that I am anxious; I want to pull over right away and let him go, but we drive farther, checking every small detail of the terrain, the currents of air, to make certain the tawny dark-eyed eagle will have the best chance for flight and survival. He needs a hill to rise from, a wide-trunked tree in the distance where he can sit in a branch and groom while he looks over the land and sky and decides what he will do. From past experience with birds, we know this; we have watched them do this many times before, an eagle, hawk, or owl sitting, taking in the world's terrain, even the parts of it we, with our limited human vision, can't see. He will look at the land and remember it, remembering the alive currents of air as they sweep the grasses as surely as we remember the contours of our own homelands.

Finally, finding the right place, we pull over and take him out of the

empathic pair. I think something and he will do it. I look at the barrel and say, "Okay, now let's go around the barrel," and Thirsty does this.

The Western mind has the idea that there is dominion over animals. If you see animals in a zoo, you do not see an animal, you see a creature of loss that has been created by humans, a marginal creature. All its significance has been taken away. The animal is without his environment. It has no den, no place where it catches food; it has nothing. Animals lose their very selves. Animals live very complex lives and have their own significant intelligence in their true environment. The Western mind does not see that.



Surrogate mother, Mishak Nzimbi with 1-month-old elephant.

CAMILLE COLATOSTI: What are some of the themes that stand out in indigenous stories about the human-animal relationship? LINDA HOGAN: There are a lot of different themes. There is the story that so many tell of the time when humans and animals could change into each other. There were times when animals and people spoke the same language, or when the animals helped the humans. For instance, our mythology says it was the spider who brought us fire.

I've thought about these human-animal relationships for years - is this true? Well, humans and animals existed together for many thousands of years without creating the loss of species. There was enormous respect given to animals. I have to trust the knowledge of indigenous people because it held a world in balance.

I have a special interest in ceremonies. I look at a ceremony

Vational Park, Kenya ©Louise Gubb / THE IMAGE WORK

called The Deer Dance. In the ceremony, I watch the entire world unfold through the life of the deer and a man dressed as a deer. The man dances all night. It is as if he were transformed into a deer. This is a renewal ceremony for the people. The deer that lives in the mountains far from the people provides them with life.

The purpose of most ceremonies — such as healing ceremonies — is to return one person or group of people to themselves, to place the human in proper relationship with the rest of the world. I thought that we were out of touch with ourselves 20 years ago. Now, with computers and email and cell phones, we are even more out of touch. How many of us even stay in touch with our own bodies? If we aren't inhabiting our own bodies, how can we understand animal bodies of the world?

CAMILLE COLATOSTI: How did you come to convene a meeting of tribal elders on endangered species concerns?

LINDA HOGAN: Because animals play such a central part in ceremonies and the history of tribes, I decided to invite a group of elders to get together to talk about animals.

One elder told us that in her tradition, the same word means power, energy, animal and God.

One of the most traditional, a man in his 80s named Howard Luke, who is an Alaskan Athabaskan, said that we do not live in a human-centered world. Animals are watching us and know what we are doing.

CAMILLE COLATOSTI: How do you address these ideas in your writing?

LINDA HOGAN: In my novel *Power*, there is a whole section where the main character is sitting in a boat and hearing what other people, including the panther people, are thinking. The panther talks about how the humans used to be beautiful people and what humans have now lost.

I just finished writing a book on American Indian horses, *Horses Running*. I have a wild horse and I think she is an American Indian horse. The Chickasaw had our own breed of horses. Chickasaw horses were short and stocky, and had necks that were so short that they had to get down on one knee to eat grass.

For years, our Chickasaw ponies were the most admired, and they were in high demand. But along the Trail of Tears were thieves, and the horses were stolen and eventually mixed with other breeds until they were gone. The Chickasaw didn't even make it to where we were supposed to go on the Trail of Tears. We stopped in Choctaw land, because we were all sick and exhausted.

My grandfather once found a horse that he thought was a Chickasaw horse, and he would not allow anyone else to ride it. The horse knew this. When my father was a boy, he tried to ride the horse and he got in trouble. The horse tried to throw him, run him into branches, and so on, until my grandpa went out and stopped them. carrier. With grief and joy mixed together in our hearts, we say goodbye and set him free, placing him on the ground. He looks around for only a moment and then, in a muscular rise, his long wings open, strong and wide, he pulls upward. This bird doesn't stop in a tree to wait and watch. He flies, the light on him gold and brown. His dark eyes watch us. He circles back one last time the way so many birds do, as if to say good-bye. And then he travels away until he is only a spot in the sky and soon he disappears altogether from our sight, although with his keener vision, we know that he still sees us where we stand on the autumn earth wondering, as I will always wonder, what was communicated by the bird to us, how it was spoken, how taken in.

This is how many stories begin: Long ago, when animals and human beings were the same kind of people, they understood each other. When the world was young, the animals, people, and birds lived together peacefully and in friendship. In these early days of the world, in some locations, animals and humans were equals and, it was said, they spoke a common language, across species bounds. Perhaps they spoke in the way the eagle's language was communicated to two women on that day of its return home.

MAGIC WORDS (ESKIMO)

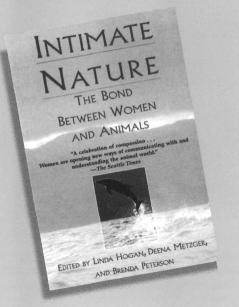
In the very earliest time, when both people and animals lived on earth, a person could become an animal if he wanted to and an animal could become a human being. Sometimes they were people and sometimes animals and there was no difference. All spoke the same language. That was the time when words were like magic. The human mind had mysterious powers. A word spoken by chance might have strange consequences. It would suddenly come alive and what people wanted to happen could happen all you had to do was say it. Nobody could explain this: That's the way it was.

LAST YEAR A GROUP OF TRIBAL ELDERS and thinkers came together to talk about our relationship with the animals. Alex White Plume, a Lakota man who was one of the originators of the buffalo restoration programs on tribal lands, said that as the buffalo were returning so were the native grasses, insects and birds. The people, too, returned to the traditions, stories, and the language, which itself reflects ecological relationships not contained by English. When taking back tradition, Alex said that the people looked again for their human place in the world. As we brought the animals back, he said, "We found that we, too, are just common people, like the squirrel and sparrow."

At the same gathering, Sarah James, a Gwich'in woman from interior Alaska, and the spokesperson for the caribou, said, "It was given to us by the creator to take care of the Earth. Every time we speak, we speak for tree, water, fish. We are trying to save the Caribou. I learn oil and gas rule the world, but we're not going to compromise to save the Caribou; they are the reason we are here today. We put ourselves in a humble position, no greater than bird or duck or plant. We're as humble as they are. I look at the mountain as if my life depends on it — for food, medicine — not just to see how beautiful it is. The animals can't speak for themselves, so we speak for them."

To be common people, humble people, how freeing that is. How much it offers us, placing us back in the participatory relationship with the world. It offers us the animal underpinnings of our own minds and bodies, and it is those we must rely on to bring us back to our humanity and compassion, to restore ourselves to our place.

— From Intimate Nature by Linda Hogan, Deena Metzger and Brenda Peterson, copyright © 1998 by Brenda Peterson, Deena Metzger and Linda Hogan (Introduction and Compilation). Used by permission of Ballantine Books, a division of Random House, Inc.



CAMILLE COLATOSTI: In your essay in *Intimate Nature*, you suggest that the stories of indigenous people and the wisdom the stories hold were suppressed by conquering peoples, but you also suggest that contemporary science is leading us back to the kind of knowledge that was suppressed. What do you mean?

LINDA HOGAN: I participate in Native Science Dialogues. There was one at the Navajo Community College in May. Native thinkers and traditionalists come together to talk with Western scientists about the significance of indigenous knowledge. Science is now catching up with what we know. Our elders have held and passed on enormous and elaborate understandings of the world, ecosystems and scientific philosophies.

A small example: a Comanche Indian woman says to an anthropologist, "I can look out there at that field and see seven different kinds of medicine and all you see are weeds."

CAMILLE COLATOSTI: You also write about your involvement with rehabilitating raptors. Why did you take on this work?

LINDA HOGAN: I started working in a wildlife rehabilitation center in Minnesota. I had moved to Minnesota and it was a very unhappy time in my life. I had an impossible job. I didn't realize the depth of racism there and my contact with nature was minimized.

I started working in the wildlife center because it was the only sane thing in a crazy world. Going there was like being back in touch with the world again. Then I came back to Colorado and I found Sigrid, a caretaker of injured raptors. We became friends. I began working with her. At first, she had a backyard operation. Then, it grew into a model facility with two intensive care buildings. Later, I even helped work at bingo games to get money for the medication that the birds needed. That became my life—to make sure that the birds were well taken care of.

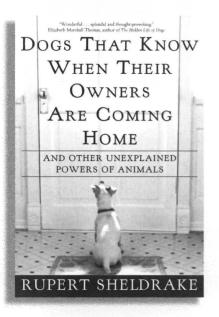
I did physical labor, at times even giving the birds showers — those who liked it, that is. Even the owls loved getting the showers. I would clean and sometimes we would cut deer meat and there wouldn't be a thought about it because we were doing it for the birds. We would cut up mice and wouldn't think about it and after a while mice meat even started to look kind of tasty.

One day, a bird came to Sigrid and made a lot of noise and wouldn't stop. So she followed this hawk to another who was caught in a fence. It took a lot of intelligence for the hawk to know to come to us. The hawk knew what Sigrid did there. It returned often to sit on the flight cage with its companion.

Working with the birds was central to my life and was my identity for a time. In an interview I was once asked what I was most proud of. They expected me to say the title of a book, but I said, "Working with birds." I love my writing but it is not the same as saving lives, not the same as being in the world every day. But in my writing, I try to make a feel for that natural world, to use words to make wholeness out of what's been broken.

Camille Colatosti is Witness staff writer.





by Marianne Arbogast

I once cared for my parents' dog, Buster, while they took a two-week vacation. Each evening when I returned from work, Buster would head outdoors for a brief run, then come back to follow me around the house or persuade me to take him for a walk. On the night they were due home, however, he planted himself on the grass in the front yard and watched the road, facing the direction from which they would return.

To many people, stories like this may seem curious but inconsequential. To Rupert Sheldrake, author of *Dogs That Know When Their Owners Are Coming Home*, they offer threads which, when tugged, have the potential to unravel an entire worldview which fetters modern science.

"The mechanistic theory of life, still the dominant orthodoxy, asserts that living organisms are nothing but complex genetically programmed machines," writes Sheldrake, an English biochemist. "They are supposed to be inanimate, literally soulless."

As a child, Sheldrake enjoyed relationships with pets and was fascinated by homing pigeons. But as a student, he experienced a dissonance between his personal experience and scientific methodology.

"As a general rule, the first step we took when studying living organisms was to kill them or cut them up," he found. Working a student job with a pharmaceutical company,

Dogs That Know When Their Owners Are Coming Home

And Other Unexplained Powers of Animals by Rupert Sheldrake, (Three Rivers Press, New York, 1999)

he observed "rooms full of rats, guinea pigs, mice and other animals waiting to be experimented on. At the end of each day dozens of animals that had survived various tests were gassed and thrown into a bin for incineration. A love of animals had led me to study biology, and this was where it had taken me."

His desire to understand what had gone wrong led Sheldrake on a quest that included studying the history of science and philosophy on a Harvard fellowship; earning a doctorate on plant development at Cambridge; joining the Epiphany Philosophers - an eclectic group of students, scholars and monks who gathered at an Anglican monastery for four weeks each year to explore holistic science and religion; and working in India to improve crops for subsistence farmers. While in India, Sheldrake - who had been studying Hinduism and Sufism - was drawn back to his Christian root tradition through the influence of Bede Griffiths, an English Benedictine with an ashram in southern India.

Sheldrake is best known for his theory of "morphic resonance," which he defines as "an influence of like upon like across time and space." He believes, for example, that "if rats in Sheffield learn a new trick, rats all around the world should be able to learn it quicker just because the rats have learned it there" (*Natural Grace*, Matthew Fox and Rupert Sheldrake, Doubleday, 1997). "Morphic fields" are the connections through which this occurs.

"There are many kinds of social bonds within species, like those between a mother cat and her kittens, a bee and the other members of the hive, a starling in a flock, a wolf and its pack, and a great variety of human social bonds," he writes in *Dogs That Know*. "Then there are social bonds between species, like those between pets and their owners. ... I propose that these bonds are not just metaphorical but real, literal connections. They continue to link individuals together even when they are separated beyond the range of sensory communication."

Sheldrake's book is filled with stories of cats that disappear when a trip to the vet is in the offing, dogs that howl when human companions die far from home, parrots that regularly anticipate a family member's return from work. Controlled experiments have convinced Sheldrake that such behavior is not easily explained away, by acute animal hearing, for example, or a regular pattern to human schedules. The fact that it is generally ignored by scientists is due, he believes, to two taboos: the taboo against taking pets seriously (which he attributes to "the split attitudes toward animals" in a society that depends on animal exploitation), and the taboo against taking psychic or "paranormal" experiences seriously.

"I believe there is much to be gained by ignoring these taboos," Sheldrake writes. "I also believe there is much to be gained by following a scientific approach. ... The path of investigation is more in the spirit of science than the path of denial. And it is certainly more fun."

There are "big issues at stake," Sheldrake believes. "There is no doubt that we have much to learn from our dogs, cats, horses, parrots, pigeons and other domesticated animals. They have much to teach us about social bonds and animal perceptiveness, and much to teach us about ourselves. ... We are on the threshold of a new understanding of the nature of the mind."

Marianne Arbogast is associate editor of The Witness. Rupert Sheldrake's work can be found at his website, <www.sheldrake.org>.

HORSES, HEALING



AND LIBERATION

Beginning a therapeutic riding center

by Carter Heyward

G T HANK YOU for giving me my daughter." This epitaph by a woman to a horse named Woody was in response to the pivotal role Woody had played in helping her autistic daughter begin to speak for the first time.

My companions and I heard about Woody in May 2000 when we visited "Flying Changes," a therapeutic horseback-riding center in Topsham, Me., founded about 10 years ago by Barbara Goudy, a creative lover of horses and humans. Barbara told us that Woody, who had died only a few weeks before our visit at the ripe old horse-age of 35, had been a cast-away horse in 1993. She had been drawn to him as he stood in the corner of a dark stall at a horse auction, where his most likely future would have been to become a tasty item on a European menu. Instead, Woody went home with Barbara Goudy and went on to become the "Therapy Horse of the Year" for the North American Riding for the Handicapped Association (NARHA). Again and again, during his seven years as a therapy horse, Woody played an instrumental role in bringing autistic children to speech. Upon his death, thank-you notes and prayers of gratitude poured in from all over southeast Maine and from elsewhere in the nation.

The Woody story, and conversations with Barbara Goudy and others who have initiated or participated in therapeutic horseback-riding programs in the last couple of decades, persuaded me that I share this vocational pull. And so in the summer of 2000, with a hearty team of friends and colleagues, Maureen McManus, an acupuncturist and body worker in Brevard, N.C., and I began to lay foundations for a program in therapeutic horseback-riding and education in the mountains of western North Carolina.

In September 2000 we named this program "Free Rein." A few weeks later, Free Rein's Board of Directors met for the first time and hired as our Executive Director a woman, Carolyn Bane, whose experiences both as an equestrian and in working with special-needs children made her a promising choice for this position. In October Free Rein was incorporated by the state of North Carolina and, in March 2001, we heard from the IRS that we were officially a tax-exempt non-profit organization, which meant that we could begin to raise money. This, of course, is a challenge we share with a gazillion other "nonprofits" in these times in which we're all competing for relatively tiny portions of the huge charitable pie.

The pastoral is the political

How did this begin for me, this interest in therapeutic horseback-riding that I seem to share not only with other white middle-class crones (women "of an age," or fast approaching) but also former president Reagan's family and probably many other folks I have never been in the same political or theological room with, and until now would have had a hard time carrying on a conversation with, unless it were about horses and healing in very limited ways?

It began for me long before I ever thought about being a priest, theologian, seminary teacher or writer. As far back as I can remember, like many girls of my social location and many others as well, I've been fascinated by horses; and just as far back, I've known to my bones that the (pastoral) work of healing and the (political) work of liberation are closely and inextricably connected. For me, making these connections is the heart and soul of both feminism and Christian faith, which is why I am both feminist and Christian and will be as long as I live. Feminism and Christianity, which are mutually interactive, always call us more fully into ministry among the cast-offs, humans and other creatures alike.

For this reason I do not regard the therapeutic horseback-riding movement as non-political, much less a reactionary turning away from the realms of justice-making and the struggles against oppression. Of course it can be used in this way, as can any ministry of healing. Perhaps many of its proponents would choose to view it this way, as they might any other charitable work. But how much more challenging and exciting to assume that working with individuals with physical and mental disabilities, and with communities of people who are "at risk" in society, is necessarily political work! By people at risk, I mean kids of color, I mean poor kids, I mean teenagers in trouble with the law, kids

The horse is the priest

ONCE I HAD DECIDED to initiate a therapeutic riding program, I began talking with everyone I could about how to do it. In May 2000, shortly after meeting Barbara Goudy at "Flying Changes," I happened to be at a seminary conference and was having breakfast with Larnie Otis, a former student at Episcopal Divinity School who is currently a priest in Maine. As we were catching up, I mentioned to Larnie my emerging interest in therapeutic riding. She put down her fork, shook her head as if in astonishment, and turned to me, excitement in her voice. She said that, prior to seminary, she herself had been deeply involved in therapeutic horseback-riding and I'll never forget the words that came out of Larnie's mouth: "If you move in this direction, Carter, you'll discover that the horse is the priest." At this point, her eyes teared up, and we two priests sat in silence, both a little stunned by the impact of this claim. More than a year later and still early in the operations of "Free Rein," our therapeutic horseback-riding center in North Carolina, I am just beginning to take in some the meanings of these words — the horse is the priest.

First of all, even from a rather traditional Christian perspective, to assert that the horse is priest is not simply to lift up a poetic image, nor is it hyperbole. It is theology, good theology, the kind rooted in a living spirituality. If God is the creative wellspring of all that lives and breathes and loves, and if God meets us through those who offer us occasions to drink from this healing spring, then surely it is this same holy spirit that a horse offers to the child or adult who comes, seeking strength. The priest in catholic tradition is, after all, fashioned theologically as a mediator, one who stands at the altar for both God and humanity, in some way representing each to the other. This is what the horse is doing at the altar of the therapeutic arena — bringing together the human rider and her/his restorative, healing power; helping open the rider to this sacred energy and, we can faithfully presume, helping open God to the embodied yearnings and needs of a particular human (and horse?).

From this very catholic perspective, therapeutic horseback-riding, like the eucharist, can be an occasion of thanksgiving, in which humans and our divine life are united through our human participation in the holiest of "sacrifices" — God's giving up of divine control in order to be there with, and for, those in need. Giving its body over to the human need for strength and health, the horse represents God in this transaction. The horse also represents our human moral capacity to give ourselves over to empowering one another and other creatures to go together (walking, trotting, cantering, if you will) in right, more fully mutual, relationship, in which we move together, more nearly as one, a people united.

At the same time, the human rider, empowered through the horse — like all who partake of the holy eucharist — represents all humans and other creatures who need to draw our strength, our sacred power, from struggling for right, justice-making, compassionate connectedness with one another. This right relation is forged through our willingness, following Jesus, to give up our spiritually ignorant claims to autonomy and independence in order to be there for one another in an authentically holy communion. The building of such community — like the creative relational connectedness between horse and rider and those who accompany them — always generates sacred space in which miracles can happen.

That's a fairly traditional Christian interpretation of the horse's role as priest. But it pushes well beyond catholic interpretation in one way and protestant in another. And both and adults struggling to recover from addictions of various sorts, battered women and children, women and men who are mentally ill, senior citizens who are depressed because they feel expendable and invisible, and many others.

Therapeutic horseback-riding is one of a million charitable undertakings that can be, and should be, subversive in its lessons and liberative in its healings not only of individuals but also communities. In good faith, our healing work - as instructors, board members, volunteers, indeed as pastors in the broadest sense, regardless of what if any religious affiliations cannot stop with a child's learning to speak, as exhilarating as this is for the child, her family and friends, her teacher, and perhaps (who knows?) the horse whose energy has touched her. It's wonderful that we focus intently upon the individual horse and rider while they are working in the arena. It's wonderful and the healing process doesn't stop here, because every individual is part of a larger whole, a community, a society that is also in need of healing.

Toward a just, creature-loving world

We are called to pay attention to the social and personal dimensions of healing and liberation. Folks involved in therapeutic horseback-riding are in a good position to do so. There are, after all, hundreds of therapeutic riding centers in the U.S. and Europe, where it originated as a movement in the middle of the 20th century. Therapeutic horseback-riding is fast becoming a respected form of community work and a favorite recipient of charitable donations because it is often such an effective resource of empowerment for disabled and cast-away children and adults. As workers in this context, we can be effective community organizers, and this is what we need to be doing.

We need to be attentive to how "our people" and "our horses" — socially marginalized people and creatures — are regarded and treated at local, state, and national levels of our life together. We share not only a vocation to helping horses help people — and helping people help horses — but also to helping our government help people rather than casting aside those with pressing needs for food, education, health care, and basic respect, as well as those with special needs due to disabilities. This means that we work for social change wherever and however we can. And it means that, wherever possible, we work together we in the therapeutic riding world as well as folks in other nonprofits and in those organizations and movements that are committed to the struggles for justice.

We encourage and delight in the children and adults who come to us. We also work against the racism which continues to disable our communities, regardless of our ethnic and cultural roots, and which plays no small part in shaping how individuals are able to handle their own and others' handicaps. We marvel as children on horseback squeal with delight. We also raise our voices against the sexual and gender injustices which invariably are playing some role in determining how people experience and express their needs. We groom and care for our horses. We also question why most horses, like most humans, in this and other societies are treated with contempt and valued primarily, even only, for the profit they generate. We love our horses, our students and clients, our work, our communities - and, because we do, we become rabble-rousers on behalf of a more fully just, deeply creature-loving community and world.

So then, back to Woody. Free Rein has just witnessed an autistic child's first speech — Sean spoke to "Max" the other day, and we are still reeling from the joy and astonishment of the kind of breakthrough that many who know autism say is "miraculous." Working in a therapeutic riding program is working amidst the possibilities of miracles each day. It helps me ponder the Bible in fresh ways with eyes and mind wide open. But I'm also aware that, in the Bible as well as here today in places like Free Rein and Flying Changes, there is another kind of miracle that we Christians are called to expect — the miracle of local communities and state and national movements of people organized across culture and class not simply to feed the hungry, but to eliminate hunger; not simply to clothe the naked and shelter the homeless, but to eliminate poverty; not simply to administer to those with disabilities of many kinds, but to create a social order in which solidarity with disabled and marginalized people and creatures has become a way of life; not simply to care for horses and humans, but to struggle for a world in which horses, humans, and all creatures are treated with respect and invited to share in a common-wealth. These are the miracles we horse lovers, human lovers, Christians, feminists, and other justice workers are called to expect and, by God, to generate.

Carter Heyward is a professor of theology at Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Mass., and Chair of the Board of Directors of Free Rein Center for Therapeutic Riding and Education in Brevard, N.C. of these movements beyond much of our theological heritage are significant: The images offered above move beyond catholicism in the implicit assumption that the human rider as well as the horse can be priest. The autistic child, the teenager at risk, the addicted woman or man not only represents our human/creaturely need for one another's presence and solidarity. These riders also offer us experiences and images of the sacred power that touches and changes not only human life, but the rest of creation as well.

At its best, therapeutic horseback-riding is a mutual endeavor, in which the horse, as well as the rider, is affected — touched, empowered, often brought to new life. For many feminist Christians, this radical mutuality rings deeply true in the Jesus story as well, in which the brother from Nazareth is not the only agent of sacred, healing power. Rather, like the horse, Jesus receives healing energy even as he gives it. Indeed, his sacred power is "sacred" precisely because it is shared — a powerfully holy spirit because it belongs to no one, but rather to all.

In the Jesus story, in the Christian eucharist, and in therapeutic riding, God is not simply represented by Jesus, the ordained priest, or the horse. God is the power, the sacred healing energy, that is generated between and among all the characters in the drama — Jesus and the rest of people, the priest and the rest of the people, the horse and the rider and the rest of the creatures, human and others, with them. Larnie Otis was right: The horse is the priest; and so is the person with special needs who comes seeking healing and strength.

The implication of this theology that spins us way beyond protestantism is its profound affirmation of creatures-other-than-human as being as much in God, of God, and part of God's healing, liberating work as we humans can be. Is it a sacrilege or a sacramental revelation to affirm that the horse, like Jesus, is our priest? Does it move us outside the bounds of Christian faith, or can it deepen and radicalize our Christian witness, to claim that therapeutic horseback-riding is as filled with the presence and power of the living God as any place of Christian worship can be?

As a priest, I have no doubt that Christian worship and sacrament has for too long been not only patronizingly male-centered but also arrogantly human-centered. We have

been unfaithful to the rest of God's creation, and thus to God. Realizing this in my soul, I am grateful to be able to turn to the horse and rider as my own priest. I am filled with awe in my yearning to be open to whatever God may be teaching us in new ways. Or is it that we are being called to something God has been teaching since before the worlds began — an ancient wisdom, a dimension of Sophia, which some of us late learners may be hearing and seeing for the first time? In the context of therapeutic riding, is my vocation now to become an acolyte to horse and rider?

— A version of this reflection is included in Carter Heyward's new book, God in the Balance: Christian Spirituality in Times of Terror, The Pilgrim Press, 2002.



Christian Spirituality in Times of Te

INSEEING

The monks and dogs of New Skete

by Morgan Van Wyck

t IS ONE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING. Outside it is pitch dark and the ground still covered with snow. It is time once Lagain to witness the miracle of birth. Father Marc, who will this night act as midwife, turns on the light in his cell. He has been roused by Kirka, the German shepherd who sleeps each night at the side of his bed. Making their way to the kennel complex with the aid of a flashlight, the expectant mother begins whining, restlessly churning up the nest prepared for her in the immaculate and roomy space. He stoops down to soothe her and it is clear that she accepts his presence. They have been through this before.

It will be hours before Father Marc is able to rest: Nothing in this place is left to chance. He will stay until all the puppies are born and cleaned of the afterbirth, and until he is certain that the new family is enjoying their first meal. Although they do not know it, these small German shepherd pups are extremely fortunate. Their caretakers for the next seven or eight weeks will be the monks of New Skete.

In the late sixties, 12 Eastern Orthodox monks purchased 500 rocky and forested acres on Two Top Mountain in upstate New York near the Vermont border. Having their own land, they felt, would better allow them to put their monastic beliefs into practice. Here, surrounded on all sides by the Catskills, Adirondacks and Green Mountains, they began to explore the possibility of breeding and training dogs as a way to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

Since then, over a period of more than 30 years, the monks of New Skete have built an impressive reputation as dog breeders and handlers. They have authored two best-selling books on the subject and have just completed a three-part training video. People throughout North America visit them, bringing companion dogs exhibiting a wide variety of behavioral problems. Three weeks later, having passed through the monks' training program, the dogs will go home cooperative and happy companions.

Father Marc has been a member of New Skete since the beginning.

"When we first moved here," he explains, "we had a wonderful male German shepherd whom we called Kyr, which means Your Eminence. He was a large, beautiful, and wonderfully tempered dog. He had been born at the Institute for the Blind but they had been unable to use him in their program. He was pretty much a member of the community and we began to experience what a dog of this intelligence and background could do for an individual and for a community, as far as enhancing the quality of our social and emotional life here."

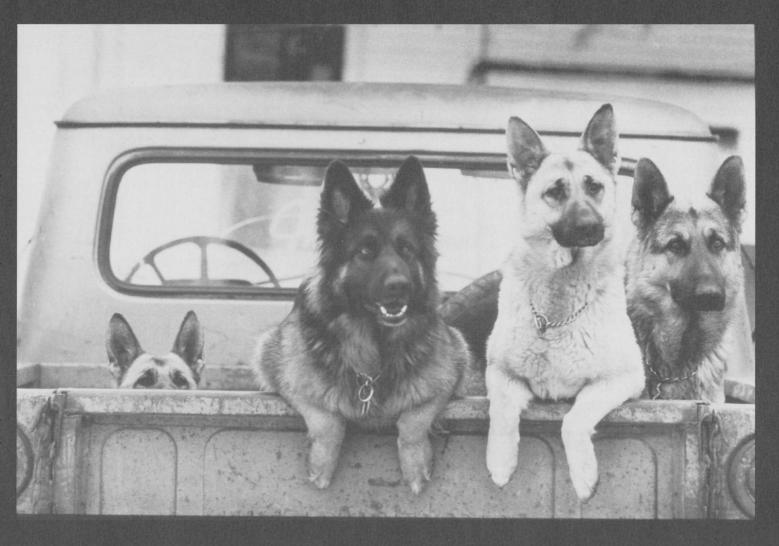
Before initiating the breeding and training programs the monks were helped in their understanding of the canine mind by another member of the community, Brother Thomas. He trained the German shepherds to live in the monastery as a group, and in a way which was appropriate for the environment. Every new monk who entered the community spent a period of aprenticeship with Brother Thomas.

In their first book, How to Be Your Dog's Best Friend, they explain: "More than merely instructing [us] in handling skills and techniques ... Brother Thomas tried to communicate an intuitive way of dealing with dogs. He emphasized 'listening' to the animal and 'reading' the dog's reactions. His training and handling skills were passed on in an oral tradition that is still alive at New Skete."

The monastic experience calls one to go beyond words and to live, as Brother Christopher puts it, "a life without division." It is an important point, since only in this way can one appreciate the extent to which, in the process of raising and training dogs, the monks have also enriched their own spiritual practice. Frequently, for example, the monks speak about the discipline of "inseeing," a term they borrowed from their readings of the German poet Rilke.

Father Laurence, the abbot of New Skete, regards inseeing as the true meeting place of the contemplative mind with the natural world: "Inseeing is being willing to look at another living thing in a way that allows for seeing it in and of itself. It is respecting this 'other' for what it is, without trying to change it or

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"More than merely instructing [us] in handling skills and techniques ... Brother Thomas tried to communicate an intuitive way of dealing with dogs." own it. In this struggle to deepen one's understanding one is enriched, given life, no matter how limited one's success in this endeavor."

It follows, therefore, that in the creation of their dog training and handling programs the monks would begin with respect for what the dog needed and would approach it in a uniquely holistic way. While most dog training regimes are strictly utilitarian, limited to the sit, down, stay, come and heel commands, the monks approach each dog, says Father Marc, "as a unique creature." And further, "Instead of seeing training as our main approach, training is just one element that fits into the larger element of socialization, one aspect of it. But we try to fill in other aspects too, which means the human-dog bond, the emotional bond, the working relationship, the dog and the human as fellow pack members."

The association of monastic figures with dogs has a rich history. The story of St. Francis of Assisi and the taming of the Wolf of Gubbio is probably the best known of all. In the case of St. Dominic, the dog became associated with spiritual enlightenment. The story is told that before St. Dominic's birth his mother dreamed she carried in her womb a black and white dog that would come forth, carrying a torch in its mouth and setting the world on fire.

In another story the Irish Brigit (453–523), asked to prepare a dish for a distinguished nobleman visiting her father's house, was given five choice pieces of bacon. A starving hound found its way to her kitchen and evidently suffering greatly from hunger, was given three of the pieces of bacon. Each piece fed to the dog was miraculously replaced. Then seen as blessed food, the dish was offered to the poor.

The monks at New Skete gained understanding of the dogs' needs from their research into wolves, believed by many to be the domesticated dog's nearest relative. Dogs, like wolves, are pack animals and as such do not tolerate being isolated for long periods of time. In the domesticated environment, humans become responsible for providing the physical and emotional closeness formerly provided by the pack. Additionally, both dogs and wolves are responsive to leadership; in fact, without it they become unruly and emotionally chaotic. Brother Christopher, who is primarily responsible for the training of outside dogs, explains:

"We really paid attention to what dogs are on a natural level through studying wolves and becoming more sensitive to what dog behavior really means. From that, we began to apply those lessons to our own situation of forming relationships with dogs and expanding on the pack concept.

"Inseeing is being willing to look at another living thing in a way that allows for seeing it in and of itself."

"We saw for ourselves that dogs are very conscious of social hierarchies, that they require leadership. Because this is a sort of laboratory — we currently live with 15 dogs here in the monastery itself — we had an experiential awareness of these principles. We were able to see how they worked in real life and how they not only enhanced our lives but how they enhanced the dogs' lives.

"To be fair to the dog, I have to enter into a relationship with the dog as dog. I have to listen to the dog, to what the dog's needs are. I have, for example, to assume the role of leadership that the dog requires for it to really achieve its potential, to really flower."

This is key to understanding the principles which inform every aspect of their handling and breeding programs. From the moment a new litter of pups is born, and in all their interactions with their own and others' dogs, the monks of New Skete work to bring the animal as close to its potential as possible.

From the first week of life, for example, New Skete pups are exposed to a moderate amount of physical handling. The monks say that this handling, although somewhat stressful, helps the dogs develop into adults with superior problem-solving abilities and a greater degree of emotional balance than counterparts raised in the absence of such stimulation.

In one such exercise, Father Marc lifts a four-week-old puppy into the air on the end of outstretched hands. For two or three minutes the small rotundity may voice its protest, experiencing for the first time a sense of height, the chill of the air, and its own aloneness away from the familiar warmth and sounds of litter-mates and mom.

In addition to increasing the heart rate, the monks say this also "causes an involuntary hormonal reaction in the adrenal-pituitary system, a help in resisting disease and handling stress. The overall effect of this is to prime the entire system, building it up and making it more resilient to emotionally challenging experiences later on in life. When puppies receive consistent, non-traumatic handling, they become more outgoing and friendly and show less inclination to be fearful once they are older."

At the end of the exercise Father Marc gently lowers the pup to his chest, where he will hold it and speak in a reassuring tone of voice. Eventually the pup will approach the whole episode with a totally relaxed and nonchalant attitude. The repetition of a simple action, stressful but not overwhelmingly so, and followed by reassurance and affection, is one of many that will, over the weeks remaining before they go to new homes, lay the foundation of confidence, trust in humans, and emotional health.

Thomas Merton once wrote that a monastic community "challenges the modern mind." At New Skete this has taken on new meaning. In their search for answers to the question, "What does it mean to be human?" the monks at New Skete have been led into a lengthy, experiential enquiry into "What is dog?"

Morgan Van Wyck has a golden retriever named Deva who has been raised the New Skete way. This article is adapted from a longer version which first appeared in Shambhala Sun, 1585 Barrington St., Ste. 300, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada B3J 128.

LOSING HEAVEN

by Irene Monroe

HEAVEN WAS THE FIRST OF MY PETS TO DIE. She was

survived by her lifelong feline sibling and rival. Poochi: her feathered siblings: Eenie and Meenie — cohabitating finch lovers, Troilus — a 23-year-old dove, and Bird D — a parakeet rapper; and a host of her canine cronies. Unfortunately, Heaven did not live to meet her new canine sibling, Earth, a.k.a Midnight.

I found Heaven on a Sunday in the summer of 1982 while walking home from church. Noticing this cute 6-month-old Australian-shepherd-mix puppy outside of the bodega just a block away from my house, I thought she was the proprietor's new pet. When I went into the store to inform Hector that his puppy was death caught me completely unprepared for the range and intensity of emotions I would experience. The tightness in my throat and the heaviness in my chest lasted for months, because there was a gaping hole in my life: Her physical presence, our daily routine, and the social and emotional interaction I had become accustomed to were suddenly gone. As I grieved her death, I realized there were few resources to support bereaved pet owners. Too often we keep our pain hidden because we are embarrassed or afraid no one will understand. However, I felt her absence warranted my grieving — publicly and privately because Heaven had taught me many life lessons. The two that stand out

running loose, he told me she was a stray that had been hanging around all week. Deciding on the spot that I would take her, I purchased a box of dog biscuits and wooed her home.

Episcopal Church / DFMS. Heaven got her name not because she was by any means an angel. In truth, Heaven was quite hellish most of her life and she possessed both deva and devilish gualities. She got her name from the African-American hymn, "When We All Get to Heaven," which we had sung in church that Sunday, and Copyright 2020. which was still playing in my head as I walked home.



the most are the lesson about the preciousness of life and the lesson that love knows no species boundaries.

The Christian gospel is founded on the premise that love knows no boundaries, and animals are inseparable from that proclamation. Christian compassion mandates that we covenant with one another ----humans with humans and humans with animals. In wanting to celebrate the covenantal relationship I had with Heaven, and by extension with other

Heaven died at the age of 11 on July 16, 1993, at Angell Memorial Hospital, from inflammation of the lungs. Just 10 days before, Heaven and I had been swimming in Spy Pond without a worry in the world. She had spent eight days in the canine intensive care unit when the dreaded call came. Heaven's time was approaching, her veterinarian told me, so please hurry to the hospital to say goodbye. At four o'clock that morning I held Heaven in my arms, singing to her "Take My Hand, Precious Lord," as I watched her expel her last breath of life.

Early that morning, when I walked away from Angell Memorial Hospital without Heaven, I had no idea I would plummet into a state of deep despair. Her pet owners and their animals, past and present, I performed a "Blessing of the Animals" worship service. On July 31 at Old Cambridge Baptist Church people brought their animals or pictures of their deceased ones to place on the altar. During a "Testimonial of Our Friends" in the service, I thanked Heaven for the generosity of her love and for the wonderful years of our life together.

Irene Monroe is a doctoral candidate at Harvard Divinity school. Her 'Queer Take' columns are a regular feature on <www.thewitness.org/agw>.

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Liturgy of the cosmos

In an interview with Derek Jensen in *The Sun* (5/02), Thomas Berry suggests that "there is a cosmological order that might be called the 'great liturgy,' and that the human project is validated by ritual participation in this natural order. Our job, as humans, is to be a part of the great hymn of praise that is existence.

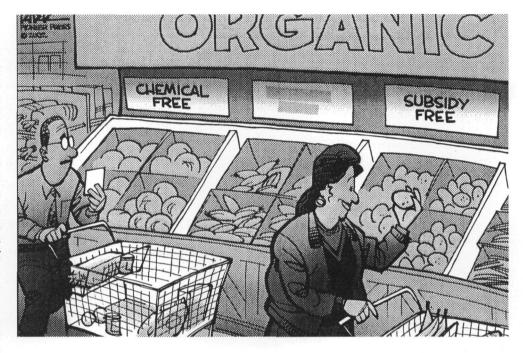
"We have lost touch with the cosmological order. The precise hour of the day is more important to us than the diurnal cycles. We're so busy worrying - Will I get to work on time? Will I avoid rush-hour traffic? Will I get to watch my favorite television program? ---that we have forgotten the spiritual impact of the daily moments of transition. The dawn is mystical, a moment to experience the wonder and depth of fulfillment found in the sacred. The same is true of nightfall, and of bedtime, when we pass from consciousness to sleep and our subconscious comes forward. Children, in particular, know that bedtime is magical. Their parents talk to them in a different way at this time: tender, sensitive, quiet.

"There are magical moments in the yearly cycle, too. One is the winter solstice, the turning point between a declining and an ascending sun. It's a moment of death in nature, and a moment when everything is reborn. We have lost touch with this once intimate experience.

"Then, in the springtime, humans are meant to wonder at the new life and to ceremonially observe succession. This leads to the fulfillment of summer, and then to the harvest, another time of gratitude and celebration, but also the beginning of the movement toward death."

Blue/green movement

A small but growing "blue/green" movement is bringing labor organizers and environmental activists together to challenge threats to economic and biological sustainability, Bryony Schwan of Women's Voices for the Earth writes in *Resist* newsletter (4/02).



"One of the most important blue/green efforts of late has been the diverse coalition of labor and environmental organizations including the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the Sierra Club, the United Steelworkers of America, District 11, the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees, the Just Transition Alliance and many others — who have been working to find a solution to global warming that protects workers and the economy."

Schwan reports that in February of this year, "the coalition (whose unions represent more than three million workers) along with the Union of Concerned Scientists released a joint statement stating, 'Global warming is a problem that needs to be solved. The science is clear on that point. The only question is whether we will approach the global warming problem in a way that protects workers and communities, or a way that further enriches large energy corporations.'

"More work lies ahead for these new blue/green efforts. Labor unions must educate

their rank and file about environmental issues, that environmentalists are not their enemies and that worker-friendly solutions can be found. Environmental groups must educate their members that supporting organized labor in their struggles and looking for environmental solutions that protect workers are critical to the success of their own campaigns."

Healthcare for women prisoners in "dark ages"

As far as healthcare goes, women in prison "might as well be living in the dark ages," Cynthia Cooper writes in *The Nation* (5/6/02). "In the area of reproductive amd breast cancers, prisons fail in prevention, screening, diagnosis, treatment, continuity of care, alleviation of pain, rehabilitation, recovery — and concern."

In 1999, Amnesty International documented "egregious violations of women's medical care" in a report titled "Not Part of My Sentence," and issued an alert in 2001 "questioning the unexplained death of nine women in the California system," Cooper says. "Effectively protected from public scrutiny, the barbed-wire medical system is uncoordinated, underfunded and has almost zero accountability. Doctors are ill-trained and overburdened, and even competent ones can be trumped by correctional personnel. 'It's like Alice going down into a rabbit hole,' says Bonnie Kerness, a lawyer who directs the American Friends Service Committee's Prison Watch project in New Jersey.

"A pattern of failures across the nation points to systemic pathology. 'Every single state will tell you women's healthcare is the top problem in women's prisons,' says Lucy Armendariz, a former ombudsman for women prisoners in California, now working as counsel to the state's legislature. The federal government refuses Medicaid payments for prisoners, placing the entire burden on states. 'And it's pretty much political suicide when you say, "Let's give more money for prisoners," explains Armendariz."

AIDS adds to African food crisis

The food crisis in Southern Africa is being exacerbated by the AIDS epidemic there, *The Christian Science Monitor* reported in June.

"As Southern Africa struggles with its worst food crisis in at least a decade — some 8 million people currently need emergency food aid — relief workers say AIDS has added greatly to the problem," Nicole Itano wrote (6/11/02). "The loss of laborers and resources to AIDS has pushed many families to the edge of survival.

"Everyone believed that this [AIDS] epidemic was [just] a health issue. It's only later that we realized that it impacted every single sector of development,' says Marcela Villarreal, chief of the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) population and development service. 'Food security is obviously the highest issue on rural people's agendas because they have to eat ... every day. Because they are impoverished and because they have HIV/AIDS, they are losing their ability to deal with this most basic of needs.'

"More than two-thirds of the population in the 25 most affected African countries live in rural areas. In Malawi, one of the region's poorest countries and one of the hardest hit by the current food crisis, some 80 percent of people make their living off the land. ...

"On the most basic level, AIDS steals the youngest and most able-bodied, denying communities their agricultural labor force. The FAO estimates that since 1985, at least 7 million agricultural workers have died in the 25 most affected African countries. By 2020, the organization says Malawi will have lost 14 percent of its agricultural workers, South Africa 20 percent, and Namibia 26 percent. ...

"Given that subsistence agriculture is by definition only at the subsistence level, the loss of a working adult has a major impact on agricultural production and often has broader implications for the community,' says Chris Desmond, a researcher at the Health, Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division at the University of Natal in South Africa. 'Also, with sickness, you often have extreme pressure on household resources. This can result in the sale of assets, which can often be the sale of very key assets that diminish the ability to produce.'"

Holy Land studies

A new academic journal devoted exclusively to the Holy Land — Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal — was launched by Continuum in July. Aimed at both an academic and wider public readership, the journal will focus on issues which have contemporary relevance and general public interest. Planned subjects include the Holy Land as a geographical and intercultural meeting-place, the Arab-Israeli conflict, religious and cultural pluralism, and interfaith dialogues.

Editor Michael Prior is the Chair of the Holy

Land Research Project of St. Mary's College (University of Surrey, UK). Prior is the author of *The Bible and Colonialism: a Moral Critique*, *Western Scholarship and the History of Palestine*, and *Zionism and the State of Israel: A Moral Inquiry*. He was invited to be the first Visiting Professor of Theology at Bethlehem University, where he prepared the university's program in religious studies.

Associate Editor Nur Masalha, Director of the Holy Land Research Project, is a distinguished Palestinian academic whose most recent work is *Imperial Israel and the Palestinians: The Politics of Expansion*, 1967–2000.

The International Advisory Board includes Jews, Christians and Muslims, political scientists, historians, biblical scholars, Middle East specialists and theologians.

For more information or to subscribe, contact Michael Prior at priorm@smuc.ac.uk or Nur Masalha at masalhan@smuc.ac.uk.

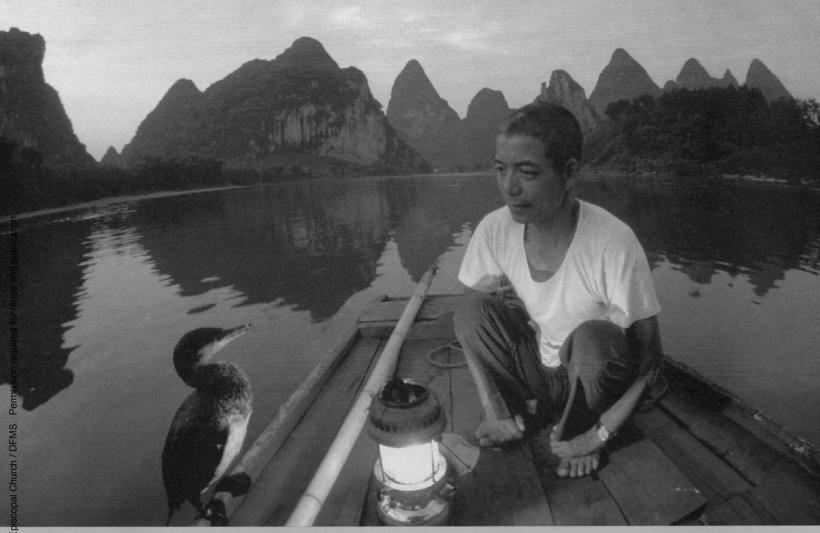
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WITNESS MAGAZINE **RESOURCE WARS**



VOLUME 8 5 NUMBER 10 OCTOBER 2002

Mark Harris: Preparing Christians for war William Smalley: Blessings now Peter Selby: Refugee crisis rages in Europe Michael Klare: Merging terrorism and oil wars

WITNESS MAGAZINE

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Peter Selby is the author of *Grace and Mortgage: The language of faith and the debt of the world* (1997) and *Rescue: Jesus and Salvation Today* (1995). Before becoming the Bishop of Worcester, England, he held the William Leech Professorial Fellowship in Applied Christian Theology at Durham University. He is a *Witness* contributing editor.

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on the cover An Iraqi Fidaiyun Saddam female volunteer marches with other volunteers in a military parade inside a camp August 15, 2002, in Baghdad, Iraq. The volunteers are preparing for a possible U.S. military offensive against their country. © Taha Al-Rubayyh/ **Getty Images**



BAGHDAD, IRAQ - AUGUST 7, 2002: American members of the Voices In The Wilderness humanitarian group stand in front of U.N. headquarters in Baghdad declaring the beginning of an open-ended fast for peace to protest any attack on Iraq. To find out more about Voices' nraq Peace Team see http://www.iraqpeaceteam.org (for Voices, see http://www.nonviolence.org/vitw or call 773-784-8065). Churches for Middle East Peace (http://www.cmep.org/) is another group advocating against a war in Iraq.
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Stop the fighting

All the fighting must simply stop.

Think it over.

That is the only solution.

Just stop.

We cannot talk about who did what when to whom anymore.

Any old words that will not reach total Peace are worthless words.

If you really want Peace and Love to happen. There is a new word.

The new word is 'STOP.'

It is the only way.

You cannot have Peace if you are keeping a 5,000-year-old tally.

The slate must be wiped clean and then the slate itself must be abandoned by all. We are human. We have all made mistakes. Who wants Peace really?

Is it you? Really? Then be rid of the slate. Stop. Simply stop. It is the only solution. Think it over. If you do not do this then you do not really want Peace. If you really want Peace then there is only one way to get it.

Stop. Otherwise you do not really want peace. Lift the human race up a few notches, one and all, once and for all time to come. Do you really want Peace? Really? Then you know what you must do.

Tom Renino Portland, ME

The Island of Lost Luggage

Ed. note: In the July/August 2002 issue we inadvertently deleted the last stanza of this poem. We regret the mistake and reprint it here in its entirety.

The Island of Lost Luggage Korean Airlines Disaster by Janet McAdams for Kevin McNiff

What breeze whispers when you step onto the black slate of the shore?

And what hooves pound the green valley beyond the flat beach? Caribou, you think,

or bison in the wild. A woman in aviator glasses

weaves through the cabanas — a tourist? you wonder

and join the queue from the 747, but you still hear

the roar of the missile, still feel the shock

of cold air. At the head of the line, a clerk hands you two sets of car keys, a single glove,

an unopened letter mailed so many years ago. Kevin, some things are lost forever,

and at the Island of Lost Luggage, they line up:

the disappeared, the lost children, the Earharts

of modern life. It's your bad luck to die in the cold

wars of certain nations. But in the line at Unclaimed

Baggage, no one mourns for the sorry world that sent them here. Memory fails

among these easy trees, beside this sheet of agate

water, where an Ivory Bill calls and calls ...

The clerk gestures to a room from your childhood.

Pick up your suitcase and go.

"The Island of Lost Luggage" from The Island of Lost Luggage, by Janet McAdams. © 2000 Janet McAdams.

Sometimes squirming

When I'm through, I send *The Witness* to my daughter. I appreciate your thought-provoking articles, even though they sometimes make me squirm!

Carol Wolff Tillamook, OR

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of The Witness magazine and related website projects, seeks to give voice to a liberation Gospel of peace and justice and to promote the concrete activism that flows from such a Christianity. Founded in 1917 by Irving Peake Johnson, an Episcopal Church bishop, *The Witness* claims a special mission to Episcopalians and other Anglicans worldwide, while affirming strong partnership with progressives of other faith traditions.

Manuscripts: Writers and artists receive a response only when we are able to publish. Manuscripts will not be returned.

Preparing Christians for war

by Mark Harris

believe the deputies and bishops who will be representing the Episcopal Church at its 2003 General Convention next summer in Minneapolis must begin to discuss what, if anything, we will do or say given two realities related to the U.S. These gealities are: (1) that the U.S. is in a state of trimed, economic and political conflict with a range of persons, organizations and states on what is called a "war on terrorism," and 2) that the U.S. government seems determined to end the current regime in Iraq by whatever means necessary, including armed warfare. We must prepare ourselves and our church for a life and witness in a country at



war, a condition already present. This preparation is necessary no matter the actual character of the future conflict between the U.S. and Iraq or, more generally, the future occur-

gences of terrorist attacks or the actions of other states against the U.S., or our responses before or after such attacks.

I am asking for consideration of the folowing question: What can we as the Episcopal Church do or say to prepare Christians for life and witness in a country at war?

It may be a question already under discussion in various committees and commissions of the church, in Executive Council, among staff at the Church Center. Certainly some independent organizations related to the church have done so, and there has been past witness to these matters. But I believe the question needs also to be discussed by all of us called to be the church assembled in that very peculiar gift called General Convention, both now and in next summer's convention itself.

These are not easy times for such discussion. The government is calling for unity, and all questioners are seen as encouraging disunity. There is always the fear of being labeled unpatriotic, but we should not have a care for such fears. The issues are too large to be put aside because of a call for loyalty to the state, or even for harmony within the church. We must find ways to discuss this question and indeed come to common tasks and resolution. Not to do so is to fail the essentials of Christian life together.

Many of us have truly useful things to say. We all need to hear them.

I have a small suggestion: One of the lines of discussion toward knowing what to say and do to prepare us for life and witness in a country at war might be to raise the issue of the arrogance of power.

We in the faith know a lot about idolatry. One of the chief characteristics of idolatrous behavior is the arrogance of believing that God is ours — that we possess the Golden Calf, that our nation represents a chosen people, that we are the true church. The current realities, I submit, raise the specter of a U.S. unparalleled in its abilities to incarnate such arrogance of power. But we as deputies and bishops at the next General Convention will be called upon to stand with another Incarnation, one whose embrace is not arrogant at all.

Making that stand matters deeply. The time has come to begin talking about how.

TO LEARN MORE

The Episcopal Peace Fellowship is a community of Christians working and praying for peace. EPF is urging Anglicans worldwide to join its Campaign of Conscience for the Iraqi People:

www.epfonline.org Or contact EPF executive director, Jackie Lynn epfnational@ameritech.net or 312-922-8628

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October 2002

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As we went to press...

This news digest was prepared by Witness news editor, Pat McCaughan.

British 'virtual' church questions new archbishop, aims outside pew

In a novel approach to outreach, a 'virtual church' in the United Kingdom is using a website to try to tap into the teens and twenties generation. The website, available at www.church.co.uk has also posted a quote from Rowan Williams as a 'hot topics' invitation to a chat room. "Church 'must capture the imagination'. So says the new Archbishop of Canterbury. But how?" the website asks its visitors. The virtual church cuts across regional boundaries and is aiming to reach those who are "uncomfortable with church but aware of

their spirituality," say its founders.

Anglicans in Zimbabwe vote 'no confidence' in new dean

Members of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe held a no-confidence vote in the dean of the St. Mary and All Saints Cathedral in Harare, the capital city. Godfrey Tawonezvi reportedly was handpicked as dean in September last year by Nolbert Kunonga, the bishop of Harare. Kunonga is considered by many in the church as having a close relationship with President Robert Mugabe.

New York Times 'Styles' addition: Gay/lesbian couples' ceremonies

The "Weddings" pages of the *New York Times* Sunday Styles section have a new name and an updated policy to include reports of same-sex commitment ceremonies and formal registrations of some gay and lesbian partnerships. The "Weddings/Celebrations" section debuted in September and, according to Times' Executive Director Howell Raines, the change acknowleges "the newsworthiness of a growing and visible trend in society toward public celebrations of commitment by gay and lesbian couples celebrations important to many of our readers, their families and their friends." Inclusion requires one of two criteria: that the same-sex couples celebrate their commitment in a public ceremony or enter into a legally recognized civil union (currently available only in Vermont) or register their domestic partnership in those localities, including New York City, that offer registration. Says Raines: "The Styles pages will treat same-sex celebrations as a discrete phenomenon meriting coverage in their own right."

Faith-based resistance to war with Iraq mounts

Rowan Williams, the next Archbishop of Canterbury, joined the growing numbers of clergy voicing their opposition to a U.S.-led war against Iraq. Williams signed the Christian Declaration, along with some 3,000 other Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops. The declaration was handed to the British government on 6 August — Hiroshima Day — the 57th anniversary of the world's first use of a nuclear weapon in an act of war.

In addition, the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development issued a report saying that any pre-emptive military strike against Iraq by the West would create a humanitarian catastrophe, and also would exacerbate the dangers of terrorism in the Middle East and undermine the authority of the United Nations. The



report, "Iraq, Sanctions and the War on Terrorism," raised questions about ethical justification for such a war, as well as a concern at the lack of public debate about such a possibility.

On August 26, Move On — No War launched an online petition drive to oppose a war in Iraq "that would likely undermine both national and world security." The petitions are to be hand delivered to U.S. Senators as part of a national day of action.

Leading Republicans are also publicly questioning a war. Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE) says the CIA has "absolutely no evidence" that Iraq possesses or will soon possess nuclear weapons. Henry Kissinger says, "The notion of justified pre-emption runs counter to modern international law, which sanctions the use of force in self-defense only against actual — not potential — threats." Kissinger also says, "American military intervention in Iraq would be supported only grudgingly, if at all, by most European allies."

Dick Armey, the House Majority Leader (R-TX), says, "I don't believe that America will justifiably make an unprovoked attack on another nation. It would not be consistent with what we have been as a nation or what we should be as a nation." To join the petition drive against war in Iraq, log onto http://www.moveon.org/nowar/

Faith groups to launch internet boycott of Taco Bell

The Presbyterian Church and United Church of Christ are coordinating a web-based boycott of Taco Bell restaurants to show solidarity for farm workers in southwestern Florida. Organizers of the boycott, to be launched Labor Day, hoped to increase wages for tomato harvesters in Imokalee, Fla.

"Taco Bell's target market is 18- to 24-year old males, so the place to reach them is on the Web," said the Rev. Gary Cook, coordinator of the Presbyterian Hunger Program.

Currently, members of the Coalition of Imokalee Workers (CIW), a farm workers' organization of mainly Haitian and Mexican migrant workers, earn about \$25 for picking and hauling a ton of tomatoes. Boycott coordinators hope to pressure Six L's Packing Company, one of the nation's largest tomato growers and a major Taco Bell supplier, to increase those wages. According to the U.S. government, the piece-rate of 40 cents per 30-pound bucket hasn't changed since 1978. Six L's annual profit has averaged \$120 million since 1986. Taco Bell reported \$5.2 billion in sales in 1999.

Also in the works: a Thanksgiving holiday "immersion experience" for those who would like to experience first-hand the living and working conditions of the Imokalee workers.



UPDATE

Blessings now, because 'it's the right thing to do'

An interview with William Smalley by Katie Sherrod

William Smalley, bishop of the Episcopal Diogese of Kansas, announced in late June that he would authorize the blessing of non-married gersons in his diocese. The policy applies to both heterosexual couples for whom marriage would involve financial hardship and homosexgal couples. Smalley intends to retire on January 1, 2004, and says this policy will not bind gis successor.

At the 2000 General Convention of the Episopal Church, deputies and bishops passed legislation (D039) which recognized that, although the issue of human sexuality is not yet desolved and not everyone agrees with the traditional teaching of the church on human sexulity, there are couples in the Episcopal Church who are living in lifelong committed relationships other than marriage that are free of promiscuity, exploitation and abusiveness" and that are characterized by "fidelity, monogamy, mutual affection and respect, careful, honest communication, and the holy love which mables those in such relationships to see in each other the image of God."

sach other the image of God." The legislation stopped short of authorizing gevelopment of rites of blessing, although it committed the church to "the prayerful support, oncouragement and pastoral care" necessary to support such relationships.

Some dioceses are going ahead with rites, despite General Convention's reticence. In October 2001, the Episcopal Diocese of Delaware announced a "new pastoral action" that empowers congregations within the diocese to bless partners in same-gender relationships. In Canada, Michael Ingham, bishop of New Westminster, said he would authorize the development of a rite of blessing for same-sex unions because 63 percent of those voting at New Westminster's diocesan synod last June approved of such rites (two previous synods had also voted in favor of same-sex blessings, but Ingham refused to give his approval until such blessings received at least 60 percent of the vote).

Opponents of rites of blessing in the Episcopal Church, many of them liberal moderates, say such rites will cause schism. A coalition called Claiming the Blessing (CTB) says the time has come for the Episcopal Church USA to develop rites because the church's future depends on it (watch for coverage on this in the November 2002 issue of The Witness).



K.S.: Why this decision and why now?

W.S.: This decision because, in my opinion, it's the right thing to do. The "why now" gets a little complicated because I'm also a year and half away from retirement, which has some of the people here upset in terms of why I did it now. But I just think the time is right. The General Convention action [adoption of D039] allowed for this. We are blessing all sorts of things in the church and all sorts of people, but we have excluded some and I don't think that goes along with the Gospel imperative that I see in the actions of Jesus, his compassion for all and the blessing of his presence for all people.

K.S.: What did you consider when you were making this decision? Obviously you gave it a lot of thought.

W.S.: Oh, a lot of thought and a lot of prayer for years.

K.S.: How did you balance the pastoral issues with the political ramifications?

W.S.: The two that I really wrestled with were embodied in the vows I took when I was ordained a bishop. One is a vow that I will guard the faith and unity of the church. That's preceded immediately by the pledge that I will encourage and support all baptized persons in their life and ministry and celebrate with them the sacraments of our redemption. These two were where the real struggle was.

The Archbishop of Canterbury [George Carey] has recently focused on the faith and unity of the church — that's the political issue. But to me the tough question was how do you uphold all people in their lives and ministries? That's the pastoral issue. I just think the Gospel example here outweighs the other. We need to follow where Jesus, by his example, was leading us — the blessing of his presence for all people.

Certainly we did that with the whole question of divorce, which is very clearly stated in the Gospels as something you just don't do. But the church's pastoral considerations said we can't do this, we've really got to take Jesus' word in the context of today. Well, I think the same thing applies, not just for homosexual persons but for [heterosexual] persons for whom marriage is a financial impossibility because of pensions or disability payments that they would lose if they got married.

K.S.: *How do you balance this with Scripture?* **W.S.**: There is an ongoing discernment of Scripture in the corporate body of the church and I think that's what we're about in this discussion. What is Scripture saying to us today?

To me, Sodom and Gomorrah were really about the abuse of people and about the radical violation of the biblical imperative to hospitality. I don't think it was particularly about homosexuality.

The Romans text so often cited (1:26-27) was coming into a world where there was great misunderstanding between the view in the Holy Land of sexuality and the view in Rome and the Mediterranean world and the

two were in radical conflict. Paul was attempting to bring those into line in some way for his time. But we're in a different time.

K.S.: Do you view this as a provocative act or a prophetic act?

W.S.: Well, my primary concern was pastoral, for people. It will have the effect of being both prophetic and provocative, and certainly a lot of the mail I've received indicates both.

But that was not a primary intention. It was nothing like the Philadelphia ordinations [of eleven women to the priesthood in 1974] — perhaps I can force the church to move — it was nothing like that, though it is being interpreted that way.

K.S.: How will this play out in the real lives of the people of your diocese?

W.S.: Part of the issue for me comes when I look at some of our congregations where there are gay and lesbian persons who, as long as they adopt the policy that Bill Clinton was adopting of don't ask, don't tell, are very well accepted — even where there's general knowledge that they are gay persons in a lifelong relationship. The attitude is, "We'll visit in your home; we'll share with you in the Eucharist and in full membership in the church, but please don't tell us anything about your personal life." To me, that is really denying people a lot of who they are.

K.S.: What will you be blessing in a situation like this?

W.S.: I think we're blessing people in their lives. I don't think the policy says you must accept this as a viable lifestyle. I do, personally, but I don't think the policy requires that. I think it simply says we can give God's blessing to people.

The day after I told our Standing Committee that I was going to do this, I went to our senior high camp. They do a lot of fun things there and one of the things they do is make boats out of cardboard and cover them with plastic and then they race the boats in the water. And I was asked, "Would you bless the boats?" I said, "Well, sure, I'll bless the people who worked on them and who are doing this." One of our staff members said to me afterward, "I could not come to that because we can bless all kinds of things in the church — animals on the feast of St. Francis, boats at a senior high camp, but we limit our blessings to people."

That to me spoke volumes about why I was issuing this particular policy. I want to extend God's blessing as I think Jesus did to people, all people who came to him.

K.S.: The policy says that whatever liturgy is used in these blessings must not resemble the marriage liturgy. Have you had any examples offered to you?

W.S.: A parish sent me two liturgies and one was the liturgy from the [Canadian] Diocese of New Westminster, which really looks and sounds like marriage all the way through. I have rejected that, sent it back to them and suggested they look at the Book of Occasional Services and adapt something there or come up with something different. I want to preserve our viewpoint on marriage, our sacramental liturgy of marriage. I don't want to see that used in other ways.

'Danube 7' ordained

by Georgia E. Fuller

Seven German and Austrian women received priestly ordination into the Roman Catholic apostolic succession on June 29, the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, in a liturgy celebrated in both German and Spanish by Bishop Romulo A. Braschi of Argentina. Braschi, who acknowledged that he could not act for the Bishop of Rome, said he was ordaining these women, already made deacons in a secret ceremony on Palm Sunday, "for the whole church."

Roman Church officials first dismissed these ordinations, which occurred on a cruise ship in the middle of the Danube River with 175 witnesses, as a "sectarian spectacle," according to the *National Catholic Reporter* (July 2). The women were excommunicated when they refused to say that the ceremony was invalid and repent by July 22, the Feast Day for St. Mary Magdalene. The seven, Christine Mayr-Lumetzberger and Sr. Adelinde Theresia Roitinger (of Austria), Dr. Giesla Forster, Dr. Iris Müller, Dr. Ida Raming and Pia Brunner (of Germany) and Angela White (a woman



The Rev. Dr. Gisela Forster (right) and the Rev. Christine Mayr-Lumetzberger (left) thank participants after their ordinations to the Roman Catholic priesthood.

with Austrian-American citizenship) say they intend to contest the excommunication and continue the struggle.

The priesting of the "Danube 7" was the first public conferral of holy orders on Roman Catholic women in modern times. Ludmila Javorova, ordained secretly in 1970 by Bishop Felix Davidek, Rome's appointed leader of the underground church in Czechoslovakia, was the first of six women priests and six women deacons who served the faithful under Communism. Since the end of the Cold War, the Vatican has denied their orders and declared the deceased Davidek insane. (For this story, see *Out of the Depths* by Miriam Therese Winter.)

The ordaining bishop, Braschi, began his ministry as a Roman priest and follower of liberation theology. He broke with the Argentine hierarchy over its support of military regimes and later married. Braschi was consecrated a bishop by Gerónimo José Podesta, Roman Catholic Bishop Emeritus of Avellaneda, on January 30, 1999, according to a notarized document.

Anglicans look to 'develop' new world

by Ethan Flad

How can the church educate and spur action on environmental and economic justice issues? While delegates from governments and non-governmental organizations alike prepared for the contentious UN World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in

www.thewitness.org

Johannesburg, an international group of Anglicans met in late August to debate the challenges of worldwide poverty and ecological damage.

Sixty representatives from two dozen nations across six continents addressed hotbutton topics such as water, energy, HIV/AIDS, hunger, gender, and civic participation at a first-ever "Global Anglican Congress on the Stewardship of Creation" in Hartebeespoort, South Africa. The weeklong conference had three primary objectives: building a consensus South Africa. The weeklong conference had three primary objectives: building a consensus on the church's responsibility to address envibronmental degradation and human needs; developing a statement for release at the PWSSD; and laying a foundation for an ongoging network of educators and activists in the anglican Communion.

Bishop Geoff Davies of Umzimvubu (South BAfrica) summarized the challenge before the Congress as the need to answer: "Does the rest of creation have the RIGHT to exist?" $\frac{1}{6}$ Representing a desperately poor region in his Enation's Eastern Cape province, his question pinpointed the battle many developing inations face between calls for environmental Econservation pitted against widespread poverty and unemployment. One decade ago the UN "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro had Öoffered hope for new North-South alliances that integrated development concerns with genvironmental protection. Yet for many peo-^wple from the Global South, the word "earth" ^eremains the dominant marker, and several ^o Congress participants arrived believing the ^eagenda to have been set by "green" church Eactivists — reflecting similar concerns about sthe WSSD process itself. Noting this conflict, RBishop George Browning of Canberra (Aus-Etralia) asked, "Is there a hierarchy in the crisis we face? I think there is a hierarchy, but the ⁸one that nations like the U.S. and Australia insist upon is unjust and unsustainable." A broad consensus emerged on calling on governments from the Global North to take responsibility to change consumptive patterns and to make energy-efficient financial and technological resources available to developing countries.

The Congress also reached agreement about the church's role amidst this crisis: rebuilding moral and spiritual values. Rosina Wiltshire from Barbados, a UN Development Program executive, has spent decades working in the

LOUIE'S INDEX

Original state of the Confederacy which has highest percent of African-American priests:Florida (5 percent)

Original state of the Confederacy with lowest percent of African-American priests: Arkansas (0 percent)

Percent of clergy (except bishops) in the Episcopal Church USA (ECUSA) who are African American: 3.4 percent

Percent of bishops in ECUSA who are African-American: 4 percent

Percent of U.S. citizens who are African-American: 12.3 percent

Percent of all clergy in ECUSA who are women: 17.4 percent

Percent of black clergy who are women: 13.2

Largest ECUSA congregation with an African-American rector? It's a tie: St. Agnes, Miami, Fla., Richard L. Marquess-Barry, rector; St. Alban's the Martyr, St. Alban's, N.Y., Bernard Young, rector. Both congregations have 1,600–1,699 members.

Largest ECUSA parish whose rector is an African-American female? Grace Church, Silver Spring, Md., Janice M. Robinson, rector (900–1,000 members).

Percent of unmarried deputies to ECUSA's 2003 General Convention: 10.1 percent.

Percent of unmarried priests in ECUSA: 12.8 percent

Percent of unmarried African-American priests in ECUSA: 3.6 percent

Percent of unmarried female priests in ECUSA: 27.8 percent

Percent of unmarried bishops in ECUSA: 6 percent

Number of diocesan bishops eligible to serve a full term of nine years if elected Presiding Bishop at General Convention in 2006: 49 (See list of those eligible at http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~lcrew/26thPBwho.html.)

In what sense does the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church also exercise real authority as the Bishop of Rome? (See November 2002 issue for answer.)

Witness contributing editor Louie Crew, founder of Integrity and a longtime Episcopal Church leader (he currently sits on the Episcopal Church's Executive Council and is head of the Diocese of Newark's deputation to General Convention 2003) is a well-known collector and disseminator of statistics and little-known facts about the Episcopal Church and Anglican Communion. His website is www.andromeda.rutgers.edu/~lcrew; email him at LCREW@newark.rutgers.edu.



South African women from Diepsloot informal settlement fill buckets with clean water from a water truck's weekly visit to the impoverished community, while international Anglican bishops look on.

UN to overcome these social problems. Frustrated with reading countless declarations that make little actual impact, she stated that a "need over greed" ethos will never take root unless a values-based society is created that "encompasses the sharing of God's abundance, love, caring and compassion."

The final declaration from the Congress drew on this view that the environmental debate is "as much about religion and morality as it is about science." This was a significant comment, considering the presence of several geographers and natural scientists. "Religious faith properly understood can and should be a major force for change toward sustainable development, sustainable communities and a healthy environment," notes the statement. "We are committed to putting our faith into action!"

Emboldened by the success of learning from one another in a brief one-time event, the Congress adopted a call to develop an informal Anglican Environmental Network as an ongoing resource for sharing programs, priorities and best practices with one another. Further information can be found at www.anglicancommunion.org

The Israeli/Palestinian Conflict: an APJN statement

A SMEMBERS OF THE ANGLICAN PEACE AND JUSTICE NETWORK from many parts of the world, we express our deep dismay at the continuing impasse between Israelis and Palestinians and deplore the unbroken cycle of violence which has claimed too many innocent lives on both sides. We condemn violence whatever the source.

We reach out to Palestinians and Israelis of good will, assuring both of them of our love and support in ending this long and troubled conflict. We embrace all those who have lost loved ones in the violence and extend our deepest sympathies.

In looking at this deeply troubled conflict we recognize that a primary cause of the present violence is the continuing Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza imposed by Israel which inflicts humiliation and suffering on the Palestinian people, inflaming passions and breeding further violence. Collective punishment of the Palestinian people must be brought to an end.

We are deeply troubled by the use of U.S. made weapons and aircraft provided to Israel and being used for attacks on civilian targets as demonstrated July 22 in Gaza and urge a moratorium on the use of such weapons which violate U.S. law.

We support the following steps in order to achieve a sovereign and independent Palestine living alongside a secure Israel recognized by and at peace with her neighbors:

the withdrawal of Israeli Armed Forces from all Occupied Areas in accordance with 1967 borders and a complete halt to settlement building, both new or expanded, to be followed by a process of phasing out settlements altogether

the introduction of an international peacekeeping force under the auspices of the United Nations, European Union, Russia and the United States into the Occupied Territories charged with maintaining security so that both sides may be free from further attacks

a humanitarian effort led by the United Nations to provide relief to the suffering Palestinian people

the immediate resumption of negotiations involving Israel and the Palestinian Authority under the umbrella of the United Nations, European Union, Russia, the United States and the Arab League

that negotiations be based on United Nations resolutions 242 and 338 that results in a viable and sovereign Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital as well as the capital of Israel, and assures the right of return for Palestinian refugees

The unconditional recognition of the state of Palestine must be hastened if peace is to prevail in the Middle East.

Rather than threaten Iraq with invasion which further fuels anger and hatred during these already volatile times, we call upon President Bush and Prime Minister Blair to intervene and resuscitate the peace process as a direct action of healing and reconciliation for the global community.

We call upon the faith communities, and especially the Anglican Communion, to a time of focused and intentional prayer for peace in the Holy Land. We also call on the leadership of the Abrahamic Faiths from around the world to exercise a ministry of presence in the region as a gesture of solidarity with the people. We urge that they exercise their authority and influence on the political leadership among the several nations who carry the responsibility for making a just peace.

— August 12, 2002 (To reach APJN representatives write pjm@episcopalchurch.org or call Peace and Justice Ministries at the Episcopal Church Center in New York at 1-800-334-7626 ext 5207.)

Flad

The refugee crisis rages in Europe

by Peter Selby

UR SMALL DIOCESE IN MIDDLE ENGLAND seems set to be the focus of a developing crisis as the government becomes increasingly anxious to placate public anxiety about the refugee bissue. On a site last used for the incineration of cattle that fell victim to the foot-and-mouth disease outbreak, the proposal is to put up what is called an "accommodation center" for asylum seekers (persons having their applications for asylum processed). reuse

We protested at the proposal, on the grounds that the location



Refugee mother and children hide in wagon in Kosovo, Albania (April 1999).

chosen was inappropriate. The idea of putting an accommodation center for 750 people in a community of only 180, remote from the facilities of the city that might have the facilities they need, and inaccessible both to members of the asylum seekers' own communities and to members of local communities who want to offer help and support of various kinds, as well as the statutory agencies that need to be involved in the provision of benefits and other services.

We, and the other agencies object-

Episcopal Chu ging to the proposal were promptly attacked by Tony Blair as engagbing in nimbyism – in his words "wanting asylum seekers anywhere but where we are." Given that our diocesan synod resolution had Esaid that we wanted to offer hospitality and welcome, that was a [≤]quite unwarranted accusation. What we want is for the asylum seekgers to be dispersed in small enough groups to urban communities gable to offer hospitality and volunteer services. Behind this local matter lies a crisis that is engulfing the whole of

Behind this local matter lies a crisis that is engulfing the whole of Europe and is now said to be the major matter that Europe needs to address. That rests on the assumption that refugees are primarily a security problem rather than a challenge to our compassion. In terms of what the government says to the public, you would imagine that the real difficulty we face is the number of illegal immigrants and "traders in human misery" who batten on to the refugee crisis to make money out of people. Nobody denies that such people exist: Some engage in criminal deception; many more offer services in a perfectly honest way but expect to make a profit from the difficulty they are trying to help people overcome.

It is very easy in all of this for the government to say that unlike the (genuine) refugees who came to Britain in the 1930s from Nazi persecution, we are now faced with a problem of criminality which

demands stern measures, locking people up in what are prisons in all but name. The reality is that in the 1930s also there was great suspicion of the Jewish and other refugees fleeing from Germany, and my father, who was one of them, was for a time interned as a possible spy or enemy agent.

Shortly before the last general election, the Caribbean suffragan bishop of Croydon caused the bishops of the Church of England to visit the leaders of our three main political parties and ask that they pledge themselves to keep race out of the election campaign. In the course of the meeting with Tony Blair, which I attended, he was asked why it was that so little national resource was spent in educating the public about the reasons behind the refugee crisis. The absence of that kind of education simply causes people to believe that the problem is false claims to refugee status and the criminal trade in human misery. In the process of encouraging that view of the "problem" you criminalize the entire refugee problem.

In a further twist to this story, the government is preventing the children of asylum seekers taking part in the mainstream school system, preferring to provide (no doubt not very adequate) education in these accommodation centers. What that does is to prevent the new experience, the enjoyment of diversity that is made possible by the presence of asylum seekers' children in ordinary school classes. Thus the education of all our children suffers as a result of claiming that asylum seekers are the problem

We shall continue as a diocese and as a church to do all we can to offer the hospitality which is the greatest need of people who have often been traumatized in their home country and in their long flight from home. The nimbyism that is happening here is not ours; rather it is the attitude of those who pander to public xenophobia and believe the solution to the world's great crisis of migration is to keep people in need away. In fact of course the problems that really need addressing are those of international debt and the inequalities of trade which in turn produce the conflicts that drive people to flee their homes. Addressing those problems, however, is less immediately popular.

What's the main point, anyway?

by L. William Countryman

YM OFTEN STRUCK by a significant difference between the message of Jesus, particularly as it's found in the Synoptic Gospels, and the message of the church. Anybody who reads carefully is likely to notice it. The problem may be sharpened for me because of who I am — a gospels scholar who is also an Anglican and finds the classical Christian tradition profoundly helpful in shaping human life. I have a commitment to both church and Gospel, and I keep

INTIFADA INCANTATION:

POEM 38 FOR b.b.L. by June Jordan

I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED **GENOCIDE TO STOP** I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND REACTION I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED MUSIC **OUT THE WINDOWS** I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED NOBODY THIRST AND NOBODY NOBODY COLD I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED I WANTED JUSTICE UNDER MY NOSE I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED **BOUNDARIES TO DISAPPEAR I WANTED** NOBODY ROLL BACK THE TREES! **I WANTED** NOBODY TAKE AWAY DAYBREAK! I WANTED NOBODY FREEZE ALL THE PEOPLE ON THEIR KNEES!

I WANTED YOU

I WANTED YOUR KISS ON THE SKIN OF MY SOUL AND NOW YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME AND I STAND DESPITE THE TRILLION TREACHERIES OF SAND YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME AND I HOLD THE LONGING OF THE WINTER IN MY HAND YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME AND I COMMIT TO FRICTION AND THE UNDERTAKING OF THE PEARL

YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME

AND I HAVE BEGUN I BEGIN TO BELIEVE MAYBE MAYBE YOU DO

I AM TASTING MYSELF IN THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SUN

From KISSING GOD GOODBYE, by June Jordan, copyright © 1997 by June Jordan. Used by permission of Doubleday, a division of Random House, Inc.

[Ed. note: Poet and political activist June Jordan died June 14, 2002, of breast cancer. A prolific writer, she was a strong advocate for women, the poor and victims of racial discrimination. A book of essays called Some of Us Did Not Die containing essays on Israel, Islam and O.J. Simpson was published in September. The peace-andjustice community will sorely miss her challenging, insightful voice.] running up against the reality that they are not the same.

To hear the church, from the mid-first century onward, one would think that the central thing was what you believe about Jesus. To hear the teachings of Jesus, you would assume that the main point is a little different. The main point in those teachings has as much to do with our relationships with other people as our relationship with God. In fact, our relationship with God is directly interconnected with our behavior human-to-human: "Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us."

I'm not trying to set up a polar opposition here or blame Paul for transmogrifying the simple religion of Jesus into the complex theologizing of Christianity. It's not that simple. Followers of Jesus emphasized Jesus in their teaching because, in Jesus, they had encountered God — teaching, calling, loving, healing, forgiving, renewing, changing them. They weren't choosing Jesus against Jesus' teaching but with the teaching.

In Jesus' ministry, there's no reason to think that the message was somehow insufficient, just because it didn't yet include the good news of Jesus' death and resurrection for and with us. It was already able to give people new life. It can still do that.

I'm not suggesting that we somehow give up preaching Jesus. How could we not want to share that gift with others? But I think people in our own time often need to encounter Jesus first not in terms of a religion that sometimes falls egregiously short of its founder's standards, but in terms of a life-transforming message. Remember that Jesus' first hearers welcomed that message because it changed their lives and their worlds.

I've argued more than once (*Good News of Jesus*; Forgiven and Forgiving) that the main point of that message was forgiveness. I still believe that. And I believe that it transforms lives. And I believe that it's never been more essential than right now. How are Israelis and Palestinians going to build a new and lifegiving reality in what we still call, with more grief than hope, the "Holy Land"? I don't have any detailed prescription, but I am confident that nothing at all will happen unless significant leadership on both sides begins to acknowledge the necessity of forgiveness.

That will mean both acknowledging one's own need of forgiveness and cultivating the ability to forgive the wrongs committed by the other side as well. Jesus taught that this is possible because it is in fact the way God works. God forgives. Even if you don't need forgiving, you are forgiven. In fact, being forgiven is better than never having needed forgiveness, for the experience of being forgiven awakens love and generosity, virtues that are in notably short supply among the more conventionally pious.

I'm not saying that the only hope for the Holy Land is for Jews and Muslims to become Christians. I'm saying that the message of Jesus, the message that Jesus preached and lived, is the only hope — for the Holy Land or for any place else. It's easy in human life to keep piling up the lists of wrongs and calculating what is owed and putting off reconciliation until the score is settled. It will never be settled. The only hope for the future is mutual forgiveness. And it will work because that's how God works, too. And that's the main point.

commentaries

Hope and outrage: Will death penalty reforms foreshadow abolition?

by Joseph Wakelee-Lynch

In the summer of 2002, two important reforms, both emanating from the U.S. Supreme Court, occurred in the U.S. capital punishment system. First, the court ruled in June that the execution of people who are mentally retarded is unconstitutional (Atkins v. Vir-



Death penalty rally, Austin, Tex.,

October 15, 2000

turned a death sentence that had been improperly imposed by a judge; that power should properly reside only with juries (Ring v. Arizona). The Supreme Court decisions do

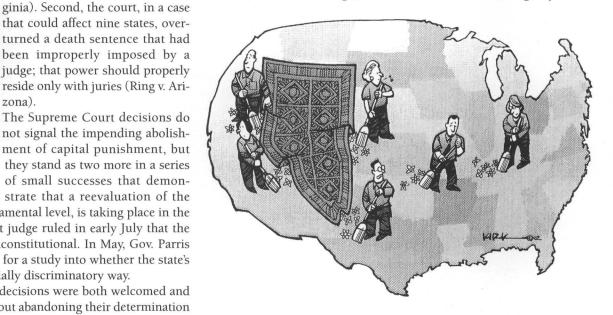
not signal the impending abolishment of capital punishment, but they stand as two more in a series of small successes that demonstrate that a reevaluation of the

strate that a reevaluation of the strate that a reevaluation of the death penalty, possibly at a fundamental level, is taking place in the U.S. For example, a U.S. district judge ruled in early July that the Federal Death Penalty Act is unconstitutional. In May, Gov. Parris Glendening, of Maryland, called for a study into whether the state's death penalty is applied in a racially discriminatory way. Although the Supreme Court decisions were both welcomed and needed, activists remain leery about abandoning their determination for the hope of optimism. Yet some have pointed out an interesting feature in the recent opinions of the court. "In both Supreme Court rulings this summer," said Eric Moon, director of The American Friends Service Committee death penalty project in Oakland, Calif., "the judges referred to their earlier deci-sion in the 1976 Gregg v. Georgia case." The Gregg case allowed the resumption of the death penalty after a four-year hiatus, but it said that the death penalty should be reserved for only the most heinous of murders. Yet, county prosecutors, who decide which murder cases are tried as capital crimes, seek the death penalty in a wide variety of murder cases, heinous or not, and for a wide variety of variety of murder cases, heinous or not, and for a wide variety of reasons.

When Gov. Glendening announced his moratorium, he cited the danger of the death penalty being a "lottery." The prosecutor's office may be the greatest source of unpredictability in the capital punishment system. Some try what appears to be an inordinate number of murder trials as capital cases; others, from cash-strapped regions, try few or none. Even similar crimes within the same county may be tried under different charges. When prosecutors' decisions are examined across the country, therefore, inconsistency seems the only consistent rule; and inconsistency in the capital punishment system has been a concern of the Supreme Court in the past.

Bruce Shapiro recently pointed out in The Nation that the Atkins ruling is hopeful because it proves that grassroots organizing is having an impact. Organizing has been effective because arguments about fairness and innocence are extremely persuasive.

But even though practical concerns about fairness and innocence are prompting the country's re-evaluation, at the core of the movement against the death penalty is a significant portion of the religious community, which sees the death penalty, whether reformed or not, as a moral outrage, for both the innocent and the guilty.



Like water and oil?

by Susi Moser

My friend Melanie sent me a letter a couple of weeks ago, addressed to Dr. Susi Moser / Union of Buddhist Scientists - a funny and fortuitous little modification of my real - well, proper - professional affiliation. I chuckled a bit — half in delight, half in cynicism — as I opened the envelope, thinking of the grand total of two members of that new "organization."

The Union of Concerned Scientists, my employer, is a partnership of scientists and citizens combining rigorous scientific analysis, innovative policy development and effective citizen advocacy to achieve practical solutions to a handful of pressing environmental issues. We pride ourselves with the solid reputation of being a credible, non-governmental non-profit where sound science is the basis of all our policy advocacy — be it on nuclear safety, global warming, or the use of antibiotics in poultry and livestock production. And while we have worked with religious groups on a number of projects over the years, it seems we've always been rather shy about letting any spiritual motivation shine through our own work. We are clearly morally motivated as our name suggests - whether as parents for

October 2002

CLAIMING the BLESSING

"I will bless you ... so that you will be a blessing." GENESIS 12:2

Come join the coalition effort to gain General Convention approval of a rite of blessing to support life-long committed relationships of mutuality and fidelity other than marriage. Workshops designed to equip particpants for advocacy and education.

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the sake of our children or as civic-minded folks for the sake of our communities, society and world. But if there are any religious or spiritual underpinnings to that concern, we typically keep that private. So do I.

commentaries

Except ... with Melanie. She and I are relatively new friends. Mel worked for UCS for some time in my stead while I took a leave from work. When I returned to my job, she and I overlapped for two days, during which she was supposed to catch me up on what's been happening and hand me back my old and a number of new projects.

So we had many meetings over those two days — true meetings, that is. Being pretty efficient in transmitting the facts, the folders, and the finished products, we soon found ourselves in deep conversation, philosophizing, exchanging sacred poetry, and dreaming up a world in which science and spirituality are not like water and oil: never mixing, one floating on top of the other. We mirrored in each other the dream of not living split (sometimes almost schizophrenic) lives. We discovered how much we both craved for answers of how to stay sane and centered, connected with our Core, while responding to the many places in the world that are aflame with violence, degradation, and — most of all — unconsciousness.

Those amazing two days were over far too soon. Mel returned to what sometimes feels to her like the stuffy hallways of academia, researching some intricate aspects of cloud formation over Antarctica, while I've settled back in to studying climate change and its impacts on our environment. Meanwhile our hungry conversation continues across the continent.

In one recent e-mail she sent me Thomas Merton to remind me of the sanity and nonviolence that lies in a more humane pace when things get particularly frantic and harsh. I, in turn, remind her of her passion for the blue ice, the penguins, and the wideopen sea when she gets lost in satellite images, measurements, and modeling algorithms. In conversation, we stop doing and remember to be, and in that reconnect with That Which Begins Beyond Analysis, That Which Pervades All That We Love.

In between e-mails and letters, I seem to have similar conversations at almost every table I gather with friends — homemakers, business people, educators, doctors, artists, ministers. We all, it seems, struggle with a similar disenchantment of our jobs, however deeply passionate we are or once were about our particular Work. I am inspired by these private conversations, and I wonder why we are not more public with them. I am relieved to not be alone in these struggles, and wonder why we are not more openly outraged about a world in which we apparently must compartmentalize our selves in order to be credible, effective, safe.

A few days ago, I sent another letter to Melanie at work, addressing it to "Path of Most Meaning." I just heard that she got it.

Renouncing sins against the corporate faith

by Norman Solomon

Just about every politician and pundit is eager to denounce wrongdoing in business these days. Sinners have defiled the holy quest for a high rate of return. Damn those who left devoted investors standing bereft at corporate altars!

On the surface, media outlets are filled with condemnations of avarice. The July 15 edition of *Newsweek* features a story headlined "Going After Greed," complete with a full-page picture of George W. Bush's anguished face. But after multibillion-dollar debacles from Enron to WorldCom, the usual media messages are actually quite equivocal — wailing about greedy CEOs while piping in a kind of hallelujah chorus to affirm the sanctity of the economic system that empowered them.

At a Wall Street pulpit, Bush declared that America needs business leaders "who know the difference between ambition and destructive greed." Presumably, other types of greed are fine and dandy.

During his much-ballyhooed speech, the

continued on page 16

BECAUSE JUSTICE DOESN'T JUST HAPPEN

Building a network, not an empire

by Kevin Jones

IF YOU DO A SEARCH ON GOOGLE, the popular internet search engine, for Abortion-"Right to life" you get 40 plus sites, almost all of which refer and link to each other. If you do the same search on "Abortion-"Freedom of Choice" about 35 sites come up, almost none of which refer to each other. That's an illustration of a basic truth that should be uncomfortable for readers of *The Witness*: The right literally knows what it is doing, and who else is doing it, much more than do progressives and groups working for justice.

Conservatives seem to be far better at using information as a tool for organizing movements and have the systems in place to effectively focus their energies on a cause. Meanwhile, progressives typically work as isolated islands of activists. The myopia that isolation engenders could be a significant part of the reason progressives got blindsided by the effectiveness of the forces the conservatives were able to marshal to pass anti-inclusive resolutions at the Lambeth conference of Anglican bishops in 1998.

That's the problem that the Witness Information Network has arisen to help solve (see www.thewitness.org). Simply put, we want to help turn those isolated islands of progressives and groups focused on causes like full inclusion for gays and lesbians, economic justice, peace and the environment into groups that know what their peers and potential collaborators are doing. We want the islands to become nodes connected to a network, able to communicate, partner and make common cause together to help bring about the realm of God.

Our goal is to do it by working with movement groups and parishes to build online and physical communities that help empower the members of each group. But we want to do far more than just provide a better and more vital online presence for individual existing groups. We're out to work on that problem exemplified by the Google search illustrated above. So our real goal is connecting the dots between the groups who join the Witness Information Network as a way to build a broad community of people working for justice. Presenting or helping sponsor conferences, seminars and training sessions will also be part of our community-building activities.

Our first partner organization, Claiming the Blessing, the coalition of Integrity, Oasis groups and Beyond Inclusion, exemplify the approach we want to take. Those organizations decided their chances of getting rites for same-sex blessings approved for inclusion in the Book of Occasional Services at General Convention next summer were greater if they joined forces. We are also in talks with the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, Integrity and other groups, as well as some progressive parishes and groups within those parishes about joining our network.

That's our overall strategy; acting from the belief that all of us are more powerful than any one of us and that we need to learn to make common cause together, just like the conservatives already do. The Witness Information Network's goal is to create the information infrastructure to help make that a reality. One thing we have discovered is that most of our potential partners know their issues inside and out, but the communication piece is often an afterthought, left to volunteers who have too much on their plate and too little time. That's something we can help with. My wife, Rosa Lee Harden, vicar of Holy Innocents' Episcopal Church in San Francisco, and I have decades of media experience, including building a business that successfully created a community that met virtually on the internet and physically at conferences. We consider this our shared ministry.

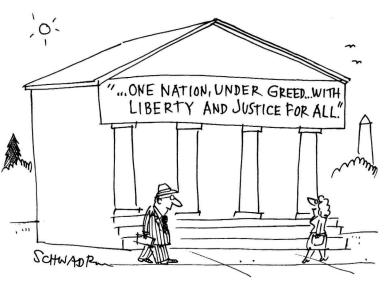
Tactics will include providing a movement calendar, where everyone on the justice side of the church can find out which group is doing what, when they are doing it and with whom. We are creating a network of linked websites for partner groups. We have hired Pulitzer prize-winning journalist turned Episcopal priest, Pat McCaughan, to edit an online newsletter that will cover the news about the justice activities of the various movements, groups and active parishes and help connect people in each of those island-like groups with each other. And Susan Russell, executive director of Claiming the Blessing, will be working with us as community manager. She will be connecting people and movements to each other, in kind of a crosspollination role, helping to grow the entire field.

Our goal is to build a network, not an empire. This is not a top down, hierarchical effort; our goal is to help everybody do better what they are already doing, not to dictate to anyone what they should do. Because of that approach, much of what the Witness Information Network will become remains to be discovered; we will be actively listening and responding and refining our approach in dialogue with our partners and interested individuals as we go along. We are excited about our vision and our opportunity. We hope you will get involved and help us make it happen.

Renouncing Sins... continued from page 14

President asserted that "all investment is an act of faith." With that spirit, a righteous form of business fundamentalism is firmly in place. The great god of capitalism is always due enormous tribute. Yet wicked people get most of the blame when things go wrong. "The American system of enterprise has not failed us," Bush proclaimed. "Some dishonest individuals have failed our system."

Corporate theology about "the free enterprise system" readily acknowledges bad apples while steadfastly denying that the barrels are rotten. After all, every large-scale racket needs enforceable rules. Rigid conservatives may take their faith to an extreme. ("Let's hold



people responsible — not institutions," a recent *Wall Street Journal* column urged.) But pro-corporate institutional reform is on the mainstream agenda, as media responses to Bush's sermon on Wall Street made clear.

The Atlanta Constitution summarized a key theme with its headline over an editorial: "Take Hard-Line Approach to Restore Faith in Business." Many newspapers complained that Bush had not gone far enough to crack down on corporate malfeasants. "His speech was more pulpit than punch," lamented the Christian Science Monitor. A July 10 editorial in the Washington Post observed that "it is naive to suppose that business can be regulated by some kind of national honor code." But such positions should not be confused with advocacy of progressive social policies.

"There is one objective that companies can unite around," the *Post* editorial said, "and that is to make money. This is not a criticism: The basis of our market system is that, by maximizing profits, firms also maximize the collective good." Coming from media conglomerates and other corporate giants, that sort of

rhetoric is notably self-serving.

It takes quite a leap of faith to believe that when firms maximize profits they also "maximize the collective good." A much stronger case could be made for opposite conclusions.

The Washington Post Co. itself has long served as a good example. A quarter-century ago, the media firm crushed striking press workers at its flagship newspaper. That development contributed to "maximizing profits" but surely did nothing to "maximize the collective good" — unless we assume that busting unions, throwing people out of work and holding down wages for remaining employees is beneficial for all concerned.

Current news coverage does not challenge the goal of amassing as much wealth and power as possible. For Enron's Ken Lay and similar executives, falling from media grace has been simultaneous with their loss of wealth and power. Those corporate hotshots would still be media darlings if they'd kept their nauseating greed clearly within legal limits.

Why "nauseating" greed? Well, maybe you can think of a better adjective for people who are intent on adding still more money to their hundreds of millions or billions of dollars in personal riches — while, every day, thousands of other human beings are dying from lack of such necessities as minimal health care and nutrition.

One day in the mid-1970s, at a news conference, I asked Nelson Rockefeller how he felt about being so wealthy while millions of children were starving in poor countries. Rockefeller, who was vice president of the U.S. at the time, replied a bit testily that his grandfather John D. Rockefeller had been very generous toward the less fortunate. As I began a follow-up, other reporters interrupted so that they could ask more news-savvy questions.

Basic questions about wealth and poverty — about economic relations that are glorious for a few, adequate for some and injurious for countless others — remain outside the professional focus of American journalism. In our society, prevalent inequities are largely the results of corporate function, not corporate dysfunction. But we're encouraged to believe that faith in the current system of corporate capitalism will be redemptive.

Christianity has not been tried and been found wanting; it has been tried, found difficult, and been set aside.

- G.K. Chesterton

Resource Wars

JUST ABOUT NO ONE has missed the connection between the U.S. War on Terrorism and this country's dependence on foreign oil. But competition for limited global supplies of water, timber and other fragile natural resources is also at the heart of many other geopolitcal conflicts, including the one raging in Israel/Palestine. This month's focus on resource wars offers an introduction to the problem — and to the emerging landscape of alternatives.

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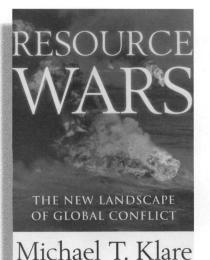
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Water pipeline in Israel's Negev Desert

THE MERGING OF THE WAR AGAINST

An interview with Michael Klare

by Jane Slaughter



AUTHOR OF ROGUE STATES AND NUCLEAR OUTLAWS

ICHAEL KLARE'S 2001 BOOK Resource Wars begins with U.S. paratroopers jumping into a battle zone in Central Asia — in 1997. They were training, Klare explained, in case the U.S. decided to intervene to protect access to the oil of the Caspian Sea basin.

This country's addiction to oil, Klare said, had caused U.S. government planners to deem access to other countries' petroleum a national security issue, and to make military preparations accordingly. He predicted that the next wars would be fought over water and oil.

Today, in 2002, *Resource Wars* reads like a background manual for understanding current events. Klare details the explosive conflict between India and Pakistan over water in the Indus River valley. He shows how Israel's victory in the Six-Day War in 1967 gave Israel control over water supplies previously controlled by Syria and Jordan, and how Israeli monopolization of the West Bank's water supply fuels conflict with the Palestinians. He explains why the U.S. government is willing to do anything — including make war on Iraq — to keep the Saudi monarchy in place.

Michael Klare is director of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies at Hampshire College in Massachusetts.

TW: What brought you to peace and world security studies?

MK: It comes from my history as an opponent of the war in Vietnam. I was a student at Columbia University in the 1960s and got drawn to the research side. Why were we in Vietnam? What was the truth behind what was being said by our leaders? I became associated with a progressive research association called NACLA — the North American Congress on Latin America — and started working there on counterinsurgency, military aid, arms transfers,

intervention, North-South conflict, the whole range of issues that spread out from Vietnam like ripples. And I have been doing research and writing on issues of war and peace ever since.

When we came to the end of the Cold War, many of us believed that that would lead to a reduced level of world conflict - that a lot of the driving force of violence would disappear, the U.N. would be stronger, conflict resolution would be more widely practiced. Of course, it didn't work out that way. The world was plunged into a series of bitter conflicts around the world. Many of them are described as ethnic and religious conflicts. I wouldn't diminish the importance of ethnicity and religion in warfare, but I think we've learned over time that these are malleable concepts, malleable identities, and that scheming, opportunistic people manipulate people's religion and ethnicity for purposes of garnering political power or economic wealth. It was in attempting to understand why we had this outburst of conflict in this new era that I was drawn to the issue of resource conflict.

I also spent a lot of time in the early 1990s studying the international trade in guns and how they were financed. That led me to the trade in drugs, in diamonds, in timber, because that's how the global illicit arms trade is financed — through illicit commerce of one sort or another. This drew my attention to the role of resource competition and resource exploitation as a factor in contemporary warfare.

TW: You finished your book in late 2000. I imagine lots of people are now calling you prescient because of some of the things that you talked about there. You wrote about Venezuela and oil, and about Osama Bin Laden.

MK: I think anybody who followed the jour-

FERRORISM AND THE WAR FOR OIL

ney that I made and started paying attention to these resource issues would not be surprised by anything that's happened in recent months. It's more a matter, I think, that people weren't looking in the right places.

TW: Many of the "right places" you looked in were sources from the U.S. government. You show how the government is already paying close attention to the importance of resources and making resources a "national security" issue. I'm wondering if your book has gotten attention from policymakers, whether they're saying "Oh, dear, somebody has actually been reading our documents!"

MK: Actually, I was asked to lecture at the National Defense University in March. That's the higher learning institute for military officers, to help them better understand the world they have to function in. Those officers who are serving in the Middle East, for example, are becoming very aware that resource issues — not just oil, but also water — are likely to become central to global conflict in the years ahead.

TW: Could you lay out how conflicts over oil and water are likely to happen?

MK: Resource conflict arises in the overlap of three worlds: the environmental world, the world of war and peace and security, and the world of globalization. If you can imagine three colored circles that overlap in the middle, that's where the resource issues are.

On one hand, resources are becoming more precious because of their unsustainable exploitation. We are using water profligately. We're using timber and we're using oil as if these are unlimited materials. And they're not! We are beginning to reach the limits of their availability. That's something I learned from the environmental world.

Then from the globalization community I came to appreciate how the spread of industrialization to more areas of the world, the intensification of global commerce, is accelerating the exploitation of resources. And the third part is the part that I know best — that governments often securitize resource issues, by which I mean they view them through the lens of national security — we must have these things for our national security and therefore we're willing to go to war to maintain them. It's a combination of those three things that make the resources question so volatile.

TW: Can you say more about how we are using our resources up?

MK: Water is an example. One thinks of water as renewable, in the sense that each year the rains come, or we hope they come. But only about three percent of the planet's water is fresh water, and two-thirds of that is tied up in the polar icecap. Actually only a very small percentage of the water that's theoretically available runs on the surface where we can get at it — in rivers and lakes and wells. And that amount is being used up because of population growth, urbanization and industrialization, including industrialized agriculture. We're now using about half of the available supply of renewable fresh water each year. At current rates of population growth, we're going to be reaching the limits of what's available within this century. And then most of the planet is going to start experiencing, depending on where you live, moderate to extreme water scarcity.

Some parts of the world are already at that point. The Middle East in particular, but there are parts of the American Southwest and the Southeast and the Plains — even parts of the Northeast are suffering from water scarcity. It's a combination of weather-change patterns which come from global climate change and the fact that population growth and suburbanization and urbanization are creating a great increase in demand that can't be supplied.

In the U.S. this leads to disputes over water between states or between counties, and usually these are settled without resorting to violence. What's happening in the Middle East, though, and in South Asia, is that typically main sources of water, like a large river system, originate outside of the country that depends on them. The Jordan River originates in Syria and Lebanon, but Israel depends on the Jordan. The Nile River originates in Ethiopia and Uganda, but it's Egypt that depends most heavily on the Nile. Israel has said very clearly it will go to war if any of the Arab states tries to cut off the Jordan River, and Egypt has said the same thing about the Nile.

TW: That's a pretty precarious position for Israel to be in, a situation where all its water comes from outside the country.

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The commodification of water

On the first day of my graduate course on international water issues, I ask students to complete a simple sentence: "Water is ..." When we finish listing as many entries as they can think of, we typically find that responses fall into three broad categories: a fundamental life support, an economic resource and a source of inspiration and spirituality. As long as water is abundant, these different aspects can comfortably coexist. But as water becomes scarce, they begin to compete. More water devoted to economic activity, for example, may threaten some of its life-support functions or lower its inspirational value. The challenge for society becomes one of managing these competing functions —the competition among water's diverse roles is here to stay and the search for the best ways to manage it and minimize conflict is what water policy and planning are now about. ...

There is a strong move toward the "commodification" of water — treating it more as an economic good than a gift of nature. In principle, there is nothing wrong with properly valuing water's role as a commodity. Indeed, my chapter on "Pricing, markets and regulations" underscores how heavy subsidies have discouraged water efficiency and recommends that water be priced closer to its real cost. Treating water more as an economic good was one of the four principles adopted at a major international water conference in Dublin in 1992. It was echoed in Agenda 21, the plan of action that emerged from the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, and again in the World Bank's 1993 water policy paper. It is also one of the strategy elements laid out in the global fresh water assessment requested by the U.N. Commission on Sustainable Development.

The risk, however, is that water's economic functions will be elevated over its life-support functions and that the three pillars of sustainability — efficiency, equity and ecosystem protection — will not be given equal weight. One key factor driving the commodification of water is the sheer inability of governments to finance the rising capital, operation and maintenance costs of irrigation and urban water systems. The World Bank has estimated that countries need to invest \$600 billion in water infrastructure in just the next decade. In part because of such daunting sums, many governments are turning the construction, operation, management and sometimes even the ownership of these systems over to the private sector. Although this may help the systems become financially sustainable there is an inherent risk to the environment and to the poor.

Water "systems" are more than pipes, canals, meters and treatment works. They can include reservoirs, wetlands, streams and watershed lands that perform many ecosystem services. Turning control of these natural assets over to a private entity motivated by profit risks the loss of valuable life-support functions. Moreover, there is no guarantee that water systems in private hands will give

equity concerns proper weight, since extending coverage to the poor may lower profits.

Although it is too early to judge this trend toward commodification, there is ample reason for heightened vigilance in monitoring it. In the last few years, the privatization of urban water services has greatly picked up speed. Governments have contracted with private companies for the operation of large water systems in Buenos Aires; Kadar, Senegal; Casablanca; Mexico City; Selangor State, Malaysia; and Adelaide, Australia, to name a few. And thirty to forty more privatization deals are in the works. Most of the contracts and concessions are going to a handful of French and British companies, leading to a concentration of power and control.

— from the 1997 introduction to Last Oasis: Facing Water Scarcity by Sandra Postel (The Worldwatch Environmental Alert Series, Linda Stark, Series Editor; W.W. Norton & Co., © copyright 1992 and 1997 by Worldwatch

Institute). Postel's book does more than explain the "Trouble on Tap," around water scarcity. Five chapters are devoted to various aspects of how some communities are "Living Within Water's Limits."

MK: Correct. And that's why Israel has been unwilling to give up the Golan Heights, which is part of Syria but which is also one of the main sources for the Jordan River. And it's also unwilling to give up the West Bank, which has an underground stream of water known as the mountain aquifer. Together the Jordan and the mountain aquifer are Israel's main sources of water, and they have chosen to maintain their control over those through military occupation.

Bear in mind that water is scarce to begin with. Picture desert-like conditions. Then picture the West Bank. Israel controls the wells there and allows Jewish settlers in the West Bank to have as much as five times as much water as the Palestinians, to have enough so that they can water their lawns and wash their cars and fill their swimming pools, while people across the road in Palestinian communities can't feed their plants that they depend on, and don't have enough water for proper sanitation. You can understand why resentments build up.

TW: Let's talk about September 11. How did that change American military policy and oil policy?

MK: That's not an easily compressed story. September 11 is a product, in part, of America's pursuit of Persian Gulf oil. You can't understand September 11 without knowing that history, which has to do with the special relationship the U.S. has with Saudi Arabia.

It goes back to 1945, when President Franklin Roosevelt met with King Abdul-Aziz ibn Saud. They met in Egypt in February 1945 and established a special relationship whereby the U.S. would gain privileged access to Saudi Arabian oil in return for a promise to protect the royal family against its domestic and foreign enemies. So this special relationship is not between the U.S. and a nation, the way our relationship with France or Britain is. Saudi Arabia doesn't have a constitution; it doesn't have a government. It's a feudal monarchy, and our relationship is with the monarchy itself, with the male heirs of Abdul Azziz — women are not part of the line, of course, so this is like a medieval rela-

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Sandra Postel

tionship. We don't have any other relationship like this! And that has been the basis of U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf since 1945.

We've built up the Saudi military and the internal security forces of Saudi Arabia and continue to do so. We maintain bases there; we went to war in 1990 to protect Saudi Arabia against Iraq. This is a long-term relationship that predates the U.S. relationship with Israel and historically has been more important in terms of its impact on U.S. military policy. We've never stationed troops in Israel or gone to war to protect Israel, but we have stationed troops in Saudi Arabia and have gone to war to protect Saudi Arabia.

TW: And you say in your book that Saudi Arabia contains 25 percent of all the oil in the world.

MK: Right! Which is ...

TW: ... mind-boggling!

MK: They sit on top of more oil than is found in all of North America, all of South America, all of Europe, and all of Africa combined. And so over time the U.S. has developed this very close relationship with the royal family, which a) is undemocratic, b) doesn't permit any dissent and c) is corrupt in the eyes of those who are devout Muslims. They've become so fattened by all this oil money that many of the princes lead very ostentatiously luxurious lives, which don't accord with Muslim views of piety and modesty. And, of course, d) the royal family is linked closely to the U.S., which is closely related to Israel.

So for these four reasons — its undemocratic character, its repressive character, its corrupt character, and its link with the U.S. — the Saudi royal family has become a target for Islamic extremists within Saudi Arabia who wish to overthrow the royal family and replace it with a more radical Muslim government like the Taliban.

Most Saudis, probably, if they had a democratic option, would choose a more moderate government, but that option is closed off. The only way to express dissent



Desert well, Polisario West Saraha

in Saudi Arabia is through religious extremism and terrorism. And so the opponents of the regime turn to terrorist opposition, and it's from this milieu that Osama Bin Laden and his followers came. Fifteen of the 19 hijackers were Saudis who were part of this anti-government underground.

TW: When he announced the "war on terrorism," George Bush talked about an "axis of evil." Your book talks about Iran's control over the Strait of Hormuz, through which so much of the oil from the Middle East has to be shipped. And of course Iraq is right there near the strait, too. And it made me think, "Oh, that's how Bush managed to put these two very disparate countries together into the 'axis of evil'!"

MK: Right! I think anybody who's studied the history of U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf can't help but see oil behind a lot of other things that happen. Yes, there are other issues: There is a genuine issue of how to address weapons of mass destruction in the region — Israel's as well as Iran's and Iraq's. But I believe that the U.S. concern about Iran and Iraq is primarily about the threat they pose to Saudi Arabia.

And I would also note that Iraq and Iran are the number 2 and the number 3 possessors of oil in the world. I don't think that U.S. policymakers have lost hope that at some point down the road, with a change of regime, U.S. companies will again be able to draw on those oil supplies.

What is important to understand is that three months before September 11, on May 17, 2001, the White House released the Cheney report on U.S. energy policy.

This is the report that Enron wrote, as we now know, and it reflects the outlook of big oil and big coal. The report calls for a very aggressive effort by the U.S. to gain access to oil supplies outside of the Persian Gulf. Because of fears that the Persian Gulf will be periodically embroiled in war, the strategy calls for increasing our supplies from other areas.

The report highlights three areas for a stepped-up effort: the Caspian Sea basin, the west coast of Africa, and Venezuela, Columbia, Mexico. The Caspian Sea is the first. So this was very much national policy beginning on May 17, 2001.

OK, now comes September 11. The U.S. makes war in Afghanistan because that's where Osama bin Laden went when he was driven out of Saudi Arabia. The war in Afghanistan is primarily a war for Saudi Arabia — about Saudi Arabia. It was to reassure the Saudis that we would eliminate the Al Qaeda threat to Saudi Arabia. That's its primary purpose.

However, it does have this nice side ben-

efit. Already you have this policy in place for the U.S. to gain more access to Caspian oil, and the fact that we're operating in Afghanistan and surrounding areas gives an opportunity, the momentum, to beef up the American presence there. And the administration has taken advantage of that fact to promote its oil agenda. I want to make clear: This was not the primary intent, but it is a very appealing side benefit, and perhaps a more lasting one, because we've acquired bases now in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan that could be very useful as the U.S. becomes more deeply involved in the Caspian region. And they could become permanent U.S. facilities.

So what's happened, I would argue, is that the war against terrorism and the war for oil have merged. This is a product of circumstances, not of design. But once the circumstances arose, the two policies that were moving forward on separate tracks are now running on one track.

TW: Would you say something similar is happening in Colombia?

MK: In Colombia it applies because the U.S. has branded the guerrilla movements as terrorist organizations and has announced its intention to support the Colombian government in its efforts to fight the guerilla organizations. And one of the ways that the guerillas fight is by blowing up oil pipelines and oil facilities. So the U.S. has now said it is going to contribute to the security of the oil installations in Colombia.

Another example is in the former Soviet Republic of Georgia. The U.S. now has special forces — military instructors — in Georgia, supposedly to fight terrorism. But this is also a place where the main pipeline is going to go, from the Caspian to Turkey and to the Mediterranean, and the U.S. is very worried about pipeline security in Georgia and the Caucasus.

TW: People on the left have always said that the reason the government and the corporations don't turn to solar power is that nobody can put a meter on the sun, you can't make money off of it. But it seems that if the scarcity problem is really becoming so serious over the next 50 years, that governments would be paying attention to alternative energy sources. They know as well as you do that the oil won't last forever. Why don't they pay attention?

MK: This is our energy psychosis at work, or the better term is addiction. Look at tobacco as a comparison. Just look how long it took to make even minimal progress in combating tobacco addiction. And there you only had two or three states, North Carolina and Virginia and South Carolina, where the economy was tobacco-driven and where the political leadership of those states worked hard to block any government action on tobacco.

TW: In spite of the fact that nationwide it was costing vast amounts of money in illness.

MK: Now, oil is a situation where all 50 states are addicted. There are no states that act as a political counterweight. And when I say addicted, it's mainly for transportation. Because oil in this country is not used for power. So solar is not an issue here. It's transportation that is the factor. And by transportation, we mean suburbs and malls and highways and trucking companies and airline companies, and we're talking about a substantial chunk of the American economy and the political life. Who votes? Suburbs vote! It's not inner-city people, who ride public transit and do not have much public clout. It's middle-class people who live in suburbs, and the housing industry, which only builds in suburbs and nowhere else, and the highway industry and the automobile industry and the oil industry and the trucking industry that are so powerful. And in the end, we're addicted to this.

What's at stake here is the AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. This is a shared addiction that we all have, to a greater extent or a lesser extent. And so it is extremely difficult for our politicians to get in front of the public and tell them the truth — that you can't live in suburbs anymore, that we have to turn away from that and live our lives differently, the way they do in Europe, where people live in urban concentrations along rail lines and trolley lines.

The only exception that I know of is the city of Portland, Ore., where voters turned down a referendum that would have eliminated controls on suburban sprawl. Just about everywhere else suburban sprawl is the name of the economic game. And no politician has the courage to get in front of voters and say it can't go on.

TW: So it's not so simple as to say, "Why don't we just use the sun?"

MK: Right. You could use solar power to heat our homes, but if our homes are a 30-minute drive from shopping and schools and work, it doesn't matter. We're still consuming vast amounts of petroleum. The only way that solar could work is if we build high-speed, electrified, rail connections between every city and every neighborhood, which is what they're doing in Europe. And in other parts of the world that are run intelligently. Japan.

TW: So it would be possible, with a really concerted effort, to decrease drastically the dependence on oil.

MK: Correct. But what is Congress doing? It's voting to build more interstates. Wherever you build an interstate, you're building new sprawl.

I first drove across the U. S. in 1970. Some Witness readers will remember driving across country back then, and you would go huge distances between cities and see farms or wilderness. But now, in so many parts of the U.S., what you see is suburbs wherever you go. All of California, all of the East Coast, the Midwest — it's all sprawl. And the census data confirm what our eyes tell us — that all of the growth in the American population in the last 20 years has been within 25 miles of the interstates.

TW: One of the things that come up over and over again in your book is the question of population growth. Should government be looking at ways to discourage such rapid population growth? And, if so, is there any way to do that in a non-nasty way?

MK: Two things. First, to make clear that population growth is part of the problem. Globalization is equally serious, and I want to lead with that because there is a tendency of some people in the U.S. to blame it all on population, and therefore absolve thempublication. selves of responsibility for their part, which is the consumption of more and more petroleum and other products. Poor people in Nigeria do not own automobiles and do not consume oil, so even if the population there Б increases a thousand-fold, it won't make the slightest bit of difference compared to our failure to raise government standards for automobile mileage. Poor people without cars do not contribute to oil depletion. OK. I want to say that first.

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Permission However, population growth does matter With the secarce water that's shared between three or four countries and high rates of population growth — that's a recipe for disin turns of water consumption and arable population growth — that's a recipe for disaster.

TW: And why is population growth so strong right now?

MK: It's high in many parts of the world, but it's particularly high in those areas because of religious tradition.

Before, you asked what governments can do. All the studies show that the one best way to control population growth is to provide more education to girls and young



Suburban housing replaces farmland in Fresno, Calif. (1998)

women. And provide them with information on reproductive options. That is the best, in fact, the only way to reduce population growth.

TW: Doesn't a reduction in the birth rate usually go along with a rising standard of living?

MK: Yes, but if it's men who are educated. and not women, it doesn't have the same effect. Because, women, when they are empowered, are the ones who tend to be more vigorous in controlling the size of their families. People in the oil countries have high standards of living - like Saudi Arabia — but they have an explosive population growth. And it's because women have no power.

TW: In terms of resources, is there anything that we should be asking the government to do, or doing ourselves?

MK: Resources are increasingly central to world affairs, and managing global resource supplies is crucial to our ability as a species to survive on this planet. Unless we become more adept at managing and conserving the resources that we have, we can expect a very bloody and ugly future.

It is going to require a different kind of ethics than the ethics of consumption, so this is a moral issue as well as an economic

issue. It's how we choose to lead our lives. I think we should be looking to examples of people who struggle with these issues and might provide us with some guidance like the Shakers and the Quakers, who regard a simple life as a superior life.

TW: And the Shakers had the population question down pat!

MK: Oh, yes. We won't go there.

I live not far from one of the largest Shaker communities, the Hancock Village. And their life was austere, but not harsh, because everything they made was so beautiful, so elegant. We could learn to live with less, be happier with less.

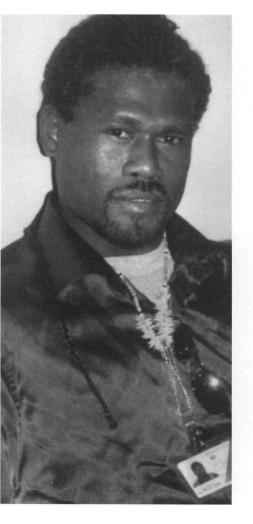
One last thought is that this issue of resources cannot be managed on a countryby-country basis. Water and energy are global issues that have to be addressed on a global scale. And they have to be addressed through the principle of equity — that all people are entitled to basic minimums of the things that we need to survive. And if we don't provide people with that, we're going to invite violence and terrorism and war. So in the pursuit of peace, resource equity is crucial.

TW: What's at stake is not just our lifestyle, but ...

MK: ... peace itself.

RESISTING EXPLOITATION IN

An interview with Ian Aujare by Cristina Verán



F ROM THE BRITISH COLONIAL occupation to World War II battles, the Solomon Islands have endured many waves of powerful, uninvited and exploitative guests. The most recent are Malaysian-owned logging corporations, which are behind the massive deforestation of the nation. These foreign firms stand accused of everything from desecrating sacred sites to soil erosion to the pollution of the sea and local water supply.

Solomon Islander Ian Aujare is an organizer for the Zazao Environmental Rights Organization which is working in Santa Isabel Province to address the grave environmental impact there of the globalized logging industry. He recently addressed the United Nations during the historic first session of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

C.V.: How should Witness readers understand the context for the Solomon Islands, particularly Santa Isabel Province, which the Zazao Environmental Rights Organization represents?

I.A.: The Solomon Islands are very diverse, people-wise, culture-wise, linguistic-wise. I am only representing my own organization, which is made up of my own people from my own island of Santa Isabel. We share a lot with the other parts of the Solomon Islands, in what we are facing as a whole — the result of colonization and what people are now talking of as globalization. Colonization started from the north and moved southwards around the globe, so we in the Pacific were probably the last peoples to be colonized. In the Solomons, we received our independence as late as 1978, so I look at us as late-comers, the way these waves of problems reach us.

C.V.: How do average citizens of the Solomon Islands make a living?

I.A.: Only 15 percent of the population works for wages, while 85 percent live within a rural subsistence economy. They survive on their own, not because of the government or the companies, but because they grow their own food, they go fishing if they want to eat fish. They live in this way without really knowing of the various dangers coming from outside that are slowly creeping up and will threaten their lives and their way of survival.

C.V.: Why does the logging industry appear to have such a tight grip on things in your country?

I.A.: We are so small that we can be bought for breakfast, so we have been used to being pushed and pulled by bigger governments and multi-national companies. We began studying foreign logging companies operating on our lands and after a while we started to understand that all these companies coming in were really from the same company - just using different names. Operating in the Solomon Islands the company's name is Earth Movers, though on Santa Isabel it is called Eastern Development Enterprises. We have been very confused by all of this, and we have to get our minds focused so we will be sure of the right way to proceed.

C.V.: The island nations of the Pacific region are distant and widely dispersed from one another — with which do you see the most similarities in this situation?

I.A.: Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, New Caledonia — the whole Melanesian sector of the Pacific region — have many logging companies and mining companies coming

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS



World's largest open-pit tin mine, Ariquemes, Rondonia, Brazil

in. I don't really know much about the situation with the Polynesians and the Micronesians. We may share some commonalities in regards to dealing with multinational companies, but on a different wavelength.

C.V.: Unlike countries such as the U.S. or Australia, where indigenous representation within the national government remains sparse, your own government is itself comprised of indigenous Solomon Islanders. To what extent has it been in tune with and responsive to the concerns of the people?

I.A.: There is a lot of understanding between the government and the people, but even though we are 99 percent indigenous and have a government that is also 99 percent indigenous-represented, the system itself is not indigenous.

That is where the main conflict exists. I tend to believe that we no longer even have our own systems.

C.V.: Do you think the United Nations and the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues can really address indigenous concerns?

I.A.: The Permanent Forum is the only higher body within the U.N. that has taken on board the issues of indigenous peoples. Its role, as I see it, is to provide advice to U.N. agencies and governments to the ECOSOC level — which is high — compared to the Working Groups on Indigenous Populations and the Working Group on the Draft Declaration — which are so low. So far as I know, the U.N. Draft Declaration has only adopted two articles in seven years.

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WARS

Brazil's landless movement: sign of hope

by Cynthia Peters

Forty thousand Brazilians die every year of hunger and malnutrition-related diseases, and more than 23 million of Brazil's 170 million people are malnourished. How has Latin America's most resource-rich country ended up with such a large part of its population struggling to survive? Brazil's recent decades of dictatorship and still powerful military, its high concentration of wealth and landownership, and its struggle to develop under the weight of immense debt and IMFenforced neoliberal economic policies have contributed to a fractured and impoverished society. But the Landless Workers' Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra, or MST) has been an important sign of hope.

The MST, with support from the Catholic Church, began its struggle in 1985, taking over an unused plantation in the south of the country. The occupiers gained title to the land two years later. Since then, the MST has helped 300,000 families settle on previously idle land, while close to 100,000 other families are living on land they have occupied, waiting for government recognition. In May 2000, 30,000 MST members took over federal buildings across the country in a successful bid to persuade President Fernando Henrique Cardoso to address the country's extreme economic inequality. In response to pressure from the MST, Cardoso promised \$1 billion in reforms. In addition to its successful resettlement program and considerable grassroots power, the MST boasts a sophisticated literacy program for adults and adolescents, as well as 1,000 primary schools, in which 2,000 teachers work with about 50,000 kids. According to Bill Hinchberger, writing for The Nation (March 2, 1998), "the MST represents Latin America's most dynamic popular movement south of Chiapas."

As such, it is not popular among certain segments of Brazilian society. The police and military, as well as landlords' private gunmen, still target activists. According to the Roman Catholic-run Pastoral Land Commission, over 1,100 people were killed in land disputes between 1985 and 1999. And only 47 cases have gone to trial, leading to just 18 convictions. In 2001, 16 MST activists were murdered, and few of the cases were properly investigated or brought to trial. "At least ten landowners are threatening me, saying that I will be next," José Brito, president of the Agricultural Workers Union of Rondon in the state of Para, has told the press. "Even though I have registered complaints to the police station, I have never been called to give a deposition. Whoever fights for life here will have his own life threatened."

In addition to violent repression, the MST faces other challenges. According to Global Exchange, "landowners and some elected officials are trying to repeal the clause of the Brazilian constitution that says land should be used for social purposes - and can be redistributed if it is not. That provision has formed the legal foundation of the MST's occupations of unused lands." Furthermore, the World Bank's \$2 billion "land bank" program, which offers loans to small farmers to purchase land, is transparently designed to undermine the grassroots-based MST. The MST must also contend with "free trade" agreements that knock down trade barriers, allowing cheap food to be imported from abroad, and undercutting domestic markets. The struggle ahead remains enormous. Today, 3 percent of Brazil's population still owns two-thirds of the country's arable land, much of which lies idle. Meanwhile, millions of peasants struggle to survive by working in temporary agricultural jobs.

At an MST cooperative in Herval, in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul, which I visited in February 2002, I saw productive farms, well-built homes with electricity and running water, schools, and cultural activities. If the 40,000 who die from hunger each year in Brazil are the victims of "class warfare," as the UN's Ziegler argues, the MST is on the front line — fighting back, not with bullets, but with mass organizing and grassroots pressure to meet basic human needs.

— Excerpted from the introduction to an interview with Joao Pedro Stedile, MST National Board Member, by Cynthia Peters and Justin Podur entitled, "They Can Walk With Their Heads Up" in Dollars and Sense (http://www.dollarsandsense.org/).

RESOURCE WARS

I have been following the process since 1998, and part of it for three years, attending the meetings in Geneva including the Working Groups on Indigenous Populations and on the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

I tend to find these meetings so painful. We go there, year after year and give the same statements, talk about the same issues. We may be using different words, but it's all the same things, really.

I see all of these [other] indigenous peoples from all over the world coming there as "victims," as witnesses presenting their cases, their testimonies, while governments are pretending not to see, not to understand.

C.V.: The potential benefits of bringing together such diverse peoples seems very clear. And yet, too, there are real obstacles to organizations like your own even attending these summits.

I.A.: Indeed. The Zazao Environmental Rights Organization is not "funded" and so, since we got organized, we have worked only according to our own resources. If we could buy airline tickets using coconuts and things that we have, more of us might be able to come to the meetings. But even if we could get here that way, we couldn't pay our hotel bill in New York City with coconuts.

C.V.: How does island culture and the local church influence the populace in its dealings with foreign corporations doing business in the Solomons?

I.A.: We have five main churches here: the Anglican Church, and then we have Catholic, Seventh-Day Adventist, South Seas Evangelical Church, Wesleyan United, and now also many, many smaller churches coming up as well. The way they operate here is, more or less, just taking care of the spiritual needs and religious life of the people. None of them have I seen to stand up to actually talk about the issues like the environment or sustainable development. They never do.

We are so Christian here, and because of Christianity, we are so vulnerable. If you walk into a village in the Solomon Islands, you will be well received. It doesn't matter if you're a good person or a bad person. If we were to ever say "no" or "get out" to a company man or a government man, then it's a sin. The Bible doesn't allow that, and we have to respect what the Bible says otherwise, we won't go to heaven.

But the way I look at it, if we are Christians, then we are supposed to take care of the Lord's creation — not destroy it. If we destroy it, then that has to be a sin itself. If you look in the Bible, the Bible never says "go off and destroy the forest." If you destroy it today, then it is also destroyed for the future generations as well.

C.V.: While the Japanese, who once occupied the Solomon Islands during World War II, now arrive with blueprints for industrial and tourism development, what level of interest have those other prior "guests", the U.S. and the U.K., shown in not only Santa Isabel but the entire Solomons group?

I.A.: It makes me sad that sometimes, when I introduce myself as coming from the Solomon Islands, people from England or the U.S. ask, "Where is that?" We know where to find the U.S. and England on the globe. Yet people from the countries who make the books, who make us read the books, still don't know who and where we are.

TO LEARN MORE

For more information, history, and statistics on logging in the Solomon Islands, throughout the Pacific Region, and beyond, visit the following:

Forests Monitor

www.forestsmonitor.org

Forest Stewardship Council

World Wildlife Fund – Pacific Regional Office www.wwfpacific.org.fj/forests.htm

Greenpeace www.greenpeace.org College of Preachers

3510 Woodley Road, NW, Washington, D.C. 20016 Phone 202.537.6381



2002–2003 Conference Schedule The Ministry of Preaching: Proclaiming the Word in a Changed World

November 4-8, 2002 Sermons That Connect, Sermons That Save Paul Zahl

November 11-15, 2002 Words to the Heart: Turning to the Monastic Tradition Esther de Waal

December 2-6, 2002 The Art of the Homily Herbert O'Driscoll

January 17-19, 2003 How Churches Handle Money For Better or Worse Michael Durrall & Randy Boone

January 27-31, 2003 Delivering the Spoken Word Don Bitsberger, Gillian Drake, Constance Fowlkes, & William Hague

February 3-7, 2003 Preaching the Resurrection David G. Buttrick

February 9-14, 2003 (Sunday-Friday) Preaching the Just Word Walter Burghardt & Raymond Kemp

February 17-21, 2003 Voices of a Generation: Xers Preaching Coordinated by Raewynne Whiteley

March 10-14, 2003 The Proclamation of Hope Rowan Greer

March 17-21, 2003 Monastic City, Mystical Gospel Herbert O'Driscoll & Marcus Losack March 24-28, 2003 Preaching in a Postmodern World Frank M. Harron, II

March 31-April 4, 2003 A Time for Truth-telling: Christian Lies and Christian Hope Alan Jones

April 23-25, 2003 (Wednesday-Friday) College of Preachers Annual Spring Fellows Gathering Open only to Fellows of the College of Preachers

May 5-12, 2003 Proclaiming God's Dream: Sharing Your Faith Michael Curry

May 19-23, 2003 The Preaching Life in a Pastoral Context John Claypool

May 26-31, 2003 Preaching Faithfully in a Multi-faith World Barbara Brown Taylor NOW FULL

June 7-12, 2003 (Sunday-Thursday) The City of God for American Cities: Reinventing the Urban Church Co-sponsored with The Center for Urban Ministry, Inc. at Wake Forest University Divinity School Douglass Bailey, Barbara Lundblad, & Johnny Ray Youngblood June 8-21, 2003 The Flight of the Dove: A Pilgrimage to Iona Herbert O'Driscoll & Marcus Losack

June 16-20, 2003 The Deacon's Voice – A Preaching Seminar for Deacons Robert Ihloff & Robert Seifert

July 5-13, 2003 Preaching With the Celtic Saints: Durham, Lindisfarne, and Whitby (U.K.) A Conference Pilgrimage on Preaching Today Illuminated by the Celtic Saints of Northern Britain Arthur Holder, John Pritchard, Kate Tristram, Stephen Cottrell, & Michael Hampel

September 14-26, 2003 The Leap of the Deer: A Pilgrimage to Ireland Herbert O'Driscoll & Marcus Losack

Registration Information

The Durall-Boone weekend conference (January 17-19, 2003) is \$2,500 (double-occupancy room, board, and program) for a church group of 6-10.

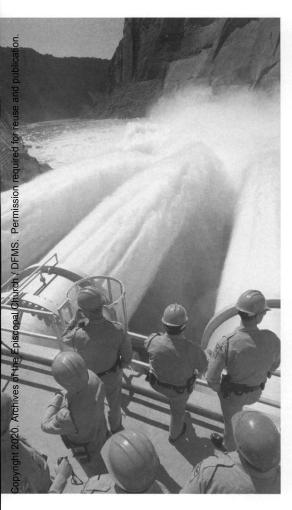
Other conferences are \$695 (double-occupancy room, board, and program). Scholarships are available.

Register online, or contact Joan Roberts at 202-537-6381 or jroberts@cathedral.org.

Register online at www.collegeofpreachers.org

www.thewitness.org

PREPARING FOR 'THE END OF



Renewable energy and the pursuit of peace

by Colleen O'Connor

HEN AMORY LOVINS talks about energy, as he did at the Energy Summit held in San Francisco last summer, he is like a human computer run amok. Without pause, he spews out reams of statistics, case studies, and the latest trends in renewable energy. In San Francisco, the room was packed with local energy and environmental leaders seeking the grail of a solution to California's energy crisis. Lovins, cofounder and CEO of the Rocky Mountain Institute in Old Snowmass, Colo., is a rock star of the sustainability set.

In his Power Point presentation, Lovins flashes photographs of green-built houses with no air conditioning that remain cool at up to 115 degrees Fahrenheit. At rapid clip, he moves through discussions of solar cells, wind power, and a prototype for SUVs that are powered by fuel cells. They'd use no more power than a regular SUV now uses just for the air conditioner, he says.

And then he mentions the simple fluorescent lamp. It uses four to five times less electricity, he explains, and lasts 8 to 13 times longer than an incandescent lamp — saving tens of dollars more than it costs.

"In suitable numbers — half a billion are made each year — it can cut by a fifth the evening peak load that causes blackouts in overloaded Bombay, boost poor American chicken farmers profits by a fourth, or raise destitute Haitian households' disposable cash income by up to a third," he says. "So we can make the world safer one light bulb at a time — its not just about energy."

There's a moment of silence as these power players ponder the implications: Something as simple as a fluorescent lamp can be an instrument of global harmony.

An energy Manhattan Project?

Like the man says: It's not just about energy.

Since the terrorist attacks on September 11, energy conservation is no longer just about saving the environment. It's now layered with new meaning: national security and world peace.

"What's needed is the energy equivalent of the Manhattan Project, the project that developed the atomic bomb in World War II," said Jesse Jackson in a newspaper column he wrote shortly after Sept. 11.

"At the very least, we should take \$8.3 billion scheduled to be wasted next year on Star Wars — on top of the \$100 billion already spent — and invest it in an energy independence project."

An editorial in The Los Angeles Times demanded the same thing. But it used a gentler World War II example, offering up the vision of dramatic lifestyle changes made in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor.

"People didn't just do without; they did things differently. Victory gardens - 20,000 of them in parks, vacant plots and back yards - produced 40 percent of all the vegetables grown in the country. People also changed their tastes. Because rubber was scarce, companies stopped making women's rubber girdles, and fashion designers created new dress styles in response. In essence, during World War II, Americans saved, substituted, recycled and proudly did with less. They invented the idea of 'green' — before they had the term — and put it together with red, white, and blue."

On the east coast Arjun Makhijani, president of the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research in Takoma Park, Md., also advocated radical American lifestyle change using potent examples of his own. "Active, non-violent resistance to evil that goes to the root of the problem in a manner that everyone could participate was the ballmark of the Gandhian struggle for 분

THE HYDROCARBON AGE'

India's independence, known as Satyagraha," he said, "just as it was of the U.S. civil rights movement, and the antiapartheid struggle in South Africa. Making salt, making cloth, and desegregating lunch counters and buses were everyday acts that mobilized millions."

Freedom movements in India, South Africa, and the U.S. Victory gardens and the Manhattan Project. These are powerful inspirations for a tough problem. According to a recent poll, 78 percent of Americans want more energy conservation. Eight in ten people favor more solar and wind power. But our actions have not yet caught up with our vision. The U.S. consumes 25 percent of the world's energy, according to the Environmental Protection Agency — more than what is used in Western Europe, South America, and Central America combined. That's nine times the amount of energy consumed in Africa, and more than three times that consumed in China, which has four times as many people. By contrast, renewable energy — with the exception of hydroelectric power — comprises just 2 percent of U.S. electricity production.

Signs of an emerging energy shift

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Change may seem hopeless. But listen to the wisdom teachers of any religious tradition, and you'll hear about the transformative power of crisis. Breakthroughs, they say, rarely come without breakdowns. If the months following the terrorist attacks are any indication, Americans may be heading toward just such a turning point. Maybe a more accurate term is "tipping point," popularized by journalist Malcolm Gladwell as the juncture at which critical mass is reached, when radical social change happens swiftly and unexpectedly.

Consider these recent events:

• In May 2002, a significant portion of shareholders of one of the world's largest corporations — ExxonMobil — made a surprising decision. More than 20 percent voted in favor of a resolution to urge directors to develop renewable energy as part of the corporation's energy mix. The vote, which represented \$55 billion in company stock, is leverage for shareholders that want a change in corporate attitude toward renewable energy. The number of concerned shareholders is increasing dramatically. Last year, when the same resolution was presented, only 8.9 percent voted in favor—which means that concern more than doubled in a year.

• On April 25, 2002, Tennessee became the first South-

eastern state to buy green power — solar, wind, and methane gas from landfills — for its state buildings. "Tennessee's future depends upon affordable, dependable energy," said Gov. Don Sundquist, who then urged Tennessee residents, businesses and local governments to get on the bandwagon and follow the state's example.

• Just a few days earlier in Illinois, governor George Ryan issued an executive order to purchase green power for at least 5 percent of the buildings owned or operated by agencies under his control — that amount of renewable energy will grow to at least 15 percent by 2020.

• In November 2001, residents of San Francisco approved two bond measures that will generate \$100 million for the installation of solar power, wind power, and energy efficiency technologies on city-owned property. The solar panels will be installed on rooftops of city facilities in the sunniest areas of the city, and the wind turbines will be located on city-owned property in Alameda and San Mateo counties.

Growing commitment to renewable energy reaches from state and local governments into the ivory towers of academia. Pennsylvania recently made headlines because 25 of its colleges and universities — more than any other state in the country — are now buying wind power from new Pennsylvania wind farms.

They're in the vanguard of a resurgence of interest in wind power, which is fueled by its increased effectiveness and reduced cost. Wind power plants now produce more than 3.1 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity each year — enough electricity to supply the needs of every household in the state of Montana, with some left over

Americans also are experiencing a resurgence of interest in solar power, perhaps because its cost has decreased 71 percent since 1980. This summer, the national conference of the American Solar Energy Society had the highest attendance in its history. "People are thirsty for knowledge," says Marion Barritt, national chair of the conference.

Meanwhile, that same week in California, a leading homebuilder named Clarum announced an agreement to make solar electric power a standard feature in two of its new communities. AstroPower, a Delaware-based solar company, will supply 277 solar electric home power systems within the next three years. They'll be standard on every home in the new neighborhoods, and they will also be net-metered.

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Celebrating Earth Ministry

by Carla Valentine Pryne

Unbelievably, 10 years have passed [since the birth of Earth Ministry, a Seattle-based Christian environmental ministry (see www.earthministry.org)]. *Creation* no longer is such a stranger to the language of mainstream denominations and no longer a foreign concept on the agenda of national jurisdictions. People can consult many excellent books on theology and spirituality focused on creation. And, perhaps most important, the themes of ecojustice — the inseparability of the needs of nature and the needs of humans, espe-

cially those on the economic margins of the nation and the world — are now more a part of mainstream church work.

In congregations it is no longer considered radical or risky to hold St. Francis Day blessings of animals or Earth Day celebrations. Going further, many congregations have successfully incorporated stewardship of creation dimensions within their mission statements. Others brought "living lightly on the earth" standards to their parish's land use, waste stream and energy flow. And over and over again, we have seen such inspiration, creativity and continuing vigilance brought to congregations by individuals and committees passionate for the Earth.

All this is good, and to be celebrated. But what also needs to be said is this: The work is often still a struggle and demands a certain vigilance. Keeping this vision before the average congregation has not become any easier over the last decade. And having returned to full-time parish work over the last two years, I have a few observations and some guesses as to why the struggle is still difficult.

A quarrelsome church. A recent news clip noted the upcoming retirement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey. "The Anglican family is a broad but quarrelsome church that ranges from England to Canada, from Australia to Africa," he observed. Quarrelsomeness describes in part the life of most denominations. Church people expend much energy on internal church issues and disagreements and have inevitably less to give for looking beyond the church. This particularly impacts an area such as environment, perceived as large and complex.

Survival and growth. Within the typical congregation — and this was true before the economic downturn of recent months — survival and growth continued to dominate the agenda. For most congregations I know at all well — and none of these are in poor communities — the central efforts of the staff and leadership focus on simply keeping things going and maintaining central programs. Typically, churches are chronically understaffed at a support and administrative level. Contributing to this has also been, in recent years, a smaller number of volunteer hours coming from the congregation than was typical 10 or 20 years ago. Consequently, ministry for creation efforts often seem like an "extra,"

RESOURCE WARS

"By including these features as standard, Clarum is enabling homeowners to reduce their energy consumption by up to 60 percent," says Bob Ruggio, manager of residential system sales at AstroPower.

Fuel cells at Yellowstone and a 'green' skyscraper

Even national parks are investing in renewable energy. Last May, fuelcell technology debuted at Yellowstone, the nation's oldest national park. Fuel cells, the cleanest emerging source of alternative energy, convert energy produced by a chemical reaction directly into electric power.

To better spread the seeds of this innovative technology to the American masses, the 4.5-kilowatt, propane-powered fuel cell was installed at the park's West Entrance in West Yellowstone, Mont., where it provides electricity and heating to offices and ticket kiosks. This location now draws exceptional attention to the introduction of the cutting-edge technology to Yellowstone because, over the next year, more than one million visitors will pass within a few yards of the fuel cell. Education is paramount, so the staff are demonstrating how the fuel cell works to park visitors — many of whom will return to their homes around the country, spreading the news to their friends and neighbors.

As an emerging technology, fuel cells are now touted as one of the most promising solutions for an energy-independent future. They're popping up everywhere. At the Energy Summit held in San Francisco, for example, Amory Lovins zoomed in on a slide of the Conde Nast building in Manhattan, which is the country's first 'green' skyscraper.

"It was designed to use half the energy of an ordinary office building," he says, "and with the saved construction costs, the developers were able to equip it with the two most reliable known power sources — fuel cells and solar cells."

Like Lovins, many experts believe that fuel cells will play a critical role in the coming hydrogen economy, which is expected to eliminate the carbon burning of fossil fuels by using pure hydrogen in fuel cells.

Perhaps most remarkable is that the head of a major oil company is leading the pack. Just three weeks after Sept. 11, Phil Watts, chairman of Royal Dutch Shell, stunned the audience at the United Nations Development Program when he announced that Shell was preparing for "The End of the Hydrocarbon Age."

His vision of the future is like a road with two forks. One is an evolutionary path, moving at a stately pace from coal to natural gas to renewables: By 2050, petroleum's current 40 percent global energy share would decrease to 25 percent, the natural gas market share would increase to 20 percent, and all else would come from nuclear and various renewable sources.

But the other path is a radical shift in thinking that he believes will lead to "the potential for a truly hydrogen economy, growing out of new and exciting developments in fuel cells, advanced hydrocarbon technologies and carbon dioxide sequestration."

The end of the hydrocarbon age, experts say, is rushing toward us because we now consume fossil fuels 100,000 times faster than they are made. Eventually we'll run out of them, but hydrogen is the most abundant element in the universe. Its also non-toxic, renewable, and offers more energy per pound.

Fast-growing industry

Fuel cells, predicted to be the driver of the coming hydrogen economy, aren't exactly new. They fueled the 1960s Gemini spacecraft, still power the Space Shuttle, and have been utilized by NASA on other space missions. A fuel-cell industry is growing quickly, and leading companies include Avista Laboratories of Spokane, Wash.; Energy Research Corporation of Danbury, Conn.; and H Power of Belleville, $\frac{5}{8}$ N.J., which made the fuel cell used at Yellowstone. Fuel cells are dential and small business power generators, and large-scale power Egenerators. All major car companies have fuel-cell cars in developgment, and this summer, the DaimlerChrysler NECAR 5 powered ^ethrough the single longest trip yet in a fuel-cell car: more than 3000 gmiles from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. "I think fuel cells are a very important part of

"I think fuel cells are a very important part of the energy mix," says Lovins. "It's important to use them in ways that make sense, that inte-Egrate stationery and mobile deployment so each can help the other Lovins notes

Lovins notes that just a 2.7 miles-per-hour gain in the fuel economy $\overline{0}$ of America's cars could displace our Persian Gulf imports entirely. It's Ža popular concept these days. Jesse Jackson likes to say that if we all drove cars like the hybrid Honda Insight, which gets 70 miles per gal-

 Image: Construction of the second Episcopal Power & Light and The Regeneration Project: affiliated with the Episcopal Church, this organization works on climate change. Thanks to advances in energy efficiency technologies, the deregulation of the electric industry and the development of renewable energy resources, religious people have a historic opportunity to put their faith into action and help reduce

www.theregenerationproject.org

National Religious Partnership for the Environment: NRPE is a formal alliance of major faith groups and denominations across the spectrum of Jewish and Christian communities and organizations in the U.S. NRPE integrates care for God's creation throughout religious life: theology, worship, social teaching, education, congregational life and public policy initiative. It seeks to provide inspiration, moral vision and commitment to social justice for all efforts to protect the natural world and human well-being within it.

www.nrpe.org

Target Earth: a national movement of Christians active in 15 countries buying endangered lands, protecting people, saving the jaguar, sharing the love of Jesus, reforesting ravaged terrain.

www.targetearth.org

likely to happen and keep happening only by the extraordinary efforts of individuals. In the current economic climate, with many parishes struggling to meet bare-bones budgets, mere visibility for this work is likely to be a challenge.

Lifestyle change. It's much easier to identify the need for change than to do it. Parishes find it just as hard as individuals, perhaps harder. Turn down the heat? People complain the church is too cold. Cut down on mailings in order to save paper? You worry that's the reason for the poor turnout for an event. And it's just easier to get volunteers to clean up after an event if paper and plastic have been used. Over the past two years, I have cringed in making every one of these decisions myself.

Culture of extravagant consumption. In the 10 years since Earth Ministry's official birth, the country's self-image has changed enormously. The current economic downturn comes at the end of a decade of extravagant consumption and the promotion of a self-image with lavishness as the norm. When my older son turned 11, someone asked him what he wanted to be when he grew up. "A millionaire," he replied in a nanosecond. Gee, way to go to embarass your enviropriest mom!

It's hard to remember that only 30 or so years ago, mansions were associated with the comedy show "The Beverly Hillbillies." Now, what with humongous SUVs, mansions on postage-stamp lots, homes jammed with electronics that not long ago could have run a small business, the culture of consumerism has become the norm. Although we are capsizing the Earth's life systems by our very lives, it has become more countercultural than ever to try to live differently.

Nevertheless, to my way of thinking, here precisely is the opportunity and the invitation to the church as a whole, and in particular to efforts such as Earth Ministry. I was speaking the other day to the Ministry Resource Coordinator of the Diocese of Olympia. She makes available hundreds of books, videos and curricula on every aspect of church life and ministry. Without a doubt, she told me, the most popular resources in her collection in recent months pertain to simplifying lifestyle! What an encouragement for this work! It's as if, choking on our own lifestyle, people are searching for another way. Although we might hope lifestyle and vision might spontaneously change for love of creation, none of us are in fact pure. A shift of this kind is a beginning and a good one.

— Excerpted from "Tenth Anniversary Musings," in A Globe of Witnesses at www.thewitness.org/agw.

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The Ground Zero Memorial attracted throngs of visitors during commemorative observances in New York last month.

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WITNESS MAGAZINE CLAIMING THE BLESSING



INSIDE Water Brueggemann on the Gospel vs. Scripture Ethan Flad reports on Johannesburg John Chane on war with Iraq

Colleen O'Connor on growing 'welcoming' churches

WITNESS MAGAZINE

Contributors

Holly Lyman Antolini is an Episcopal priest and director of "the small voice ministry at pin point farm," a contemplative environmental ministry of spiritual exploration with unchurched young people on a coastal farm in Maine.

James E. Frazier is a practicing church musician and a graduate of the Yale University Divinity School, with a diploma from the Institute of Sacred Music. He is writing a biography of Maurice Duruflé.

Dick Gillett is minister for social justice in the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles and a long-time activist for labor and economic justice issues. An honorary canon of L.A.'s Cathedral of St. Paul, he's working on a book about Christian social tradition and the new global capitalism.

Beth Johnson is Professor of New Testament at Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Ga.

Tim McDonald writes from Chattanooga, Tenn., where he is a board member of the Tennessee Coalition to Abolish State Killing and works in several other human rights and environmental action groups. A biologist by profession, he and his wife are the parents of a 12-year-old son and 13-year-old daughter. His church affiliation is with First Baptist Church of Chattanooga.

Megan McKenna is a theologian, writer, storyteller and Ambassador of Peace for Pax Christi, USA. Her latest book is *Prophets: Words of Fire* (Orbis). **Muffie Moroney** is a lawyer who lives in Houston, Tex. She is co-convener of Integrity Houston and a member of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company board.

David Smith-Ferri lives in Ukiah, Calif., where he is a poet and a stay-at-home dad. He traveled to Iraq for two weeks in July of 1999, and again in Sept.-Oct. of 2002, with the organization, Voices in the Wilderness. He is a Roman Catholic who is drawn most deeply to the tradition of social justice and mysticism in the Christian church. Voices in the Wilderness is a campaign to end the economic sanctions against Iraq. It has taken over 40 delegations of American and British citizens to Iraq to witness the effects of the international embargo and of war on Iraqi society.

Rima Vesely is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary and is currently in her ministry study year in the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles. In addition to selecting poetry for *The Witness*, she writes on issues of racism, immigration, and incarceration. She is a *Witness* contributing editor.

Dan Webster is director of communications for the Episcopal Diocese of Utah.

on the cover

Lichen and Granite,

Granite Dells, AZ

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While President Bush spoke at a \$1000-a-plate fund-raiser in the Nashville Convention Center, 400 persons gathered outside in the rain as a witness for peace. The event was organized by the Nashville Interfaith Coalition for Peace. For information on how to do something similar in your community contact Ed Landers, an Episcopal priest who helped organize the Nashville vigil, at 615-353-9996.

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LETTERS

Don't eat one

In *The Witness*' September 2002 issue, the selfrighteous language used by Carol Adams in promoting a vegetarian diet reminded me of the rhetoric employed by the anti-abortionists.

The twisting of the Bible to suit her argument also follows the anti-abortion style. To say that the story about Jesus creating a commotion in the temple might have showed his anger about animals being sold for sacrifices is blatantly dishonest. If the authors and editors of the gospels thought Jesus was concerned about the animals rather than about temple business practices, they could have said so. If Jesus objected to animal sacrifice or to the eating of animals, nobody bothered to write down these views. Both Matthew and Luke suggest that Jesus was accused of being a glutton, not a charge that anyone would be likely to make about a vegan.

In resisting the arguments of the anti-abortionists, some pro-choice advocates came up with an effective bumper sticker: "Against abortion? Don't have one." Perhaps omnivorous people now need something similar: "Against using animals for food? Don't eat one."

I was pleased to note in a *New York Times Magazine* article (9/1/02) that not all vegans sound like anti-abortionists when they talk about their diets. Michael Kline, who made a fortune in data communications, not only follows a raw-food vegetarian diet, but he also has bankrolled an all-raw haute cuisine vegetarian restaurant run by his wife, Roxanne. According to Peggy Orenstein, who wrote the article, Michael Kline insisted that he and his wife are not fanatics: "There is nothing worse than religious vegans trying to change the world."

Maybe anti-abortionists are worse. But not much worse.

Jim Adams Cambridge, MA

A mission with animals

The September 2002 issue on "Recovering our kinship with animals" is the greatest! We (the Community of the Ascension) are a tiny Episcopal Religious Order whose outreach mission is primarily in bird rescue and environmental care. We rescue/rehab/release injured and orphaned wild birds, and also care for many "previously owned" exotic birds on a permanent basis. And we also care for many other animals who have come to live with us: cats, dogs, two horses, two chickens and a rabbit! We have recently moved to a 9-acre home in Somerset County, Md., and one Sister is studying forestry. I believe that we are the only Episcopal order specifically working with animals and the environment. Unfortunately, we have not yet been able to find financial support for our animal and environmental activities, other than by working at outside jobs, and sometimes this makes creating a balance difficult! You can find us at <http://www.dioceseofeaston.org> and then click on Community of the Ascension.

Sister Mary Winifred, CA Upper Fairmount, MD

War with Iraq?

Jesus declared, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God." (Mat. 5:9). So whose sons shall the warmakers be called?

We should not underestimate the shellshock effect of 9/11 on the White House and Congress, which could cause some long-range distortion in logical thought processes in government policies. The "war on terrorism" is a compulsive concept, perhaps even a hysterical drive springing from subconscious desperation. Can we avoid being "carried away" by such emotional war-fervor?

John J. Hancock St. Bede's Episcopal Church Los Angeles, CA

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of The Witness magazine and related website projects, seeks to give voice to a liberation Gospel of peace and justice and to promote the concrete activism that flows from such a Christianity. Founded in 1917 by Irving Peake Johnson, an Episcopal Church bishop, The Witness claims a special mission to Episcopalians and other Anglicans worldwide, while affirming strong partnership with progressives of other faith traditions.

Manuscripts: Writers and artists receive a response only when we are able to publish. Manuscripts will not be returned.

Church's core mission at stake

by Julie A. Wortman

s I write this, email gossip claims that there's a significant wave of sentiment among the Episcopal Church's bishops, probably prompted by this month's Claiming the Blessing conference in St. Louis, that this is not the time to be pressuring for approval of rites of blessing for committed relationships outside of marriage. Everyone knows that these rites would be primarily used by partners in committed same-sex relationships. There are other, more important issues for the church to be addressing, many bishops say, urging that we not get pulled off track from our core mission by this minor, if controversial, issue. And PLEASE, more than one has added with unmistakable irritation and weariness, let's not dignify this as a "justice" issue!

I'm sorry, but I must question the honesty of this stance. The fact is, this withholding of the church's blessing for committed same-sex relationships is a crucial stumbling block to the church's ability to stand clear and unequivocally on behalf of right relationship of all kinds. ("Right relationship" is just another way of saying "justice," by the way, but maybe with a stronger flavor of the flesh-and-blood implications when it is lacking.)

I can't help thinking of the parallel with the U.S. government and the current administration's claim of righteousness in being a global champion of democracy. U.S. willingness to support oppressive regimes in the name of national security, however, makes it just about impossible to convince anyone who is paying attention of our integrity. In a crunch, power and self-interest drives U.S. policy - as they do in the church. It's a disappointing history, but the church has always shown that some of us matter more than others when it comes to the possibility of losing the financial support of bigots, or allocating resources, or calling into question the traditional patriarchal power structure.

I know, I'm fuming here. I've just completed another season of weddings. My partner,

Anne, officiated at one. Friends, family and acquaintances — all parents of the young cohabitating lovers in question (not all embarking on marriage for the first time) spent hours filling us in on the heart-warming details. The dress, the reception, the honeymoon plans, the anticipated family reunions. And then there were the afterglow debriefings of how great the landmark day had been. Never a moment's doubt that we'd be interested and pleased for this great blessing in their lives despite the discrimination that makes marriage — or even a supplementary rite of blessing — impossible for us.

The unconsciousness of privilege is a marvel.

The church tells Anne and me that if we want it to participate sacramentally in our declaration of love for one another and in our commitment to partner in faithful discipleship to Christian values we are out of luck unless a courageous diocese or a maverick priest risks institutional censure to stand with us. But we don't need or want the heroism. Just some basic respect.

Anne and I have been life partners for close to 18 years. We've known each other for longer, but only we know exactly when we made our covenant of faithful, monogamous, God-celebrating lifelong commitment. No photos, no toasts, no promises of support. But when the time is right, we've agreed, we'll throw a party to celebrate the blessing of our life together. We'll invite all the neighbors and friends and family who have asked us to participate in their "real" weddings and if they want to shower us with gifts, great.

Maybe by that time the church will have caught up with us and provided a rite that will dignify and honor our commitment. I pray that will be so. Because I agree with those bishops who say the church's core mission is at stake. As long as right relationship is denied any, it is denied us all — and everything the church does will be compromised by the omission.

CLASSIFIEDS

Free worship resources

Free worship resources for ending hunger. Each fall, thousands of parishes from all communions observe Bread for the World Sunday. FREE bulletin inserts, preaching helps, and prayers are available by calling 1-800-82-BREAD (1-800-822-7323) or visit the Bread for the World website: <www.bread.org>.

Order of Jonathan Daniels

An Episcopal religious community-incanonical-formation of brothers and sisters; single, partnered and married; either livingin-community or living independently; striving for justice and peace among all people. Contact: Order of Jonathan Daniels, St. Brigit's Hallow, 94 Chatham St., Chatham, N.J., 07928.

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As we went to press...

This news digest was prepared from news and wire reports by Witness news editor, Pat McCaughan.

Jubilee USA acts up

About 700 demonstrators rallied in front of the U.S. Dept. of the Treasury September 28 to demand money for HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment and to denounce the policies of the World Bank and the IMF. They later joined a larger rally of about 10,000 at the Sylvan Theatre on the Washington Monument grounds. The feeder rally/march was coordinated by Jubilee USA and ACT-UP.

ACC passes anti-war resolutions

The Anglican Consultative Council, a widely representative Anglican group of clergy and lay persons from each of the 38 Provinces of the worldwide Anglican Communion, unanimously passed two resolutions regarding proposals for war against Iraq during its recent meeting in Hong Kong. The first resolution expressed opposition to any unilateral action by the U.S. against Iraq. The second resolution affirmed ACC solidarity with the position taken by the Episcopal Church, USA in a statement issued by the church's Presiding Bishop in June 2002.

Protest swells over Nigerian stoning sentence

Amnesty International representatives stepped up pressure on Nigerian government officials to rescind a death sentence imposed upon Amina Lawal, a 30-year-old woman sentenced to be stoned to death for having sex outside of marriage. Amnesty International delivered opposition petitions signed by 1 million people to Nigerian officials on September 27. The sentence, imposed under Islamic law, or Shariah, has evoked a worldwide outcry. Government and human rights groups worldwide have urged Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo's government to intercede on Lawal's behalf. Shariah was introduced in a dozen predominantly Muslim northern states of Nigeria in 2000, shortly after civilian rule replaced military dictatorship. Obasanjo's government has declared Shariah punishments such as beheadings, stonings and amputations unconstitutional. Lawal is the second Nigerian woman to be condemned to death by Islamic courts for having sex out of wedlock. The first, Safiya Hussaini, had her sentence overturned in March on an appeal. For more info about the Amnesty International campaign: http://www.mertonai.org/amina

Topeka church to picket on anniversary of Matthew Shepard's death

Anti-gay Baptist pastor Fred Phelps planned to picket a football game in Fort Collins, Colo., on the Oct. 12 anniversary of the murder of Matthew Shepard. The website of Phelps' church, Westboro Baptist of Topeka, Kan., says the group will picket the University of Wyoming vs. Colorado State football game "in religious protest and warning: 'God is not mocked.'" The website also says that WBC "engages in daily peaceful sidewalk demonstrations opposing the homosexual lifestyle." The group received national attention when it picketed the funeral of Matthew Shepard, a University of Wyoming student who died after being beaten and hung on a fence during a 1998 hate crime in Laramie. A group of local Wyoming Christian leaders has written to Phelps to request that the WBC stay away.



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LGBT high-school students protest budget cut

Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (lgbt) students and their allies rallied at the Massachusetts State House in late September to protest the Governor's recent budget cuts that eliminated funding for the Safe Schools Program for Gay and Lesbian students at the Massachusetts Department of Education. Founded in 1993, the program supported Gay/Straight Alliances in high schools, teacher training and enforcement of the Student's Right Law, which protects students from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Without the Safe Schools Program, students have nowhere to go and no resources to keep them safe from harassment and physical attacks. According to Massachusetts' Youth Risk Behavior Survey, lgbt youth are four times more likely than their heterosexual peers to have attempted suicide in the past year, more than twice as likely to have been injured or threatened with a weapon at school and twice as likely to miss school because they feel unsafe.

More U.S. parishioners 'charging it' rather than passing the plate

More and more frequently, when U.S. churches pass the collection plate, parishioners are saying: "Charge it." A recent survey indicated that parishioners are growing fonder of paying their monthly donations by credit card. Electronic giving is increasing in numbers and popularity. It is also becoming an increasingly popular way to donate to local parishes and congregations. But some churches object, saying offerings within a service are an integral part of worship.



©Rick Reinhard / Impact Digital

South African religious leaders critique Summit, governments

by Ethan Flad

A series of interviews by *The Witness* in August–September 2002 with religious leaders in South Africa reveal an increasing sense of disenchantment with their nation's political leadership.

The conversations were set against the backdrop of the UN World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (WSSD, more info at www.johannesburgsummit.org), which was ultimately seen by many to have been a failure. Prior to the Summit, some held high hopes that this international event could finally build effective international mechanisms to address economic, environmental, and health challenges around the world. Even partway through the process, as hopes dwindled, some still tried to remain positive. Dr. Molefe Tsele, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, compared his respect for the working climate to the negative aura that dominated the World Conference Against Racism the previous year. "Anyone who attended Durban knew that it was about to collapse at any point. People who went sought to break it down. Here there are many difficulties, but a good faith effort to address the issues."

However, the strong resistance of the U.S., a handful of other countries, and corporate lobbyists to specific timetables for implementing these goals deeply frustrated many non-governmental representatives. This polarization was fairly predictable. Over the past two years, the U.S. has been lambasted worldwide for taking unilateral positions on a whole range of issues — the Kyoto climate change treaty, the anti-ballistic missile treaty, the WCAR, and other international policy protocol. The Bush administration's willingness to stake out its own path at the WSSD was nothing new — indeed, the conference itself was a follow-up event to the "Earth Summit" held 10 years prior in Rio de Janeiro, where the same dynamic had been witnessed. In Rio, the U.S. government, ironically then led by the first President Bush, was seen as an isolationist power using obstructionist tactics against treaties to protect biological diversity, slow global warming and create development initiatives. It was not a surprise to hear once again the rhetoric



Archbishop Ndungane visits a craft market in Arniston, a local impoverished fishing village, learning about sustainable development efforts by rural communities.

of resisting neo-colonialism through plaintive calls for greater action and accountability by the U.S. and other wealthy countries.

So for some observers, the truly interesting dynamic during the Johannesburg Summit was an increasing willingness by people in the Global South to critique their own governments. The Most Rev. Njongonkulu Ndungane, leader of the Anglican Church in the Province of Southern Africa, stated: "We need to see that we have a commitment not just from the North, the developed world, in the areas of debt cancellation, fair trade, and treating the developed world with fairness and equity ... [but] the leadership of the developing world shouldn't privatize children's education, health, food security, and access to clean water, among other things." This challenge is clearly visible in concerns expressed about the "New Partnership for Africa's Development" (NEPAD) initiated in July 2002 by African heads of state at the G-8 Summit. The Rev. Dr. Mongezi Guma, an Anglican priest who serves as executive director of the Ecumenical Service for Socio-Economic Transformation (ESSET), offered his analysis: "The NEPAD document is schizophrenic; it's as if it were written by two different people. The first part critiques a neo-liberal agenda, and then the second buys into that agenda."

Dr. Tsele was similarly direct in his misgivings: "To us, it's an important distinction that the 'partnership' in NEPAD must be a partnership with the people of the continent first and foremost. ... The criticism we have launched is in marketing, in positioning themselves [African heads of state] to get a buy-in from the North, they left their people behind. NEPAD is an important vision. ... It speaks to what every African knows, that this continent must change. But you can not have people from outside doing it for us. It must come from Africans themselves - not African leaders, ordinary Africans themselves must be committed to see a new Africa."

The South African situation

1994 marked the end of apartheid in South Africa, with the election of its first democratically chosen government. Despite the thrill of that historical moment, when Nelson Mandela assumed the presidency as leader of the African National Congress (ANC), many religious and community leaders cautioned their citizens and the world community to not expect change to occur too quickly. Apartheid, instituted by the National Party government in 1948, had been legally, socially and psychologically entrenched into the nation for 46 years. There were some who argued that the process of changing the society into a truly free state would take decades as well.

The honeymoon appears to be over. More than eight years into the development of a

post-apartheid nation, some of those religious leaders are increasingly willing to express their unhappiness with a series of policy decisions of the ANC government. The ANC and the country are now led by President Thabo Mbeki, elected in 1999 to be Mandela's successor. During the first couple years of his leadership the historically aligned political left was willing to give the Mbeki government some leeway. However, its decision in 2001 to spend millions instead of using that money toward social services - appears to have opened the floodgates to criticism. As Guma said, commenting on the role of the church community, "We must be a force to question the ANC."

The two areas of particular concern are endemic poverty and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. AIDS is an undeniable priority since South Africa has the largest reported number of cases of HIV in the world: Some estimates suggest over 20 percent of its population of 42 million are infected with the virus. Despite this massive problem, a culture of denial and stigmatization prevails. Dr. Denise Ackerman, an Anglican laywoman who teaches at the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch, condemned the government for its role in this morass. "More pernicious than individual denial has been the denial by the South African state that its citizens are trapped in a pandemic." She added sadly, "As the world watches in dismay and people die daily, President Thabo Mbeki and his cabinet have spent more than two years debating 'scientific questions' in regard to HIV/AIDS, opinions which were greatly informed by dissident views on the subject, while refusing virtually free treatment to pregnant women which would greatly reduce the number of infected babies born."

Dr. Tsele concurred, "The government policy is misdirected to the extent that it seeks to pronounce on medical issues, when in actuality very few of them have competency in that. Leave that to doctors to tell us whether this drug is safe or not safe; it's not any minister or politician who knows the difference between drugs." And Archbishop Ndungane summarized in a matter-of-fact manner, "I think that the leadership of this country has failed the people of this country in not addressing HIV/AIDS [at the WSSD]."

With an estimated 13 million people unemployed, and over a million jobs lost since 1994, the economic scenario is the other obvious agenda item for the nation. The Right Rev. David Beetge, Bishop of Highfelt (a region just northwest of Johannesburg), reported sober statistics to a visiting group of Anglicans. "We are still living under an apartheid economy. Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, and to a lesser extent Port Elizabeth have very wealthy regions. My office is only 25 miles from Jo'burg, and we face 37 percent unemployment in that town. Farther into my diocese, my poorest parish community has 90 percent unemployment." The singular challenge of developing an equitable system of economic growth is obvious.

In this context, Archbishop Ndungane questioned the government's priorities in choosing the site for hosting the WSSD. The government conference was held in Sandton, an incredibly wealthy and very white community that sits just a couple miles from Alexandra, a very poor black township. "This Summit was billed as providing improvements in Alexandra, and Alex is still Alex. Yet Sandton's roads and everything were improved. So you ask yourself a question," inquired Ndungane, "Why the choice of Sandton? There are plenty of other places where this could have been held to benefit the people."

Douglas Torr, coordinator of the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg's social responsibility program, is working on a campaign for a Basic Income Grant (BIG). The BIG would provide financial resources - a proposed monthly compensation of 100 Rand (about US\$9) — to every citizen to help them lift themselves out of poverty. He led an effort to develop a "human chain" between Alexandra and Sandton during the Summit, symbolically linking the needs of the poor with the high-level decision-makers, but it was faced with stiff government resistance. "The government has been totally inflexible, there has been no negotiation," said Torr, adding, "We've been

forced to have a march that is entirely in Sandton, entirely in an area of prosperity, entirely outside of big-walled houses." Torr noted that the cost of the BIG initiative would have been easily covered if the government had not spent so much money last year on armaments — and even now the expense is well within reason, if the ANC would show the political will to address this issue.

Hope for the future

Despite these major concerns, and special misgivings about the work being done by the South African government, most religious leaders still offered signs of encouragement. While there was little sense that the documents being produced at the sustainable development summit would themselves create change, "the fact that so many people from various NGOs came to Johannesburg to show concern for the well-being of the voiceless, that in itself is a plus," offered Archbishop Ndungane. In fact, the efforts by Torr and others to create a visible link of humans hearkened back to a vigil held two years ago in the United Kingdom to protest the international debt crisis. Ndungane was there, and cited that story as a witness to what can happen when people truly work together. "I think the Jubilee 2000 movement is a very clear example of how ordinary people can address an issue. It was that human chain in Birmingham, where some 70,000 people stood together while the G-8 were meeting, which forced Tony Blair to come out and listen."

A significant role for the church in a postapartheid South Africa clearly continues to be one of offering a prophetic voice. "The church has a right and a responsibility to hold up government decisions to a lens of moral scrutiny," said Ndungane. Going forward, its major challenge is just like that of the African leaders in the NEPAD initiative: to not only speak prophetically, but also to bring its people along in the process. Building on the energy of the powerful Jubilee movement, whose ongoing efforts most recently led France to cancel millions of dollars in debt owed by Mali in west Africa, and on a series of small but steady victories in the AIDS pandemic, there is cause for hope.

Challenge voices for war, Irish urges

by Dan Webster

Challenge "the voices of those who would argue that the war now advocated is reasonable and responsible," urged Carolyn Tanner Irish, the Episcopal bishop of Utah in a pastoral letter sent to 22 congregations in her diocese on the eve of September 11, 2002.

"The stakes are very, very high; ignorance



On the one-year anniversary of the September 11 terrorist attacks, people gathered for a candlelight vigil at the Brooklyn Heights Promenade overlooking the skyline of lower Manhattan.

and arrogance are pervasive; escalation could become so tempting," she wrote. "Rather than 'going it alone' in a world so clearly interdependent let us renew our commitment to the structures established for peacemaking," she concluded.

The 1952 General Convention of the Episcopal Church USA passed a resolution that concludes, "... we unalterably oppose the idea of so-called 'preventive war."

"In the Anglican tradition," wrote Bishop

LOUIE'S INDEX

Episcopal diocese that gave the highest percent of its budget to support the mission to the world of the Episcopal Church Center in last year reported: The Diocese of Newark (28 percent)

> Oldest deputy to U.S. Episcopal Church's 2003 General Convention: Charles Crump (West Tennessee, age 88.9 when convention opens)

Youngest deputy to U.S. Episcopal Church's 2003 General Convention: Amanda Frank (Alaska, age 16.9)

The senior diocesan bishop in the U.S. Episcopal Church: William Swing, Bishop of California (consecrated 1/1/80, could serve until he turns 72 on August 26, 2008)

Number of dioceses that guarantee access to the ordination process without regard to sexual orientation: All (by authority of Title 1.17.5 of Canons of the Episcopal Church)

Year first "out" lesbian or gay person was ordained: 1977 (The Rev. Dr. Ellen Marie Barrett, first co-president of Integrity, by Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., of New York in January 1977, the first month that women could be ordained officially).

> Number of Episcopal clergy who hold law degrees: 12 bishops, 274 priests, 40 deacons

Diocesan bishop who never earned a penny as a priest, but only as a lawyer: Francisco Duque. (Duque worked as a lawyer to support his ministry before being elected Bishop of Colombia in 2001.)

Percent of Episcopal Church priests who have earned academic doctorates: 5.7 (Ph.D.), 4.1 (D.Min), 0.7 (Th.D.)

Percent of Episcopal Church bishops who have earned academic doctorates: 2.3 (Ph.D), 7 (D.Min), 1.3 (Th.D.)

Number of Episcopal clergy who are medical doctors: 72 priests, 27 deacons.

Number of Episcopal clergy who have dentistry degrees: 9 priests, 6 deacons

Last month Louie's Index posed this question:

In what sense does the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church also exercise real authority as the Bishop of Rome?

Here's the answer:

The Presiding Bishop is the Bishop of the Convocation of American Churches in Europe and as such exercises real authority over the ECUSA parish of St. Paul's within the Walls, the ECUSA parish in Rome. The Presiding Bishop's Suffragan for the Convocation is the Bishop-in-Charge locally, and resides in Paris.

• Who are the female diocesan bishops eligible to be nominated for a full term as Presiding Bishop if elected at the 2006 General Convention? See the December 2002 issue for the answer.

Witness contributing editor Louie Crew, founder of Integrity and a longtime Episcopal Church leader (he currently sits on the Episcopal Church's Executive Council and is a member of the Diocese of Newark's deputation to General Convention 2003) is a well-known collector and disseminator of statistics and littleknown facts about the Episcopal Church and Anglican Communion. His website is www.andromeda.rutgers.edu/~lcrew; email him at LCREW@newark.rutgers.edu. Irish, "the primary statement on war, affirmed and reaffirmed many times since it was passed by the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops in 1930, is that '... war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Recognizing the approaching anniversary of the "horrific" September 11th attacks Bishop Irish noted, however, that "this anniversary also holds the danger of becoming a time to stoke our feelings of self-righteous indignation and a desire for revenge." "It could, in other words, lead us to support the very kind of violence we have ourselves so recently suffered."

The letter was dated Sept. 4, which on the Episcopal Church calendar is the Feast of Paul Jones, bishop and peace advocate. Jones was the fourth bishop of Utah, 1911–1918. He was forced to resign his office by national church leaders for his pacifist beliefs. Yet he was "sainted" by that same church and given a feast day four years ago as "a sign not only of 20th-century war weariness but also of our capacity to discover non-violent solutions to conflict," wrote the bishop.

Going local in midcoast Maine

by Holly Lyman Antolini

"Self-reliance, appearing initially in the Bible



tinctly American spin by Henry David Thoreau ... has many positive connotations. It suggests personal responsibility, respect for others, and harmony with nature. And the addition of the word 'community'

and given a dis-

to self-reliance underscores that the ultimate objective is a social and caring one. As Neil Seldman of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance emphasizes, all people within a community should be enabled and empowered." — Michael Shuman, Going Local: Creating Self-reliant Communities in a Global Age (The Free Press, 1998)

Katya Bezberodko leaned forward when her turn came to share why she - an 18-yearold headed to college in the fall - was interested in spending every other Tuesday evening of the summer at the Rockland Public Library discussing the local economy in midcoast Maine with a motley collection of citizens ranging from her age up to their 70s. "Contrary to some people's expectations, young people like me are interested in these issues and looking to make change effectively," she shared. "This discussion gives me hope that I can make a difference in conditions in my home community. Look at the hundreds of jobs we're losing in this community with the closing of the Nautica stockroom over on Camden Street! Nautica is not exactly a local business, so what do they care what becomes of those workers? But I do! And when I look around this room and see how this group of citizens is studying hard and making concrete plans to stimulate our local economy, I feel inspired. Reading this book," Katya thumped the volume in her hands, "I've decided, this summer, to major in economics!"

The book is what started us off. It was in the early spring — "mud season" in Maine - and "the small voice ministry" dinner had been small again: just Matt Prindiville (a junior at the University of Maine Farmington in political science) and me, an Episcopal priest and organic gardener. We'd been down to the prayer house on the St. George River for silent meditation. Then we'd prepared and consumed a large amount of home-grown bean gumbo. As we often did, we had spent the whole meal in passionate inquiry about how we could personally contribute to the well-being of our local community - a cluster of small towns around the city of Rockland midway up the coast of Maine. Recently the Wal-Mart in the only strip mall in the Rockland area had attempted to super-size itself. But the community had organized and fought back, shutting the huge store out using a city ordinance limiting square footage. In

the wake of that battle, however, the city council had changed the zoning restriction and no sooner had Wal-Mart given up than Home Depot had colonized the same lot. The community group was helpless to combat it. As Matt and I moseyed to the front door at evening's end, we were lamenting the impact the new national bigbox hardware store was going to have on the four healthy local hardware retailers and one statewide hardware store already thriving in our neighborhood.

"Our building dollars will be headed straight out of the state," Matt sighed, when his eye fell on the book, Michael H. Shuman's *Going Local: Creating Self-reliant Communities in a Global Age*, on my shelf. "Hey," he said, "That looks interesting; have you read it? What did you think?" Chagrined, I admitted that I'd bought it the previous fall after a seminar on environmental economics but that, these many months later, it remained unread, victim of my "economics allergy."

"Tell you what," Matt challenged me, "T'll read it if you'll read it!"

He took the book and a few days later, called me in excitement and suggested, "You know, this book is SO practical and clear! I wonder, if we held a book discussion, say, at the local library, whether we could get a group together that would want to tackle an actual project to help grow the local economy in Rockland!?"

We were off and running. A few posters and an article in the local paper later, our group had assembled, meeting every other Tuesday night for two hours all summer, wrestling our way through "economics 101" with the help of the highly approachable Shuman book and a pile of homebaked cookies. Using a "study circle" format, in which the group self-manages its discussion with no "expert" in charge with Matt and me as nominal convenors, facilitators, and publicists — we addressed three broad questions:

In the rush toward globalization, does our economy in midcoast Maine still serve the best interests of our local community? What helps? What hinders?

As consumers, are we investing in our own community well-being?

Do we know where our money is going

www.thewitness.org

when it leaves our pockets, and how it's being used when it gets there?

We constrained ourselves to apply our learnings as we went to what shared knowledge we could glean from the disparate group about the specifics of our rural fishing and tourist economy. Periodically, we had to re-collect ourselves, as we had a tendency to start ranging over the full scope of the national and global economics, speaking in generalities. As group member Mike Ray, a Green Party activist, carpenter, and Registered Maine Guide, reminded us one night, "This group is not anti-growth; we're not even unilaterally anti-global growth. We're just highly pro-LOCAL growth, because local growth supports a diversified and strong local community. Not only that, it enables us to have a real impact in shaping that growth responsibly from an environmental and human standpoint."

We found the discipline of staying locally focused productive. It kept us concrete and practical, and moved us toward one of our original goals: to discern a specific piece of work for us to tackle to stimulate the "economic multiplier" for local economic growth.

Moreover, our disciplined local focus precipitated a decision to encourage group members to invite "speakers," people active in the local community — legislators, nonprofit activists, local business owners, those pursuing local economic development — to join our discussions. One speaker, Scott Tilton, owner of Weskeag River Shellfish Farms, is building his aquaculture business locally, funded entirely by family and neighbors' investment. He also runs the local Fishing Industry Retraining Project in Rockland, which provides education programs to retrain fishermen forced out of their trade by tighter regulation aimed at preventing overfishing.

Another speaker, Susan Greene, is launching a Time Dollar program through the Coastal Community Action Program. Funded by VISTA, Susan has a year's stipend to help Rockland create a barter exchange system whereby individuals can offer skills and products in return for non-currency "time dollars," which in turn can then be exchanged for services from other participants in the program. "Such local-currency programs," Susan explained, "create healthy communities by connecting neighbors and building trusting relationships. You need your floor sanded; you can offer piano lessons. Maybe the floor sander doesn't care to play the piano, but needs his photos developed. The photo developer is due for some dentistry, and the dentist is the one who's looking to learn to play piano! Each "purchases" the desired service with "time

IN MEMORIUM

John S. Winder, Jr.

John Small Winder, Jr., 59, died suddenly of cardiac arrest August 13th at his home in Potomac, Maryland. An environmental activist, Winder had been chair of the Episcopal Ecological Network and of the Environment Committee of the Peace Commission of the Diocese of Washington (D.C.).

Winder was insistent on the need for the church to address environmental concerns, particularly within its justice and peace ministries. He was deeply involved in the national church's "Justice, Peace, and Integrity of Creation" (JPIC) initiative and also helped to draft and present resolutions on environmental issues – like endangered species, climate change, recycling, and educational initiatives – at all levels of the church. Many statements now used as policy by our dioceses and congregations owe a debt to Winder's tireless efforts. His prophetic voice will be sorely missed. dollars" they've earned by offering their OWN services to others. You serve your OWN needs and those of others. There's value in reciprocity; you build social capital in the process."

Still other speakers have acquainted us with a myriad of possibilities. Stefan Pakulski, a candidate for state senate, described the potential for communal composting using organic waste from a local corporation. Ron Huber of the non-profit Penobscot Bay Watch proposed an environmentally and economically advantageous integrated resource management of the Penobscot Bay. He also described a community networking effort that succeeded in preventing the building of a marina which would have interfered with the local fishing industry. Kristina King, local columnist, merchandiser, and market grower of fruits and vegetables, introduced us to the Slow Food Movement, which encourages diners to cook slowly and from scratch at home and to enjoy restaurants that feature locally grown and individually prepared foods, rather than grabbing their meals at national fast-food outlets.

Shaped by this twice-monthly conversation, we gradually found ourselves paying increasing attention to where our own consumer dollars were going and "mapping" sources for locally grown foods and locally made products. Little by little, a manageable project idea began to emerge from our conversations and consultations. The summer drew to a close and we dispatched Katya and Matt back to college with our blessings. But the "Going Local" group - charged with energy and still growing — is ready to push on into the fall with a new commitment: to produce a brochure and online directory of locally owned and operated businesses in Knox County, complete with maps and descriptions to guide consumers to buy locally.

We're also aware of our potential to mobilize for advocacy if need be. That big-box Home Depot is still under discussion on the development horizon, and we know that we are becoming an informed citizenry, ready to speak knowledgeably and convincingly about the pros and cons of the different growth prospects in our small city.

The time for economic engagement is now

by Dick Gillett

 $R^{\rm ICHARD}$ PARKER IS A SENIOR FELLOW and economist at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. He is also a practicing Episcopalian. At the fall meeting of the House of Bishops last year Parker addressed the topic of globalization, the theme of the bishops' meeting. It was an extraordinary speech, garnering a rare standing ovation from our normally staid prelates. His talk was notable for several reasons. For example, he reminded the bishops that history is important, both in our appreciation of the phenomenon of globalization (in its most recent form - it has been around for at least 500 years), and in recognition that in seemingly bleak periods of our history remarkable rebirths of hope and action have occurred. For example, Parker pointed out close parallels between our own times and 100 years ago in America, when economic and social conditions for ordinary working people were likewise abominable, while the wealthy heaped up riches and expanded their monopolistic practices. But beginning in about 1880 conditions for poor working people sank to such abysmal levels as to arouse the churches. Over the following three decades the churches — the Episcopal Church prominently among them - began to be directly engaged from parish level right on up to top ecclesiastical leadership.

We know this movement as the era of the Social Gospel, when the churches actually influenced the society around it to address the prevailing injustices. Theodore Roosevelt rode this social concern to the presidency in 1901, issuing in an era of social reform.

My own observation is that despite the unrelenting right-wing policies of the Bush administration and the feeling that a large part of the electorate has disengaged from politics, a new wave of engagement with social injustice — one not dissimilar to that of 100 years ago is already underway. This is preeminently the case in Los Angeles, where Episcopalians from our bishops on down to clergy and parishioners have joined in concerted strategies with other religious bodies and with the community to enact living-wage ordinances and to work in close partnership with progressive unions to win victories for lowwage workers. To me it feels like a "kairos," a holy moment of new birth. And L.A. is not the only place where hope and activism combine in a holy combustible mixture.

Reportedly under consideration by our bishops as a follow-up of the globalization addresses they heard in September 2001 is a pastoral letter on this topic, to be ready for General Convention 2003. That is neither soon enough, nor is it an adequate response by the bishops, especially when one considers both the social and the moral dimensions of our current economic near-meltdown. In 1986, in a period of considerable less urgency for the nation than our own, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a 10-point "Framework of Economic Life" which had notable impact both on the Roman

Catholic Church and beyond, and was reproduced on pocket-sized laminated cards for wide distribution.

But it would be a mistake to wait for episcopal action before we move (nor would our more progressive bishops encourage us to), just as it would likewise be a mistake for parish activists to always wait for vestry approval before acting. The sense of urgency demands much more from both the bishops and us. To adapt Pogo's saying: We have met the enemy, and the remedy! — and it is us.



A small act of solidarity

by David Smith-Ferri

SOMEHOW, IN RESPONSE to the terrible acts that destroyed the World Trade Center and killed several thousand people, our government is involving our nation in more violence. Instead of helping us mourn effectively and move out of the darkness of violence — the fear, hatred, and withdrawal — our government is holding an unsubstantiated threat of foreign attack before our eyes, where it clouds our vision like a cataract and traps us in the darkness. Instead of leading us in a national examination of conscience, it is leading us into war, promising that military action will bring us into the light of a safer world.

As I read the gospels today, seeking guidance, I am struck by two things. First, Christ's promise to be near, something that even death cannot prevent. Second, by the example he set that we likewise stand alongside people who are in darkness — prisoners, the "naked," the "hungry."

I write this as I prepare to travel with eight other Americans on a Voices in the Wilderness fact-finding delegation to Iraq, a country that faces an imposed and perpetual darkness. A country that has been stripped naked and imprisoned by 12 years of international sanctions. What do the people of Iraq — parents and children, shopkeepers,

teachers, doctors — think about the foreign threat to overthrow their government, a threat made by the most powerful country in the world? How has this threat affected their lives? Whom and what do they reach out to for assurances in the face of this threat? And how will these people be affected if there is an invasion? These are some of the questions I take with me on this trip.

When I was asked to participate in this delegation, the intent to overthrow the Iraqi government was well known. Accepting the invitation would mean standing publicly in opposition to that intention, and traveling to a country that was under threat of invasion. Less well known were the \$10,000 fines that the U.S. government recently assessed on two Americans for bringing medicine to Iraq without permission. More than a slap on the wrist. Suddenly, I was thrown into the dark. What to do?

In the face of this uncertainty, I have reached out for assurances. To begin with, my wife and I have made this decision together. It was not simple or easy. But when I leave for Iraq I know that this is a joint pro-



The Atlantic Life Community and the Dorothy Day Catholic Worker commemorated the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki last August with a civil disobedience action at the White House with a focus on the saber-rattling toward Iraq.

ject. Not only are the consequences of this trip, positive and negative, ones we will share, but so are the belief in its value and the work that makes it possible. In Iraq, I will carry her strength with me. It's one way to guard against the darkness.

Similarly, I go to Iraq as a representative of a "community." When I return, I will show slides and make presentations to people in various communities across northern California. To be vibrant, our communities need all kinds of talent and skills and knowledge. Our diversity is in fact our strength. I travel to Iraq so that I can be a resource to communities here, a small part of the exchange and interchange that make us vibrant. The connection with these communities is another layer of assurance for me.

Lastly, I go to Iraq as a small act of solidarity with the Iraqi people. It is part of living up to the promise to "be nearby" as they face this darkness. This too gives me strength. Standing nearby when someone is facing the darkness always means facing the darkness oneself, and this is always more possible when something vital is at stake.

(Voices in the Wilderness is a campaign to end the economic sanctions against Iraq. It has taken over 40 delegations of American and British citizens to Iraq to witness the effects of the international embargo and of war on Iraqi society.)

Welcoming Jo Anne

by Muffie Moroney

LAST SPRING, several of my friends and I had dinner in San Antonio, Tex., with Louie Crew, Integrity's founder. In light of Integrity's mission — to be the advocacy organization for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (lgbt) persons in the Episcopal Church, and in turn to represent the church to the lgbt community — I asked Louie about Integrity's resources for understanding transgender concerns. Jo Anne Roberts, a transgender person, had recently joined my parish of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Houston and her arrival turned a theoretical situation into a real and practical one: What can we do and say to welcome Jo Anne into our midst?

William Stringfellow, highly respected lawyer and theologian in the Episcopal Church, and Stephen Jay Gould, renowned professor of zoology, geology, and paleontology at Harvard, have provided some wonderful background material about human differences in general.

In his address, "An Exhortation to Integrity," given at the 1979 national Integrity convention, Stringfellow was speaking about homosexuality, but his comments are relevant to any discussion of other sexualities and identities as well. Some excerpts: "... The issue is not homosexuality but sexuality in any and all of its species and that, as much as I can discern, sexuality is as extensive and diverse as human life itself. There are as many varieties of sexuality as there be human beings. I commend you to consider sexuality in the context of conversion — in the context of the event in which one becomes a new person in Christ. In that event ... all that a particular person is, sexuality along with all else, suffers the death in Christ that inaugurates the new (or renewed) life in Christ. ... But that death in Christ in which we are restored for new life does not involve the denial or suppression or repression of anything that we are as persons. It involves instead the renewal of our persons in the integrity of our own creation in the Word of God. ... The new life in Christ means ... that we have the exceptional freedom to be who we are and, thus, to welcome and affirm our sexuality as a gift, absolved from guilt or embarrassment or shame." (A Keeper of the Word, Bill Wylie-Kellermann, ed., William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994, p. 331ff.)

Stephen Jay Gould takes Stringfellow's varieties of sexuality to another level. In the introduction to *Full House* (Harmony Books,

For a Friend in Travail

by Adrienne Rich

Waking from violence: the surgeon's probe left in the foot paralyzing the body from the waist down. Dark before dawn: wrapped in a shawl, to walk the house the Drinking Gourd slung in the northwest, half-slice of moon to the south through dark panes. A time to speak to you.

What are you going through? she said, is the great question. Philosopher of oppression, theorist of the victories of force.

We write from the marrow of our bones. What she did not ask, or tell: how victims save their own lives.

The crawl along the ledge, then the ravelling span of fibre strung

from one side to the other, I've dreamed that too. Waking, not sure we made it. Relief, appallment, of waking. Consciousness. O, no. To sleep again. O to sleep without dreaming.

How day breaks, when it breaks, how clear and light the moon melting into moon-colored air moist and sweet, here on the western edge. Love for the world, and we are part of it. How the poppies break from their sealed envelopes she did not tell.

What are you going through, there on the other edge?

FOOTNOTE:

"The love of our neighbor in all its fullness simply means being able to say to him: "What are you going through?" — Simone Weil, *Waiting for God*, 115

— Reprinted from *An Atlas of the Difficult World: Poems 1988–1991*, by Adrienne Rich, © 1991. With permission of the publisher, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1996), Gould summarizes his ideas from an earlier work, *Wonderful Life*, and states his conviction that variety — not complexity — is the true measure of excellence: "We must give up a conventional notion of human dominion, but we learn to cherish particulars, of which we are but one … and to revel in complete ranges, to which we contribute one precious point — a good swap, I would argue, of stale (and false) comfort for broader understanding. It is, indeed, a wonderful life within the full house of our planet's history of organic diversity." Although he is not specifically addressing diversities of human sexuality or gender identity, these would fit comfortably within his thinking.

Both William Stringfellow and Stephen Jay Gould are dead. As far as I know, they did not write about transgendered persons in the Episcopal Church. But Stringfellow and Gould (and others) lead me to believe the following: There is a distinction between gender identity (whether you identify yourself as male or female) and sexual orientation (whether you are sexually attracted to males, females, or both). Transgendered persons (along with heterosexuals, homosexuals, and bisexuals) represent but one of many normal kinds of human sexual orientation and gender identity in the rich variety of creation, and within that single category known as transgender, there are as many varieties as there are people. Although being transgendered may be unusual and unfamiliar to us, it is nonetheless normal. In the Christian Church, the gender identity of each transgendered person (as well as the sexual orientation of each heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual person) who seeks the sacrament of baptism is affirmed as integral to that person's identity in Christ Jesus. The Body of Christ inhabits a full house.

Suddenly I'm an adult?

by Tim McDonald

What DO YOU DO as a scared, ashamed, insecure 12-year-old kid who is suddenly thrust by adults into an adult world? There's no regard for your age, your insecurities, your past trauma, or possibly even your innocence. You know you have done something you never thought you would do and hurt or even killed someone you never thought you would hurt — maybe because of the life of abuse you have had, maybe because of anger from a life of neglect, maybe because of the constant barrage of violent videos you watched because no one cared enough to show you anything better. You know you have done something terrible and now you are in this prison where adults took your clothes, made you dress in a jumpsuit while they watched, handcuffed your arms and took hold of you and pushed you into a cell where people yelled vulgar stuff at you. Then they told you that you were never getting out of there because you got a life sentence as an "adult."

This scenario — or some close variation of it — has taken place multiple times in this country in the past few years. The most recent and nationally visible case took place in Pensacola, Fla., where a 13-year-old child and his 14-year-old brother were convicted for the murder of their father. An adult convicted child molester was also tried for the same crime but acquitted, thus dropping the burden for the crime on the chil-

A bishop speaks out on the use of military force against Iraq

Overview:

The heated rhetoric surrounding the use of military action against Iraq in order to remove President Saddam Hussein from power and to eliminate what President Bush has labeled as that nation's hold on "weapons of mass destruction" has sparked debate throughout the world. It seems clear that the present leadership of the United States will accept nothing less than the forcible removal of Saddam Hussein from power and the destruction of all weapons from his military arsenal. Despite openings for continued dialogue and sharing within the Congress and the larger global community in seeking a peaceful and nonviolent solution, the President of the United States seems committed to moving forward with such a military policy. In a very real sense the thesis for war with Iraq is now being defended by the Bush Administration and there is seemingly little hope that the defense of this thesis will be lost in the days ahead.

The history of the current Iraqi government and the cunning and repressive leadership of President Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath Party are both a constant threat to Middle Eastern stability and the very health and welfare of the Iraqi people. The reality of the development and use of biological and chemical warfare agents by the Iraqi government and their use in previous military campaigns must be condemned as immoral and inhuman. Such behavior is unacceptable within the context of the world community of nations.

The United States is without doubt the greatest military and economic power in the world today. Its great wealth and rich cultural and ethnic diversity, coupled with the great gift of the Constitution, has engendered distrust, animosity and righteous anger in many nations. Currently captured by the poverty of international debt, rampant unchecked disease, internal political unrest, social violence, religious wars, inadequate or totally lacking educational opportunities, these peoples feel domination by a world power that seems more focused on its own self-interests. Our success as well as our insensitivity and blindness to the crying needs of the larger world have created unparalleled international tensions, especially within the Middle East.

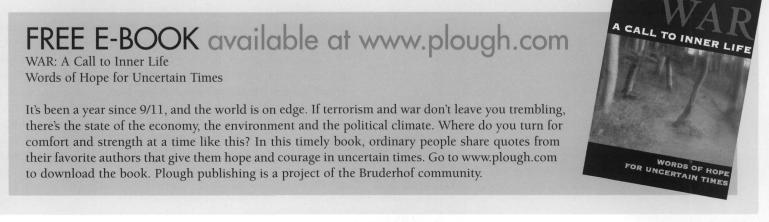
Statement:

Alexis De Tocqueville said during a visit to America, "America is great because America is good and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." When we as a people lose sight of the great goodness that has defined who and what we are, and when we fail to seek every alternative other than military intervention to deal with violence, then we will have lost a most precious gift and will ultimately become what we despise the most, a callous and violent nation.

Therefore I call upon the President and Congress of the United States to work with all due speed and with every available resource to resolve the crisis with Iraq using all non-violent means. We as a nation must seek the counsel and support of member nations of the United Nations. Anything less demeans not only the goodness of who we are as Americans but our true greatness as a nation. I believe with all my heart that Muslims, Christians and Jews are ultimately committed to claiming a God of peace, justice and love. As a Christian I hold fast to the truth revealed in Christ that war is not inevitable, moreover that war ultimately represents a tragic failing in the human condition.

History never lies! Justice seemingly gained through the use of violence only begets more violence and oppression. Nations using weapons of "mass destruction," and we are a nation possessing such weapons, only exacerbate the problems of alienation and hostility that define the human condition in an ever shrinking global community.

In Christ's Peace, Power and Love The Right Reverend John Bryson Chane Episcopal Bishop of Washington



continued from page 14

dren. Recent U.S. Department of Justice reports indicate that despite falling juvenile crime rates, twice the number of juvenile offenders have been placed in adult prisons in recent years than in previous decades. Reports also show statistics that children imprisoned in adult jails are five times more likely to be beaten and abused by staff and eight times more likely to commit suicide than those in juvenile facilities.

What do these statistics say about us as parents, citizens, voters, and CHRISTIANS? Think about it.

Trying children as adults is denying an obvious truth — children are not adults. They have become involved in some of the same criminal actions that are committed by adults, but they are still not adults and cannot be held to the same degree of culpability. If they are as capable and culpable as adults, why do we not let them become licensed to drive at age 12 or to buy alcohol at age 12, or even to VOTE at age 12? We don't let children engage in activities that are adult-appropriate because they are NOT adults. So why do we allow a prosecutor to arbitrarily decide that a kid has suddenly become an adult? In a judicial system that bases its credibility and honor on being able to determine "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth," the practice of trying children as adults is a blatant and criminal denial of that truth. A 12-year-old kid does not think like a 40-year old adult, and neither should he be penalized like an adult. Think about it.

To retain any honor at all, the justice system in this punishmentobsessed country must acknowledge that children are not adults and its laws must be made flexible enough to treat people in an age-appropriate manner.

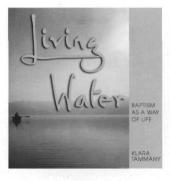
The sight of a 12-year-old "adult" holding out his hands for handcuffing as he is led away as an "adult" is appalling; it may bring satisfaction to a prosecutor who is basing his next election success on being "tough," but it is a sight that should cause all who call themselves Christians to shout in protest. Nothing good can come from locking children up for the rest of their lives and pretending that they, like bad adults, got what they "deserved."

Think about it, Christians, we can and must do better.

Living water

by Megan McKenna Living Water: Baptism as a Way of Life by Klara Tammany (Church Publishing Co., 2002)

WATER! Our bodies are about 80 percent or more composed of water. The world is almost 4/5th water yet a minuscule amount of that is fresh water that humans can drink. It is one of the elements of life, powerful, dangerous in weather and tides and absolutely essential for drinking, cleansing, cooking and other essentials like playing in. When Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well converse it is over water. He claims that he would give her "living water." For Jews and Samaritans at the time of Jesus this was a theological concept. The phrase "living water" was a common expression for the Torah, the Word of God in the Scriptures and the law, so Jesus was telling her that he was a fresh, long cold drink of Torah, of the Word of God! And she knew exactly what he was talking about.



Water! It is the primary symbol of Baptism that initiates us into the faith of believers, into a community and a life that is sourced with the Word of God, with the person of Jesus and with the other sacraments and traditions of the Christian religion. Klara Tammany has written a book on baptism as a way of life, a source book or primer that looks at this sacrament as a jumping-off spot into living that is from the beginning fresh water, a fountain in the desert and foundational to Christian life. Specifically, this is a book for those preparing for baptism and their sponsors and those who pass on the riches of a Church to others. But more so it's an adult education book for all believers no matter how long they have been baptized, for it re-introduces them to the ritual and so to the prayers and promises they made or were made in their name as infants. It is filled with stories, reflections, quotes, songs, questions and imaginative suggestions for mulling over familiar words to reveal depth and passionate devotion that sources our daily life as individuals and as members of a faith community. There is theology and theory, booklists and rich resources for music, children's and adult materials, even movies that can be used instructionally and in prayer situations that study and delve more deeply into baptism.

Klara follows the method of gathering, sharing, reflecting and responding within a community setting. The breadth of materials and alternative suggestions leaves lots of leeway for creativity and for structuring sessions to your own people and needs. She discusses the issues of faith, the intergenerational passing on of tradition and practice, the call to justice and peace, the corporal works of mercy and of witnessing to faith individually in moral behavior and as community.

In communities worldwide today, the gift of the water diviner is crucial as never before. With their stick or even their hands and bare feet on the ground they walk the way and sense the energies and the Spirit of water beneath them, releasing and revealing the life-sustaining sources. Klara Tammany has done this for her believing community in the Episcopal Church. But because of its riches it is recommended for any tradition that is searching for this living water and living out their baptisms as a way of life for all to see and desire. *Living Water* is a long cool drink.

Claiming the Blessin

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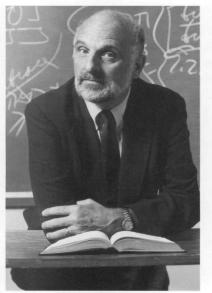
"I will bless you so that you will be a blessing."- Genesis 12.2

The General Convention of the U.S. Episcopal Church resolved in 1976 that "homosexual persons are children of God who have a full and equal claim with all other persons upon the love, acceptance and pastoral concern and care of the Church." Since that time great strides toward realizing that "full and equal" claim have been taken. But although there are a growing number of places in the church where lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (lgbt) persons are welcomed, affirmed in their ministries and blessed in their committed relationships, there are many more places where lgbt people are still not fully included in the life of the church. A coalition of leading lgbt justice organizations in the Episcopal Church — Integrity, Beyond Inclusion and Oasis ministries — along with numerous individuals, is seeking to claim that blessing of full inclusion for all persons who for whatever reason are currently unable to marry. Called "Claiming the Blessing" (www.claimingtheblessing.org), this partnership has committed itself to obtaining approval at the 2003 General Convention of a liturgical blessing, which celebrates the holy love in a faithful sexual relationship, enabling couples in these relationships to see in each other the image of God. C

THE GOSPEL VS

Biblical theology and the debate about rites of blessing An interview with Walter Brueggemann

by Julie A. Wortman



THE WITNESS INTERVIEWED Old Testament scholar Walter Brueggemann to get his perspective on the controversial issue of whether churches should approve rites of blessing for lifelong, committed relationships outside of marriage. A coalition of groups called Claiming the Blessing is meeting this month in St. Louis to kick off a campaign to win approval for rites at the Episcopal Church's 2003 General Convention next summer in Minneapolis. (See www.claimingtheblessing.org for how to be involved.)

At the Episcopal Church's 2000 General Convention, the bishops and deputies approved legislation that recognized that there are couples in the church who are living outside of marriage in lifelong committed relationships and that such relationships, if they are marked by "fidelity, monogamy, mutual affection and respect, careful, honest communication and the holy love which enables those in such relationships to see in each other the image of God" and free of "promiscuity, exploitation and abusiveness," deserve the church's "support, encouragement and pastoral care." But after heated debate they refused to include a provision for the development of rites that would express the church's support of "relationships of mutuality and fidelity other than marriage which mediate the Grace of God."

Walter Brueggemann is the William Marcellus McPheeters Professor of Old Testament at Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Ga. He has been interested in the interpretive issues that lie behind efforts at Old Testament theology. This includes the relation of the Old Testament to the Christian canon, the Christian history of doctrine, Jewish-Christian interaction and the cultural reality of pluralism. He is the widely read author of many books and articles, including *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Fortress Press, 1997) and *Deep Memory, Exuberant Hope: Contested Truth in a Post-Christian World*, Patrick D. Miller, ed. (Fortress Press, 2000). **Julie Wortman:** The Episcopal Church's 2003 General Convention will be considering a proposal that rites of blessing be developed to support "relationships of mutuality and fidelity other than marriage which mediate the Grace of God." When I asked if you'd be willing to offer your perspective on whether such rites of blessing should be approved, you said that you were just an "exegete" and that maybe we'd want to talk to someone with a "larger horizon" on the issue. What did you mean by that?

Walter Brueggemann: I just think that after you do the Bible stuff, there are people who know the whole ethical tradition of the church better than do I. The arguments can't just be made out of the biblical text as such, but they have to be made in the context of how the church has handled the Bible in many other ethical questions.

Julie Wortman: But I'm told your views are views that the "movable middle" takes seriously — maybe a big reason is that you're a scholar who writes accessibly, which many scholars don't, but it seems likely that it is also because you're a biblical scholar whose social and political views are grounded in Scripture and ancient tradition. Is it your experience that Scripture is the chief authority for moderate Christians, and is it the chief authority for you?

Walter Brueggemann: The answers to both of those questions is, "Yes." It is the chief authority for moderates and it's the chief authority to me as long as one can qualify that to say that it is the chief authority when imaginatively construed in a certain interpretive trajectory.

I incline to think that most people, including the movable moderates, probably make up their minds on other grounds than the Bible, but then they are uneasy if it collides with the Bible or at least they have an eagerness to be shown how it is that the Bible coheres. I don't think, on most of these contested questions, that anybody —

SCRIPTURE?

liberal or conservative — really reads right out of the Bible. I Julie Wortman: Do you think lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (lgbt) folks are sinners? Walter Brueggemann: Yes, like we all are. So I think that gour sexual interpersonal relationships are enormously her think we basically bring hunches to the Bible that arrive in

bour sexual interpersonal relationships are enormously haz-gardous and they are the place where we work out our fears and our anxieties and we do that in many exploitative ways. So I don't think that gays and lesbians and so on are exempt from the kind of temptations that all of us live with.

Julie Wortman: Is their struggle life of the church a justice struggle? Julie Wortman: Is their struggle for full inclusion in the

Walter Brueggemann: Yes. Martin Luther King, Jr., Efamously said that the arc of history is bent toward justice. 5And the parallel statement that I want to make is that the arc gof the Gospel is bent toward inclusiveness. And I think that's a kind of elemental conviction through which I then read the Betext. I suspect a lot of people who share this approach simply figure sort out the parts of the text that are in the service of inclu-Julie Wortman: And what do you do with those other by Walter Brueggemann: Well, I think you have to take them deseriously. I think that it is clear that much or all of the Bible

 $^{
m O}$ is time-bound and much of the Bible is filtered through a rather heavy-duty patriarchal ideology. What all of us have to try to do is to sort out what in that has an evangelical future and what in that really is organized against the Gospel. For me, the conviction from Martin Luther that you have to make a distinction between the Gospel and the Bible is a terribly important one. Of course, what Luther meant by the Gospel is whatever Luther meant. And that's what we all do, so there's a highly subjective dimension to that. But it's very scary now in the church that the Gospel is equated with the Bible, so you get a kind of a biblicism that is not noticeably informed by the Gospel. And that means that the relationship between the Bible and the Gospel is always going to be contested and I suppose that's what all our churches are doing — they're contesting.

Julie Wortman: You've done a lot of work on the Hebrew prophets. What do you think we can learn from the prophets about justice in this particular issue of lgbt people and their quest for justice?

Walter Brueggemann: As you know the prophets are largely focused on economic questions, but I suppose that the way I would transpose that is to say that the prophets are concerned with the way in which the powerful take advantage of the vulnerable. When you transpose that into these questions, then obviously gays and lesbians are the vulnerable and the very loud heterosexual community is as exploitative as any of the people that the prophets critiqued. Plus, on sexuality questions you have this tremendous claim of virtue and morality on the heterosexual side, which of course makes heterosexual ideology much more heavy-handed.

Julie Wortman: Yeah. This makes me think of an interview you did with former Witness editor Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann about four years ago in which you said, "The church has made a centerpiece of our worship how bad we are." It sort of connects with the virtue thing. Can you say something about that again?

Walter Brueggemann: That's a judgment I make of my Calvinist liturgics tradition. I never have that feeling in Episcopalianism — even though there's a regular confession of sin, it doesn't seem as weighty as a Calvinist confession of sin. But I incline to think that the weight of God's graciousness readily overrides our guilt and what we ought to talk about is God's grace.

The other conviction I have is that, on the whole, I don't think people are troubled by guilt in our culture. I think they are troubled by chaos. And therefore most of our talk about confession and forgiveness is beside the point. The reason that's important to me is that I have the deep conviction that the adrenaline that gathers around the sexuality issues is not really about sexuality. It is about the unarticulated sense people have that the world is falling apart.

The anxiety about chaos is acute among us. Obviously, 9/11 makes that more so, but it was there before that. The world the

Marriage definition discriminatory, court rules

The opposite-sex definition of marriage is discriminatory and unjustified under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, a Quebec Superior Court judge ruled in a landmark decision rendered late Friday. Justice Louise Lemelin echoed an Ontario court ruling in July that said that province's government had to register gay and lesbian marriages. Ontario Superior Court suspended that ruling for two years to give the federal government time to redefine the term marriage.

"The court has ... sent the message loud and clear to Parliament: Stop discriminating against same-sex couples and respect the Constitution," said John Fisher of the gay-rights lobby group Égale Canada, in a statement.

"We call on Parliament to act now in accordance with the court's decision and allow same-sex couples to marry. How long must Canadians in same-sex relationships wait for equality?"

Madam Justice Lemelin's ruling recognized that the 30-year relationship between plaintiffs Michael Hendricks and Rene LeBoeuf was already a marriage in everything but name.

Lawyers for the Montreal couple had argued that only their sexual orientation had caused them to be given different treatment under the law when it came to marriage.

Catholic and Protestant lobby groups argued that redefining marriage would threaten the institution and said it was clear that the architects of the Constitution intended the union to be between men and women.

But after reviewing jurisprudence pertaining to marriage and common law unions, as well as recent efforts to expand conjugal rights for gays and lesbians, Madam Justice Lemelin found that "the definition of marriage imposes a discriminatory distinction in excluding couples of the same sex."

She said that it would be simple to modify the wording of the Charter from saying marriage is between "a man and a woman" to read "between two persons."

But she left no doubt legislators would have to address the issue.

"The state has the benefit of mechanisms for consultation and diverse methods of easing the dialogue among Canadians," she said. "It can solicit expertise to illuminate [the issue]. Legislators must judge the impact of the changes in respect to social, religious and cultural values to better respond to needs."

Madam Justice Lemelin said she approved of the Ontario court's decision to give the government two years to act and said "the court prefers to leave the initiative to the legislators."

Last May, Quebec Justice Minister Paul Begin tabled a draft bill eliminating the heterosexual wording from the definition of marriage and allowing same-sex partnerships in civil unions, a special status just short of wedlock. Unlike marriages, which fall under federal jurisdiction, civil unions are a provincial responsibility.

A British Columbia judge ruled last October that while Canada discriminates against same-sex couples by refusing to allow them to marry, it is justified under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The Law Commission of Canada, in a study released in January, said restrictions on same-sex marriage are discriminatory and should be removed.

Two years ago, Parliament revised several laws to ensure same-sex couples have the same benefits and obligations as other common-law couples, but it excluded samesex couples from legal marriage.

Many MPs continue to support restricting marriage to heterosexual couples.

If Quebec's legislation is passed, it will join Nova Scotia as the only provinces to recognize civil unions for gays and lesbians, though not marriage. Gay couples can adopt children in Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Ontario and Alberta.

In a court proceeding last year, lawyers representing the federal government argued that if same-sex weddings are permitted, marriage as it is now known would be gone. — Canadian Press way we have known it is passing away from us and I believe that people have taken the sexuality issue as the place to draw a line and take a stand, but it's not a line or a stand about sexuality. It's about the emotional sense that the world is a very dangerous place. Sexuality is, I think, one way to talk about that.

Julie Wortman: That opens up for me something that I heard Peter Gomes say recently about young people at Harvard who are hungry for a life of sacrifice and service. Does that connect with what you're talking about?

Watter Brueggemann: I would have some wonderment about whether it's that clean and simple. But people are becoming aware that the recent practices of material consumption are simply destructive for us and they do not contribute to our humanness. And the more people that know that, the more encouraging it is.

Julie Wortman: What I was thinking is that the sexuality debate seems so beside the point given the church's call in these times.

Walter Brueggemann: Yeah. Well, in my own [Presbyterian] context, I have the sense that continuing to argue about sexuality is almost a deliberate smoke screen to keep from having to talk about anything that gets at the real issues in our own lives.

I think the issues are economic and, you know, many of the great liberals in my church don't want to talk about economics. The reason for that is many of us liberals are also into consumption in a big way. So this is something else you can talk about without threatening them.

Julie Wortman: What's the nature of blessing in the Old Testament? How is it used there?

Walter Brueggemann: It's used in a lot of ways, but I believe that the primary meaning is that it is the life force of creation that makes abundance possible. If you look at the recital of blessings, for example, in Deuteronomy 28, it's about very mundane material matters. May your livestock prosper. May your bread rise. May your corn grow. So I think it has to do with abundance, productivity, the extravagances of the material world. And a curse then, as in Deuteronomy 28, is that the life force of vitality is withdrawn from us and our future just kind of shrivels up.

Julie Wortman: Is that different from the way Jesus would use it in the New Testament? Especially thinking about the Beatitudes?

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Walter Brueggemann: No, I think the Beatitudes are exactly that way when it says, you know, blessed are the peacemakers. I think this means the life force of God's creative spirit is with people who live that way. And that they are destined for abundant well-being. So when you talk about a ritual of blessing, it is the church's sacramental act of asserting that this relationship will be a place in which God's generativity is invested.

Julie Wortman: So why do you think folks balk at the idea of rites of blessing for same-sex relationships that are free of promiscuity, exploitation and abusiveness and that are marked by "fidelity, monogamy, mutual affection, respect, careful honest communication and the holy love that enables those in such relationships to see in each other the image of God," as they did at the Episcopal Church's 2000 General g Convention?

did at the Episcopal Church's 2000 General Convention? Walter Brueggemann: I think it's very complex and it's about anxiety and all of that, but in the light of what I was saying, I think it's a moralistic judgment that people like this are not entitled to well-being. And therefore for the church to sacramentally guarantee well-being for these people is an unearned gift that falls outside the moral calculus. Now in Presbyterianism the question that's sometimes put to theological articulation is "too many people are being saved!" You don't

Now in Presbyterianism the question that's sometimes put to theological articulation is "too many people are being saved!" You don't want all these people saved. That's called universalism. I think it's the same calculus that is articulated by Job's friends, that only the obedient are entitled to well-being. If these relationships are understood to be an act of disobedience, then the church ought not to be asserting well-being for them.

Julie Wortman: So there's a logic to the balking?

Walter Brueggemann: I think it is a logic. I think it's a logic that's rooted in fear and it's rooted in resentment. It is parallel to welfare reform in which the undeserving poor ought not to get food stamps. Now, morality does matter and living obediently and responsibly is important. But that is always in tension with the other claim we make that the very fact that we exist as God's creatures gives us some entitlements.

Julie Wortman: As a person who bases what he thinks on Scripture, what would you say the biblical standards are for relationships?

Walter Brueggemann: Well, I think fidelity. It takes a lot of interpretation, but it's basically to love God and love neighbor. And the first neighbor I suppose we love is the one to whom we make these holy vows. So that has to do with relationships that are honorable and just and faithful and reliable and all that neat stuff. Then you can argue out what all that means. This is relational thinking.

But the sort of thinking that you can establish out of the Book of Leviticus, where so much of this anti-same-sex blessing stance comes from, involves a substantive material sense of contamination that has nothing to do with relationships. To this way of thinking there is a palpable poison that is turned loose in the community that must be resisted. People who think this way cannot take into account the relational dynamics that we're trying to talk about. That way of talking about physical contamination is deeply rooted in the Bible, though, which is a problem.

Julie Wortman: There are people who say the situation of lgbt people is analogous to that of the canary in a coal mine.

Walter Brueggemann: I've said that in the city homeless people are the canaries, but I think that's right about lgbt people. A general principle is that whoever is the most vulnerable is the canary. That is, it is always the test case about whether we are following Jesus. And then if you extrapolate to say that gays and lesbians are the most vulnerable in this issue, then they are indeed the canary.



Probing the crucial issues of today:

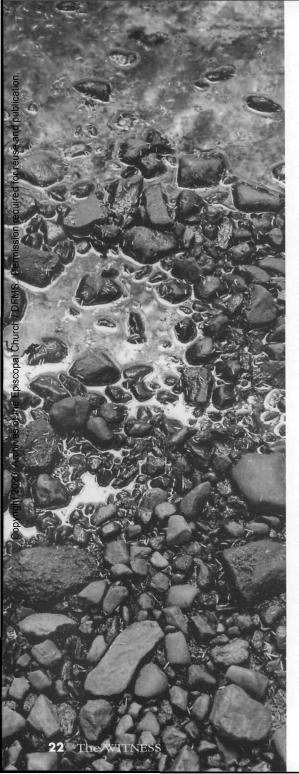
- Toppling
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- Fundamentalism meets modernity
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From the editors of Sojourners magazine

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WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR THE



GBLESSING" is perhaps the most controversial word in the Church's consideration of the treatment of same-sex households in its midst. Because of this fact, we must take great care to be precise about what we mean when we use the word. The following are the building blocks for a theology of blessing: Creation, Covenant, Grace and Sacrament.

Creation itself is the fundamental act of blessing. Creation is a blessing (gift) to humankind from God and humankind blesses (gives thanks to or praises) God in return. The Hebrew word for "blessing," *barak*, means at its core the awesome power of life itself. A fundamental claim of the Bible in regards to creation is that there is enough, in fact an abundance, of creation, and therefore of blessing, to go around.

"Blessing" is a covenantal, relational word. It describes the results of the hallowed, right, just relationship between God and humankind. Blessing is what happens when God and humankind live in covenant. It is important to remember here that the relationships between human beings and the relationship between God and human beings cannot be separated. "Blessing" and "justice" are inseparable biblical concepts.

When we ask for God's blessing, we are asking for God's presence and favor. In Christian terms this favor is what we call "grace," God's disposition toward us that is not dependent upon our merit, but is a sure and certain gift to the believer in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

In our tradition, the Sacraments are the primary ways the grace/blessing of God is communicated to us ("a sure and certain means," BCP, p. 857). The two "great" Sacraments "given by Christ" (BCP, p. 858) are Baptism and Eucharist. In them we see the two fundamental aspects of blessing: the blessing of life from God and the blessing of God for that life.

Five other rites are traditionally known as sacraments, but they are dependent for their meaning on the two sacraments and are not "necessary for all persons." A whole host of other actions in the life of the church, and of individual Christians, are "sacramental" in nature, i.e., they mediate the grace/blessing of God and cause us to give thanks and praise/blessing to God.

In our tradition, priests and bishops have the authority to pronounce God's blessing within the community of faith. They do so not by their own power, but as instruments

'Blessing' and 'justice' are inseparable biblical concepts.

of the grace (blessing) of God within the church. Their authority to bless, too, finds its meaning in the two great Sacraments.

When the church chooses "to bless" something it is declaring that this particular person or persons or thing is a gift/blessing from God and his/her/its/their purpose is to live in (or, in the case of things, to assist in) covenanted relationship with God (and with all creation), i.e., to bless God in return.

To bless the relationship between two men or two women is to do this very thing: to declare that this relationship is a blessing from God and that its purpose is to bless God, both within the context of the community of faith. If the church believes that samesex relationships show forth God's blessing when they are lived in fidelity, mutuality and unconditional love, then this blessing must

CHURCH TO GIVE ITS BLESSING?

be owned and celebrated and supported in the community of faith.

Clearing up some questions:

Just what are we blessing when we bless a same-sex relationship? We are blessing the persons in relationship to one another and the world in which they live. We are blessing the ongoing promise of fidelity and mutuality. We are neither blessing orientation or "lifestyle," nor blessing particular sexual behaviors. "Orientation" and "lifestyle" are theoretical constructs that cannot possibly be descriptive of any couples' commitment to one another. And every couple works out their own sexual behaviors that sustain and enhance their commitment. We don't prescribe that behavior, whether the couple is heterosexual or homosexual, except to say that it must be within the context of mutuality and fidelity.

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Isn't marriage and same-sex blessing the same thing? That they are similar is obvious, as is taking monastic vows, i.e., blessing a vocation to (among other things) celibacy. Each (marriage, blessing unions, monastic vows) grounds a relationship that includes sexual expression in public covenant which gives them "a reality not dependent on the contingent thoughts and feelings of the people involved" and "a certain freedom to 'take time' to mature and become as profoundly nurturing as they can" (Rowan Williams, "The Body's Grace," p. 63). The question remains as to whether "marriage" is appropriately defined as the covenant relationship between a man and a woman only, as is the church's long tradition. The church must continue to wrestle with this issue. To wait until it is solved, however, in order to celebrate the blessing of a faithful same-sex relationship is pastorally irresponsible and theologically unnecessary.

Is same-sex blessing a sacrament? We can say it is sacramental. Strictly speaking in our tradition there are only two sacraments (Baptism and Eucharist). Five other rites are commonly referred to as sacraments because of the Church's long experience of them. But in a sacramental understanding of creation, everything in creation has the potential to be sacramental-to mediate the presence/blessing of God. Priests and bishops "pronounce" blessing on those things the community lifts up as showing forth this blessing. The New Testament word for "blessing" is eulogein, literally "to speak well of."

Can the church withhold blessing? Certainly, in its official, liturgical sense. Priests and bishops should only "pronounce" blessing over those things or persons the community of faith lifts up as being mediators of blessing. That means that the authority to pronounce blessing over particular persons or things can change over time within a community and vary from community to community, particularly from culture to culture. Our Anglican Communion has long said that the only truly universal "blessings" are Baptism and Eucharist (*see the Lambeth Quadrilateral*).

Prepared by the Claiming the Blessing theology committee: Michael Hopkins, Elizabeth Kaeton, Joseph Lane, Mark Kowalewski, Katie Sherrod

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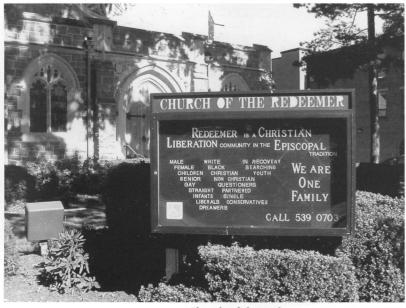
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SEXUALITY AND



Church of the Redeemer, Morristown, N.J.

Does welcoming lgbt people spell disaster or promise for a church hoping to expand its mission? By Colleen O'Connor ELEN HAVENS WALKED a very fine line when she interviewed for the position of rector at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Houston, Tex. Located in what's considered a conservative diocese, St. Stephen's is also in the heart of a neighborhood called Montrose, home to a vibrant lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender (lgbt) community. "I wanted to answer their questions truthfully, but I didn't want to scare them," she says. "I'm sympathetic to gay persons, and I felt the Holy Spirit within me answered the questions."

After landing the job, Havens moved slowly with her new ideas. "I was welcoming to gay people, and I also tried to be sensitive to families," she says. "From time to time, some of the regular guys would say, 'If the church goes gay, I'm outta here."

She gently but firmly reiterated her commitment to welcoming all people. Today, membership at St. Stephen's is almost half gay and half straight. The church advertises in gay newspapers, and each year participates in the Gay Pride parade. Recently, their first openly transgender person joined the congregation (see Moroney commentary, p. 13).

"The wonderful thing is that over the years we really have become a marvelous community," Havens says. "Sure, some people have left, but not in droves and not even in handfuls. What's incredible is to see the close relationships that some of the elderly people have with some gays and lesbians."

One church member, who died recently at age 96, developed many friendships with gay and lesbian parishioners. In her late 80s she spent much time at the local hospital's intensive-care unit where a gay church member was dying of AIDS. She wiped his brow with a damp cloth, and sat by his side in true companionship. Later, as she grew older, her gay and lesbian friends took care of her.

"What a beautiful thing, the blessings she got from them," says Havens. "They took her out to dinner, or came to her house and cooked for her."

St. Stephen's, guided by its progressive values, is thriving. They're buying new property, growing their day school, and opening a new community center. "Inclusion has lead to growth," says Havens "A lot of people who come here say, I want to raise my children in a church that accepts women in positions of key leadership and really

CHURCH GROWTH

fincludes gay and lesbian people." ahead by 19 percent

Havens' church keeps her so busy that she only has time to do this telephone j interview at home, after dinner, on the g very same day that some very interesting prevention of the papers of th study is released and swiftly picked up by a major newspapers across the country. S Titled "Religious Congregations & Membership: 2000," the study says that socially conservative churches - like the Church / Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and the conservative Christian Episcopal Churches - grew faster than other religious denominations over the past decade, by about 19 percent. of the Conducted by the Glenmary Research Center and sponsored by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, this study is considsponsored by Center and the ered by some scholars to be the most comprehensive analysis of religions available because the U.S. census does-n't ask about religion.

The topic of church growth, however, is becoming as controversial as sex and politics. "We always talk about church growth, but I talk about church depth," says Paul Wilkes, founder of Pastoral Summit, the University of North Carolina group that conducted a two-year study which resulted in the publication, Excellent Protestant Congregations: The Guide to the Best Places and Practices. "Your numbers are not really as important as the message lived out in your hearts. If

you've grown from 1,000 to 5,000 members who are bigoted and hateful, who the hell cares?"

With this in mind, many Episcopalians who value the Episcopal Church's reputation as a denomination that tolerates a wide range of beliefs believe that for the Episcopal Church to have a future, it



Phillip Williams, rector, Church of the Redeemer, Morristown, N.J.

must become not more socially conservative, but more progressive. They see how dioceses and congregations treat lgbt people as a potent outward and visible sign of whether that is occurring.

A church running out of time?

"I fear the church is running out of time," says Kim Byham, a former president of Integrity, and one of the organizers, along with representatives from Oasis ministries and Beyond Inclusion, of this month's "Claiming the Blessing" conference aimed at promoting Episcopal Church approval of rites of blessing for committed same-sex couples. "The critical thing is not to lag several years behind society because then we cease to take the prophetic role. If you're going to catch the attention of generations under 40, you have to do something that both manifests love and speaks to the gospel message."

Critics, however, warn that authorizing rites of blessing could split the church because conservatives will walk out. They point to the turmoil this past summer when some conservative leaders left the annual synod meeting in the Anglican Church of Canada's Diocese of New Westminister immediately after the diocese's bishop, Michael Ingram, announced that a motion had passed to allow individual parishes in the diocese to bless committed same-gender unions. Immediately, conservative Anglican leaders worldwide — in Africa, England, South America, Asia, Australia and the U.S. - condemned the vote, saving that the entire Anglican Communion could suffer serious damage if the diocese doesn't revoke the decision.

Such warnings are familiar to people like William Swing, the Episcopal Bishop of California, who says he's ordained more gays and lesbians than any other bishop in the history of the Episcopal Church. At the Episcopal Church's General Convention in 2000, however, Swing voted against developing liturgies for committed lgbt relationships. After the vote failed, he told a

'Gay Alpha' brings grace — and numbers

by Pat McCaughan

WHEN CAROL ANDERSON, rector of All Saints Episcopal Church in Beverly Hills, Calif., adapted Alpha, an introductory Christian course with "a bring-it-to-Jesus evangelical label," for gays and lesbians, she advertised the change.

The program's ads, You don't know from queer until you've tried to be both gay AND Christian, in nearby communities like West Hollywood have fueled a bring-it-to-All Saints result.

The California parish has experienced phenomenal growth, says Anderson who has added a fourth — and is considering including a fifth — Sunday service.

"The audience for Alpha is increasingly unchurched people or people who have been hurt by the church," says Anderson. "One of the things we've learned is that, regardless of content, what grabs people is the community and this is a real people-at-table-with-people experience."

Professional sports figures, doctors and even pastors bounced from other denominations because of their sexual orientation have discovered grace in the course's Ask! Tell! and welcoming approach.

"We hammer away at grace," says Anderson. "No question is out of bounds and table leaders are trained not to answer questions, but to let discussion happen. You have to wait for people to get beyond anger and rage. They will experience grace before they understand it and it will happen at the table.

"I always make it a point to come in and say, I'm a senior pastor and we want you to know that you are completely and totally welcome here. Often, people cry."

Adapting the course for the gay community involves using the standard Alpha outline, with gay and lesbian teachers and table leaders. The experientially based 10-week sessions explore the validity of faith in daily life. It incorporates personal stories relevant to participants' lives, says Randy Kimmler, parish coordinator of Communications and Adult Baptism.

"It's an encouragement to use your own story, it puts it in a context of who Jesus is for you," says Kimmler, who is also involved in the parish's gay and lesbian ministry.

For example, Anderson contextualizes evil by saying: "evil exists and most of you have experienced it in the way you've been injured emotionally, spiritually, physically ... in the way the church has put you down. A whole lot of nodding goes on with that," she said.

The parish also offers the standard Alpha course and gays are invited to participate in either, but most opt for 'Gay Alpha,'' said Kimmler.

"It works because the kinds of people who come to Gay Alpha basically are church people, maybe 80 percent of them are people who left churches of whatever brand names for all the right reasons.

"Something has happened in their lives that causes them to reconsider the Christian faith. The Gay Alpha course offers safety so they can check it out. They already have church phobia going on. We tell them that everybody in the group is gay and they don't have to explain themselves. It gets a lot of stuff out of the way. It's safe."

During Anderson's 14 years as rector, average Sunday attendance has

reporter that he disagreed with almost everything opponents had said, and agreed with almost everything proponents had said — but that he'd voted against rites of blessing because "in the Episcopal Church we have a chance to go together in a unified way."

Now, two years later, he gives a behind-the-scenes look at what happened. "At the last General Convention, I made a speech on the floor and said, 'There is not a bishop who does not know where we will be 10 years from now. The issue is how do we get there from here, and stay in unity.' No one stood up to challenge that, or challenged me personally afterward. I think the trajectory of conferring complete humanity will finally be extended to homosexuals, just as we had to wrestle with whether black people were really people, and whether women were really people. Now the issue is whether homosexuals are really people. Ultimately, that has to do with incarnation. If God is with us, God is with black people, with women, with gay and lesbian people. If this is so, then in what areas must the church stand and be counted in order to declare its insight?

"The issues in my mind are not issues of ultimately what do we think is right, because I think everyone knows where we're going to end up. The issue is one of timing and inclusiveness in terms of bringing the whole family along, rather than leaving an awful lot of people behind. At the last General Convention there was great fear that if we did something, then the AMiA (Anglican Mission in America) would separate itself further from the Episcopal Church and use that vote as the occasion for them to drive the wedge of schism deeper into the church. At the last convention we showed constraint, and they did it anyway. Therefore the credibility of their position marched out the door."

'We have other things to do'

As the battle over same-sex blessings continues, some say the church should take a time-out on the issue. "I'm one to say, 'Forget the voting, let's draw a truce and let's discover what our sense of mission is,'" says Mary MacGregor, senior mission coordinator for the Diocese of Texas. "We have valued the fight a lot more than we've valued the mission, and it's torn us up.

"The real issue," she continues, "is not about church growth, but a Christian community being convicted by their sense of core values and respecting their neighborhood Episcopalian church that may feel just a little bit differently. The reality is that we have a heck of a lot in common."

Still, church growth is very important to the Bishop of Texas, Claude Payne, who assumed leadership in 1995 and is known for his passionate focus on evangelism. "He made a very big point of not focusing on the issue of sexuality," says Carol Barnwell, editor of *The Texas Episcopalian*, the official newspaper of the Episcopal Diocese of Texas. "Mission became our focus, and everything we've done hinges on that, reaching the unchurched." Critics may claim that, under the guidance of Payne, these churches are simply ducking the sexuality issue. But that's incorrect, says Barnwell. She cites a conference on sexuality held at Camp Allen in Texas where Robert Ihloff, the liberal Bishop of Maryland, and the Diocese of South Carolina's conservative bishop, Edward Salmon, both gave their opinions. "We had 700 people, and everyone listened, and it went great," Barnwell says. "But I don't think a whole lot of people changed their minds, and we had some disgruntled folks because people weren't saying things their way. We aren't putting a lid on it and not talking about it, but it doesn't take a lot of our energy. It's just that we have other things to do."

His diocese's focus, says Payne, is on making "disciples, not just church members. Discipleship is defined for us in the five promises of the baptismal covenant: developing community, personal spiritual health, evangelism, outreach and working for a more just society. The challenge is daunting and we continue to work for more comprehensive ways to make our missionary outposts (congregations) centers for the making of disciples." Payne freely admits his traditionalist posture on the sexuality issue,

Payne freely admits his traditionalist posture on the sexuality issue, so but says he affirms those who differ with him — presumably St. Stephen's Helen Havens, for one — and condemns internal fighting. "My own personal view," he says, "is that the issues which divide will be addressed successfully in God's economy of time by the new disciples being formed and by the broadening of existing disciples as they experience the Holy Spirit's power though reaching outward to others." At St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Franklin, Tenn., which is thriving,

At St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Franklin, Tenn., which is thriving, the broadening that inclusiveness brings is key, says the church's rector, Bob Cowperthwaite. The Episcopal Diocese of Tennessee is by reputation a conservative diocese and St. Paul's spans the political spectrum — some parishioners don't show up on the Sundays when a woman preaches and others come only on the Sundays that an African-American retired priest takes the pulpit.

"We have gay folks, but this is big Republican country here," says Cowperthwaite. "Part of what I try to do is to be very welcoming to everybody. We have a lot of good adult programs, with a lot of diversity things. So you might sit down and talk to someone and later find out that this person is very different from you. If a very conservative person finds out they're in a group with a gay person, it's too late because they already have started a relationship, so they're able to overcome some of their forgone conclusions."

Cowperthwaite would like to perform rites of blessing for same-sex couples, but his bishop has not approved this. "We have people in this congregation who've had their unions blessed and I have been present at the ceremony. They understood the position I'm in here, but they invited me to be present. I'd like to be able to do this but I know that people in this congregation would probably leave the church if they

nearly tripled, to 800-900. "And it's a different 800–900 each week," she says.

The 1,600-household parish draws congregants from 40 different zip codes, some commuting nearly an hour for Sunday services and Wednesday night Alpha courses.

About 2 percent of the congregation actually lives in Beverly Hills, a city of 37,000 where 92 percent of the population is Jewish. Anderson oversees a \$2-million budget, a full- and part-time paid staff of 25 and, although she admittedly has "no space to grow," has begun an outreach program to the city.

The growth spurt has included all segments of the population: gays and lesbians, families who want their children committed to church, Gen X-ers. The average age of the congregation is 35 "and is steadily dropping, which is counter-intuitive to the Episcopal Church," says Anderson, 54. She is now considering adding a fifth service, geared toward Gen Xers.

Much of her approach is counter-intuitive to the Episcopal Church.

"Church as it has been doesn't work any more," says Anderson. "We're talking on a level people don't understand any more. They don't know what the hell we're talking about; we're talking religion and they're not interested."

She designed a follow-up course for Alpha participants, called Beta, to explore "what it means to be in Christ and alive in Christ," says Anderson, who describes herself as a "militant moderate ... not in the evangelical world but taking a modern approach, biblically centered.

"We believe the stuff that says we have to be engaged with society," said Anderson. "Our biblical priorities are not for or against something. Jesus and Paul were always reaching out to marginalized cultures. Paul was forever adapting the Gospel to culture without losing essence."

The parish has yet to bless a same-sex union but has advanced openly gay candidates for ordination.

"I can sit and tick things off, of creedal beliefs that I think the church needs to be fluid about," says Anderson, naming ordination of women and gays as things that change over time. But other issues, like mercy and justice comprise "the central stuff we care about deeply," she said, referring to the parish's coordinator of Mercy and Justice Ministries Mark Hallahan, who was hired in March.

She also attributes the growth to a multi-faceted approach to good preaching, a commitment to lay ministry and to young people who participate in all areas of parish life, good staff, thinking outside the box and "trusting the Spirit to make clear what's next."

Meanwhile, Anderson, who was ordained to the priesthood in 1977 in the Diocese of New York, hedges about what's next, particularly regarding the blessing of same-sex unions.

"I have been obedient to General Convention for right now," she says. "I haven't blessed a same-sex union but I haven't been passive. We've been quietly moving forward. Last year, at our committed couples gathering, half of the couples were gay. We recently had the first gay couple have a child baptized, and nobody blinked an eye." found out I was doing that."

'We Are One Family'

If careful toleration of different viewpoints about sexuality is creating a climate conducive to church growth in conservative dioceses like Texas and Tennessee, upfront approval of same-sex blessings seems just as favorable an approach despite conservatives' repeated warnings that such approval will lead to schism. In the Diocese of Delaware last year, Bishop Wayne Wright approved same-sex rites of blessing after six years of committee study and debate, writing in a letter to diocesan priests that it "represents growth for our church," and is "an opportunity to reach the broader community."



St. Peter's in Lewes, Del., is one of the churches in this diocese. Bettylee Carmine, a former vestry member and 50-year parishioner, says the bishop's decision greatly helped their church. "We've grown in leaps and bounds," she says. "Maybe we lost three or four people, but we gained far more. The church has never been this crowded before."

Likewise, embracing rites of blessing for same-sex unions, as part of their holistic policy of inclusion, dramatically spiked the membership at the Church of the Redeemer in Morristown, N.J. "If not for us being who we are, we'd be dead," says the church's rector, Phillip Wilson. "I'm confident that the only reason we're alive now is because of this."

When Wilson arrived in 1987, the Church of the Redeemer was on the brink of death. Membership had dwindled to just 40 people in the pews, pledging \$40,000. "There were two Episcopal churches right across the street from each other, and I thought that unless we created a whole new way of doing business, we may as well go out of it," he says.

Fifteen years later, membership is 400 people who are pledging \$300,000. The great growth spurt started in the late 1980s when Eric Johnson, the son of two church members, was diagnosed with AIDS.

"The church owned the fact that 'AIDS is us,' and a number of people took AIDS buddy training," Wilson says. "We realized we wanted to make this the ministry of the parish." After Eric Johnson died in 1990, the church decided to create the Eric Johnson House, a hospice to help people who are homeless as a result of contracting AIDS. They also created a new vision.

"We moved to define ourselves as liberation community," he says of his congregation, which now intentionally prizes both social and economic liberation.

The sign in front of the church says it all: "We Are One Family." That declaration is followed by a description of people who are welcome: male, female, children, senior, gay,



AIDS Chapel, Church of the Redeemer, Morristown, N.J.

straight, infants, liberals, dreamers, white, black, Christian, non-Christian, questioners, partnered, single, conservative, in recovery, searching, and youth.

Inside the church, there are two flags: the black liberation flag and the gay pride flag. There's an AIDS chapel, and a picture of Jesus Christ wearing the AIDS ribbon. A major parish celebration takes place on Martin Luther King, Jr., Day. Same-sex unions are blessed, and there are also samesex weddings. Both gay and straight members support a men's group and a partners' group. The Inter-Racial Dialogue Group meets monthly to name racism and white privilege in our society, and to promote racial healing. The Adult Forum has invited people of Jewish, Islamic, Voodoo, Buddhist and Native American traditions to speak.

In 2001, the Church of the Redeemer was named one of 300 outstanding Protestant parishes in America in a study funded by the Lilly Foundation. "There's a whole group of disenfranchised people who've either been bored to death or been brutalized by traditional Christianity," says Wilson. "But they're still spiritually hungry and looking for a community formed around their values of justice."

'Non-standard people welcome here'

Many churches are building their growth strategies on attracting young people. It's an obvious market niche. Statistics prepared by the Gallup organization, published in 1990 in The Spiritual Health of the Episcopal Church, show that nearly 70 percent of church members are over 45 years old. While some youth are attracted to the certainties of conservative evangelicalism, different young people have different beliefs, says Sam Portaro, Episcopal chaplain at the University of Chicago. "To a significant extent, some young adults who are themselves at a very tentative and searching stage in their own lives, respond very favorably to a sense of openness that is communicated by an open attitude to all people," he says.

This past September Portaro explored the effects of the church's generation gap in a two-part lecture called "Mind the Gap: Forming a New Generation of Leadership for an Aging Church," delivered at Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest in Austin, Tex. He drew heavily on the work of Richard Florida, professor of regional economic development at Pittsburgh's Carnegie Mellon University. Florida is author of *The Rise of the Creative Class*, which explores why cities like Pittsburgh, Buffalo, New Orleans and Louisville have suffered an economic exodus of talented young tech workers to cities like Austin and Seattle.

"Professor Florida asks a question now familiar to many of us in the church," Portaro told his audience. "Why do some places attract creative people and their vitality while others don't?"

Florida discovered a high correlation between geographical centers of creativity and another researcher's list of geographical centers of gay men and lesbian women. Defining diversity to include different kinds of music, different kinds of food and unfamiliar kinds of people, Florida notes that the creative class craves real experiences in the world. His conclusion is that talented people seek an environment open to differences.

"Many highly creative people, regardless of ethnic background or sexual orientation, grew up feeling like outsiders, different in some way from most of their schoolmates," Portero noted. "When they are sizing up a new company and community, acceptance of diversity and of gays in particular is a sign that reads 'Non-standard people welcome here."

'Freeing up the Episcopal Church to be public about its inclusive nature'

At St. George's Episcopal Church in Glenn Dale, Md., membership tripled after the rector, Michael Hopkins — another of the organizers of the "Claiming the Blessing" conference — began performing rites of blessing. "In terms of inclusivity, one of the things that blessing means to people is that our commitment to inclusivity is not just words on paper," he says. "We'd never use the word marriage, and we haven't ever sought any publicity for what we do, and we don't do it with any explicit permission from the bishop or anybody."

At St. George's, members literally walk their talk. In October, St. George's Youth Group participated in the annual AIDSWALK in Washington D.C. "Young people who come here certainly want it to be a place where that whole issue is over with, because in the world they live in, sexuality is not much of an issue anymore," he says. "For me, the same-sex blessing movement is not just about this issue. The larger picture is about freeing up the Episcopal Church to be public about its inclusive nature, rather than continuing to project a very tentative image, and a conflicted one."

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BOOK REVIEW

The Bible: rule book or witness to God?

Robert A. J. Gagnon

THE BIBLE

PRACTICE

HOMOSEXUAL

TEXTS AND HERMENEUTICS

AND

The Bible and Homosexual Practice: Texts and Hermeneutics

by Robert A.J. Gagnon (Nashville: Abingdon, 2001. 520 pages. \$49.00.)

By Beth Johnson

LET ME BE CLEAR at the outset about my presuppositions. I believe it unlikely that the church will welcome gay and lesbian Christians into full membership in the church solely or even largely on the basis of exegetical arguments. It has been my experience that people's minds are changed when their hearts are changed, that altered perspectives do not become intellectual until they are existential. The remarkable shift in attitude we have witnessed in the North American church during the past quarter-century has come not from books about the Bible or ethics but as a result of relationships between gay and straight believers who have borne witness to each other about the grace of God in their lives.

Robert Gagnon's *The Bible and Homosexual Practice* is a book that will impress people who already agree with him and confirm to them the rightness of their position. It is not likely to persuade people who disagree with him to change their minds. That said, it is a book worth knowing about.

Gagnon's is one of three volumes chosen by the United Methodist Publishing House to stimulate conversation about homosexuality in advance of the UMC's 2000 General Conference. The Loyal Opposition: Struggling with the Church on Homosexuality, edited by Tex Sample and Amy DeLong, and Where the Spirit Leads: The Evolving Views of United Methodists on Homosexuality, by James Rutland Wood, appeared that year. But neither is as large or complex a project as Gagnon's, which is why his took over a year longer to produce. Instead of figuring in the Methodist debate, then, Gagnon now contributes to the Presbyterian conversation about Amendment A; an appropriate turn of events since he is himself Presbyterian and serves on the faculty of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary. This is an impressive volume, encyclopedic in its scope, detailed in its argumentation, and massive in its documentation. It may well be, as its champions have claimed, that The Bible and Homosexual Practice will become the standard academic work against homosexuality. Kenneth Bailey refers to it and its title is featured in the Presbyterian Coalition promotional video currently making the rounds of presbyteries.

In his introduction, Gagnon says he speaks at some personal risk and only for the greater good of the church that is jeopardized by the possibility that moral standards for Christians might deteriorate to include any state but heterosexual marriage and celibacy. The anxious tone of this introduction is revealing, I think. First, Gagnon acknowledges that he writes from a minority stance both within the guild of biblical scholars and among Presbyterian professors of Bible. Second, he is aware that his position may not carry the day in the church and this strikes him as nothing short of dire. A "potentially irreversible change in the morality of mainline denominations" is at stake. That urgency fuels the tone of every paragraph.

The book contains four chapters that investigate attitudes toward same-sex intercourse in ancient Israel, early Judaism, and the early church. A fifth chapter discusses what Gagnon calls "the hermeneutical relevance" of the exegetical conclusions he draws. There is much here that is familiar to those who know the conversation, and some that is new or at least newly revived.

The bottom line for Gagnon is that the Bible speaks unequivocally and unambiguously of homosexual intercourse as sin. Gagnon treats the texts most commonly invoked (Leviticus 18:22; 20:13; Romans 1:26–27; 1 Corinthians 6:9; 1 Timothy 1:10), and argues, often quite cogently, that revisionist attempts to redeem those passages are unsuccessful. Similarly, he places on the same level of importance texts that are today frequently excluded from the conversation, such as the story of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19:4-11) and its parallel, the Levite's concubine (Judges 19:22-25). Both, he says, manifestly condemn not rape generally but homosexual rape specifically, and so are properly relevant. Gagnon even includes texts that seldom appear in the modern debate, notably the sin of Ham (Genesis 9:20-27).

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Although it is frequently noted that the New Testament ascribes no comment on the matter to Jesus of Nazareth, Gagnon determines what Jesus must have thought on the basis of his otherwise conventional Jewish attitudes toward sexual ethics and "male-female complementarity," a value that Gagnon finds ubiquitous in antiquity. There is simply no ancient Israelite, Jewish or Christian writer who endorses any form of "homosexual practice."

There is much to commend the descriptive task Gagnon undertakes. Although I disagree with his analysis of the malakos/arsenokoites debate (1 Corinthians 6:9) and I am not persuaded that first-century moralists cared as much about procreation as Gagnon does, I think he is probably correct about his historical reading of many of the other texts he investigates. What biblical writers said on this subject is not all that difficult to discern, and I too am skeptical about revisionist exegesis. Ancient Jews and Christians were notably concerned to preserve their understanding of sexual purity against the dangers of paganism.

What the Bible means, though, how it should function in our life together, is a much more difficult question, and it is that question that divides us. For Gagnon, the descriptive tasks-what the Bible said in its original historical context-is sufficient to determine what contemporary believers should do. He finds nothing in individual or ecclesiastical life to "override the Bible's authority" on this matter, and he is characteristically thorough in rejecting arguments to the contrary. The historical task is for me the beginning rather than the end of the theological task. I think we encounter the Bible's authority not in its static content but in its dynamic power to shape and reshape us as the people of God in the world for which Christ died.

Because this book is not only about the

Bible, but also about how the church interprets the Bible, it features arguments drawn from psychology, sociology and anthropology as well as the fields of history and Bible. Gagnon notes, for example, that although the biblical writers had no concept of sexual orientation, the current debate is very much influenced by it. Although he speaks more often of "urges" than of "orientation," he operates with a quasi-Freudian theory about homoerotic orientation that is caused by domineering mothers and absent fathers. Behind this scenario of people warped by bad parenting is a kind of Manichean anthropology that sees people (or at least male people) as both enslaved by insatiable lust and possessing infinitely malleable free will, both "intractable" impulses and "the possibility for change."

I do not know the psychological literature nearly so well as the biblical. But my colleagues in pastoral theology have taught me to be wary of knowing more than can be known about the mysteries of sexual attraction, and to take with some salt claims that orientation can be permanently altered. Gagnon's book rest solidly on both these questionable assumptions.

The question for Gagnon boils down repeatedly to what did or did not constitute sin in the eyes of our ancestors who produced the Bible. The Bible is thus a rule book in which to find the boundaries of acceptable behavior, rather than a collection of what my colleague Walter Brueggemann calls "truth-telling" texts, witnesses to God in the midst of God's people. So long as these two profoundly different perceptions of the Bible itself continue to divide us, we will continue to read and interpret it differently.

This review was originally written for the Covenant Network of Presbyterians (www.covenantnetwork.org) as a resource in the debate on ordination standards.

Ten helpful books related to samesex unions

Our Selves, Our Souls and Bodies: *Sexuality and the Household of God*, ed. Charles Hefling (Cowley, 1996).

Theology and Sexuality: *CLASSIC AND CONTEMPORARY READINGS*, ed. Eugene F. Rogers, Jr. (Blackwell, 2002).

For Fidelity: *How Intimacy and Commitment ENRICH OUR LIVES*, Catherine M. Wallace (Vintage, 1998).

Gays, Lesbians & Family Values, Elizabeth A. Say and Mark R. Kowalewski (Pilgrim, 1998).

Christian Households: *The Sanctification of Nearness*, Thomas F. Breidenthal (Cowley, 1997).

Homosexuality and Christian Faith, Walter Wink, ed., (Augsburg Fortress, 1999).

Gifted by Otherness: *Gay and Lesbian Christians in the Church*, L. William Countryman and M.R. Ritley (Morehouse, 2001).

Dirt, Greed and Sex: *Sexual Ethics in the New Testament and Their Implications for Today,* L. William Countryman (Fortress, 1988).

Permanent, Faithful, Stable: Christian Same-sex Partnerships, Jeffrey John (Affirming Catholicism, 2000).

Sexuality and the Black Church: A Womanist Perspective, Kelly Brown Douglas (Orbis, 1999).

This list was prepared by Michael Hopkins of the Claiming the Blessing coalition.



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WITNESS MAGAZINE REPARATIONS



NUMBER 12 ECEMBER 2002

INSIDE

David Smith-Ferri on Iraq Michael Battle on spiritual leadership and violence Jennifer Harvey on white supremacy A troupe of young Detroiters explore love, hate and hope

WITNESS MAGAZINE

Contributors

Michael Battle is an Episcopal priest who serves on the faculty at Duke University Divinity School and as an associate at St. Ambrose Episcopal Church in Raleigh, N.C. He is author of *Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu* (Pilgrim Press) and *The Wisdom of Desmond Tutu* (Westminster-JohnKnox).

Karin Chubb lectures at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa and is a former Vice-President of the Black Sash. She is co-director of HOKISA (Homes for Kids in South Africa), which is helping to take care of children infected and affected by HIV and AIDS, and co-author with Lutz van Dijk of *Between Anger and Hope: South Africa's Youth and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Witwatersrand University Press, 2001).

Blaine Paxton Hall, PA-C, is a writer and a Physician's Associate at Duke University Medical Center. He serves on the vestry of St. Mary Magdalene Episcopal Church in Seven Lakes, N.C. Hall grew up in a children's home in the 1960s.

Jennifer Harvey is a doctoral student in Christian Social Ethics at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. She is an ordained American Baptist minister and is active in anti-police brutality work as well as anti-racism education.

Robert Hirschfield is a freelance writer living in New York City.

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teer in Jerusalem. She is president of Rawdat El-Zuhur organization which runs an elementary coeducational school for the lower income community, and she serves on the executive committee of Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Centre. She is a Witness contributing editor.

Michael Lapsley, S.S.M., is an Anglican priest who works for The Institute for the Healing of Memories and is chair of the NGO (Non-Governmental Organizations) Working Group on Reparations.

Jane Slaughter is the editor of *Labor Notes*, a magazine for reform-minded union activists, based in Detroit, Mich.

David Smith-Ferri lives in Ukiah, Calif., where he is a poet and stay-at-home dad. A Catholic, he traveled to Iraq for two weeks in July of 1999, and again in Sept.-Oct. of 2002, with the organization, Voices in the Wilderness. Voices in the Wilderness is a campaign to end the economic sanctions against Iraq. It has taken over 40 delegations of American and British citizens to Iraq to witness the effects of the international embargo and of war on Iraqi society.

Rima Vesely is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary and is currently in her ministry study year in the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles. In addition to selecting poetry for *The Witness*, she writes on issues of racism, immigration and incarceration. She is a *Witness* contributing editor.

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on the cover On The Dock, 1865 A group of former slaves on a riverfront dock in Virginia ©Hulton Archives





A group of Detroit-area teenagers rehearsing a play about "love, hate and rhythm." Their troupe, Mosaic Youth Theater, tackles the big subjects, the hard ones. The company's play "Crossing 8 Mile" was about the divide between black Detroit and its white suburbs. (See story on page 26.)

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LETTERS

The church and family violence prevention

Family violence (domestic violence and child abuse) is among the most pervasive public health problems in our society. Violence in the family devastates homes, leaving in its wake fear, depression, rage and, in turn, more violence. Children who witness family violence are at increased risk for perpetrating violence in their own lives, continuing the cycle of violence. Making matters worse, 50 percent of these children are abused themselves.

Children often make sense of the horror by blaming themselves. This internalization can manifest itself in low self-esteem, poor academic performance, conduct disorders, drug use, risky sexual behavior and violence. Each year in the U.S., Child Protective Services substantiates abuse involving over one million children. Beyond this, another two million children are exposed to family violence.

How are we church people serving as peacemakers to prevent this? For only by reducing abuse in the home can we reduce social problems outside the home. Gangs, drugs, delinquent behavior have their roots in family violence. Often, however, when this issue is raised, many imagine that we are talking about other people, people of a different ethnicity, economic level, religious outlook, background, orientation or status. This blindness has allowed family violence to become rooted in every congregation and every community.

Compounding the blindness has been silence. Is family violence addressed in our church programs or in our church protocol? What if an elder or a pastor or a youth worker is a perpetrator? What if a church member comes forward for help? Do we provide awareness and prevention training to our staff? Have we developed systems to help victims? Have we preached from the pulpit on family violence? Have we provided resources to our church members? Is the church recognized as a community leader in the fight against family violence? Sadly, the church is often viewed more as a perpetrator than a partner in prevention. Considering our deafness, blindness and muteness on the issue, it is not surprising that victims of family violence have ranked clergy least among those who provided help.

We are called to spread the message of the gospel of peace. Evangelism is not a matter of words, but actions. To spread the good news is to increase the peace of Jesus Christ in our homes, in our churches, in our communities. Respecting the message of Christ demands internal evangelism within our religious community so that we can effectively work beyond our church walls.

We must pray that Jesus give sight to the blind, sound to the deaf and voice to the mute, for we are that body in need. Let us work for healing within, so that we can be peacemakers without.

Matthew Herbst, Assistant Minister Pacific Beach United Methodist Church San Diego, CA

Powerful themes

Thanks SO MUCH for such powerful themerelated issues. I really like the theme aspect as well as the ones you choose.

Christine Weber-Kearney Portland, OR

Claiming the blessing

Recently Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Southern Pines, N.C., was prominently featured in the *The Pilot* newspaper for its "Blessing of the animals" ceremony.

In the next issue the editors bestowed a "Birdie" on the clergy for doing this. O what flummery!

Yes, for hundreds and hundreds of years, we have been blessing animals, houses, icons, altar furnishings, clerical vestments and many "things."

But when will the Church bless ALL PEOPLE? WHEN?!!

Blaine Paxton Hall Pinehurst, NC

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The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of The Witness magazine and related website projects, seeks to give voice to a liberation Gospel of peace and justice and to promote the concrete activism that flows from such a Christianity. Founded in 1917 by Irving Peake Johnson, an Episcopal Church bishop, *The Witness* claims a special mission to Episcopalians and other Anglicans worldwide, while affirming strong partnership with progressives of other faith traditions.

Reparations is not about money

by Ethan Flad

ast year, the UN World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) was held in Durban, South Africa. Mainstream media coverage focused on a walkout by the U.S. and Israeli delegations over alleged anti-Jewish prejudice at the WCAR. That high-profile incident overshadowed months of hard efforts toward developing international agreements on racism and related discrimination (see TW, 11/01).

One topic that seemed to lose out in the WCAR hullabaloo was reparations. Reparations means to "repair" or "make whole," or to return a victim as closely as possible to the state he or she was in before the wrong occurred. In Durban, the central focus of reparations was addressing the legacy of hundreds of years of slavery of Africans by white colonial powers and the countless other resources that had been stolen from that continent. Wealthy European and North American countries were challenged to financially compensate African nations and individual descendants of slavery. Some reparations activists estimated the money due ran into the trillions of U.S. dollars.

Recent polls indicate that a majority of African Americans call for some form of financial restitution, but more than 80 percent of white Americans oppose that concept. During a trip to North Carolina, a white man once asked me, "I wasn't alive when slavery was around. Why should I have to pay?" Columbia University's Manning Marable wrote recently, "White Americans who are alive today are not guilty of enslaving anyone, in the legal definition of the term. Most white Americans below the age of 50 played no role in directly supporting Jim Crow segregation and are not guilty of overt acts to block the integration of public accommodations and schools. But white Americans, as a group, continue to be the direct beneficiaries of the legal apparatuses of white supremacy, carried out by the full weight of America's legal, political and economic institutions. The consequences of state-sponsored racial inequality created a mountain of historically constructed, accumulated disadvantage for African Americans as a group." Clearly, we need to look at racism systemically — it's not just about achieving "reconciliation," a popular word in our church these days.

Is money the "bottom line" in the call for reparations? Not exactly. Dudley Thompson, Jamaica's former foreign minister, said in Durban, "Reparations is not about asking for money. You can't pay me for your raping my grandmother. You cannot compensate me for lynching my father. What we demand is the restitution of our human dignity, the restoration of full equality, politically, socially and economically, between the oppressors and the oppressed."

So how do we move forward? Several possibilities come to mind. The main concern for most reparations activists is for people to honestly research and discuss our collective history. Our church, for instance, can use "celebrations" - like the anniversary of the Jamestown Covenant — as learning opportunities about what truly happened to native peoples here. Personally, we can identify how prejudice and privilege frame our own lineage. I've always been extremely proud of my extended family, a group deeply committed to education and social justice. But as I look deeper into our history on this continent, I realize that my ancestors --- like Ethan Allen, the Revolutionary War hero for whom I am named - lived throughout New England on land they had stolen from indigenous peoples. My sense of pride of being the descendant of people who had helped to "free" this country from British colonial rule is sobered by our obvious participation in the genocide of those who were already living here.

As we continue to seek right relationship with one another, we also can look at current realities — the ways people of color are not fed, not treated safely, not offered good healthcare or shelter; the interrelationship of racism and the prison industry. South Africa is but one nation attempting to develop a new national consciousness of "wholeness" and speaking truth to its violent past. These issues and more are addressed in this special look at reparations a new entry point that may help us face the racism that still frames our world.

CLASSIFIEDS

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An Episcopal religious community-incanonical-formation of brothers and sisters; single, partnered and married; either livingin-community or living independently; striving for justice and peace among all people. Contact: Order of Jonathan Daniels, St. Brigit's Hallow, 94 Chatham St., Chatham, N.J., 07928.

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As we went to press...

This news digest was prepared from news and wire reports by Witness news editor, Pat McCaughan.

People of faith join swelling protests as war talk continues

From the nation's capital to San Francisco, demonstrators staged peaceful marches on Oct. 26 in protest of the Bush administration's plan to proceed with an invasion against Iraq. The demonstrators were angered by the ongoing war talk, in spite of widespread opposition throughout the nation, and by the United Nations and U.S. Allies. The numbers of protesters in Washington, D.C. reportedly swelled to more than 100,000, while in San Francisco, tens of thousands turned out, requesting that the billions of dollars that would be spent on war with Iraq be used instead on

domestic social programs. Groups of faith-based peace activists carried banners and signs expressing their opposition to war. Similar efforts, organized by the Progressive Religious Partnership and other local faith groups, were held in 13 cities across the country on Oct. 24.

Earlier in the week, about 40 peace activists had gathered at St. Alban's Parish chapel on the grounds of the National Cathedral to pray for peace, especially that the U.S. not begin a war with Iraq.

As the Oct. 26 protestors took to the streets, two 16-year-old delegates to the annual convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Maine put forward a last-minute resolution opposing unilateral war with Iraq. Wiley Todd and Sam Rector, high school juniors, crafted and presented the controversial statement, working through a cumbersome legislative process with what observors called a "resepectful patience." The two young men were elected delegates from the Episcopal Church of St. John the Baptist in Thomaston, Me., and were the only teens serving as delegates in the entire convention of 67 congregations. In presenting the resolution, Todd, with Rector by his side, called the delegates to "walk the walk they'd talked" in their prayers for peace during worship. Debate ensued, reflecting a wide division of views and the vote was so close as to require a recount. At the recount, the resolution passed the convention decisively.

Interfaith leaders adopt peace resolution in South Africa

Leaders from seven major religions and 21 African countries have adopted a historic declaration committing themselves to working for peace on the African continent. The great variety of delegates to the Interfaith Peace Summit — among them South Africa's Chief Rabbi, Cyril Harris, Benin's High Priest of Voodoo, Houna Agbessi Daagbo Hounon and Ishmael Noko, general secretary of the Lutheran World Federation underlined the summit's achievement in forging a common dedication to peace.

Archaeologists debate significance of James' burial box

Religion scholars and archaeologists are debating what appears to be the oldest archaeological reference to Jesus. The reference — found in an inscription on a burial box, or ossuary — is actually made to James, who in New Testament accounts is referred to as Jesus' brother. The inscription reads: "James, son of Joseph, brother of Jesus," and is, according to the Washington, D.C.-based *Biblical Archaeology Review*, "the first-ever archaeological discovery to corroborate biblical references to Jesus. The small limestone box, the color of sand, nearly 2,000 years old, is 10-in. by 20-in. by 12-in. and is inscribed in the Aramaic language spoken by Jews in Jerusalem in the 1st century A.D. Andre Lemaire, one of the world's foremost scholars of ancient scripts, announced that "it seems very probable that this [box] is the ossuary of the



James in the New Testament." Lemaire said that if the container is authentic, it would emphasize the fact that early Christians still thought of themselves as essentially Jewish.

Methodist Wellstone tireless advocate for the poor

Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minnesota) was killed in a private plane crash in Minnesota on Oct. 25, along with seven others, including his wife and daughter. He is remembered for his passionate embrace of peace and justice issues. A Methodist, Wellstone was remembered in church circles as a tireless worker for the poor, said Robert Edgar, a United Methodist clergyman, former U.S. congressman and head of the National Council of Churches (NCC) staff. Edgar said he and Wellstone had worked together on children's issues, health care, the environment and poverty. "Even in what turned out to be the last days of his life, Sen. Wellstone, despite a close political race for re-elec-

tion, preserved his integrity in voting against the 'Use of Force' resolution to enable U.S. action against Iraq,"

Edgar said. "At the time we cited his courage and selflessness in placing conscience above self-interest."

Wellstone had also been concerned with availability of employment and was supportive of job training programs. A leader in the fight for affordable health care, he had recently led efforts opposing the extension of drug patents that increases costs and decreases availability to consumers. The Minnesota senator worked with the church on farm issues, women's issues, peace issues, environmental issues and campaign finance reform. "Making life better for poor people was one of his main goals," said Jaydee Hanson, an executive with the United Methodist Church's international agency for advocacy and social action. Hanson added. "He was also forthright in ways a lot of politicians aren't."



ORick Reinhard/ Impact Digitals

UPDATE

Iraq under sanctions and preparing for war

by David Smith-Ferri

On September 19th, I left our 10-year-old daughter Rachael and traveled to Iraq. In the week leading up to this trip, afraid that bombs would fall on me in Iraq, Rachael became increasingly distressed, taking longer and longer to fall asleep at night, waking up from nightmares or just to be comforted, and finally on the last evening, faced with my imminent departure, breaking down completely in heart-rending sobs that lasted two hours. This turmoil disturbed the clarity I had held about the purpose and rightness of this trip. Every instinct in my body told me that it was wrong to create this level of distress in my daughter. And I did not know what to say to comfort her.

This experience with Rachael has become one of the lenses through which I view my encounters in Iraq. It helps me understand the distress that Iraqi parents feel today, with the threat of war looming larger and larger. The people I spoke with in Iraq are frightened, angry and aggrieved. Typically, they expressed their feelings by talking about their concern for their children. Children inside Iraq cannot be isolated from talk of an impending invasion. "At school, children repeat what they hear at home," explains Salah Dinar, a music store owner, "and now in the morning my eight-year-old son asks, 'Daddy, is today the day we are going to die?'"

Nadra, a school teacher in Baghdad, reports that many families have chosen not to enroll their children in school this fall, preferring instead to put money for registration and supplies toward preparation in the event of a war. The parents of other Iraqi children are removing their children from school because of poverty and the need to put their children to work, begging or shining shoes. Other families have sent their children to live in uncertain circumstances in Jordan or Syria, thinking they will at least be safe from U.S. bombs. In Jordan I was told, "You will find more and more Iraqi children begging on the streets of Amman and Damascus." I learned that non-governmental organizations in Jordan are quietly preparing for an influx of Iraqi refugees.

The brutal policy of economic sanctions has not only taken hundreds of thousands of lives, but robbed the living of their future. Iraqi men are leaving their marriages as unemployment has stripped their lives of



Zainab Fartous and her son, Mustafa, who was injured in a January 25, 1999, bombing by U.S. warplanes patroling the southern no-fly zone. Doctors in Iraq, unable to remove all the shrapnel from Mustafa's back, are concerned that the remaining shrapnel will migrate into his spinal column as he grows.

meaning, leaving an increasing number of women as single heads of households. Women, desperate to care for themselves and their children, are turning to prostitution. Young people in Iraq today are dropping out of school, dropping out of society. What is the point of an education in a society where trained engineers are driving taxis or working odd jobs? They are choosing not to get married because their economic future is so bleak. For over a decade, malnutrition on a massive scale has poisoned the lives of Iraqi children, stunting their bodies, shrinking their minds.

If the threat of war alone is causing hard-

ship and pain in Iraq, what might an actual invasion mean to people there? Consider that most of Iraq's 24 million citizens depend heavily on a monthly food ration distributed by the government and monitored by the UN Oil-For-Food Program. For some families, the Spartan contents of the ration - flour, sugar, rice, lentils, cooking oil, tea, soap ---comprises their entire income. Because this food is imported, distribution begins at the ports, and continues overland through an elaborate countrywide system. According to Tourben Due, head of the UN World Food Program in Iraq (WFP), disruption of this system, especially if it occurs over a period of months, will imperil people. An aerial assault targeting civilian infrastructure such as roads, bridges and the electrical grid could provoke a humanitarian catastrophe. Indeed, a UNICEF statement released in February of this year concludes that "chaos would be the immediate effect" of an interruption of food distribution. "Very rapid intervention [in the midst of chaos] would be required to avoid a further deterioration of malnutrition and even famine on a large scale."

Zainab Fartous, an English teacher and mother of four with a quick smile and lively eyes, knows firsthand the grave consequences of war. She is the center of gravity in an extended family of 25 people, all living under one roof in the al-Jumeriyyah neighborhood of Basra. I had to step through a crowd of children to enter her home, where she greeted me with, "Welcome! Welcome. This is your home." There is no furniture. For two hours, we sat on the floor. Children came and went. The talk was cheerful, mostly about a group of Americans whom we both know and who lived in the neighborhood for two months in the summer of 2000. Stories were told. The concrete walls amplified our laughter and the voices of children. Throughout, Zainab was a gracious hostess — arranging for tea and pillows, smiling, answering questions - and an attentive mother, playing, comforting, responding. Then, in one private and unexpected moment, she dropped her guard. Turning an intense, wide-eyed face toward me, she asked, "What is the mood in the U.S.? Do you think they will attack?" My response eclipses the light in her face.

On January 25, 1999, a U.S. warplane fired a guided missile that exploded in Zainab's neighborhood, killing five children including her 7-year-old son, Heider, and permanently injuring her other son, Mustafa. The block she lives on is now referred to as "Missile Street," because so many houses were damaged or destroyed in the explosion. An Air Force spokesperson informed me later that year that the "missile went off course." The "problem," he added quickly, "has been corrected." But Zainab knows well that if there is war, other bombs will stray, other children will die.

I asked Zainab, "What do you need?" "We need clothes for the children, especially coats for winter, and shoes. We need food and medicine." Daily life under sanctions in Iraq remains a battle for survival which war will only intensify. By shutting down the Iraqi oil economy, sanctions destroyed the professional jobs that it supported, and decimated the once large Iraqi middle class.

As a school teacher, Zainab earns less than \$5/month, an almost meaningless sum. Prior to sanctions, Zainab's family lived a comfortable middle-class existence in their own home. Now, packed into a dreary concrete building with her extended family, she is not only burdened by the discomforts and fears of extreme poverty, but prevented from being the mother and person she wants to be. "If I had the means," she told me, "I would move out of this house right now. I need the space to be with my children." She paused and sighed. "And to be with myself."

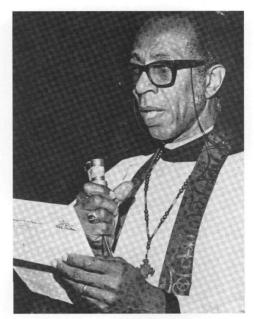
When I left for Iraq, I felt an unexpected sense of relief, to be free from the noise of war-talk, the din of voices arguing in favor of an invasion of Iraq. But this trip to Iraq has shaken me deeply. It is disturbing in the extreme to acknowledge that families who so recently welcomed me into their homes and shared tea and hospitality with me, may soon be ringed and fired upon; that children I played soccer with two weeks ago may not live through the winter because war may cut off their food supply. Back home once again and subject to the inescapable warmongering, it occurs to me that people in the U.S. are also under psychological warfare. In the wake of the terror of September 11th, Americans are understandably anxious and unsure about our safety. The impulse to do whatever we can to prevent more terror is a good and intelligent impulse. But what will make us more secure?

Bereaved Families' Forum sets up hotline

by Robert Hirschfield

Three members of the Bereaved Families' Forum (BFF), representing nearly 400 Israeli and Palestinian families whose relatives have been killed by Israeli soldiers, Jewish settlers, Hamas, Hezbollah, and Fatah militants, addressed a large crowd at the Society for the Advancement of Judaism in New York this past October to pitch the group's new toll-free hotline, where Israelis are given Palestinians to speak to, and Palestinians Israelis. (Over 22,000 callers have so far used the hot line.) Each BFF speaker told of personal loss because of the conflict. Amiram Goldin's son, Omri, a soldier, was blown up by a suicide bomber on a bus in the Galilee. Yitzhak Frankenthal's son, Arik, also a soldier, was kidnapped and killed by Hamas militants in 1995. Dr. Rahib Essawi lost her brother to an Israeli bomb in Southern Lebanon ("they had to collect him from all over the place") and her mother to an Israeli soldier's bullet on the West Bank.

The three spoke of the more than 1,000 coffins draped in Israeli and Palestinian flags that have been displayed in Tel Aviv, Washington and New York. They spoke of the blood that nine Israelis gave to the Arab Red Crescent, and nine Palestinians gave to the Red Star of David. Frankenthal told a heckler, "I am angry. We were unable to make peace with the Palestinians, so my son was killed."



Paul Washington greeting those assembled for the ordination of the first women priests at the Church of the Advocate in 1974.

Philadelphia's 'voice of the oppressed' dies at 81

Paul Washington, a leader in movements for justice in the church and society over many decades, died Oct. 9, 2002. Washington, who served as rector of Philadelphia's Church of the Advocate from 1962 until 1987, was "the soul and conscience of the city and the nation, for not only African Americans but also all the marginalized," columnist Acel Moore wrote in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. Other tributes referred to Washington as the "voice of the oppressed," a "steadfast acolyte of Christian liberalism," and "one of the giants of Spirit-rooted activism for peace and justice of this past generation."

Washington opened the Church of the Advocate to meetings of the Black Panthers, Vietnam war resisters and other radical groups. At the 1969 Special General Convention of the Episcopal Church, he led a walkout in protest of the church's footdragging on the issue of black activist demands for reparations payments from the churches. In 1974, he welcomed the "Philadelphia 11" to the Church of the Advocate for the first ordination of women to the priesthood in the Episcopal Church.

"This is not the church of 'the comfortable pew," Washington wrote in his 1994 memoir, The Autobiography of Father Paul M. Washington (with David Gracie, Temple University Press). "In fact, the Advocate, like its Lord, has been 'numbered among the transgressors." To illustrate his point, Washington quotes from a 1968 memo to the director of the FBI: "The Rev. Paul M. Washington, Rector of the Church of the Advocate, has made his church's facilities available to Negro extremists and has associated with them at his church. He has also been quoted in the Negro press as being against the Vietnam War, and desirous that the funds being expended on that conflict be used to solve the problems of the ghetto."

Washington also spoke out on homelessness, gay and lesbian concerns, and a range of international justice issues. In 1980, while Americans were being held hostage in Iran, he defied a U.S. travel ban to take part in a conference there, then returned to ask for a U.S. apology for past interference in that country. More recently, he wrote about the Palestinian issue for *The Witness*.

When Washington served on a panel investigating the city of Philadelphia's 1985 bombing of MOVE headquarters, he was "unflinching in his criticism of police tactics and of the conduct of his longtime friend, then-Mayor W. Wilson Goode," an obituary in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* reported (10/9/02).

Washington, born in Charleston, S.C., in 1921 and raised a Baptist, became an Episcopalian while in college. He graduated from Lincoln University and Philadelphia Divinity School, and was ordained a priest in 1947. After serving at Philadelphia's Church of the Crucifixion, he spent six years teaching at a college in Liberia. He became vicar of St. Cyprian in Elmwood in 1954, then rector of the Church of the Advocate in 1962.

Washington wrote that the "crowning glory" of his Advocate ministry was the invitation from his former parishioner Barbara Harris to preach at her consecration as the first woman bishop in the Anglican Communion. Harris officiated at Washington's Oct. 14 memorial service. — Witness *staff*

LOUIE'S INDEX

The three Anglican dioceses whose request to join the U.S. Episcopal Church will be considered at the U.S. church's 2003 General Convention: Cuba and Puerto Rico to return, and Venezuela to join for the first time.

Diocese in the Province of the Anglican Church of the Central American Region which has never been part of the U.S. Episcopal Church: Costa Rica (El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Panama left the Episcopal Church in 1997 to join with Costa Rica in creating the new province, which has 13,409 members.)

Supreme interpreter of the resolutions of General Convention of the Episcopal Church: The General Convention (The U.S. Episcopal Church has no supreme court. The two courts for the trial of a bishop have authority to interpret only those canons related to the trial. Executive Council is empowered to act on behalf of General Convention between conventions.)

Number of black priests in the 2.4 million-member U.S. Episcopal Church: c.600

Number of black priests in the 60 million-member U.S. Roman Catholic Church: c.350

Percent of black priests born outside the U.S.: 36.6

Percent of black priests born outside the U.S. who were born in the Caribbean: 54.5

Percent of black priests born outside the U.S. who were born in Africa: 22.3

Number of black bishops in the U.S. Episcopal Church: 24

Number of black bishops in the U.S. Roman Catholic Church: 13

Last month Louie's Index posed this question:

Who are the female diocesan bishops eligible to be nominated for a full term as Presiding Bishop if elected at the 2006 General Convention?

Here's the answer:

Katharine Jefferts Schori (Nevada), Chilton Knudsen (Maine), Catherine Waynick (Indianapolis), Geralyn Wolf (Rhode Island).

Witness contributing editor Louie Crew, founder of Integrity and a longtime Episcopal Church leader (he currently sits on the Episcopal Church's Executive Council and the Diocese of Newark's deputation to General Convention 2003) is a well-known collector and disseminator of statistics and little-known facts about the Episcopal Church and Anglican Communion. His website is www.andromeda.rutgers.edu/~lcrew.

The siren song of violence

By Michael Battle

THE GREATEST religious challenge in the 21st century is the maintenance of what has become an amalgamation of spiritual and political leadership, especially as displayed in the life and thought of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. In my previous work on Tutu, Reconciliation: The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu (Pilgrim Press) and The Wisdom of Desmond Tutu (WestminsterJohn-Knox), I have shown that at the heart of Tutu's thought are his Anglican ecclesiology (common prayer) and African concept of ubuntu (i.e., communitarian identity), both of which inform how he appeals for South Africa to move beyond the theological constructions of apartheid. Movement beyond insidious apartheid was ultimately done through forgiveness. This was (and is) being done in light of an ecclesial ubuntu that disallows recourse to radical, interpretative schemes of black political discourse in order to save white people from the effects of black rage. Such rage would only further patterns of violence and abuse, thereby locking a nation in perpetual turmoil — such nations are too plentiful. In short, I argued in my book that Tutu's gift to South Africa (and to the world) is in how Christian orthopraxy is narrated in a context of conflicting racial identities in a manner that makes their lives intelligible to each other.

Now that major spiritual leaders in South Africa are dead, retiring or moving to more reflective stages in their lives, a tear rips between spiritual leadership per se and spiritual leadership that also addresses political life. Such ripped fabric has always existed in the U.S. My immediate concern here, however, is that much of the world has depended terribly on the spiritual-political voice of Tutu to articulate why forgiveness (what he calls "restorative justice") is better than retributive justice. From my concern the frightening question is raised: What will happen when the world is faced with political crises, while perhaps having little recourse to major public, spiritual leaders like Tutu? The reason this question becomes crucial is that Tutu has offered us navigation skills by which to refuse the false dichotomy between the spiritual and the political.

Tutu adheres theologically to a metanarrative of God's forgiveness in which conflicting racial identities are expressed and defined in the reconciling concept of imago dei revealed through Jesus Christ, who manifests the plentitude of relational personhood. Tutu's role as national confessor operates from a distinctively theological model of forgiveness in which human identity depends on a Trinitarian image of God, namely, the flourishing relation of Persons. Not to forgive assumes there is no such image of God among humanity. For Tutu, more specifically, not to forgive assumes no future at all (hence the title of his latest book: No Future without Forgiveness).

Naturally, the question is now raised: If there is only forgiveness, can there ever be justice? This question faced Tutu every day of his chairing of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Tutu's response is in the synergy that always must exist between forgiveness and repentance. In other words, to forgive at all in the tragic circumstances of apartheid demanded a complete turn around (repentance) of power and oppression. To truly be able to forgive in the circumstances of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission meant that South Africa was at the point in their nation's story when those who were victims had won the war. And most of all, it was at the point in the story when the protagonist would proclaim that there would never be the creation of such victims again. And to this day, South Africa has constructed the most inclusive national constitution that exists on this planet - vowing never to oppress any category of people again. So, yes - there can be justice and forgiveness. This leads me back to where I began — with a search for future spiritualpolitical leaders. There will be many more circumstances when the victims win again, but will there be only the bloodcurdling scream for revenge ringing in our ears thereby perpetuating cycles of abuse and oppression? Will there be only John Waynetype Texas presidents who only understand solutions through the barrel of a gun?

As I prepare my latest book, A Christian Spirituality of Nonviolence (forthcoming in spring 2003, Mercer University Press), my dream is that we will all learn from Tutu, Gandhi, and ultimately from Jesus how to stop the redundant cycles of abuse — those siren songs of violence.

The privilege of peaceful death

by Samia Khoury

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m A}^{
m S~I~SAT}$ IN THE HOSPITAL accompanying my husband during his second chemotherapy session, I was reading in the paper about the sniper who has been terrorizing the Washington area, and I was not surprised that the residents of the area were petrified to move around. Yet I could not help but wonder about all the violent movies and even cartoons that are shown on TV and somehow end up being stories in real life. How many movies we see on TV about snipers, gangs breaking into banks and shooting to kill anybody blocking their run-away, crooks murdering old rich women at home, children kidnapped for money and people taken as hostages. The themes are endless. One does not need imagination to be a criminal these days, or a "terrorist" for that matter, thanks to the writers of such trash which reaches us also in the Middle East as part of globalization. Of course the good guys end up winning at the end and the criminal is caught, but in the process so much is learnt, and in meticulous detail, which enables potential criminals to get free lessons, and end up being in

Here's a Christmas Child for You

by Blaine Paxton Hall

the limelight, due to the media coverage of violent stories. Nice and humanitarian stories never hit the front pages or even get covered by the media. No wonder oppressed people resort to violence to get their story heard. I seriously started thinking that my next e-mail should really be to Mr. Bush so that he will deal with this domestic problem rather than waste his energy on a war very far away from home.

In the meantime my daughter came in to see us. She signaled to me in a way that only women can understand, and we both left the room. Whatever she wanted to tell me. I knew she did not want her father to know. She broke the sad news of the shooting to death of Shaden Abu-Hijleh as she sat embroidering in her enclosed verandah at home. Her husband and son were also at home. An Israeli army jeep simply stopped in front of their house and without any provocation started shooting. Luckily the men were spared, but for slight injuries. Shaden was the maternal grandmother of our granddaughter Zeina. A couple of days later the mother-in-law of my brother, over 90 years old, passed away in her sleep and a second cousin of ours, almost as old, passed away peacefully at an old-age home. What a blessing, I thought; it is indeed a privilege to die in bed these days. The brutality of the occupation has made peaceful death to Palestinians indeed a privilege. But very often, the Israelis themselves have not been spared, because they refuse to accept the fact that their living and dying in peace cannot be realized as long as they are depriving a whole population of their basic right to exist and live in freedom.

We are indeed the world. Only if we have reason to fear what is in our hearts need we fear for the planet. Teach yourself peace. Pass it on. — Alice Walker

At church we have this Christmas tradition of providing gifts for the Children's Home. Paper ornaments, on each a name is written, dangle lifelessly from the branches of the Parish Hall Christmas tree. We are given scrupulous instructions: "A sweater, slippers or anything with the Panthers logo. Toiletries, as long as they don't contain alcohol, are okay." A very benign and generic gift. We each pluck a child hanging from the tree and next Sunday return its gift to place underneath. Then all the gifts are delivered and yearly the Priest praises our 100% participation. Our cheeks smile: our sanctimonious sighing

swells the air.

ID

This has been going on for many seasons: I remember the church groups bringing gifts and eats; parading through my Home. Some would put on programs with singing and

skits; some groups would preach and try to convert us.

And now I must tell you a difficult thing: we didn't like any of it.

We felt like freaks in a sideshow

as the tourists tramped through clucking and muttering under their breath: "Oh ain't it awful, Oh what a shame such nice healthy intelligent good-looking kids have to live in a Home."

Some of us demonstrated our rage by misbehaving.

That rascal Bud would scratch his armpits, hop around on his haunches and growl "Ooo Ooo, Ooo," in his deepest pubescent voice. The tourists were horrified but we laughed ourselves silly. How else to deny that we were sad and lonely; hurt and afraid?

III

Some of the kids, their spirits long since broken by the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune or under the fist of some adult, were quiet and withdrawn to the church groups and to everything else. We knew the church folk

came to salve their conscience, to cleanse their wealth.

Are you really surprised we knew this? Soon the church groups no longer came to gape at us; they had their gifts delivered to the Home instead.

IV

Now I will tell you church people what I would have wanted for Christmas. Would you bring me to your house for a home-cooked meal? Nothing fancy; some hot, creamy, saucy food like mashed potatoes and gravy will do. Would you have me eat with your family just a normal meal with a typical family? I promise I'd behave—

I'd be too intimidated by your abundance, too awed by your lightness of life.

Would you share your richness of family with me;

discussing the day's events, the news? And during the natural course of conversation, would you inquire as to my interests, favorite classes, college plans; what I might do with my life?

Because in so doing you'd be suggesting my potential,

that I should apply, that I might even get accepted,

that I might have a future. I'd hear my heart pound

NoNo, NoNo, NoNo. I'd be taken aback by you

so easily suggesting these things to me because I am so lonely and so afraid and I don't have the confidence to dream. Yes! Yes, Martin Luther King, but it takes at least some small measure of confidence to dream. It takes some hope to dream.

V

It takes some hope to dream.

VI

Where will I get this; how can I get this? Would you have me gather with your family 'round the piano after supper, join in the carol singing? Invite me to play; I'd give anything to have access to a piano. I want to learn, I want to play. Would you show me your favorite books, the artful pictures; read me a poem? And at the close of the evening would you ask me for a photo of myself? So that you could hold me in your heart not just at Christmastime, but all the year around.



acism remains a sensitive subject for most people — it provokes guilt, anger and the fear of "opening old wounds." But we ignore racism to our peril.

Recently, the Episcopal Church's Peace & Justice Ministries staff spoke with *The Witness* about the church's anti-racism ministry. Jayne Oasin, our national social justice officer, commented, "The most important thing to highlight is that anti-racism work is ongoing and unfinished. And we need to broaden the discussion beyond 'how I treat the next black person or Latino that I see' to institutional concerns." Yet in much of the church, anti-racism work is anything but ongoing. The executive officer of a leading liberal Episcopal diocese recently

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repair the brokenness that already exists in our communities. Randall Robinson's landmark book, The Debt (see review by Bertie Ray on www.thewitness.org), discusses why we need to restore "the dignity of every human being," as the Episcopal baptismal covenant directs. The reparations movement also offers concrete steps to address the racism in our midst things we can do now, individually and institutionally, to make the family whole.

said, "Racism? We did that workshop a couple years ago."

Does this sound familiar? While reparations may sound like a divisive concept, it actually seeks to

Southern Cotton Field (c. 1850). An overseer riding past cotton pickers in the southern U.S.



NOUS RIGHTS



Indigenous rights and reparations: an interview with Alberto Saldamando

by Ethan Flad

Tom Goldtooth, coordinator of the Indigenous Environmental Network, leads an indigenous protest at the UN World Conference Against Racism (September 2001).

Ethan Flad

Alberto Saldamando (Zapoteca/Chicano) is General Counsel of the International Indian Treaties Council (IITC), an organization founded in 1974 at a gathering of over 5,000 indigenous people from throughout the world. Interviewed in the IITC office in San Francisco's historic Mission District, Saldamando spoke highly of the historic solidarity of the mainline Christian justice and peace workers in the struggle for the sovereignty and self-determination of indigenous peoples. "I have nothing but love and respect for the World Council of Churches," he said, referring especially to the WCC's Geneva office and the work of Bob Scott and Eugenio Pomo. "They have been long-standing allies, not just recent supporters of our work." At the same time, he mentioned the resistance of some major Christian communities, such as the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America, to indigenous rights. "And increasingly, right-wing evangelicals are even becoming violent" in oppressing indigenous communities, he noted. Much of Saldamando's work deals with getting grassroots indigenous participation into high-level

international forums, such as the UN's Commission for Human Rights.

Ethan Flad: What are the Treaties Council's priority projects these days?

Alberto Saldamando: We deal with everything, all kinds of human rights. Since last year, we've been very active on the right to food and nutrition and other related subjects. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), a subsidiary organ of the UN, named us as the focal NGO (non-governmental organization) for the Indigenous Peoples' World Food Consultation in Guatemala, where we had indigenous peoples from all over the world coming to discuss the right to food. A few years ago, our work was primarily centered on political rights, resulting in the report we did on torture and the report on arbitrary detentions and disappearances. Our first complaint had to do with arbitrary detention - a case of an Indian who was in prison in Mexico. But since then, we've had a broader view of human rights. And essentially, even in questions of development and globalization, we continue to take a human rights perspective. Generally, the position is that you can't have development that violates human rights. Otherwise, it's unsustainable by definition.

Ethan Flad: There's been so much negative reflection on the UN World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa, last year by people in the NGO community. I remember being there, with just a couple days left, and attending a big rally that the indigenous people's caucus held. The caucus wanted to strike out all references in the UN documents to indigenous peoples. Were there any positive aspects for you from the Durban conference?

Alberto Saldamando: I think that on a political level, from the states' perspective, it was doomed to fail. Because I don't think that the North — that includes Europe, the U.S., Australia and New Zealand - has any willingness to really grapple with the problem of racism. What killed it, and what was bound to kill it, was what killed the first two world conferences on racism and two [UN] "decades to struggle against racism" - the references to Israel. From an NGO perspective, particularly for a human rights worker, as I am, it's very difficult to say that condemnation of Israel for its human rights abuses is anti-Semitic. It really is very difficult to swallow. But that's essentially the position that Europe and the U.S. took: that any condemnation of the state of Israel was anti-Semitism. And that's essentially the position that the Commissioner on Human Rights was taking.

Ethan Flad: Mary Robinson?

Alberto Saldamando: Right, Robinson's position was, "Don't mention any countries. We aren't going to focus on any one country." The condition of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories is even worse now than it was then — there are gross and massive violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention. You can't ignore it, there's just massive violations of human rights by Israel. But the position was that if you condemn the state of Israel, you're automatically an anti-Semite. That was also the politics within the NGO

community — there were Jewish NGOs who struggled with the proposition that Israel could do wrong, but there were also Palestinian NGOs and their supporters who felt that the only reason to be there was to beat Israel on the head or beat the Jewish NGOs on the head. And so that kind of politics really played itself out pretty radically.

We were successful, however, in applying a strategy whereby every group could fashion its own portion of the resolution we produced. So indigenous peoples had writers, Afro-descen-



Alberto Saldamando

dents had writers, the Romany had writers. It was all their language. The Dalits, for the first time in history, were recognized as an oppressed minority. In their own words they described their own situation. That was the whole objective, to have the victims speak with their own voice. I don't like the word "victim," you know, but that was what it was about. It was about those most oppressed being able to express that oppression in their own voice, in their own way, the way they saw it themselves. I still don't think that's a mistake. I do think that that declaration we produced states what the oppressed feel about racism and how they perceive their oppression, and the solutions they see for it. And so I think it's a very positive document. However, because of the politics, primarily the politics around Israel, people have generally tended to disregard it.

Ethan Flad: In the mainstream media coverage of the WCAR, in addition to the Palestine/Israel conflict, the other issue that was deemed controversial was reparations, particularly from the U.S. and Global North perspective. How did you see that debate being

played out?

Alberto Saldamando: The reparations issue was very controversial because the African states took it up. Certainly, one can describe colonialism in Africa as a massive violation of human rights — continuing to this day, as a matter of fact. Certainly the aftermath of colonialism has not in any way been ameliorated. The data on the condition of African peoples now is worse than it was before, not just with AIDS, but with malnutrition and hunger.

Conversely, the U.S. governmental delegation was actually quite small. I think they intended to walk out even before they went there. So there were various aspects to the problem of reparations that never really got sorted out. Declarations at world conferences are not legally binding, but the U.S. takes them very seriously because they have this very legalistic approach. So their idea is not to propose an ideal. Certainly a world summit on anything should at least pose the broadest aspiration of humankind. Whether or not anybody's going to listen is another matter. But at least they should say those things; they should say the things that really are the ideal.

The United Kingdom also took that legalistic approach, as did France. And certainly, as colonizing powers, they have a great deal to be ashamed about. I think they saw the African position as an economic threat. If we say on an ideal basis that victims of racism should be compensated, that means we owe Kenya, say, 16 billion dollars and Belgium owes the Congo a trillion dollars for everything that they've ripped off. So they took that legalistic position to say, well, wait a minute, let's let bygones be bygones. Let's have a forward-looking declaration. Which is what Mary Robinson kept saying.

Our position was, as was probably the position of the African states, you can't really face the future until you know your past. You can't pretend the past wasn't there. Let's talk about what you did and let's find out how you're going to pay for it in blunt terms. That was the issue of reparations that put the kibosh on things. Colonizing powers are not willing to recognize historical injustices and historical exploitations because they don't want to pay for them now.

Then there was the issue of a state owing reparations to the citizens within it that have suffered, and continue to suffer, racism. That's another issue. Africa supported those efforts as well. African states may be poor, but they do exert a growing influence in the UN. I think they're becoming real hip to a lot of things, including the fact that most of their citizens are indigenous, and that there's a value to preserving those cultures and those languages and those ways of life that it's good for people to try to preserve the environment, that there is a value in the forest with animals in it just for its own sake.

Ethan Flad: So you see that happening at the executive level of many of these governments in Africa?

Alberto Saldamando: To a degree. The U.S. entered into the TRIPS agreement (the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights), which requires states under the World Trade Organization (WTO) to adopt their own systems of intellectual property protection. It doesn't have to be the U.S. model of patents, but it has to be some form of protection. The African states, a couple of years ago, appointed a working group on indigenous peoples for Africa, which is big progress for us. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) wrote model legislation that is supposed to be consistent both with the WTO TRIPS agreement and the UN Convention on Bio-diversity, in which they declare as immoral and illegal the patenting of life forms and in which they provide for the free and informed consent of local communities to bioprospecting with substantial benefit sharing, if they do agree. But it declares the local and traditional communities to be the owners of the bio-diversity. The OAU asked the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), another subsidiary organization of the UN, to comment on this model legislation. Now the Secretary General of WIPO is pushing African states not to adopt it.

So it does seem to me that African governments are in fact attempting to address the issue of development more and more in keeping with the interests of their own constituents, which does not necessarily mean the generation of dollars, but perhaps looking toward a different form of development. I think that more and more African countries are coming around to the proposition that perhaps their interests do not coincide with developed countries', and that perhaps they can develop their own systems that more coincide with the interests of their own constituents. So I have a great hope for Africa.

Africans also understand racism at all different levels. One of the primary works on racism is Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin*, *White Masks*, which is a contemporary description of racism that is still very appropriate today.

So right now, different African countries are taking a different view toward indigenous peoples. In some African countries, though, "indigenous" is a bad word. They don't want to be called indigenous, because that means non-citizen, and somehow that is a bad thing. But there are NGOs beginning to focus more on the preservation of language and traditional culture. Once they start using their languages, and valuing their languages, then they're valuing that culture's whole way of looking at the world. I think that's going to lend a great deal toward indigenous peoples from other parts of the world having more friends. We're not there yet. But I think that there is a growing influence of indigenous people at the UN.

Ethan Flad: In addition to language, one of the other areas that is a hot topic in Africa, and I would expect would be important for the Treaties Council, is land. Certainly land being returned to peoples is one context of the debate.

Alberto Saldamando: Oh, certainly. There's also a realization, I think, on the international level, that people providing for their means of subsistence is preferable to having them unemployed and underemployed in an urban area that only requires a greater infrastructure. And that it is possible to be self-sufficient in food on the micro level like that. I'm not aware of any African states adopting land reform as policy, however.

I know land reform is a bigger issue in Asia, particularly in the Malaysian archipelago — in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines. There the cry for land is astounding. Those people are indigenous peoples who have a connection to the land. They've been producing their own means of subsistence for thousands of years. India's the same way. They've had small-scale farmers for millennia, producing food. So Asia, I think, is more attuned to land reform on that level. Whether or not they can comply with the demands for land is another matter.

In Latin America, land reform will always be an issue. Indigenous lands are just not recognized. They do have some communal lands still, but for the most part, the land has been privatized.

Reparations, in the context of the World Conference Against Racism, is one issue. I think land reform can be looked at as an independent issue, independent of reparations. And there are national dialogues with regard to what appropriate land reform is. It's becoming more of an issue as industrialized agriculture takes hold. It's going to be going to transnational corporations that are more and more going to exploit the hell out of indigenous land, to the detriment of the indigenous peoples there. So the issue of land reform is not exaggerated. Certainly that kind of colonialism still has very deep roots in racism. But I think it's more and more going to become a strong political struggle. I think maybe that's one of the difficulties of racism, because in many respects, racism is so tied to economic and social systems, that in order to get at it you'd have to take those systems apart. And I don't think states are ready for that.

I think the critical distinction, at least under international law, as I see it, is that indigenous peoples have a historical connection to the land. And that historical connection defines their identity as indigenous peoples. The Macaw, for example, in Washington State, their culture is built around whales, whale hunting. The plains people, the Lakota, are buffalo people. The Mayans, the Mexican Indians, are people of the corn. It's those relationships with means of subsistence and production and the land that produces it. Their sacred sites are there. I mean, the Vatican could be built in south central Los Angeles and it would still be a holy place. But you can't move Big Mountain.

WHITES AND

A call 'to do our first works over'

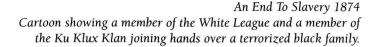
OVEMENTS FOR REPARATIONS for the enslavement of people of African descent in the U.S. have acquired a strength and visibility in recent years such that New York City Councilman Charles Baron has been emboldened to state, "Reparations is the defining issue of the twentyfirst century."

These movements are not new. Calls for reparations have rung since the abolition of slavery. (It was in 1865 that the idea of "40 acres and a mule," a reparative concept more a part of national mythology and rhetoric than an actual measure in history, began to circulate.) Yet, while they are not new, the increasing prominence of reparations campaigns brings to the forefront of national racial consciousness the urgency of the relationship of white people to notions of race, repentance, repair and reconciliation.

While many legal steps have been taken since abolition to address persistent racial injustice in the U.S., none of these have manifested in reparations. Equal in length to the history of struggle for reparations has been the seemingly insurmountable difficulty of getting the U.S. government, or white Americans, to hear and respond to such demands.

Surveys suggest that up to 67 percent of whites acknowledge that discrimination against blacks continues, but an August 2002 *Village Voice* poll of New Yorkers showed that 62 percent of those polled say that not even an apology for slavery is due. Meanwhile, 62 percent of African Americans continue to believe that blacks are owed reparations. How can whites agree there is a problem and so easily dismiss solutions? And, how can white Christians, many of whom desire racial reconciliation, hope to achieve it when such disparate understanding of the legacy of slavery exists among racial groups?

Amidst this social landscape, movements to repair the damage of slavery's legacy persist and they continue to gain the kind of momentum that suggests



id publication.

REPARATIONS

they may well be one of the most significant political struggles of this millennium. There is much at stake here in how white folks understand repentance, repair and reconciliation — all notions contained in the concept of reparations. I believe that there is, in fact, nothing less at stake than our humanity. The issue of reparations asks us — and asks those of us who are Christians most pointedly: Are we willing to be human, and to seek wholeness and healing, rather than remaining complicit in a massive social evil, the vestiges of which are alive and well among oppressed and benefactor alike?

Answering this question may involve us in a process of moral and spiritual transformation.

What is race?

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Race in U.S.–American life is at once so self-evident and so complex that the starting place for engaging reparations may be to be as clear as possible about what "race" is. When we recognize race we typically do so by noticing a person's skin "color." We might notice other bodily features that seem to indicate race. From there we might assume cultural traditions, geographical origins, economic status or any number of other things. Whether our assumptions are correct or not, these various indicators come together loosely to suggest racial identity.

Because we can, or think we can, recognize race by such visible indications, we might assume that race just is: that it exists on its own, an autonomous, self-obvious category. Common wisdom has long held that race is a fact of nature, a scientific or biological category that distinguishes among groups of people. But for years now science has been clear that race has no biological basis. A scientist will not find between one white person and every other white person any biological similarity that is greater than the similarity between that white person and an African-American person.

The truth is, race is not something that just is. It is not a fact of nature nor a scientific reality; race is a social reality. It is something that came to be, and comes to be over and over again, through laws, economic practices, the education and criminal justice systems, and an infinite number of other social phenomena. It is created through corporate and individual human activity. Say a person walks down the street very late one night. If that person has physical features generally recognized as "white," a passing police officer might slow down to make sure that person is not lost. Another person walking down that same street, whose features are recognized as "black,"might find this same police officer slows down and asks him for identification, or interrogates her based on the assumption that, out alone at night, she must be engaged in illicit activity.

Race is very real. It is just that the bodily characteristics by which we tend to recognize it are not significant in and of themselves. They become significant only as they are given some kind of meaning in the social realm — as this happens race becomes a (social) reality. In the above example, race exists at the juncture between certain bodily features and the activity of racial profiling; profiling one person for protection, the other for harassment.

As we begin to recognize that race is not a fixed and static fact of nature, but is a contested, changing social reality, the meanings that it has been given through the kinds of human activities that have gone into (and go into) creating it can come into view as well. This recognition is crucial to understanding the relationship between white folks and reparations.

Race and meaning

Throughout U.S. history the meanings of race have varied. Communities of color have given race meaning in the process of creating unique and rich cultural traditions, and forging communities of resistance. But this meaning-creation has taken place amidst significant oppressive forces which also make race real and give it meaning. As social institutions in the U.S. have historically engaged in biased practices, race has been given oppressive material content and meanings. Race means, for example, that you are more than twice as likely to be in prison if you are a black man than if you are white and eight times more likely if you are a black woman than white [www.epinet.org]. If you are a white drug user you are, generally, more likely to be in a drug treatment facility than in prison.

That material realities have given meaning to race is precisely why calls for reparations for an evil that legally ended 137 years ago continue to have currency in our national racial landscape. How human features skin color, especially — were given meaning from 1619 to 1865 and what those meanings were is the crux of the matter in thinking about reparations. Among those of us who are white, to think about race in this way enables us to

think about race in this way enables us to view, concretely, what it has meant and means to be white. It pushes us to ask how legal, economic and education systems and institutions have given whiteness meaning. Answers to these questions have implications that are both economic-material and moral-spiritual.

James Baldwin famously wrote in *Essence* magazine in 1984: "America became white — the people who, as they claim, 'settled' the country became white — because of the necessity of denying the Black presence and justifying the Black subjugation. ... White men — from Norway, for example, where they were Norwegians — became white by slaughtering the cattle, poisoning the wells, torching the houses, massacring Native Americans, raping Black women."

Baldwin's words are not to be taken figuratively. His charge is not merely that white people have committed atrocious crimes in U.S.–American history. His charge is that, quite literally, people who arrived in this land, nationalities intact, became white colonists and, later, became white U.S.–Americans through engagement in particular kinds of behavior and practices.

Race did not exist when those who colonized this land now known as the United States encountered the indigenous peoples who lived here. Whatever visible differences may have been noted — whether in dress, bodily attributes, skin pigmentation or cultural expression — these were given religious meaning. The primary category of difference was Christian or heathen: Christian meant "entitled beneficiaries of this pristine land and resources," heathen meant "evil and worthy of genocide."

Race: an economic institution

When Africans were first wrenched from their homelands and brought here to be slaves, race still did not exist (the first permanent African settlers arrived in 1619). The primary difference was that distinguishing owner and servant. This was a status defined strictly in legal terms and might invoke the difference between a European owner and either an African or a European servant. Pre-race, persons from different geographic regions, with different skin tones, might occupy the same servant category (and at that time servitude was not lifelong).

By the mid-1600s, however, race had begun to emerge and its creation was inextricably bound with the legalization of lifelong chattel slavery as an institution. In 1640 for the first time the word "Negro" was used in a court document; specifically, to

Christian meant 'entitled beneficiaries of this pristine land and resources,' heathen meant 'evil and worthy of genocide.'

demarcate the difference in status between a person of African descent, who had dark skin and was made a slave for life, and two Europeans, who had light skin and were to be held as indentured servants for three years each.

From that point forward, lifelong enslavement quickly came to be the norm for people of African descent. Indentured servitude phased out in the face of the obvious economic benefit of holding a lifelong (African) slave versus a temporary (European) servant. Freedom became the norm for people of European descent. The difference between owner/servant became the difference between free/slave — now a legal definition that relied upon and referenced bodies. The definition named skin color — white/black — as the line demarcating the difference between these two "kinds" of people. Race, thus, came to be. (A similar process took place in relationship to Native Americans, by which "red" became a racial category — in this case the meaning given race was not "slave" but involved other kinds of violence and dehumanization.)

The color line became more deeply entrenched as chattel slavery became more institutionalized — first officially so in Massachusetts in 1641. The colonies' and, eventually, the U.S.' economic system was built through and entirely dependent upon this institution for the next 224 years. Slavery did not involve only the large southern cotton plantation. Even after northern states abolished slavery, it was the basis of the national economy. The labor of four million Africans and their descendents generated wealth in the South as it fueled the shipping yards and factories of the North.

The unpaid labor poured into this nation's economy through slavery is only one piece of what was a vast and horrific historical experience. Still, that figure alone is staggering in its estimation: Sam Anderson, cochair of the N.Y. Metro Chapter of the Black Radical Congress, puts a low estimate of these wages at \$97.1 trillion.

In addition to being granted freedom at the price of others being kept in shackles, being (becoming) white in this racial system meant benefiting from the enslavement of those who were (became) black. Not all benefited in the same way and an important part of this history is how race has been used to prevent impoverished and working-class whites from allying with impoverished blacks. But all those who became white received some direct benefit. For some this came through owning slaves, for others it was a stake in corporations that insured slaves or earned interest on slave owners' assets. For some it was the freedom to access a job as a paid laborer. For all it was insulation from the systemic terrors legally inflicted and enforced upon black people.

A multitude of concrete legal and economic benefits were acquired by those who became white through these historic and social processes. These benefits included not only the legacy of wealth, but also education, health, housing and virtually any other aspect of life in which social institutions impact human well-being. To the significant extent that the color line has remained an organizing principle of U.S.–American life, even as its functions have changed (i.e., slavery became "separate but equal"), those benefits have been passed down from generation to generation. They continue to accrue to those of us who occupy the social category "white."

Whites and the redressing of 'unjust enrichment'

Reparations activists call this phenomena "unjust enrichment." Legal scholar Cheryl Harris calls it "whiteness as property." (By recounting the poignant story of how her African-American grandmother "passed" as white in order to gain employment at a "whites only" workplace in the 1930s, Harris makes clear that the economic access that a particular skin hue provided demonstrates there is a property value in whiteness.)

To the extent that unjust material realities have remained unredressed, the legacies of slavery remain with us in the present. While the mass horror that was slavery can never be undone, attempts at true racial justice must take place through the same means by which race came to be in the first place.

This discussion pulls in a particular way on those of us who have been and who are white in this landscape. Writing specifically about white responses to calls for reparations in 1969, theologian William Stringfellow was insistent about the brokenness in which we remain if we fail to take this history seriously. He wrote, "[I]t does not take a psychiatrist to discern that the denial of inherited, corporate guilt is a symptom of it. That, of course, points further still to the fact that corporate guilt is a pathological state, a condition of profound disorientation, and even a kind of moral insanity."

Stringfellow's words touch the deeply moral and spiritual call to white folks that

reparations embodies. Any benefits that have come to us through the history of race have led to our dehumanization and moral malformation. The ethical realities that constituted the genesis of race will continue to bear down on our lives spiritually and morally until we make a choice to turn and face that history. This state might tempt us to the paralysis of despair, but movements for reparations offer us a different option.

So, what might happen if we each undertook an examination of our family's economic and social origins and history in this nation? What if we chose to explore, in concrete terms, the past role of our church or denomination in issues of race, unjust enrichment, white supremacy? Might it be that the moral and spiritual impact of such activities would open possibilities for concrete response and redress that we could not even begin to imagine from the place in which we now sit? Might a first step of opening ourselves to understanding more deeply the history of race be an act of justice seeking hope that could help us to locate a new path — one that moves toward true racial justice - a path so many of us agree that we need?

Metanoia — to repent — means to change direction, to turn from the brokenness of sin and evil and to choose a radically different life way - a way of life. It is in the context of the life-giving call of repentance that movements for reparations invite those of us who are white to journey into moral sanity and re-formation. Reparations calls us to choose to be human and to be made whole: first, by issuing the challenge to stalwartly face the history we have inherited and in which our lives are embedded; then, by offering tools with which to refuse the malforming ease of perpetuating those legacies which have come to us from the past. They invite us, instead, to change direction by repairing the harm that has been done, and in the process create a different present and future. The challenge of reparations is the hard journey of moral and spiritual transformation: a call to white people - as Baldwin would put it - "to do our first works over."



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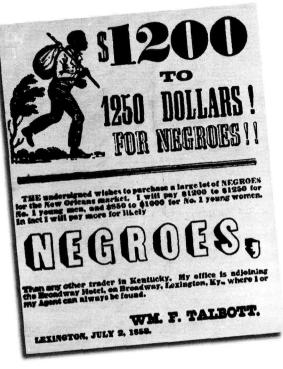
From the editors of *Sojourners* magazine

www.sojo.net

A NEW SYSTEM

The church's response to the call for reparations can begin with resistance to the prison-industrial complex

by Rima Veselv



Slavery is being practiced by the system under the cover of law. ... Slavery 400 years ago, slavery today; it's the same thing, but with a new name. They're making millions and millions of dollars enslaving blacks, poor whites and others – people who don't even know they're being railroaded.

— Ruchell Magee (a political prisoner)

TITH THE CALL for reparations sounding from the black intellectual left voice of American politics, a crisis within the African-American community has been exposed. Poverty rates remain high, the quality of education and health care remains low, and the underground economy functions as one of few financial options within destitute neighborhoods. Aggressive police forces continue to racially profile people of color and minimum drug laws instituted by state lawmakers across the country have resulted in a prison-industrial complex that now incarcerates more than two million people. Fifty-one percent of inmates are African Americans and most are convicted of non-violent crimes. With states and corporations profiting from the labor of inmates, another system of slavery has been put into place - this time behind prison bars.

Reparations, therefore, is both a call for financial compensation for four hundred years of historical slavery and a call for response against the new system under which slavery now operates. The mass of people caught up within the prison system has become fodder for profit, and the prison industry is aptly termed "slavery" within black political circles. Denied rights, bargaining power and visibility, inmates within the prison-industrial complex work for the state or corporations in a country that instituted the Thirteenth Amendment, which outlawed slavery but did not outlaw forced labor for convicts. (The amendment reads: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.")

State politicians use prisons as a growth industry, instituting legislation that upholds minimum drug law sentences, therefore providing jobs for small-town communities as well as an extensive labor pool for both state and corporate entities. In a *New York Times* article written in August 2001, journalist David Rohde wrote: "New York's sprawling 70-facility, \$2.4-billion-a-year prison system pours hundreds of millions of dollars into the upstate economy each year. ... Corrections officers' salaries start at \$33,000 and rise to \$48,000 in 20 years."

Corporations such as Westinghouse, Sprint, MCI, Smith Barney, American Express, General Electric and Corrections Corporation of America use prison labor, paying inmates anywhere from 23 to 65 cents per hour. Prison laborers are unable to have union protection, bargaining power, rights to organize or strike, file a grievance of complaint, circulate an employee petition or newsletter or call meetings.

How do Christians who call themselves the Body of Christ respond?

As a young African-American woman who has come into the Episcopal Church

SLAVERY) F

Permission required for reuse and publication its urgency as the computer I type upon. Episcopal liturgy brings all of us into a spiritual realm that calls us to recognize the invisible of our society, an inner space in which we are reminded of Christ's anguish and passion for the outcast of his times. The reality of suffering that Christ entered and made visible compels the church, as the Body of Christ, into a political movement that seeks to manifest the very actions of Christ in the work of repairing and restitution. God is found not only at the Copyright 2020. Archives of the Episcopal Church / DFMS. altar, but as the radical Anglican theologian William Stringfellow writes, also in the profane, difficult, violent world which is inseparable from sacramental worship. Stringfellow's theology, which he calls "the theology of the Incarnation," begins with Christ's presence in an unredeemed world. Stringfellow writes that "When a congregation gathers in sacramental worship, the members of the Body are offering the world to God, not for his sake, not for their own sake, but for the sake of the world, and the members then and there celebrate God's presence in the world, and on behalf of the world, even though that world does not yet discern his presence."

after years in movement politics, this

question stands before me, as visible in

The response of the church in the movement for reparations begins with the recognition of the invisible within our society: misunderstood, denied, perceived as a threat to the status quo. The Body of Christ is compelled to reach out to every person rejected by society, those whom Christ himself sought out and loved, healed and repaired. The repara-

tions movement is essentially founded upon the same actions of healing and repairing the overwhelming violence done to people of African descent. And thus the reparations movement is essentially a religious movement, in which the church as the visible Body of Christ is able to have an essential and critical voice. The boldness of Christians during the abolitionist movement and the civil rights movement paved the way for modern-day boldness and moral critique of slavery within the reparations movement. Those whom Christ called his disciples to reach out to and recognize in our times are found behind bars, degraded and dehumanized, exploited for profit, invisible, voiceless. They are precisely the ones that the church is called to free.

Freedom must occur on a multitude of levels. The sophisticated political analysis grounding the reparations movement reveals the interlocking systems of oppression that maintain this system of slavery behind prison bars. In present times, whole communities are devastated by the drug trade and minimum drug law sentences. Thus the cycle of devastation begun with chattel slavery continues. A study done by Harvard professor Lawrence Bobo found that in 1998 there was less than ten cents in a black household for every one dollar in a white household.

This fight against financial destitution and modern-day slavery is our civil rights movement, and it is intimately connected with the movement for reparations. In pragmatic, concrete ways, Christians can rally against racist minimum drug laws and growth-industry

prison building, oppose legislators who stake their campaigns on aggressive community policing, and form networks with organizations committed to direct care of inmates. Thus there exists a multitude of means by which churches can support the political campaign begun by the black left.

Reparations for communities

Individuals who oppose the reparations movement point out the difficulty of providing reparations to individuals. Yet the connections between historical slavery, racism, poverty and current levels of incarceration cannot be ignored. Thus while the government may logistically argue against reparations for individuals, clearly reparations for communities of African Americans living in impoverished neighborhoods will support schools, health care facilities, housing, job training, and employment opportunities.

While calling for investment into low-income communities, Christians are taking a stand against the poverty fueling the drug trade, which directly feeds the prison-industrial complex. Far beyond duty, becoming part of this movement is essentially how we understand our identity as the Body of Christ. As we take part in the Eucharist, we become part of one another and become part of the risen Christ, who in breaking bread, disappeared from the sight of his followers. We are Christ's followers today, and as we live Christ's absence into presence, we too are the Body called upon to repair and heal by rallying against slavery and supporting the call for reparations.

MORAL ARGUMENTS

The credibility of South Africa's TRC is at stake by Michael Lapsley, S.S.M., and Karin Chubb

THE TRUTH and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) came into being in 1995 as part of a negotiated settlement to ensure a peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa. It was a moral response to the evil of apartheid. South Africa's Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of May 1995 gave a mandate to the TRC to, *inter alia*, make recommendations for reparations to



Michael Lapsley, S.S.M.

victims of human rights violations. In October 1998 the TRC presented its Final Report to then-President Nelson Mandela. However, at that time the amnesty hearings had not been completed, so the "final report" was not complete. The stillawaited codicil includes an amnesty report, a brief paragraph about each person declared to be a victim, and final comments on the amnesty report. The TRC Final Report's recommendations on Reparations and Rehabilitation had five components:

• Urgent interim reparations. These included limited financial assistance of approximately 2,500 rand (the South African rand is currently trading about 11 to 1 on the U.S. dollar) each for those in urgent need. These have been paid out.

• Individual reparation grants in the form of financial grants to individual victims. Each victim of a gross human rights violation should receive a financial grant of between 17 to 23,000 rand per year for six years.

• Symbolic reparation/ legal and administrative measures. These could include national days of remembering and reconciliation, the erection of memorials and monuments, and the development of museums.

• Community rehabilitation programs. Services and activities aimed at promoting the healing and recovery of individuals and communities affected by human rights violations.

• Institutional reforms. Legal, administrative and institutional measures designed to prevent the recurrence of human rights abuses.

The integrity of the entire TRC and, particularly, its credibility as a moral force hinges on the reparations issue. The Act itself allows only for restorative justice and prevents other forms of justice once amnesty has been granted. Normally, when people use the word "justice" they mean "retribution." In the case of the TRC, those granted amnesty will not experience retributive justice, as they may not be criminally or civilly prosecuted — the Act takes away the individual victims' normal rights to pursue justice through the courts and to achieve such reparations or at least such satisfaction as may be possible in the criminal justice system.

However, their victims or the victims' relatives will regain a measure of their dignity through the ways in which the TRC has respectfully acknowledged the truth of what happened to them and the wrong that was done to them — and through the different forms of reparation which have been recommended. Under the Act, the victims and survivors have to trust that the moral commitment made by the State when it established the TRC will indeed be honored by the implementation of a comprehensive and effective reparations policy.

It is important, in the light of subsequent events and arguments put forward by the government to justify its delays on reparations, to understand that victims and survivors came forward on an individual basis. The government has spoken

principle to the assumption by the State of the burden" (Azanian People's Organization and others v. President of the Republic of South Africa and oth-However, many more chose to tell their stories before the Commission and they thus accepted the possibility

FOR REPARATIONS

ers [SA] 671 1996).

that those who were guilty of inflicting gross human rights violations might be granted amnesty - in return for nothing more than telling the whole truth. Why were people who had already suffered so much then ready to trust the TRC process to such an extent? One reason is the human need to tell the story and to have its truth acknowledged by the wider society. Another is the hope of finally hearing the whole truth in the amnesty procedures. But yet another reason must surely lie in the nature of the new state

itself. Here, at last, the democratic government was in power that they had longed for and in whose cause so many of their loved ones had suffered and died. Here, at last, was a government that would restore justice that had so long been denied to most of this country's people.

Apartheid's legacy: a damaged society

The establishment of the TRC was one important force in the moral reconstruction of a damaged society. It was one major pillar of the "bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterized by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights ..." (Final Report vol.1, ch.5, p.103).

It is important to see that while the apartheid system benefited some and deprived the majority, it also damaged the moral fiber and integrity of the entire nation.

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Not common guilt but common responsibility

The TRC dealt with all who came before it on an equal basis. Both perpetrators and victims from all sides of the conflict had the right to appear as individuals. The perpetrators had the benefit of legal counsels to argue their case. The victims had the recognition of being heard — and the prospect of reparations. The balance is a crucial one for the moral legitimacy of the TRC and there is a consequent moral responsibility by the State and by the nation as a whole.

The breadth of the hearings in both the HRV and the Amnesty Committees makes it impossible to shift responsibility for all violations onto a few major criminals. While the broader oppression of apartheid was not a focus of the TRC, it did become clear through the public hearings that evil was done on a broad scale — and in the future, no South African can ever claim not to know.

This raises the issue of guilt and acknowledgment. The German philosopher Karl Jaspers defines moral guilt as wide-ranging and including criminal, political and military actions as well as indifference and passivity (The Question of German Guilt, New York, The Dial Press). He goes on to suggest that it is only the acceptance of culpability which provides the opportunities for a new

grounds that many millions of South Africans were victims of apartheid. Relatives of victims, survivors and perpetrators appeared before the TRC as individuals. To recognize the individuality of the one by granting him (we do not know of any women applicants) amnesty for human rights violations (HRV) and not of the other — by relegating their legitimate individual surely undermines the law on which the Commission is founded. If this is upheld, it will have tragic consequences in terms of trust in the law.

against individual reparations on the

Why were victims and survivors prepared to trust the TRC?

In some cases, deep misgivings and hostility were expressed and some families and survivors refused to come forward to testify before the TRC. They did not want the perpetrators to have the chance to apply for amnesty and thus escape the legal consequences of their actions.

AZAPO (The Azanian People's Organization) and others went to the Constitutional Court to argue that the granting of amnesty would violate the constitutional right to justice. Although the case was dismissed, Judge Didcott pointed out that "Reparations are usually payable by States, and there is no reason to doubt that the postscript envisages our own State shouldering the national responsibility for those. It therefore does not contemplate that the State will go scotfree. On the contrary, I believe, an actual commitment on the point is implicit in its terms, a commitment in

national beginning. In terms of the moral trajectory of the TRC, this shifts the responsibility of acknowledgment to the nation as a whole. We are required to accept responsibility for the history of which we are a part.

In a surprising application to the TRC's Amnesty Committee, a group of young black people applied for amnesty for "apathy." In their application they argued "that we as individuals can and should be held accountable by history for our lack of necessary action in times of crisis, that none of us did all of what we could have done to make a difference in the anti-apartheid struggle, that in exercising apathy rather than commitment we allow(ed) others to sacrifice their lives for the sake of our freedom and an increase in the standard of living" (copy of the original application).

Whether the TRC will make a lasting contribution toward moral reconstruction and renewal in South Africa hinges on two factors: the acceptance of responsibility for the past, especially by those who benefited from apartheid, and the formulation and implementation of an effective reparations policy. According to the laws the government itself has passed, the latter is the responsibility of the State.

One of the failures of the TRC process was that, on the whole, the white community did not engage with it. A clear reparations policy formulated and administered by the State but involving all sectors of civil society would open constructive ways in which we could, indeed, "take responsibility for our history."

What if the State fails?

It must be stressed that all who testified before it also understood that within the TRC process there was the obligation to recommend reparations. Expectations were raised by commissioners themselves in many of the HRV hearings, when victims were asked what they would like the TRC to do for them. Unfortunately, many victims and survivors did not and do not realize that the obligation for reparations does not rest with the TRC but with the State. The TRC has been criticized and even vilified for not achieving something which, from the outset, it was neither empowered nor designed to accomplish.

If there are no effective reparations, the question will be asked as to who benefited from the TRC. Apart from the staff of the commission and highly paid lawyers, it is mainly the perpetrators who will have benefited. From the beginning, the amnesty provisions created the suspicion that the TRC would favor perpetrators rather than victims — on all sides of the past conflicts. Already, the treatment of perpetrators has deepened the anger and pain of victims. Many feel that the condition of proportionality has not been taken into account sufficiently, or that the truth as they saw it or knew it had not been told. Credible and satisfactory reparations would help to address that anger now. If there are no reparations, or if there continue to be only minimal tokens, the judgment of history will indeed be that the TRC was a perpetrator-friendly exercise.

Enormous damage would be done, at all levels, to the trust in a new democracy and to any faith in the rule of law.

If the State fails, comparisons will be made between a defense budget of 32 billion rand and an individual reparations budget estimated at 5 billion. Under apartheid, defense and security spending overrode all other concerns. Are we heading down that road again?

If the State fails, there will be disastrous longer-term consequences. The TRC will have left not so much a legacy of reconciliation but a community of embittered and angry people. The inversion of justice and moral order which we inherited from the apartheid era would continue. It would be a moral tragedy for all South Africans if the Truth and Reconciliation Commission were to go down in history as a perpetratorfriendly exercise.

We can do no better than to quote from the moral argument put forward in the Reparation and Rehabilitation Policy of the TRC's Final Report:

"If we are to transcend the past and build national unity and reconciliation, we must ensure that those whose rights have been violated are acknowledged through access to reparation and rehabilitation. While such measures can never bring back the dead, nor adequately compensate for pain and suffering, they can and must improve the quality of life of the victims of human rights violations and/or their dependants. (...) Without adequate reparation and rehabilitation measures, there can be no healing and reconciliation" (Final Report vol.5, chapter 5, pp.174, 175).

In November of 1998, the recommendations for Final Reparations were made to the State. By September of 2002 the South African Government had not yet stated its response and intended course of action with regard to implementing Final Reparations. The government appears to be waiting for the release of the codicil, which has been delayed until January 2003 due to a court challenge by political opposition leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

MORE INFORMATION

One way that people around the world can support the campaign for reparations in South Africa is to write to our government. Letters urging the implementation of reparations should be sent to:

TRC PRESIDENT'S FUND FOR REPARATIONS

c/o Mr. F. Hoosen Department of Justice Private Bag X81 Pretoria 0001, South Africa

More information about the reparations issue can be obtained from

THE INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION www.ijr.org.za

THE CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE AND RECONCILIATION www.csvr.org.za

THE HOME TO ALL CAMPAIGN www.hometoall.org.za

THE MOVEMENT FOR REPARATIONS

The movement for reparations in the U.S. to repair the damage of slavery's legacy has grown considerably over the past two years. The highest profile effort has been a series of class action lawsuits filed across the nation in the past year, and a group of prominent African-American lawyers, scholars and artists, led by Harvard law professor Charles Ogletree, is in the process of launching several more. These lawsuits target corporations whose wealth was acquired, in part, through profit from the slave trade (suits against Aetna, Fleet Boston, and CSX Railroads are already in litigation).



A candlelight vigil for reparations in Durban, South Africa (September 2001)

Voices for reparations are resounding in legislative halls, too. The Chicago City Council, which already passed a resolution calling for federal payment of reparations, is now considering an ordinance that would mandate companies to disclose whether they profited from slave labor before they are eligible for city contracts. At the national level, U.S. Representative John Conyers (D-MI) has introduced a bill every year since 1989 calling for Congressional hearings on the nature and impact of slavery and post-slavery discrimination. And on August 17, 2002, the "Millions for Reparations March" was held in Washington D.C. The march was sponsored by the Durban 400 — a coalition formed in late 2001 after the UN World Conference Against Racism — and publicity flyers read "You Owe US!"

The reparations movement has also visibly grown in religious communities. Several mainline U.S. Protestant denominations have recently made statements about racism and reparations. Examples include:

- In July 2001, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the United Church of Christ (UCC) passed a resolution calling individual churches, conferences and associations to be educated about the historical evils of the slave trade and its legacy. It addressed "the pernicious and selfperpetuating distrust and fear that continues to feed the sin of racism and its fruits of inequality and injustice," and called for the creation of educational materials.
- In October 2002, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) further called on the U.S. government to issue a national apology to people of African descent for slavery.
- In 2001, the Tulsa Metropolitan Ministry (an interfaith coalition in Tulsa, Okla.), addressed the sensitive topic of a deadly race riot in 1921 which destroyed the city's Greenwood neighborhood, an African-American community. The Ministry has initiated reparation payments to the 131 survivors of the riot, distributing a total of just over \$28,000. The Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) contributed \$20,000 of the sum.
- In 2002, the Presbyterian Church (USA) passed a resolution creating two task forces to study reparations. The first will review "reparations for African Americans, Native Americans and Alaskan Natives, Asian Americans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and others who have experienced significantly disparate treatment." The



An impromptu press conference at the UN World Conference Against Racism calls for reparations for people of African descent.

second will specifically address the disenfranchisement of African Americans. Both are to prepare reports by 2004.

Two resolutions are being proposed to the Episcopal Church's 74th General Convention in Minneapolis, Minn., in July 2003. One, from the Diocese of California, calls for the church to formally support Rep. Conyers' bill in Congress (known as HR-40, see above). The second would issue a formal apology for the church's role in supporting the institution of slavery, and would set aside a percentage of the church's national budget as dedicated scholarship monies for the education of the descendants of slaves.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

THE BLACK RADICAL CONGRESS is a key organization in the U.S. reparations movement. Contact the BRC to find out how to get involved. www.blackradicalcongress.org

Compiled by Jennifer Harvey and Ethan Flad

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publication

and

THEATER ABOUT LOVE

Mosaic Youth Theater — a place, unlike school, where it's okay to be different: loud, or gay or talented



Members of the Mosaic Youth Theater troupe in performance.

N AN ECHO-FILLED BUILDING near the Detroit River, on the grounds of a fort last in use in the War of 1812, a group of teenagers is rehearsing a play about "love, hate and rhythm." Although their troupe, Mosaic Youth Theater, bills itself as "multicultural," most of the kids are African American; a few are white.

Mosaic tackles the big subjects, the hard ones. The company's play "Crossing 8 Mile" was about the divide between black Detroit and its white suburbs. Last year's "2001 Hastings Street" was set in Detroit's famed Black Bottom community in the 1940s, when segregation colored everything — or did it? This year's "HeartBEAT" looks at love and hate (and rhythm) in all their dimensions, from teenage crushes to societal prejudice.

To warm up, director Andrew Strickland gets the kids moving: "Gentlemen, you are the Titanic. Ladies, you are an iceberg." The kids climb on each other's backs, lie on the floor, belly to someone else's shins. Both during the exercises and when they're just standing around talking, their normal teenage exuberance and desire to show off is increased by their theatricality and lack of inhibition.

Andrew gives feedback: "You need to follow through till I say 'freeze.' Don't fall apart into silliness. You do great work — you're too good not to tie it up with a bow. You grab the audience from the beginning — you need to take the same skills and apply them all the way through to the end."

To sharpen their audition skills, each member must perform a monologue from Shakespeare. "Want is at the basis of every human action," Andrew coaches them. "You don't do a monologue 'happy' or 'sad.' That's the wrong question. You ask, 'What does my character want?'" What Andrew wants is a modern translation for each line.

Blending the modern and the classic is what Mosaic does. "Crossing Eight Mile," based on "A Comedy of Errors," was performed in 17th-century *commedia dell'arte* style, in exaggerated white masks. "Heart-BEAT" is very loosely based on one of Aristophanes' plays. "What Fools These Mortals Be!" was, of course, a version of "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

But every play gives the viewer an up-close and sometimes painfully personal look at what it's like to be a teenager, a black Detroit teenager in particular. Each cast member writes, anonymously, about events and feelings from their own lives. These stories are used in creating the plays. The love and the hate are so vivid, so specific, that the director sometimes takes pains to tell the audience, before a performance, that none of the

HATE AND HOPE

actors is playing his or her own story.

For some kids, Mosaic is a lifeline, a place, unlike school, where it's okay to be different: loud, or gay or talented. For others, it's a place to get the strokes that are in short supply at home. For all of them, it's a chance to learn what it means to be a professional. And, somehow, it's the act of putting on a play — becoming at the same time a fictional character and someone whom others can absolutely rely upon — that allows kids who've had nothing to believe in themselves. At Mosaic, the kids are encouraged to pursue their art after high school, but they're also told to always have a back-up plan, which begins with college.

A hundred artists — actors, singers and technicians make up the Mosaic ensemble. They have performed all over the U.S., including at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C. They have played in London and Singapore and were the U.S. representatives to the World Festival of Children's Theatre in Copenhagen. Actors interviewed for this story were Kizzmett Pringle, 16, Detroit; Lamar Davidson, 16, Detroit; Iman Milner, 14, Detroit; Shavonne Coleman, 16, Detroit; Jaazmine Parker, 16, Detroit; Carmen Phillips, 16, Lathrup Village; Lynniesha Ray, 15, Detroit; Ciarah Mosely, 12, Detroit; Jeffrey McCants, 17, Detroit; Jonathan Black, 14, Farmington Hills; Timothy Candela, 19, Detroit; Gabriel Doss, 14, Detroit.

I asked the actors whether being part of Mosaic had changed their lives.

Jeffrey: Going to a school like mine you deal with black males who want to be thugs, but they're really not, and females who want to act like they got attitudes all the time. Coming here, I don't have to deal with that. I don't like the whole thug thing.

Lynniesha: Because they're on all the time.

Jeffrey: Right. They act like they don't want to be in class and they don't want to be in school, and it's like, where you gonna get to after that? But here you got people with goals, who want to go to college, who want to succeed. So that's definitely changed my life.

Carmen: Me at the beginning of my first year of Mosaic and me at the end of my first year of Mosaic were two different things. Before Mosaic, I didn't really come into the city for anything. I live in Lathrup Village, bordering Birmingham. I mean, Shavonne's my girl now, but when I first came to Mosaic, I was like, "They're listening to what? And why are their shoes not tied? And what on earth is going on? And get me out of here."

For me, Mosaic opened my eyes. Like, now I listen to 105.9 [rap] instead of DRQ [pop]. I wish I could give that experience to everyone, just to let somebody else — not just a different racial culture, but a different culture than what you're used to, change who you are a little bit. Not change you, just make you better.

Jaazmine: Being at Mosaic made me grow up, because I was used to having everything my way or being the best at everything. Then when you get put into a group where everybody is the best at what they do, you have no choice but to grow up.

Timothy: It helps me in finding out who I am, helped me work on my character — my character in life, not just my character on stage.

Kizzmett: It's given me the opportunity to meet people I wouldn't have met. One of my better friends, he's a caucasian. In any other situation I might not have became so close to him and now I am, and for that, Mosaic just brings a joy into my life.

Jon: I used to have pretty much no friends at school. I always seemed to be the strange kid, the dramatic kid that no one would want to be around. Once I got here, everyone else was dramatic, so I just fit right in for once in my life. I can now feel more comfortable interacting with people at my school even though they aren't the same as me.

In "HeartBEAT" I was the character Hephaestus; the Roman name is Vulcan. I had no emotion through the entire show. You're a god, you're regal. But I could feel all this hate and the love from the other people on stage, although it was really just their energy, but I could feel it bouncing off of me and not being able to absorb any of it because it would affect my character. I sort of had to bounce it all off.

It reminded me that sometimes you can do that — if someone is giving you hate, you can just bounce it off. It's not the same as ignoring it, because you realize that you're gonna have to deal with it, but you're just not letting it get to you.

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When the cast prepared for "2001 Hastings Street," they were assigned to interview Detroiters who had been teenagers during the 1940s, when African Americans were a minority of the city's population. The play juxtaposes the daily humiliations of segregation with the sense of worth and place that came from living in a cohesive community.

Lynniesha: We had a lot of blunt stories about racism. I had a monologue in the play about working at an army factory and a white manager followed me, he'd tell me to lift this crate. He said, "Don't you know you colored girls are mules for us white people?" Me personally, I've never really experienced harsh racism, but I was like "Ohhhh, okay, I didn't know it was like that." Once you get a big dump on you for the first time, it's like "Ohhh-kay, so now you put something in my mouth that I just had a nice taste of."

Gabriel: There was basically two parts of town, which was Black Bottom and Hastings St., which was majority African American. And the rest of Detroit was majority caucasian-populated back then. We came to the realization that even though there was so much segregation back then, in the group that we were portraying, the Y-Gs [a community youth group] - it wasn't necessarily racism all the time. Because while they were still teenagers they had friends that were of other races. The YGs had black and white participants. They all got along. But as the play progressed they did get into some issues about "You can't go on this side of town," or "You can go in the theater, but you have to sit in the balcony."

I say it got more intense as they became adults, because when I interviewed the people, they were like, "Yeah, before we got arrested by the police, or before we had this experience, we were best of friends, but a lot of stuff changed when we got older."

Jaazmine: One thing I noticed was that there was a difference between races, but more so than the different races there was a distinction between classes. It didn't matter if you were poor, all the poor kids hung together. The majority of all the poor kids might have been African American, but it's like, you live with me, you live around me, we're just alike except our skin color is different, so I'm going to embrace you.

Lamar: It was different the way they obeyed their parents and people who were older than them. I think now there's a lot of disrespect for adults in the fashion that, "She's not my mama" or "He's not my mama" and "I'm not going to listen to them because they're not my mama." But back then, hey, if you did something wrong, not only were you going to get a whipping when you got home, but the people who you come across in your daily fashion will whip you too. And I think that's how they came together as a family.

Kizzmett: When we first got the script and we saw how racism was, it made me appreciate everything that my grandparents and their grandparents went through so I could be friends with this person and I could eat at the same facility with this person. It opened my eyes to all the struggles that came before me and how blessed I am now.

The kids know that much has changed in regard to racism, but then, they wonder, how much?

Lynniesha: I'm in an activity at school called forensics. It's the Scholastic Forensics Association. To go to a suburban area of white schools — it's gorgeous, they have so much stuff that we don't have.

Still, my school, DSA, is known for having the best team in the state because we have a lot of really good drama and speech kids. I remember somebody saying, "Oh, you know DSA always wins because they do those black pieces." I'm like, "Why can't you see the concept of the piece more so than the color behind it?" Excellent work is excellent work regardless. That sort of shocked me.

Kizzmett: I wouldn't let myself go to a historically black college and only let myself be exposed to what I already know, which is African Americans. But on the other hand, any other college that I go to is going to be predominantly white and I'm going to find racism.

My parents were telling me that when I go into the work world it's going to be that way, too. I'm going to have to deal with racism. Probably not as blunt as it was back then, but it's going to be there.

I have to realize that I live in a white

world. Specifically, with the field that I want to go into, engineering, that's a white male world. That's just the way it is. Things are not going to change.

Jeffrey: As far as racism goes, you see it every day. I may live in a mostly black community, but I can go to a white-owned store, or any store, and they're afraid of black people. They're afraid that I might try and steal something. I went to a video store once, and this wasn't even a white guy, it was an Arab, and he came out of his hole, his bulletproof protection, just to make sure I didn't steal anything, and then told me to get out. It's not even white people anymore, it's everybody.

Ciarah: Same thing about people of your own color — in my school, they talk about me because I'm a little bit darker than the rest of the people. They say "Oh you darky" and all the rest of this crap. We go to an African-centered school, and it makes absolutely no sense. They always talking about girls: "Oh, I want me a light-skinned girl with long hair." There's so much selfhatred in them, and culture hatred.

Shavonne: With "Crossing 8 Mile," we confronted the stereotypes. It was a lot of stereotypes that I didn't realize were stereotypes, I just thought them to be true. There was the funny ones like "black people like chicken." Or all people from the suburbs talk a certain way. All people from the city wear baggy clothes, even the girls. Or everyone in the suburbs was named Becky. The play helped me realize that I was stereotyping and it helped open me up.

Jaazmine: This was used as one of the monologues in "HeartBEAT": I remember the whole time I was growing up, I always said I was either going to go to medical school or into law. The school that I used to go to, a really suburban Christian school, my teachers and my principals all the time used to sit me down: "Well, it's nice to have high dreams, but I really don't think you're going to accomplish that, so maybe you should aim a little lower, like what about nursing school?" They used to come to me: "Oh, you're so outgoing — have you ever thought about going into entertainment? That seems like it would suit you perfectly."

When I was little I was educated on things like the minstrel show, and I felt that was

how they displayed African Americans in the school I was at. You weren't good enough to be in their academic games. African Americans were good enough to be in their choirs and to be put up on stage to sing and act stupid and entertain the audience. And I really, really did not agree with that.

We got no kind of education about different African Americans. Black History Month was like "What?" in our school. Every year in our heritage book we had this very small paragraph that said there were slaves, Abraham Lincoln freed them, couple years later Martin Luther King came along and said you weren't free and then he got shot. And that was it.

In 'HeartBEAT,' an African American girl talks about her brother's 'racial profiling' of Arab Americans.

Lamar: I think after September 11 there was a lot of hypocrisy going on. Blacks were always being profiled — say you walk in a store, the manager's always looking at you because they think you're going to steal something. After September 11 the Arabs were getting profiled, and I think blacks forgot what it was like to actually go through it. They were like "Oh, watch her, watch him, they're Arabic," instead of how it felt to be profiled when you were black.

Iman: I don't think it's right to say, "Well, this one person did it so everybody is like that." Because there are Arab people that live around me, and I go to their houses and eat with them. I'm not like, "Oh, just because you're an Arab you must be related to Osama bin Laden." I wouldn't want to be treated like that. And that's what everybody has worked so hard for — to not be treated that way.

Shavonne: One thing I noticed after September 11 is that everybody all of a sudden wanted to be careful about racial profiling.

There was a lot of stuff on the news about "They're our brothers" — they had all those commercials. I really appreciated the fact that everybody was so careful to try not to racial profile, but at the same time I kept thinking, well, when it was the blacks were getting racial profiled, I didn't see those commercials on the air talking about "They're our brothers." That struck me more than anything.

Jaazmine: I was watching the news and

they're saying not to do it. They're saying, "Arab Americans, that's how they are, don't act negatively toward them, because that's their culture." But at the same time, they're saying, "African Americans, the reason why this is happening to you — stop wearing the baggy jeans, stop having the tinted windows in your car, stop wearing your hats on backwards and stop this and stop this."

My thing is the freedom of expression. The way they're saying that African Americans should stop doing this and they won't get racially profiled, I think that's actually invading one of our civil rights, freedom of speech and freedom of expression. It's making them the victim. You're telling somebody to change who they are in order to accommodate you.

I asked whether, in a play about love and hate, there were rivalries among the cast members, jealousies or even hate. Or racism.

Iman: There are rivalries, but they're not big deals. It's always a sense of family. In a family there's certain uncles that you don't like being around and certain cousins that you're like, "Please don't come over to my house this weekend because I really cannot stand you sometimes." And that's how it is at Mosaic; you never hate them, you're just like, I don't want to be bothered with this person today.

Kizzmett: The few caucasian people that we have in Mosaic, we joke around and we're like, "Hey, what up, cracker?" It's taking something negative and changing it to a positive. The fact that we can do that with each other, I think it's a good thing. Of course you wouldn't go in public and say that, but while we're here ...

Tim: I don't think that there's people our age that look at color as much as our parents do. It gets old — that's all I have to say about racism. It gets old and it gets really disgusting.

Jaazmine: There's a bit of rivalry, but you know if anything goes wrong, they have your back, and that's a wonderful feeling. I remember during previews, there's a scene where we're all standing together and we were supposed to be frozen. I was rocking back on my heels, and I felt two people behind me, and one of them said, "I got you, don't worry about it. Just lean back on me and I have you." That is the best thing in the world, to know that somebody has your back — physically, mentally and everything else. Me and this person might not be the best of friends, but I know they have my back if something goes down.

Jeffrey: If you be in Mosaic you cannot hate anybody. I'm serious — you will quit and it will be a better company without you. I know a lot of people who have conformed. The biggest thing is homosexuality. It's not an issue, it's just a difference. Like I say, at my school, for example, with the thugs, it's all about being a man and if you're gay you ain't a man. If you are going to be in Mosaic with that mentality, you will not last.

You will not last in this company if you do not like white people. Our director is white. You cannot be in this company without being okay with a lot of things. It is too many different religions, so you can't be, "I'm Christian and my way is right. And I will conform you to my religion." You can't do that.

Jaazmine: One thing that people have always told me that you want to be judged on is nothing on your outside but the quality of the person you are. Like Dr. Martin Luther King said, the quality of your content. He had a dream of that, and to me Mosaic really is his dream. Because when you walk through these doors, I don't know anywhere else that it's like that - you aren't looked upon as what race you are or your gender or your sexual preference or the way you look, how long your hair is, what shade of skin you have, or anything else, your size, nothing. You are based on the quality of your content. Here you're not even based on how smart you are or where you come from; you're based on your talent, and not even so much your talent - how well you use your talent. Everybody still talks about Dr. King's dream, but to me Mosaic is living his dream.

You asked how can we bring the races together. Anybody that wants to see how people can coexist together from all different cultures, different backgrounds, bring them to Mosaic, because we are living proof of the fact that it can happen. There was nobody forcing us to do it, we had to do it on our own.

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