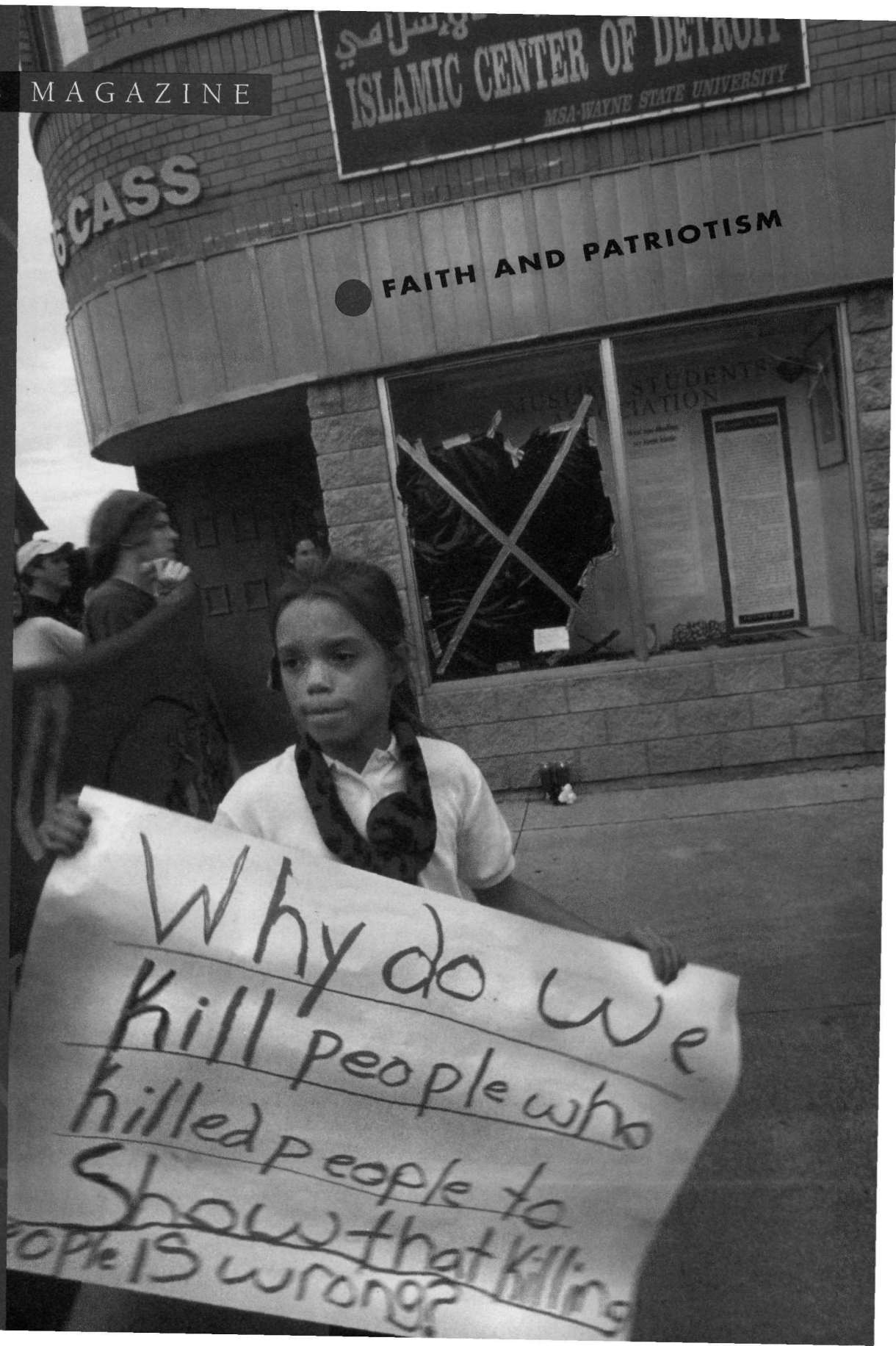
WITNESS MAGAZINE

Witness



FAITH AND PATRIOTISM

VOLUME 85
NUMBER 3
MARCH 2002

WITNESS MAGAZINE

on the cover

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

© Jim West 2001

VOLUME 85
NUMBER 3
MARCH 2002

FAITH AND PATRIOTISM

CONTENTS

Departments

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.

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.

The Witness

Editor/Publisher
Julie A. Wortman

Senior Editor
Jeanie Wylie-Kellermann

Associate Editor
Marianne Arbogast

Staff Writer
Camille Colatosti

Book Review Editor
Bill Wylie-Kellermann

Web Site Editor/Producer
Ethan Flad

Magazine Production
KAT Design, Camden, ME

Website Design
Jim Dugan

Development/Marketing
Wes Todd

Office Manager
Alice Devine

Development Initiatives
Pamela Darling

Controller
Roger Dage

Episcopal Church Publishing Co.
Board of Directors

President	Stephen Duggan
Vice-President	Harlon Dalton
Secretary	Anna Lange-Soto
Treasurer	John G. Zinn

Owanah Anderson, Richard Bower, Louie Crew, Jane Dixon, Ian Douglas, Mark MacDonald, Chester Talton, Mitsuye Yamada

Contributing Editors
Martin Brokenleg, Kelly Brown Douglas, Carmen Guerrero, Mary E. Hunt, Jay McDaniel, Bill Wylie-Kellermann

Subscriptions: $35 per year, $5 per copy. Foreign subscriptions add $20 per year.
Change of address: Third Class mail does not forward. Provide your new mailing address to *The Witness*.

Offices: To reach Julie Wortman:
HC 35 Box 647, Tenants Harbor, ME 04860
Tel: (207)372-6396.
To reach Wes Todd:
232 Main Street, Thomaston, ME 04861
Tel: (207)354-7041
Subscription questions — Alice Devine:
PO Box 1170, Rockport, ME 04856
Tel: (207) 763-2990

Website: www.thewitness.org

LETTERS

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

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

Our 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 well-being of children takes precedence in the drafting of laws and budgets. In this sense, I 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.

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

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 blood-and-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>.*

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.

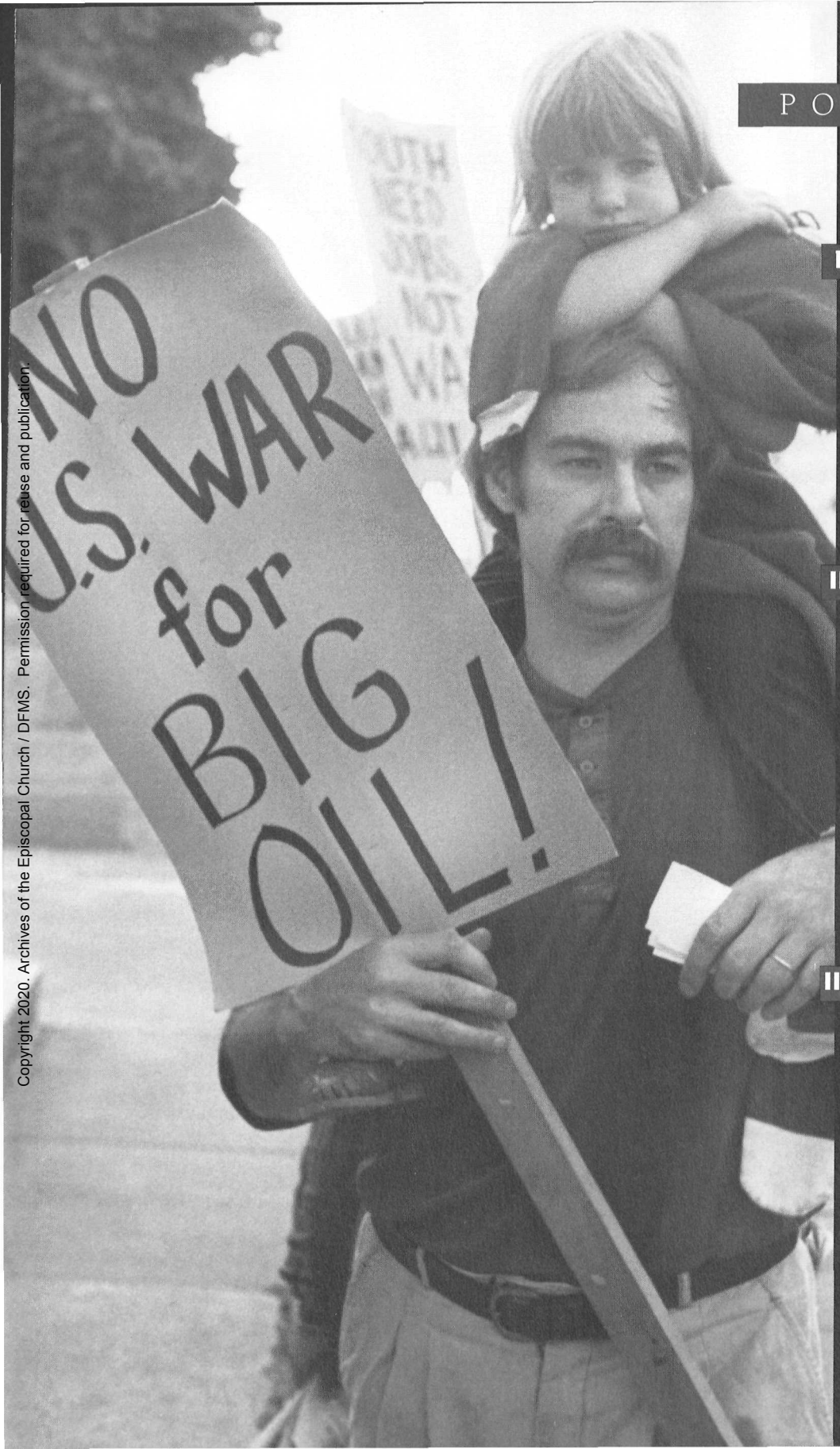
In many respects, the current atmosphere is heavy with its opposite. The pledge of American allegiance is held to be primary and definitive (even for multilateral partners). Patriotism is employed as a silencing mechanism against political critique and opposition. It may either dull or passionately stifle 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.*



POETRY

From the Republic of Conscience *by Seamus Heaney*

I

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.

II

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.

III

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.

GIVE PEACE A

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

An interview with Judith McDaniel by Bruce Campbell

Terry Foss

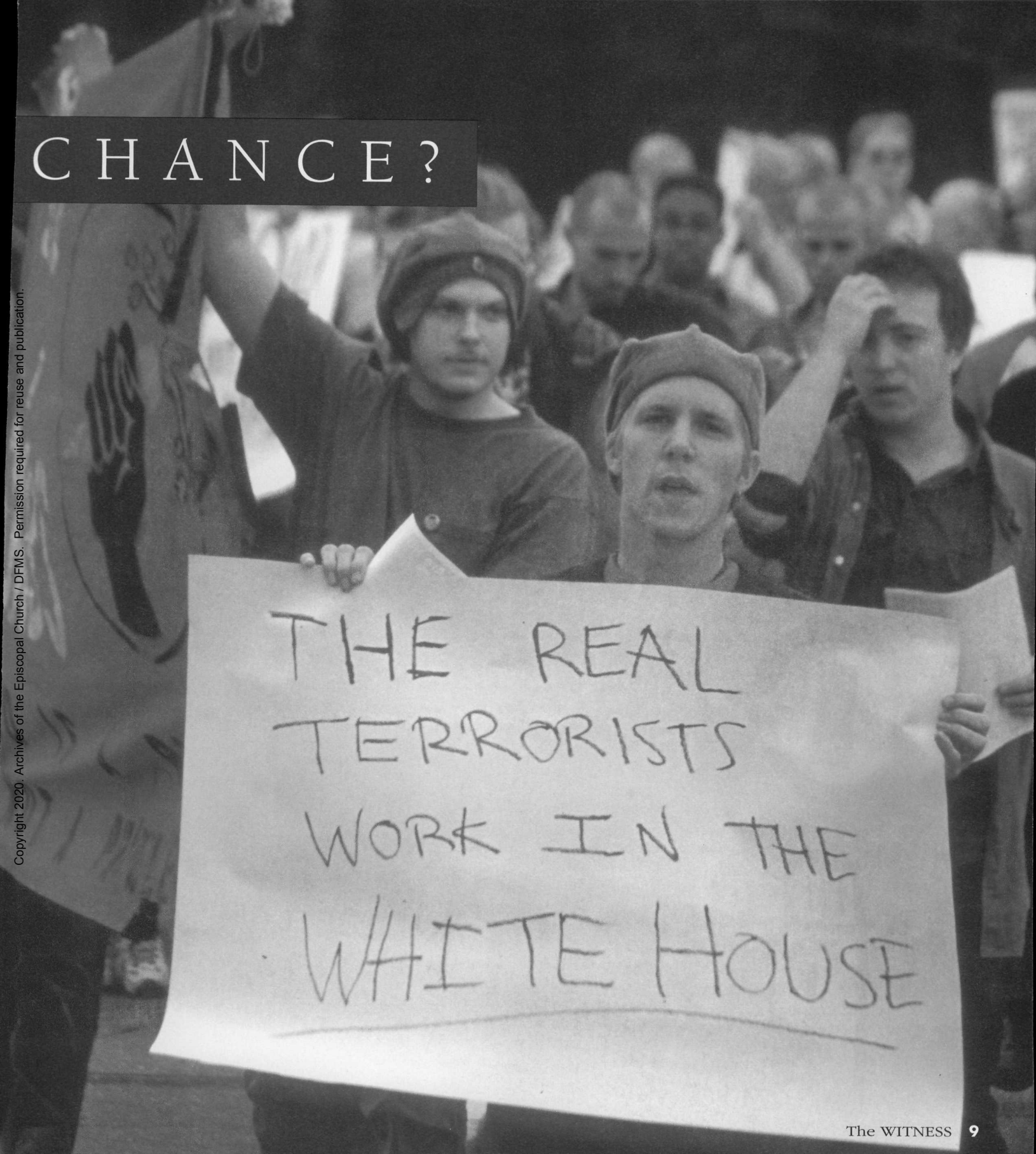
Judith McDaniel speaks at a Middle East consultation held at Earlham College in May, 2001. Opposite page: Demonstrators take to the streets at an anti-war rally in Detroit, September 17, 2001.

TO 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-

CHANCE?



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

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 the1960s 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?

LAST 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 war-making, 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 21st-century 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

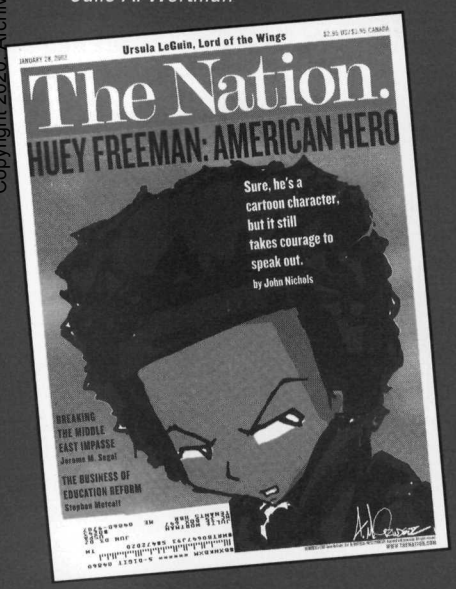
Move over, Garry Trudeau

The Nation's John Nichols reports that 27-year-old cartoonist Aaron McGruder's Huey 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 <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)

"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 Conyers. 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 AlterNet, The Guardian, or the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA).

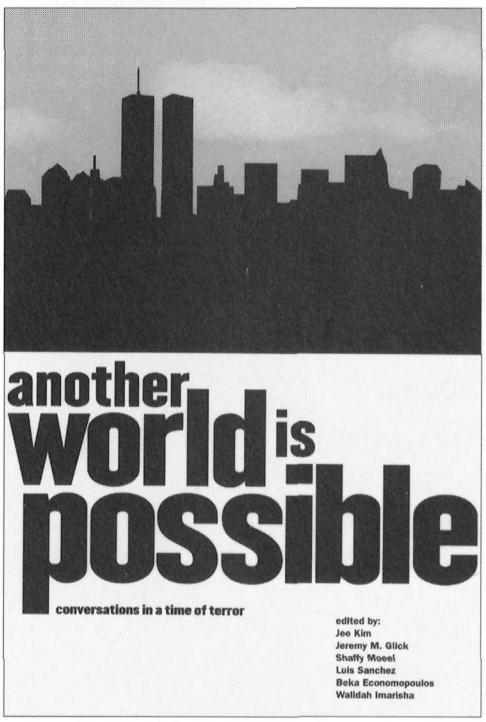
These writings and many others have been gathered into "Another World is Possible/ New World Disorder: Conversations in a Time of Terror," by a diverse group of six young editors, one of whom lost his father to the attack on the World Trade Center. In the book's foreword, Kofi Taha of the Active Element 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.

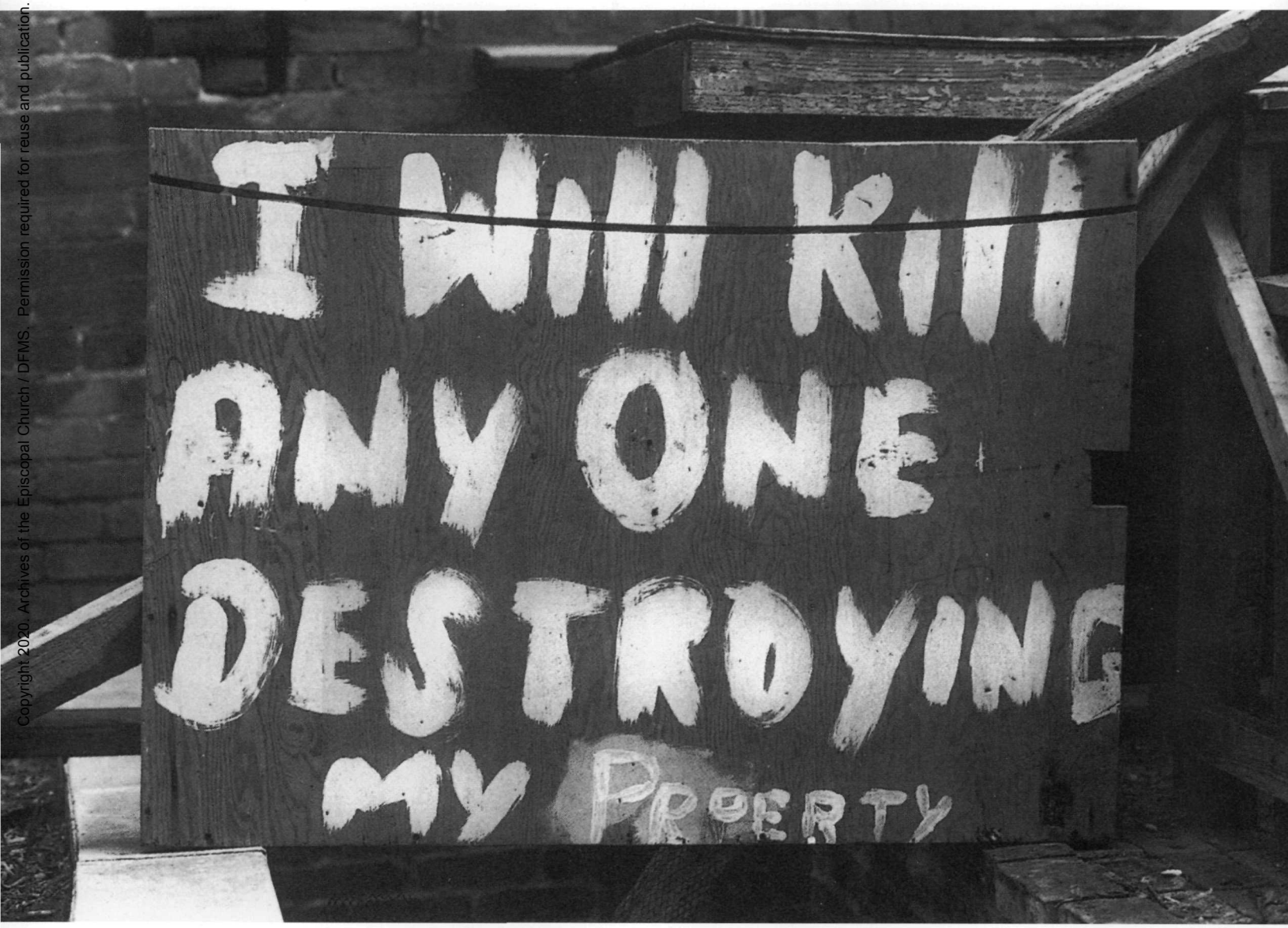
While some all-star names are featured in the text, I found the most moving selections to be the ones by four authors who had family members killed on September 11th. Taking the long view, each of these individuals called for a nonviolent response to the attacks. Together with an essay by Kathleen Pequeo, 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

IN 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 author for accepting American myths about the nobility of our wars and their motivations. I challenged his uncritical use of the term patriotism, which I called "perhaps the single most morally 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 outpouring 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 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 question for the U.S.-based peace movement, one that we cannot avoid after 9/11: Are we truly internationalist? Can we get beyond 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 in the end we are just Americans, if we cannot move beyond patriotism, then we cannot claim to be internationalists. And, if we are 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 uncom-

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-critical-engagement 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.

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.

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 positive 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.

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

IT'S HARDLY SURPRISING, in the wake of September 11, that patriotism should 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 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.

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

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

Don Burkholder

"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."

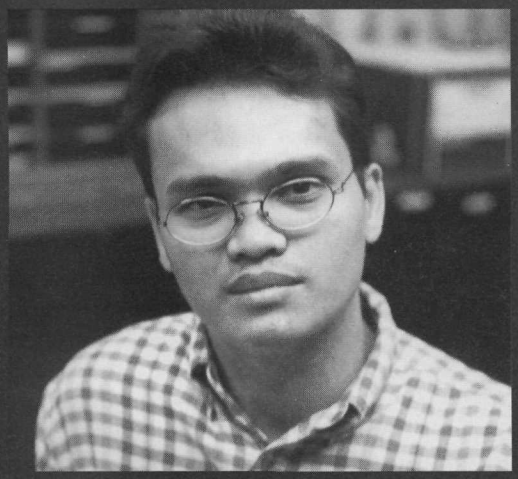
Borann, who is missing a couple of front teeth, doesn't look 17. A Tibetan once gave him a button of the Dalai Lama. Over it he affixed a button of Che Guevara. He admires both men, but he is less a Buddhist than a political activist.

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."

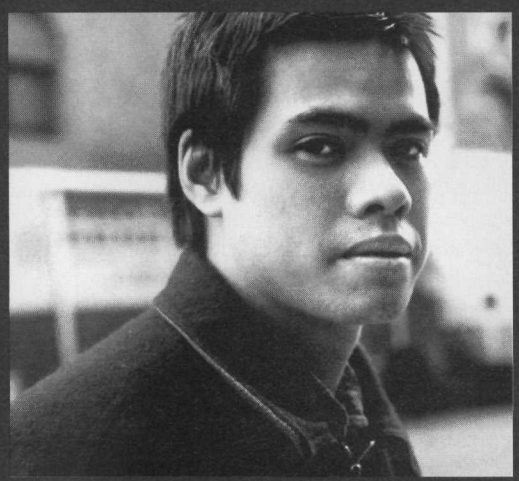
"How did you get involved with CAAAV?" I ask him.

"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, warm-hearted 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.

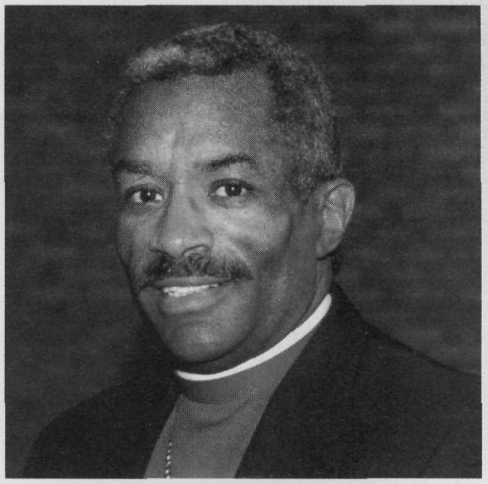
"The center," Tep tells me, "was built on a Khmer Rouge execution site. The Khmer Rouge used to kill people there who were trying to flee to Thailand." ●

Writer ***Robert Hirschfield*** *lives in New York City.*

Photos by Robert Hirschfield

The true power of a blessing

by Orris G. Walker, Jr.



WHEN 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 expressing 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

Photos by Ethan Flad

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."

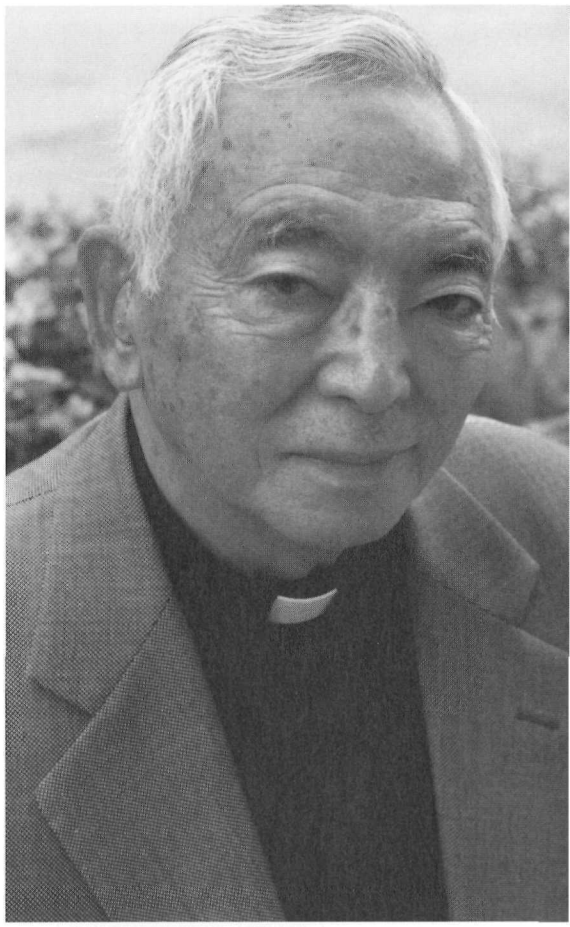
This emphasis on contextualizing conversations and building relationships rather than on completing a preordained business agenda was the greatest success of the gathering. It would have been hard for the diverse group to have built consensus on any of the issues, and the topic of the September 11th 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 "cost-benefit" 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.*



Michael Yasutake

1920–2001

EPISCOPAL 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.

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.thewitness.org/agw/yasutake.012302.html>.

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

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

— "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. ...

"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 terrorism. We are also committed to obeying the laws of our state. We can and will do both, because only in that way can we protect our nation, and preserve that which makes it worth protecting."

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 causes, 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." ●

CLASSIFIEDS

Order of Jonathan Daniels

An Episcopal religious community-in-formation for men and women; single, committed and married; living, working and ministering in the world; striving for justice and peace among all people. Write: Order of Jonathan Daniels, The Cathedral Church of Saint Luke, 143 State Street, Portland, ME 04101; <OrdJonDanl@aol.com>.

Donate your car

We teach the poor to fish so they may own the pond. Wilkinson Center Car Charity Program. Tax-deductible. FREE pick-up anywhere. 1-800-811-7192, ext. 206. www.wilkinsoncenter.org.

New York City © Catherine Steinmann

The Witness

The Witness Magazine
P.O. Box 1170, Rockport, ME 04856

ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. POSTAGE
P A I D
Permit No. 432
Portland, ME

Printed on Recycled Paper