WITNESS MAGAZINE **RESOURCE WARS**



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Mark Harris: Preparing Christians for war William Smalley: Blessings now Peter Selby: Refugee crisis rages in Europe Michael Klare: Merging terrorism and oil wars

WITNESS MAGAZINE

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on the cover An Iraqi Fidaiyun Saddam female volunteer marches with other volunteers in a military parade inside a camp August 15, 2002, in Baghdad, Iraq. The volunteers are preparing for a possible U.S. military offensive against their country. © Taha Al-Rubayyh/ **Getty Images**



BAGHDAD, IRAQ - AUGUST 7, 2002: American members of the Voices In The Wilderness humanitarian group stand in front of U.N. headquarters in Baghdad declaring the beginning of an open-ended fast for peace to protest any attack on Iraq. To find out more about Voices' nraq Peace Team see http://www.iraqpeaceteam.org (for Voices, see http://www.nonviolence.org/vitw or call 773-784-8065). Churches for Middle East Peace (http://www.cmep.org/) is another group advocating against a war in Iraq.
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Stop the fighting

All the fighting must simply stop.

Think it over.

That is the only solution.

Just stop.

We cannot talk about who did what when to whom anymore.

Any old words that will not reach total Peace are worthless words.

If you really want Peace and Love to happen. There is a new word.

The new word is 'STOP.'

It is the only way.

You cannot have Peace if you are keeping a 5,000-year-old tally.

The slate must be wiped clean and then the slate itself must be abandoned by all. We are human. We have all made mistakes. Who wants Peace really?

Is it you? Really? Then be rid of the slate. Stop. Simply stop. It is the only solution. Think it over. If you do not do this then you do not really want Peace. If you really want Peace then there is only one way to get it.

Stop. Otherwise you do not really want peace. Lift the human race up a few notches, one and all, once and for all time to come. Do you really want Peace? Really? Then you know what you must do.

Tom Renino Portland, ME

The Island of Lost Luggage

Ed. note: In the July/August 2002 issue we inadvertently deleted the last stanza of this poem. We regret the mistake and reprint it here in its entirety.

The Island of Lost Luggage Korean Airlines Disaster by Janet McAdams for Kevin McNiff

What breeze whispers when you step onto the black slate of the shore?

And what hooves pound the green valley beyond the flat beach? Caribou, you think,

or bison in the wild. A woman in aviator glasses

weaves through the cabanas — a tourist? you wonder

and join the queue from the 747, but you still hear

the roar of the missile, still feel the shock

of cold air. At the head of the line, a clerk hands you two sets of car keys, a single glove,

an unopened letter mailed so many years ago. Kevin, some things are lost forever,

and at the Island of Lost Luggage, they line up:

the disappeared, the lost children, the Earharts

of modern life. It's your bad luck to die in the cold

wars of certain nations. But in the line at Unclaimed

Baggage, no one mourns for the sorry world that sent them here. Memory fails

among these easy trees, beside this sheet of agate

water, where an Ivory Bill calls and calls ...

The clerk gestures to a room from your childhood.

Pick up your suitcase and go.

"The Island of Lost Luggage" from The Island of Lost Luggage, by Janet McAdams. © 2000 Janet McAdams.

Sometimes squirming

When I'm through, I send *The Witness* to my daughter. I appreciate your thought-provoking articles, even though they sometimes make me squirm!

Carol Wolff Tillamook, OR

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

Manuscripts: Writers and artists receive a response only when we are able to publish. Manuscripts will not be returned.

Preparing Christians for war

by Mark Harris

believe the deputies and bishops who will be representing the Episcopal Church at its 2003 General Convention next summer in Minneapolis must begin to discuss what, if anything, we will do or say given two realities related to the U.S. These gealities are: (1) that the U.S. is in a state of trimed, economic and political conflict with a range of persons, organizations and states on what is called a "war on terrorism," and 2) that the U.S. government seems determined to end the current regime in Iraq by whatever means necessary, including armed warfare. We must prepare ourselves and our church for a life and witness in a country at



war, a condition already present. This preparation is necessary no matter the actual character of the future conflict between the U.S. and Iraq or, more generally, the future occur-

gences of terrorist attacks or the actions of other states against the U.S., or our responses before or after such attacks.

I am asking for consideration of the folowing question: What can we as the Episcopal Church do or say to prepare Christians for life and witness in a country at war?

It may be a question already under discussion in various committees and commissions of the church, in Executive Council, among staff at the Church Center. Certainly some independent organizations related to the church have done so, and there has been past witness to these matters. But I believe the question needs also to be discussed by all of us called to be the church assembled in that very peculiar gift called General Convention, both now and in next summer's convention itself.

These are not easy times for such discussion. The government is calling for unity, and all questioners are seen as encouraging disunity. There is always the fear of being labeled unpatriotic, but we should not have a care for such fears. The issues are too large to be put aside because of a call for loyalty to the state, or even for harmony within the church. We must find ways to discuss this question and indeed come to common tasks and resolution. Not to do so is to fail the essentials of Christian life together.

Many of us have truly useful things to say. We all need to hear them.

I have a small suggestion: One of the lines of discussion toward knowing what to say and do to prepare us for life and witness in a country at war might be to raise the issue of the arrogance of power.

We in the faith know a lot about idolatry. One of the chief characteristics of idolatrous behavior is the arrogance of believing that God is ours — that we possess the Golden Calf, that our nation represents a chosen people, that we are the true church. The current realities, I submit, raise the specter of a U.S. unparalleled in its abilities to incarnate such arrogance of power. But we as deputies and bishops at the next General Convention will be called upon to stand with another Incarnation, one whose embrace is not arrogant at all.

Making that stand matters deeply. The time has come to begin talking about how.

TO LEARN MORE

The Episcopal Peace Fellowship is a community of Christians working and praying for peace. EPF is urging Anglicans worldwide to join its Campaign of Conscience for the Iraqi People:

www.epfonline.org Or contact EPF executive director, Jackie Lynn epfnational@ameritech.net or 312-922-8628

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Our new Witness Information Network site

CLASSIFIEDS

Free worship resources

Free worship resources for ending hunger. Each fall, thousands of parishes from all communions observe Bread for the World Sunday. FREE bulletin inserts, preaching helps, and prayers are available by calling 1-800-82-BREAD (1-800-822-7323) or visit the Bread for the World website: <www.bread.org>.

Order of Jonathan Daniels

An Episcopal religious community-incanonical-formation of brothers and sisters; single, partnered and married; either livingin-community or living independently; striving for justice and peace among all people. Contact: Order of Jonathan Daniels, The Cathedral Church of Saint Luke, 143 State Street, Portland, ME 04101; OrdJonDanl@aol.com; 207-775-5851.

October 2002

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As we went to press...

This news digest was prepared by Witness news editor, Pat McCaughan.

British 'virtual' church questions new archbishop, aims outside pew

In a novel approach to outreach, a 'virtual church' in the United Kingdom is using a website to try to tap into the teens and twenties generation. The website, available at www.church.co.uk has also posted a quote from Rowan Williams as a 'hot topics' invitation to a chat room. "Church 'must capture the imagination'. So says the new Archbishop of Canterbury. But how?" the website asks its visitors. The virtual church cuts across regional boundaries and is aiming to reach those who are "uncomfortable with church but aware of

their spirituality," say its founders.

Anglicans in Zimbabwe vote 'no confidence' in new dean

Members of the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe held a no-confidence vote in the dean of the St. Mary and All Saints Cathedral in Harare, the capital city. Godfrey Tawonezvi reportedly was handpicked as dean in September last year by Nolbert Kunonga, the bishop of Harare. Kunonga is considered by many in the church as having a close relationship with President Robert Mugabe.

New York Times 'Styles' addition: Gay/lesbian couples' ceremonies

The "Weddings" pages of the *New York Times* Sunday Styles section have a new name and an updated policy to include reports of same-sex commitment ceremonies and formal registrations of some gay and lesbian partnerships. The "Weddings/Celebrations" section debuted in September and, according to Times' Executive Director Howell Raines, the change acknowleges "the newsworthiness of a growing and visible trend in society toward public celebrations of commitment by gay and lesbian couples celebrations important to many of our readers, their families and their friends." Inclusion requires one of two criteria: that the same-sex couples celebrate their commitment in a public ceremony or enter into a legally recognized civil union (currently available only in Vermont) or register their domestic partnership in those localities, including New York City, that offer registration. Says Raines: "The Styles pages will treat same-sex celebrations as a discrete phenomenon meriting coverage in their own right."

Faith-based resistance to war with Iraq mounts

Rowan Williams, the next Archbishop of Canterbury, joined the growing numbers of clergy voicing their opposition to a U.S.-led war against Iraq. Williams signed the Christian Declaration, along with some 3,000 other Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops. The declaration was handed to the British government on 6 August — Hiroshima Day — the 57th anniversary of the world's first use of a nuclear weapon in an act of war.

In addition, the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development issued a report saying that any pre-emptive military strike against Iraq by the West would create a humanitarian catastrophe, and also would exacerbate the dangers of terrorism in the Middle East and undermine the authority of the United Nations. The



report, "Iraq, Sanctions and the War on Terrorism," raised questions about ethical justification for such a war, as well as a concern at the lack of public debate about such a possibility.

On August 26, Move On — No War launched an online petition drive to oppose a war in Iraq "that would likely undermine both national and world security." The petitions are to be hand delivered to U.S. Senators as part of a national day of action.

Leading Republicans are also publicly questioning a war. Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE) says the CIA has "absolutely no evidence" that Iraq possesses or will soon possess nuclear weapons. Henry Kissinger says, "The notion of justified pre-emption runs counter to modern international law, which sanctions the use of force in self-defense only against actual — not potential — threats." Kissinger also says, "American military intervention in Iraq would be supported only grudgingly, if at all, by most European allies."

Dick Armey, the House Majority Leader (R-TX), says, "I don't believe that America will justifiably make an unprovoked attack on another nation. It would not be consistent with what we have been as a nation or what we should be as a nation." To join the petition drive against war in Iraq, log onto http://www.moveon.org/nowar/

Faith groups to launch internet boycott of Taco Bell

The Presbyterian Church and United Church of Christ are coordinating a web-based boycott of Taco Bell restaurants to show solidarity for farm workers in southwestern Florida. Organizers of the boycott, to be launched Labor Day, hoped to increase wages for tomato harvesters in Imokalee, Fla.

"Taco Bell's target market is 18- to 24-year old males, so the place to reach them is on the Web," said the Rev. Gary Cook, coordinator of the Presbyterian Hunger Program.

Currently, members of the Coalition of Imokalee Workers (CIW), a farm workers' organization of mainly Haitian and Mexican migrant workers, earn about \$25 for picking and hauling a ton of tomatoes. Boycott coordinators hope to pressure Six L's Packing Company, one of the nation's largest tomato growers and a major Taco Bell supplier, to increase those wages. According to the U.S. government, the piece-rate of 40 cents per 30-pound bucket hasn't changed since 1978. Six L's annual profit has averaged \$120 million since 1986. Taco Bell reported \$5.2 billion in sales in 1999.

Also in the works: a Thanksgiving holiday "immersion experience" for those who would like to experience first-hand the living and working conditions of the Imokalee workers.



UPDATE

Blessings now, because 'it's the right thing to do'

An interview with William Smalley by Katie Sherrod

William Smalley, bishop of the Episcopal Diogese of Kansas, announced in late June that he would authorize the blessing of non-married gersons in his diocese. The policy applies to both heterosexual couples for whom marriage would involve financial hardship and homosexgal couples. Smalley intends to retire on January 1, 2004, and says this policy will not bind gis successor.

At the 2000 General Convention of the Episopal Church, deputies and bishops passed legislation (D039) which recognized that, although the issue of human sexuality is not yet desolved and not everyone agrees with the traditional teaching of the church on human sexulity, there are couples in the Episcopal Church who are living in lifelong committed relationships other than marriage that are free of promiscuity, exploitation and abusiveness" and that are characterized by "fidelity, monogamy, mutual affection and respect, careful, honest communication, and the holy love which mables those in such relationships to see in each other the image of God."

sach other the image of God." The legislation stopped short of authorizing gevelopment of rites of blessing, although it committed the church to "the prayerful support, oncouragement and pastoral care" necessary to support such relationships.

Some dioceses are going ahead with rites, despite General Convention's reticence. In October 2001, the Episcopal Diocese of Delaware announced a "new pastoral action" that empowers congregations within the diocese to bless partners in same-gender relationships. In Canada, Michael Ingham, bishop of New Westminster, said he would authorize the development of a rite of blessing for same-sex unions because 63 percent of those voting at New Westminster's diocesan synod last June approved of such rites (two previous synods had also voted in favor of same-sex blessings, but Ingham refused to give his approval until such blessings received at least 60 percent of the vote).

Opponents of rites of blessing in the Episcopal Church, many of them liberal moderates, say such rites will cause schism. A coalition called Claiming the Blessing (CTB) says the time has come for the Episcopal Church USA to develop rites because the church's future depends on it (watch for coverage on this in the November 2002 issue of The Witness).



K.S.: Why this decision and why now?

W.S.: This decision because, in my opinion, it's the right thing to do. The "why now" gets a little complicated because I'm also a year and half away from retirement, which has some of the people here upset in terms of why I did it now. But I just think the time is right. The General Convention action [adoption of D039] allowed for this. We are blessing all sorts of things in the church and all sorts of people, but we have excluded some and I don't think that goes along with the Gospel imperative that I see in the actions of Jesus, his compassion for all and the blessing of his presence for all people.

K.S.: What did you consider when you were making this decision? Obviously you gave it a lot of thought.

W.S.: Oh, a lot of thought and a lot of prayer for years.

K.S.: How did you balance the pastoral issues with the political ramifications?

W.S.: The two that I really wrestled with were embodied in the vows I took when I was ordained a bishop. One is a vow that I will guard the faith and unity of the church. That's preceded immediately by the pledge that I will encourage and support all baptized persons in their life and ministry and celebrate with them the sacraments of our redemption. These two were where the real struggle was.

The Archbishop of Canterbury [George Carey] has recently focused on the faith and unity of the church — that's the political issue. But to me the tough question was how do you uphold all people in their lives and ministries? That's the pastoral issue. I just think the Gospel example here outweighs the other. We need to follow where Jesus, by his example, was leading us — the blessing of his presence for all people.

Certainly we did that with the whole question of divorce, which is very clearly stated in the Gospels as something you just don't do. But the church's pastoral considerations said we can't do this, we've really got to take Jesus' word in the context of today. Well, I think the same thing applies, not just for homosexual persons but for [heterosexual] persons for whom marriage is a financial impossibility because of pensions or disability payments that they would lose if they got married.

K.S.: *How do you balance this with Scripture?* **W.S.**: There is an ongoing discernment of Scripture in the corporate body of the church and I think that's what we're about in this discussion. What is Scripture saying to us today?

To me, Sodom and Gomorrah were really about the abuse of people and about the radical violation of the biblical imperative to hospitality. I don't think it was particularly about homosexuality.

The Romans text so often cited (1:26-27) was coming into a world where there was great misunderstanding between the view in the Holy Land of sexuality and the view in Rome and the Mediterranean world and the

two were in radical conflict. Paul was attempting to bring those into line in some way for his time. But we're in a different time.

K.S.: Do you view this as a provocative act or a prophetic act?

W.S.: Well, my primary concern was pastoral, for people. It will have the effect of being both prophetic and provocative, and certainly a lot of the mail I've received indicates both.

But that was not a primary intention. It was nothing like the Philadelphia ordinations [of eleven women to the priesthood in 1974] — perhaps I can force the church to move — it was nothing like that, though it is being interpreted that way.

K.S.: How will this play out in the real lives of the people of your diocese?

W.S.: Part of the issue for me comes when I look at some of our congregations where there are gay and lesbian persons who, as long as they adopt the policy that Bill Clinton was adopting of don't ask, don't tell, are very well accepted — even where there's general knowledge that they are gay persons in a lifelong relationship. The attitude is, "We'll visit in your home; we'll share with you in the Eucharist and in full membership in the church, but please don't tell us anything about your personal life." To me, that is really denying people a lot of who they are.

K.S.: What will you be blessing in a situation like this?

W.S.: I think we're blessing people in their lives. I don't think the policy says you must accept this as a viable lifestyle. I do, personally, but I don't think the policy requires that. I think it simply says we can give God's blessing to people.

The day after I told our Standing Committee that I was going to do this, I went to our senior high camp. They do a lot of fun things there and one of the things they do is make boats out of cardboard and cover them with plastic and then they race the boats in the water. And I was asked, "Would you bless the boats?" I said, "Well, sure, I'll bless the people who worked on them and who are doing this." One of our staff members said to me afterward, "I could not come to that because we can bless all kinds of things in the church — animals on the feast of St. Francis, boats at a senior high camp, but we limit our blessings to people."

That to me spoke volumes about why I was issuing this particular policy. I want to extend God's blessing as I think Jesus did to people, all people who came to him.

K.S.: The policy says that whatever liturgy is used in these blessings must not resemble the marriage liturgy. Have you had any examples offered to you?

W.S.: A parish sent me two liturgies and one was the liturgy from the [Canadian] Diocese of New Westminster, which really looks and sounds like marriage all the way through. I have rejected that, sent it back to them and suggested they look at the Book of Occasional Services and adapt something there or come up with something different. I want to preserve our viewpoint on marriage, our sacramental liturgy of marriage. I don't want to see that used in other ways.

'Danube 7' ordained

by Georgia E. Fuller

Seven German and Austrian women received priestly ordination into the Roman Catholic apostolic succession on June 29, the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, in a liturgy celebrated in both German and Spanish by Bishop Romulo A. Braschi of Argentina. Braschi, who acknowledged that he could not act for the Bishop of Rome, said he was ordaining these women, already made deacons in a secret ceremony on Palm Sunday, "for the whole church."

Roman Church officials first dismissed these ordinations, which occurred on a cruise ship in the middle of the Danube River with 175 witnesses, as a "sectarian spectacle," according to the *National Catholic Reporter* (July 2). The women were excommunicated when they refused to say that the ceremony was invalid and repent by July 22, the Feast Day for St. Mary Magdalene. The seven, Christine Mayr-Lumetzberger and Sr. Adelinde Theresia Roitinger (of Austria), Dr. Giesla Forster, Dr. Iris Müller, Dr. Ida Raming and Pia Brunner (of Germany) and Angela White (a woman



The Rev. Dr. Gisela Forster (right) and the Rev. Christine Mayr-Lumetzberger (left) thank participants after their ordinations to the Roman Catholic priesthood.

with Austrian-American citizenship) say they intend to contest the excommunication and continue the struggle.

The priesting of the "Danube 7" was the first public conferral of holy orders on Roman Catholic women in modern times. Ludmila Javorova, ordained secretly in 1970 by Bishop Felix Davidek, Rome's appointed leader of the underground church in Czechoslovakia, was the first of six women priests and six women deacons who served the faithful under Communism. Since the end of the Cold War, the Vatican has denied their orders and declared the deceased Davidek insane. (For this story, see *Out of the Depths* by Miriam Therese Winter.)

The ordaining bishop, Braschi, began his ministry as a Roman priest and follower of liberation theology. He broke with the Argentine hierarchy over its support of military regimes and later married. Braschi was consecrated a bishop by Gerónimo José Podesta, Roman Catholic Bishop Emeritus of Avellaneda, on January 30, 1999, according to a notarized document.

Anglicans look to 'develop' new world

by Ethan Flad

How can the church educate and spur action on environmental and economic justice issues? While delegates from governments and non-governmental organizations alike prepared for the contentious UN World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in

www.thewitness.org

Johannesburg, an international group of Anglicans met in late August to debate the challenges of worldwide poverty and ecological damage.

Sixty representatives from two dozen nations across six continents addressed hotbutton topics such as water, energy, HIV/AIDS, hunger, gender, and civic participation at a first-ever "Global Anglican Congress on the Stewardship of Creation" in Hartebeespoort, South Africa. The weeklong conference had three primary objectives: building a consensus 50 nthe church's responsibility to address envibronmental degradation and human needs; developing a statement for release at the PWSSD; and laying a foundation for an ongoging network of educators and activists in the anglican Communion.

Bishop Geoff Davies of Umzimvubu (South BAfrica) summarized the challenge before the Congress as the need to answer: "Does the rest of creation have the RIGHT to exist?" $\frac{1}{6}$ Representing a desperately poor region in his Enation's Eastern Cape province, his question pinpointed the battle many developing inations face between calls for environmental Econservation pitted against widespread poverty and unemployment. One decade ago the UN "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro had Öoffered hope for new North-South alliances that integrated development concerns with genvironmental protection. Yet for many peo-^wple from the Global South, the word "earth" ^eremains the dominant marker, and several ^o Congress participants arrived believing the ^eagenda to have been set by "green" church Eactivists — reflecting similar concerns about sthe WSSD process itself. Noting this conflict, RBishop George Browning of Canberra (Aus-Etralia) asked, "Is there a hierarchy in the crisis we face? I think there is a hierarchy, but the ⁸one that nations like the U.S. and Australia insist upon is unjust and unsustainable." A broad consensus emerged on calling on governments from the Global North to take responsibility to change consumptive patterns and to make energy-efficient financial and technological resources available to developing countries.

The Congress also reached agreement about the church's role amidst this crisis: rebuilding moral and spiritual values. Rosina Wiltshire from Barbados, a UN Development Program executive, has spent decades working in the

LOUIE'S INDEX

Original state of the Confederacy which has highest percent of African-American priests:Florida (5 percent)

Original state of the Confederacy with lowest percent of African-American priests: Arkansas (0 percent)

Percent of clergy (except bishops) in the Episcopal Church USA (ECUSA) who are African American: 3.4 percent

Percent of bishops in ECUSA who are African-American: 4 percent

Percent of U.S. citizens who are African-American: 12.3 percent

Percent of all clergy in ECUSA who are women: 17.4 percent

Percent of black clergy who are women: 13.2

Largest ECUSA congregation with an African-American rector? It's a tie: St. Agnes, Miami, Fla., Richard L. Marquess-Barry, rector; St. Alban's the Martyr, St. Alban's, N.Y., Bernard Young, rector. Both congregations have 1,600–1,699 members.

Largest ECUSA parish whose rector is an African-American female? Grace Church, Silver Spring, Md., Janice M. Robinson, rector (900–1,000 members).

Percent of unmarried deputies to ECUSA's 2003 General Convention: 10.1 percent.

Percent of unmarried priests in ECUSA: 12.8 percent

Percent of unmarried African-American priests in ECUSA: 3.6 percent

Percent of unmarried female priests in ECUSA: 27.8 percent

Percent of unmarried bishops in ECUSA: 6 percent

Number of diocesan bishops eligible to serve a full term of nine years if elected Presiding Bishop at General Convention in 2006: 49 (See list of those eligible at http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~lcrew/26thPBwho.html.)

In what sense does the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church also exercise real authority as the Bishop of Rome? (See November 2002 issue for answer.)

Witness contributing editor Louie Crew, founder of Integrity and a longtime Episcopal Church leader (he currently sits on the Episcopal Church's Executive Council and is head of the Diocese of Newark's deputation to General Convention 2003) is a well-known collector and disseminator of statistics and little-known facts about the Episcopal Church and Anglican Communion. His website is www.andromeda.rutgers.edu/~lcrew; email him at LCREW@newark.rutgers.edu.



South African women from Diepsloot informal settlement fill buckets with clean water from a water truck's weekly visit to the impoverished community, while international Anglican bishops look on.

UN to overcome these social problems. Frustrated with reading countless declarations that make little actual impact, she stated that a "need over greed" ethos will never take root unless a values-based society is created that "encompasses the sharing of God's abundance, love, caring and compassion."

The final declaration from the Congress drew on this view that the environmental debate is "as much about religion and morality as it is about science." This was a significant comment, considering the presence of several geographers and natural scientists. "Religious faith properly understood can and should be a major force for change toward sustainable development, sustainable communities and a healthy environment," notes the statement. "We are committed to putting our faith into action!"

Emboldened by the success of learning from one another in a brief one-time event, the Congress adopted a call to develop an informal Anglican Environmental Network as an ongoing resource for sharing programs, priorities and best practices with one another. Further information can be found at www.anglicancommunion.org

The Israeli/Palestinian Conflict: an APJN statement

A SMEMBERS OF THE ANGLICAN PEACE AND JUSTICE NETWORK from many parts of the world, we express our deep dismay at the continuing impasse between Israelis and Palestinians and deplore the unbroken cycle of violence which has claimed too many innocent lives on both sides. We condemn violence whatever the source.

We reach out to Palestinians and Israelis of good will, assuring both of them of our love and support in ending this long and troubled conflict. We embrace all those who have lost loved ones in the violence and extend our deepest sympathies.

In looking at this deeply troubled conflict we recognize that a primary cause of the present violence is the continuing Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza imposed by Israel which inflicts humiliation and suffering on the Palestinian people, inflaming passions and breeding further violence. Collective punishment of the Palestinian people must be brought to an end.

We are deeply troubled by the use of U.S. made weapons and aircraft provided to Israel and being used for attacks on civilian targets as demonstrated July 22 in Gaza and urge a moratorium on the use of such weapons which violate U.S. law.

We support the following steps in order to achieve a sovereign and independent Palestine living alongside a secure Israel recognized by and at peace with her neighbors:

the withdrawal of Israeli Armed Forces from all Occupied Areas in accordance with 1967 borders and a complete halt to settlement building, both new or expanded, to be followed by a process of phasing out settlements altogether

the introduction of an international peacekeeping force under the auspices of the United Nations, European Union, Russia and the United States into the Occupied Territories charged with maintaining security so that both sides may be free from further attacks

a humanitarian effort led by the United Nations to provide relief to the suffering Palestinian people

the immediate resumption of negotiations involving Israel and the Palestinian Authority under the umbrella of the United Nations, European Union, Russia, the United States and the Arab League

that negotiations be based on United Nations resolutions 242 and 338 that results in a viable and sovereign Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital as well as the capital of Israel, and assures the right of return for Palestinian refugees

The unconditional recognition of the state of Palestine must be hastened if peace is to prevail in the Middle East.

Rather than threaten Iraq with invasion which further fuels anger and hatred during these already volatile times, we call upon President Bush and Prime Minister Blair to intervene and resuscitate the peace process as a direct action of healing and reconciliation for the global community.

We call upon the faith communities, and especially the Anglican Communion, to a time of focused and intentional prayer for peace in the Holy Land. We also call on the leadership of the Abrahamic Faiths from around the world to exercise a ministry of presence in the region as a gesture of solidarity with the people. We urge that they exercise their authority and influence on the political leadership among the several nations who carry the responsibility for making a just peace.

— August 12, 2002 (To reach APJN representatives write pjm@episcopalchurch.org or call Peace and Justice Ministries at the Episcopal Church Center in New York at 1-800-334-7626 ext 5207.)

Flad

The refugee crisis rages in Europe

by Peter Selby

UR SMALL DIOCESE IN MIDDLE ENGLAND seems set to be the focus of a developing crisis as the government becomes increasingly anxious to placate public anxiety about the refugee bissue. On a site last used for the incineration of cattle that fell victim to the foot-and-mouth disease outbreak, the proposal is to put up what is called an "accommodation center" for asylum seekers (persons having their applications for asylum processed). reuse

We protested at the proposal, on the grounds that the location



Refugee mother and children hide in wagon in Kosovo, Albania (April 1999).

chosen was inappropriate. The idea of putting an accommodation center for 750 people in a community of only 180, remote from the facilities of the city that might have the facilities they need, and inaccessible both to members of the asylum seekers' own communities and to members of local communities who want to offer help and support of various kinds, as well as the statutory agencies that need to be involved in the provision of benefits and other services.

We, and the other agencies object-

Episcopal Chu ging to the proposal were promptly attacked by Tony Blair as engagbing in nimbyism – in his words "wanting asylum seekers anywhere but where we are." Given that our diocesan synod resolution had Esaid that we wanted to offer hospitality and welcome, that was a [≤]quite unwarranted accusation. What we want is for the asylum seekgers to be dispersed in small enough groups to urban communities gable to offer hospitality and volunteer services. Behind this local matter lies a crisis that is engulfing the whole of

Behind this local matter lies a crisis that is engulfing the whole of Europe and is now said to be the major matter that Europe needs to address. That rests on the assumption that refugees are primarily a security problem rather than a challenge to our compassion. In terms of what the government says to the public, you would imagine that the real difficulty we face is the number of illegal immigrants and "traders in human misery" who batten on to the refugee crisis to make money out of people. Nobody denies that such people exist: Some engage in criminal deception; many more offer services in a perfectly honest way but expect to make a profit from the difficulty they are trying to help people overcome.

It is very easy in all of this for the government to say that unlike the (genuine) refugees who came to Britain in the 1930s from Nazi persecution, we are now faced with a problem of criminality which

demands stern measures, locking people up in what are prisons in all but name. The reality is that in the 1930s also there was great suspicion of the Jewish and other refugees fleeing from Germany, and my father, who was one of them, was for a time interned as a possible spy or enemy agent.

Shortly before the last general election, the Caribbean suffragan bishop of Croydon caused the bishops of the Church of England to visit the leaders of our three main political parties and ask that they pledge themselves to keep race out of the election campaign. In the course of the meeting with Tony Blair, which I attended, he was asked why it was that so little national resource was spent in educating the public about the reasons behind the refugee crisis. The absence of that kind of education simply causes people to believe that the problem is false claims to refugee status and the criminal trade in human misery. In the process of encouraging that view of the "problem" you criminalize the entire refugee problem.

In a further twist to this story, the government is preventing the children of asylum seekers taking part in the mainstream school system, preferring to provide (no doubt not very adequate) education in these accommodation centers. What that does is to prevent the new experience, the enjoyment of diversity that is made possible by the presence of asylum seekers' children in ordinary school classes. Thus the education of all our children suffers as a result of claiming that asylum seekers are the problem

We shall continue as a diocese and as a church to do all we can to offer the hospitality which is the greatest need of people who have often been traumatized in their home country and in their long flight from home. The nimbyism that is happening here is not ours; rather it is the attitude of those who pander to public xenophobia and believe the solution to the world's great crisis of migration is to keep people in need away. In fact of course the problems that really need addressing are those of international debt and the inequalities of trade which in turn produce the conflicts that drive people to flee their homes. Addressing those problems, however, is less immediately popular.

What's the main point, anyway?

by L. William Countryman

YM OFTEN STRUCK by a significant difference between the message of Jesus, particularly as it's found in the Synoptic Gospels, and the message of the church. Anybody who reads carefully is likely to notice it. The problem may be sharpened for me because of who I am — a gospels scholar who is also an Anglican and finds the classical Christian tradition profoundly helpful in shaping human life. I have a commitment to both church and Gospel, and I keep

INTIFADA INCANTATION:

POEM 38 FOR b.b.L. by June Jordan

I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED **GENOCIDE TO STOP** I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND REACTION I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED MUSIC **OUT THE WINDOWS** I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED NOBODY THIRST AND NOBODY NOBODY COLD I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED I WANTED JUSTICE UNDER MY NOSE I SAID I LOVED YOU AND I WANTED **BOUNDARIES TO DISAPPEAR I WANTED** NOBODY ROLL BACK THE TREES! **I WANTED** NOBODY TAKE AWAY DAYBREAK! I WANTED NOBODY FREEZE ALL THE PEOPLE ON THEIR KNEES!

I WANTED YOU

I WANTED YOUR KISS ON THE SKIN OF MY SOUL AND NOW YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME AND I STAND DESPITE THE TRILLION TREACHERIES OF SAND YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME AND I HOLD THE LONGING OF THE WINTER IN MY HAND YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME AND I COMMIT TO FRICTION AND THE UNDERTAKING OF THE PEARL

YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME YOU SAY YOU LOVE ME

AND I HAVE BEGUN I BEGIN TO BELIEVE MAYBE MAYBE YOU DO

I AM TASTING MYSELF IN THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SUN

From KISSING GOD GOODBYE, by June Jordan, copyright © 1997 by June Jordan. Used by permission of Doubleday, a division of Random House, Inc.

[Ed. note: Poet and political activist June Jordan died June 14, 2002, of breast cancer. A prolific writer, she was a strong advocate for women, the poor and victims of racial discrimination. A book of essays called Some of Us Did Not Die containing essays on Israel, Islam and O.J. Simpson was published in September. The peace-andjustice community will sorely miss her challenging, insightful voice.] running up against the reality that they are not the same.

To hear the church, from the mid-first century onward, one would think that the central thing was what you believe about Jesus. To hear the teachings of Jesus, you would assume that the main point is a little different. The main point in those teachings has as much to do with our relationships with other people as our relationship with God. In fact, our relationship with God is directly interconnected with our behavior human-to-human: "Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us."

I'm not trying to set up a polar opposition here or blame Paul for transmogrifying the simple religion of Jesus into the complex theologizing of Christianity. It's not that simple. Followers of Jesus emphasized Jesus in their teaching because, in Jesus, they had encountered God — teaching, calling, loving, healing, forgiving, renewing, changing them. They weren't choosing Jesus against Jesus' teaching but with the teaching.

In Jesus' ministry, there's no reason to think that the message was somehow insufficient, just because it didn't yet include the good news of Jesus' death and resurrection for and with us. It was already able to give people new life. It can still do that.

I'm not suggesting that we somehow give up preaching Jesus. How could we not want to share that gift with others? But I think people in our own time often need to encounter Jesus first not in terms of a religion that sometimes falls egregiously short of its founder's standards, but in terms of a life-transforming message. Remember that Jesus' first hearers welcomed that message because it changed their lives and their worlds.

I've argued more than once (*Good News of Jesus*; Forgiven and Forgiving) that the main point of that message was forgiveness. I still believe that. And I believe that it transforms lives. And I believe that it's never been more essential than right now. How are Israelis and Palestinians going to build a new and lifegiving reality in what we still call, with more grief than hope, the "Holy Land"? I don't have any detailed prescription, but I am confident that nothing at all will happen unless significant leadership on both sides begins to acknowledge the necessity of forgiveness.

That will mean both acknowledging one's own need of forgiveness and cultivating the ability to forgive the wrongs committed by the other side as well. Jesus taught that this is possible because it is in fact the way God works. God forgives. Even if you don't need forgiving, you are forgiven. In fact, being forgiven is better than never having needed forgiveness, for the experience of being forgiven awakens love and generosity, virtues that are in notably short supply among the more conventionally pious.

I'm not saying that the only hope for the Holy Land is for Jews and Muslims to become Christians. I'm saying that the message of Jesus, the message that Jesus preached and lived, is the only hope — for the Holy Land or for any place else. It's easy in human life to keep piling up the lists of wrongs and calculating what is owed and putting off reconciliation until the score is settled. It will never be settled. The only hope for the future is mutual forgiveness. And it will work because that's how God works, too. And that's the main point.

commentaries

Hope and outrage: Will death penalty reforms foreshadow abolition?

by Joseph Wakelee-Lynch

In the summer of 2002, two important reforms, both emanating from the U.S. Supreme Court, occurred in the U.S. capital punishment system. First, the court ruled in June that the execution of people who are mentally retarded is unconstitutional (Atkins v. Vir-



Death penalty rally, Austin, Tex.,

October 15, 2000

turned a death sentence that had been improperly imposed by a judge; that power should properly reside only with juries (Ring v. Arizona). The Supreme Court decisions do

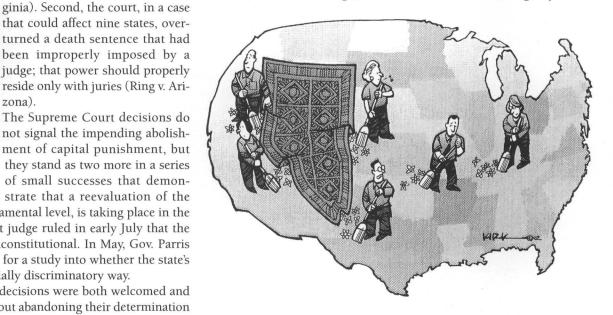
not signal the impending abolishment of capital punishment, but they stand as two more in a series of small successes that demonstrate that a reevaluation of the

strate that a reevaluation of the strate that a reevaluation of the death penalty, possibly at a fundamental level, is taking place in the U.S. For example, a U.S. district judge ruled in early July that the Federal Death Penalty Act is unconstitutional. In May, Gov. Parris Glendening, of Maryland, called for a study into whether the state's death penalty is applied in a racially discriminatory way. Although the Supreme Court decisions were both welcomed and needed, activists remain leery about abandoning their determination for the hope of optimism. Yet some have pointed out an interesting feature in the recent opinions of the court. "In both Supreme Court rulings this summer," said Eric Moon, director of The American Friends Service Committee death penalty project in Oakland, Calif., "the judges referred to their earlier deci-sion in the 1976 Gregg v. Georgia case." The Gregg case allowed the resumption of the death penalty after a four-year hiatus, but it said that the death penalty should be reserved for only the most heinous of murders. Yet, county prosecutors, who decide which murder cases are tried as capital crimes, seek the death penalty in a wide variety of murder cases, heinous or not, and for a wide variety of variety of murder cases, heinous or not, and for a wide variety of reasons.

When Gov. Glendening announced his moratorium, he cited the danger of the death penalty being a "lottery." The prosecutor's office may be the greatest source of unpredictability in the capital punishment system. Some try what appears to be an inordinate number of murder trials as capital cases; others, from cash-strapped regions, try few or none. Even similar crimes within the same county may be tried under different charges. When prosecutors' decisions are examined across the country, therefore, inconsistency seems the only consistent rule; and inconsistency in the capital punishment system has been a concern of the Supreme Court in the past.

Bruce Shapiro recently pointed out in The Nation that the Atkins ruling is hopeful because it proves that grassroots organizing is having an impact. Organizing has been effective because arguments about fairness and innocence are extremely persuasive.

But even though practical concerns about fairness and innocence are prompting the country's re-evaluation, at the core of the movement against the death penalty is a significant portion of the religious community, which sees the death penalty, whether reformed or not, as a moral outrage, for both the innocent and the guilty.



Like water and oil?

by Susi Moser

My friend Melanie sent me a letter a couple of weeks ago, addressed to Dr. Susi Moser / Union of Buddhist Scientists - a funny and fortuitous little modification of my real - well, proper - professional affiliation. I chuckled a bit — half in delight, half in cynicism — as I opened the envelope, thinking of the grand total of two members of that new "organization."

The Union of Concerned Scientists, my employer, is a partnership of scientists and citizens combining rigorous scientific analysis, innovative policy development and effective citizen advocacy to achieve practical solutions to a handful of pressing environmental issues. We pride ourselves with the solid reputation of being a credible, non-governmental non-profit where sound science is the basis of all our policy advocacy — be it on nuclear safety, global warming, or the use of antibiotics in poultry and livestock production. And while we have worked with religious groups on a number of projects over the years, it seems we've always been rather shy about letting any spiritual motivation shine through our own work. We are clearly morally motivated as our name suggests - whether as parents for

October 2002

CLAIMING the BLESSING

"I will bless you ... so that you will be a blessing." GENESIS 12:2

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the sake of our children or as civic-minded folks for the sake of our communities, society and world. But if there are any religious or spiritual underpinnings to that concern, we typically keep that private. So do I.

commentaries

Except ... with Melanie. She and I are relatively new friends. Mel worked for UCS for some time in my stead while I took a leave from work. When I returned to my job, she and I overlapped for two days, during which she was supposed to catch me up on what's been happening and hand me back my old and a number of new projects.

So we had many meetings over those two days — true meetings, that is. Being pretty efficient in transmitting the facts, the folders, and the finished products, we soon found ourselves in deep conversation, philosophizing, exchanging sacred poetry, and dreaming up a world in which science and spirituality are not like water and oil: never mixing, one floating on top of the other. We mirrored in each other the dream of not living split (sometimes almost schizophrenic) lives. We discovered how much we both craved for answers of how to stay sane and centered, connected with our Core, while responding to the many places in the world that are aflame with violence, degradation, and — most of all — unconsciousness.

Those amazing two days were over far too soon. Mel returned to what sometimes feels to her like the stuffy hallways of academia, researching some intricate aspects of cloud formation over Antarctica, while I've settled back in to studying climate change and its impacts on our environment. Meanwhile our hungry conversation continues across the continent.

In one recent e-mail she sent me Thomas Merton to remind me of the sanity and nonviolence that lies in a more humane pace when things get particularly frantic and harsh. I, in turn, remind her of her passion for the blue ice, the penguins, and the wideopen sea when she gets lost in satellite images, measurements, and modeling algorithms. In conversation, we stop doing and remember to be, and in that reconnect with That Which Begins Beyond Analysis, That Which Pervades All That We Love.

In between e-mails and letters, I seem to have similar conversations at almost every table I gather with friends — homemakers, business people, educators, doctors, artists, ministers. We all, it seems, struggle with a similar disenchantment of our jobs, however deeply passionate we are or once were about our particular Work. I am inspired by these private conversations, and I wonder why we are not more public with them. I am relieved to not be alone in these struggles, and wonder why we are not more openly outraged about a world in which we apparently must compartmentalize our selves in order to be credible, effective, safe.

A few days ago, I sent another letter to Melanie at work, addressing it to "Path of Most Meaning." I just heard that she got it.

Renouncing sins against the corporate faith

by Norman Solomon

Just about every politician and pundit is eager to denounce wrongdoing in business these days. Sinners have defiled the holy quest for a high rate of return. Damn those who left devoted investors standing bereft at corporate altars!

On the surface, media outlets are filled with condemnations of avarice. The July 15 edition of *Newsweek* features a story headlined "Going After Greed," complete with a full-page picture of George W. Bush's anguished face. But after multibillion-dollar debacles from Enron to WorldCom, the usual media messages are actually quite equivocal — wailing about greedy CEOs while piping in a kind of hallelujah chorus to affirm the sanctity of the economic system that empowered them.

At a Wall Street pulpit, Bush declared that America needs business leaders "who know the difference between ambition and destructive greed." Presumably, other types of greed are fine and dandy.

During his much-ballyhooed speech, the

continued on page 16

BECAUSE JUSTICE DOESN'T JUST HAPPEN

Building a network, not an empire

by Kevin Jones

IF YOU DO A SEARCH ON GOOGLE, the popular internet search engine, for Abortion-"Right to life" you get 40 plus sites, almost all of which refer and link to each other. If you do the same search on "Abortion-"Freedom of Choice" about 35 sites come up, almost none of which refer to each other. That's an illustration of a basic truth that should be uncomfortable for readers of *The Witness*: The right literally knows what it is doing, and who else is doing it, much more than do progressives and groups working for justice.

Conservatives seem to be far better at using information as a tool for organizing movements and have the systems in place to effectively focus their energies on a cause. Meanwhile, progressives typically work as isolated islands of activists. The myopia that isolation engenders could be a significant part of the reason progressives got blindsided by the effectiveness of the forces the conservatives were able to marshal to pass anti-inclusive resolutions at the Lambeth conference of Anglican bishops in 1998.

That's the problem that the Witness Information Network has arisen to help solve (see www.thewitness.org). Simply put, we want to help turn those isolated islands of progressives and groups focused on causes like full inclusion for gays and lesbians, economic justice, peace and the environment into groups that know what their peers and potential collaborators are doing. We want the islands to become nodes connected to a network, able to communicate, partner and make common cause together to help bring about the realm of God.

Our goal is to do it by working with movement groups and parishes to build online and physical communities that help empower the members of each group. But we want to do far more than just provide a better and more vital online presence for individual existing groups. We're out to work on that problem exemplified by the Google search illustrated above. So our real goal is connecting the dots between the groups who join the *Witness Information Network* as a way to build a broad community of people working for justice. Presenting or helping sponsor conferences, seminars and training sessions will also be part of our community-building activities.

Our first partner organization, Claiming the Blessing, the coalition of Integrity, Oasis groups and Beyond Inclusion, exemplify the approach we want to take. Those organizations decided their chances of getting rites for same-sex blessings approved for inclusion in the Book of Occasional Services at General Convention next summer were greater if they joined forces. We are also in talks with the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, Integrity and other groups, as well as some progressive parishes and groups within those parishes about joining our network.

That's our overall strategy; acting from the belief that all of us are more powerful than any one of us and that we need to learn to make common cause together, just like the conservatives already do. The Witness Information Network's goal is to create the information infrastructure to help make that a reality. One thing we have discovered is that most of our potential partners know their issues inside and out, but the communication piece is often an afterthought, left to volunteers who have too much on their plate and too little time. That's something we can help with. My wife, Rosa Lee Harden, vicar of Holy Innocents' Episcopal Church in San Francisco, and I have decades of media experience, including building a business that successfully created a community that met virtually on the internet and physically at conferences. We consider this our shared ministry.

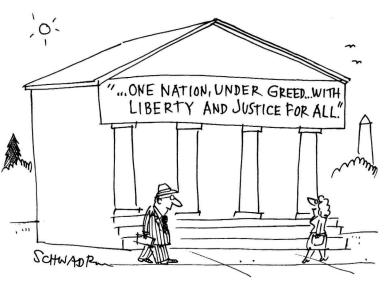
Tactics will include providing a movement calendar, where everyone on the justice side of the church can find out which group is doing what, when they are doing it and with whom. We are creating a network of linked websites for partner groups. We have hired Pulitzer prize-winning journalist turned Episcopal priest, Pat McCaughan, to edit an online newsletter that will cover the news about the justice activities of the various movements, groups and active parishes and help connect people in each of those island-like groups with each other. And Susan Russell, executive director of Claiming the Blessing, will be working with us as community manager. She will be connecting people and movements to each other, in kind of a crosspollination role, helping to grow the entire field.

Our goal is to build a network, not an empire. This is not a top down, hierarchical effort; our goal is to help everybody do better what they are already doing, not to dictate to anyone what they should do. Because of that approach, much of what the Witness Information Network will become remains to be discovered; we will be actively listening and responding and refining our approach in dialogue with our partners and interested individuals as we go along. We are excited about our vision and our opportunity. We hope you will get involved and help us make it happen.

Renouncing Sins... continued from page 14

President asserted that "all investment is an act of faith." With that spirit, a righteous form of business fundamentalism is firmly in place. The great god of capitalism is always due enormous tribute. Yet wicked people get most of the blame when things go wrong. "The American system of enterprise has not failed us," Bush proclaimed. "Some dishonest individuals have failed our system."

Corporate theology about "the free enterprise system" readily acknowledges bad apples while steadfastly denying that the barrels are rotten. After all, every large-scale racket needs enforceable rules. Rigid conservatives may take their faith to an extreme. ("Let's hold



people responsible — not institutions," a recent *Wall Street Journal* column urged.) But pro-corporate institutional reform is on the mainstream agenda, as media responses to Bush's sermon on Wall Street made clear.

The Atlanta Constitution summarized a key theme with its headline over an editorial: "Take Hard-Line Approach to Restore Faith in Business." Many newspapers complained that Bush had not gone far enough to crack down on corporate malfeasants. "His speech was more pulpit than punch," lamented the Christian Science Monitor. A July 10 editorial in the Washington Post observed that "it is naive to suppose that business can be regulated by some kind of national honor code." But such positions should not be confused with advocacy of progressive social policies.

"There is one objective that companies can unite around," the *Post* editorial said, "and that is to make money. This is not a criticism: The basis of our market system is that, by maximizing profits, firms also maximize the collective good." Coming from media conglomerates and other corporate giants, that sort of

rhetoric is notably self-serving.

It takes quite a leap of faith to believe that when firms maximize profits they also "maximize the collective good." A much stronger case could be made for opposite conclusions.

The Washington Post Co. itself has long served as a good example. A quarter-century ago, the media firm crushed striking press workers at its flagship newspaper. That development contributed to "maximizing profits" but surely did nothing to "maximize the collective good" — unless we assume that busting unions, throwing people out of work and holding down wages for remaining employees is beneficial for all concerned.

Current news coverage does not challenge the goal of amassing as much wealth and power as possible. For Enron's Ken Lay and similar executives, falling from media grace has been simultaneous with their loss of wealth and power. Those corporate hotshots would still be media darlings if they'd kept their nauseating greed clearly within legal limits.

Why "nauseating" greed? Well, maybe you can think of a better adjective for people who are intent on adding still more money to their hundreds of millions or billions of dollars in personal riches — while, every day, thousands of other human beings are dying from lack of such necessities as minimal health care and nutrition.

One day in the mid-1970s, at a news conference, I asked Nelson Rockefeller how he felt about being so wealthy while millions of children were starving in poor countries. Rockefeller, who was vice president of the U.S. at the time, replied a bit testily that his grandfather John D. Rockefeller had been very generous toward the less fortunate. As I began a follow-up, other reporters interrupted so that they could ask more news-savvy questions.

Basic questions about wealth and poverty — about economic relations that are glorious for a few, adequate for some and injurious for countless others — remain outside the professional focus of American journalism. In our society, prevalent inequities are largely the results of corporate function, not corporate dysfunction. But we're encouraged to believe that faith in the current system of corporate capitalism will be redemptive.

Christianity has not been tried and been found wanting; it has been tried, found difficult, and been set aside.

- G.K. Chesterton

Resource Wars

JUST ABOUT NO ONE has missed the connection between the U.S. War on Terrorism and this country's dependence on foreign oil. But competition for limited global supplies of water, timber and other fragile natural resources is also at the heart of many other geopolitcal conflicts, including the one raging in Israel/Palestine. This month's focus on resource wars offers an introduction to the problem — and to the emerging landscape of alternatives.

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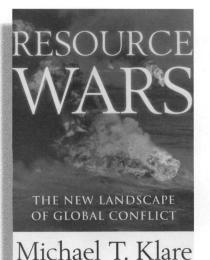
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Water pipeline in Israel's Negev Desert

THE MERGING OF THE WAR AGAINST

An interview with Michael Klare

by Jane Slaughter



AUTHOR OF ROGUE STATES AND NUCLEAR OUTLAWS

ICHAEL KLARE'S 2001 BOOK Resource Wars begins with U.S. paratroopers jumping into a battle zone in Central Asia — in 1997. They were training, Klare explained, in case the U.S. decided to intervene to protect access to the oil of the Caspian Sea basin.

This country's addiction to oil, Klare said, had caused U.S. government planners to deem access to other countries' petroleum a national security issue, and to make military preparations accordingly. He predicted that the next wars would be fought over water and oil.

Today, in 2002, *Resource Wars* reads like a background manual for understanding current events. Klare details the explosive conflict between India and Pakistan over water in the Indus River valley. He shows how Israel's victory in the Six-Day War in 1967 gave Israel control over water supplies previously controlled by Syria and Jordan, and how Israeli monopolization of the West Bank's water supply fuels conflict with the Palestinians. He explains why the U.S. government is willing to do anything — including make war on Iraq — to keep the Saudi monarchy in place.

Michael Klare is director of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies at Hampshire College in Massachusetts.

TW: What brought you to peace and world security studies?

MK: It comes from my history as an opponent of the war in Vietnam. I was a student at Columbia University in the 1960s and got drawn to the research side. Why were we in Vietnam? What was the truth behind what was being said by our leaders? I became associated with a progressive research association called NACLA — the North American Congress on Latin America — and started working there on counterinsurgency, military aid, arms transfers,

intervention, North-South conflict, the whole range of issues that spread out from Vietnam like ripples. And I have been doing research and writing on issues of war and peace ever since.

When we came to the end of the Cold War, many of us believed that that would lead to a reduced level of world conflict - that a lot of the driving force of violence would disappear, the U.N. would be stronger, conflict resolution would be more widely practiced. Of course, it didn't work out that way. The world was plunged into a series of bitter conflicts around the world. Many of them are described as ethnic and religious conflicts. I wouldn't diminish the importance of ethnicity and religion in warfare, but I think we've learned over time that these are malleable concepts, malleable identities, and that scheming, opportunistic people manipulate people's religion and ethnicity for purposes of garnering political power or economic wealth. It was in attempting to understand why we had this outburst of conflict in this new era that I was drawn to the issue of resource conflict.

I also spent a lot of time in the early 1990s studying the international trade in guns and how they were financed. That led me to the trade in drugs, in diamonds, in timber, because that's how the global illicit arms trade is financed — through illicit commerce of one sort or another. This drew my attention to the role of resource competition and resource exploitation as a factor in contemporary warfare.

TW: You finished your book in late 2000. I imagine lots of people are now calling you prescient because of some of the things that you talked about there. You wrote about Venezuela and oil, and about Osama Bin Laden.

MK: I think anybody who followed the jour-

FERRORISM AND THE WAR FOR OIL

ney that I made and started paying attention to these resource issues would not be surprised by anything that's happened in recent months. It's more a matter, I think, that people weren't looking in the right places.

TW: Many of the "right places" you looked in were sources from the U.S. government. You show how the government is already paying close attention to the importance of resources and making resources a "national security" issue. I'm wondering if your book has gotten attention from policymakers, whether they're saying "Oh, dear, somebody has actually been reading our documents!"

MK: Actually, I was asked to lecture at the National Defense University in March. That's the higher learning institute for military officers, to help them better understand the world they have to function in. Those officers who are serving in the Middle East, for example, are becoming very aware that resource issues — not just oil, but also water — are likely to become central to global conflict in the years ahead.

TW: Could you lay out how conflicts over oil and water are likely to happen?

MK: Resource conflict arises in the overlap of three worlds: the environmental world, the world of war and peace and security, and the world of globalization. If you can imagine three colored circles that overlap in the middle, that's where the resource issues are.

On one hand, resources are becoming more precious because of their unsustainable exploitation. We are using water profligately. We're using timber and we're using oil as if these are unlimited materials. And they're not! We are beginning to reach the limits of their availability. That's something I learned from the environmental world.

Then from the globalization community I came to appreciate how the spread of industrialization to more areas of the world, the intensification of global commerce, is accelerating the exploitation of resources. And the third part is the part that I know best — that governments often securitize resource issues, by which I mean they view them through the lens of national security — we must have these things for our national security and therefore we're willing to go to war to maintain them. It's a combination of those three things that make the resources question so volatile.

TW: Can you say more about how we are using our resources up?

MK: Water is an example. One thinks of water as renewable, in the sense that each year the rains come, or we hope they come. But only about three percent of the planet's water is fresh water, and two-thirds of that is tied up in the polar icecap. Actually only a very small percentage of the water that's theoretically available runs on the surface where we can get at it — in rivers and lakes and wells. And that amount is being used up because of population growth, urbanization and industrialization, including industrialized agriculture. We're now using about half of the available supply of renewable fresh water each year. At current rates of population growth, we're going to be reaching the limits of what's available within this century. And then most of the planet is going to start experiencing, depending on where you live, moderate to extreme water scarcity.

Some parts of the world are already at that point. The Middle East in particular, but there are parts of the American Southwest and the Southeast and the Plains — even parts of the Northeast are suffering from water scarcity. It's a combination of weather-change patterns which come from global climate change and the fact that population growth and suburbanization and urbanization are creating a great increase in demand that can't be supplied.

In the U.S. this leads to disputes over water between states or between counties, and usually these are settled without resorting to violence. What's happening in the Middle East, though, and in South Asia, is that typically main sources of water, like a large river system, originate outside of the country that depends on them. The Jordan River originates in Syria and Lebanon, but Israel depends on the Jordan. The Nile River originates in Ethiopia and Uganda, but it's Egypt that depends most heavily on the Nile. Israel has said very clearly it will go to war if any of the Arab states tries to cut off the Jordan River, and Egypt has said the same thing about the Nile.

TW: That's a pretty precarious position for Israel to be in, a situation where all its water comes from outside the country.

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The commodification of water

On the first day of my graduate course on international water issues, I ask students to complete a simple sentence: "Water is ..." When we finish listing as many entries as they can think of, we typically find that responses fall into three broad categories: a fundamental life support, an economic resource and a source of inspiration and spirituality. As long as water is abundant, these different aspects can comfortably coexist. But as water becomes scarce, they begin to compete. More water devoted to economic activity, for example, may threaten some of its life-support functions or lower its inspirational value. The challenge for society becomes one of managing these competing functions —the competition among water's diverse roles is here to stay and the search for the best ways to manage it and minimize conflict is what water policy and planning are now about. ...

There is a strong move toward the "commodification" of water — treating it more as an economic good than a gift of nature. In principle, there is nothing wrong with properly valuing water's role as a commodity. Indeed, my chapter on "Pricing, markets and regulations" underscores how heavy subsidies have discouraged water efficiency and recommends that water be priced closer to its real cost. Treating water more as an economic good was one of the four principles adopted at a major international water conference in Dublin in 1992. It was echoed in Agenda 21, the plan of action that emerged from the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, and again in the World Bank's 1993 water policy paper. It is also one of the strategy elements laid out in the global fresh water assessment requested by the U.N. Commission on Sustainable Development.

The risk, however, is that water's economic functions will be elevated over its life-support functions and that the three pillars of sustainability — efficiency, equity and ecosystem protection — will not be given equal weight. One key factor driving the commodification of water is the sheer inability of governments to finance the rising capital, operation and maintenance costs of irrigation and urban water systems. The World Bank has estimated that countries need to invest \$600 billion in water infrastructure in just the next decade. In part because of such daunting sums, many governments are turning the construction, operation, management and sometimes even the ownership of these systems over to the private sector. Although this may help the systems become financially sustainable there is an inherent risk to the environment and to the poor.

Water "systems" are more than pipes, canals, meters and treatment works. They can include reservoirs, wetlands, streams and watershed lands that perform many ecosystem services. Turning control of these natural assets over to a private entity motivated by profit risks the loss of valuable life-support functions. Moreover, there is no guarantee that water systems in private hands will give

equity concerns proper weight, since extending coverage to the poor may lower profits.

Although it is too early to judge this trend toward commodification, there is ample reason for heightened vigilance in monitoring it. In the last few years, the privatization of urban water services has greatly picked up speed. Governments have contracted with private companies for the operation of large water systems in Buenos Aires; Kadar, Senegal; Casablanca; Mexico City; Selangor State, Malaysia; and Adelaide, Australia, to name a few. And thirty to forty more privatization deals are in the works. Most of the contracts and concessions are going to a handful of French and British companies, leading to a concentration of power and control.

— from the 1997 introduction to Last Oasis: Facing Water Scarcity by Sandra Postel (The Worldwatch Environmental Alert Series, Linda Stark, Series Editor; W.W. Norton & Co., © copyright 1992 and 1997 by Worldwatch

Institute). Postel's book does more than explain the "Trouble on Tap," around water scarcity. Five chapters are devoted to various aspects of how some communities are "Living Within Water's Limits."

MK: Correct. And that's why Israel has been unwilling to give up the Golan Heights, which is part of Syria but which is also one of the main sources for the Jordan River. And it's also unwilling to give up the West Bank, which has an underground stream of water known as the mountain aquifer. Together the Jordan and the mountain aquifer are Israel's main sources of water, and they have chosen to maintain their control over those through military occupation.

Bear in mind that water is scarce to begin with. Picture desert-like conditions. Then picture the West Bank. Israel controls the wells there and allows Jewish settlers in the West Bank to have as much as five times as much water as the Palestinians, to have enough so that they can water their lawns and wash their cars and fill their swimming pools, while people across the road in Palestinian communities can't feed their plants that they depend on, and don't have enough water for proper sanitation. You can understand why resentments build up.

TW: Let's talk about September 11. How did that change American military policy and oil policy?

MK: That's not an easily compressed story. September 11 is a product, in part, of America's pursuit of Persian Gulf oil. You can't understand September 11 without knowing that history, which has to do with the special relationship the U.S. has with Saudi Arabia.

It goes back to 1945, when President Franklin Roosevelt met with King Abdul-Aziz ibn Saud. They met in Egypt in February 1945 and established a special relationship whereby the U.S. would gain privileged access to Saudi Arabian oil in return for a promise to protect the royal family against its domestic and foreign enemies. So this special relationship is not between the U.S. and a nation, the way our relationship with France or Britain is. Saudi Arabia doesn't have a constitution; it doesn't have a government. It's a feudal monarchy, and our relationship is with the monarchy itself, with the male heirs of Abdul Azziz — women are not part of the line, of course, so this is like a medieval rela-

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SCARCITY

Sandra Postel

tionship. We don't have any other relationship like this! And that has been the basis of U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf since 1945.

We've built up the Saudi military and the internal security forces of Saudi Arabia and continue to do so. We maintain bases there; we went to war in 1990 to protect Saudi Arabia against Iraq. This is a long-term relationship that predates the U.S. relationship with Israel and historically has been more important in terms of its impact on U.S. military policy. We've never stationed troops in Israel or gone to war to protect Israel, but we have stationed troops in Saudi Arabia and have gone to war to protect Saudi Arabia.

TW: And you say in your book that Saudi Arabia contains 25 percent of all the oil in the world.

MK: Right! Which is ...

TW: ... mind-boggling!

MK: They sit on top of more oil than is found in all of North America, all of South America, all of Europe, and all of Africa combined. And so over time the U.S. has developed this very close relationship with the royal family, which a) is undemocratic, b) doesn't permit any dissent and c) is corrupt in the eyes of those who are devout Muslims. They've become so fattened by all this oil money that many of the princes lead very ostentatiously luxurious lives, which don't accord with Muslim views of piety and modesty. And, of course, d) the royal family is linked closely to the U.S., which is closely related to Israel.

So for these four reasons — its undemocratic character, its repressive character, its corrupt character, and its link with the U.S. — the Saudi royal family has become a target for Islamic extremists within Saudi Arabia who wish to overthrow the royal family and replace it with a more radical Muslim government like the Taliban.

Most Saudis, probably, if they had a democratic option, would choose a more moderate government, but that option is closed off. The only way to express dissent



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in Saudi Arabia is through religious extremism and terrorism. And so the opponents of the regime turn to terrorist opposition, and it's from this milieu that Osama Bin Laden and his followers came. Fifteen of the 19 hijackers were Saudis who were part of this anti-government underground.

TW: When he announced the "war on terrorism," George Bush talked about an "axis of evil." Your book talks about Iran's control over the Strait of Hormuz, through which so much of the oil from the Middle East has to be shipped. And of course Iraq is right there near the strait, too. And it made me think, "Oh, that's how Bush managed to put these two very disparate countries together into the 'axis of evil'!"

MK: Right! I think anybody who's studied the history of U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf can't help but see oil behind a lot of other things that happen. Yes, there are other issues: There is a genuine issue of how to address weapons of mass destruction in the region — Israel's as well as Iran's and Iraq's. But I believe that the U.S. concern about Iran and Iraq is primarily about the threat they pose to Saudi Arabia.

And I would also note that Iraq and Iran are the number 2 and the number 3 possessors of oil in the world. I don't think that U.S. policymakers have lost hope that at some point down the road, with a change of regime, U.S. companies will again be able to draw on those oil supplies.

What is important to understand is that three months before September 11, on May 17, 2001, the White House released the Cheney report on U.S. energy policy.

This is the report that Enron wrote, as we now know, and it reflects the outlook of big oil and big coal. The report calls for a very aggressive effort by the U.S. to gain access to oil supplies outside of the Persian Gulf. Because of fears that the Persian Gulf will be periodically embroiled in war, the strategy calls for increasing our supplies from other areas.

The report highlights three areas for a stepped-up effort: the Caspian Sea basin, the west coast of Africa, and Venezuela, Columbia, Mexico. The Caspian Sea is the first. So this was very much national policy beginning on May 17, 2001.

OK, now comes September 11. The U.S. makes war in Afghanistan because that's where Osama bin Laden went when he was driven out of Saudi Arabia. The war in Afghanistan is primarily a war for Saudi Arabia — about Saudi Arabia. It was to reassure the Saudis that we would eliminate the Al Qaeda threat to Saudi Arabia. That's its primary purpose.

However, it does have this nice side ben-

efit. Already you have this policy in place for the U.S. to gain more access to Caspian oil, and the fact that we're operating in Afghanistan and surrounding areas gives an opportunity, the momentum, to beef up the American presence there. And the administration has taken advantage of that fact to promote its oil agenda. I want to make clear: This was not the primary intent, but it is a very appealing side benefit, and perhaps a more lasting one, because we've acquired bases now in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan that could be very useful as the U.S. becomes more deeply involved in the Caspian region. And they could become permanent U.S. facilities.

So what's happened, I would argue, is that the war against terrorism and the war for oil have merged. This is a product of circumstances, not of design. But once the circumstances arose, the two policies that were moving forward on separate tracks are now running on one track.

TW: Would you say something similar is happening in Colombia?

MK: In Colombia it applies because the U.S. has branded the guerrilla movements as terrorist organizations and has announced its intention to support the Colombian government in its efforts to fight the guerilla organizations. And one of the ways that the guerillas fight is by blowing up oil pipelines and oil facilities. So the U.S. has now said it is going to contribute to the security of the oil installations in Colombia.

Another example is in the former Soviet Republic of Georgia. The U.S. now has special forces — military instructors — in Georgia, supposedly to fight terrorism. But this is also a place where the main pipeline is going to go, from the Caspian to Turkey and to the Mediterranean, and the U.S. is very worried about pipeline security in Georgia and the Caucasus.

TW: People on the left have always said that the reason the government and the corporations don't turn to solar power is that nobody can put a meter on the sun, you can't make money off of it. But it seems that if the scarcity problem is really becoming so serious over the next 50 years, that governments would be paying attention to alternative energy sources. They know as well as you do that the oil won't last forever. Why don't they pay attention?

MK: This is our energy psychosis at work, or the better term is addiction. Look at tobacco as a comparison. Just look how long it took to make even minimal progress in combating tobacco addiction. And there you only had two or three states, North Carolina and Virginia and South Carolina, where the economy was tobacco-driven and where the political leadership of those states worked hard to block any government action on tobacco.

TW: In spite of the fact that nationwide it was costing vast amounts of money in illness.

MK: Now, oil is a situation where all 50 states are addicted. There are no states that act as a political counterweight. And when I say addicted, it's mainly for transportation. Because oil in this country is not used for power. So solar is not an issue here. It's transportation that is the factor. And by transportation, we mean suburbs and malls and highways and trucking companies and airline companies, and we're talking about a substantial chunk of the American economy and the political life. Who votes? Suburbs vote! It's not inner-city people, who ride public transit and do not have much public clout. It's middle-class people who live in suburbs, and the housing industry, which only builds in suburbs and nowhere else, and the highway industry and the automobile industry and the oil industry and the trucking industry that are so powerful. And in the end, we're addicted to this.

What's at stake here is the AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. This is a shared addiction that we all have, to a greater extent or a lesser extent. And so it is extremely difficult for our politicians to get in front of the public and tell them the truth — that you can't live in suburbs anymore, that we have to turn away from that and live our lives differently, the way they do in Europe, where people live in urban concentrations along rail lines and trolley lines.

The only exception that I know of is the city of Portland, Ore., where voters turned down a referendum that would have eliminated controls on suburban sprawl. Just about everywhere else suburban sprawl is the name of the economic game. And no politician has the courage to get in front of voters and say it can't go on.

TW: So it's not so simple as to say, "Why don't we just use the sun?"

MK: Right. You could use solar power to heat our homes, but if our homes are a 30-minute drive from shopping and schools and work, it doesn't matter. We're still consuming vast amounts of petroleum. The only way that solar could work is if we build high-speed, electrified, rail connections between every city and every neighborhood, which is what they're doing in Europe. And in other parts of the world that are run intelligently. Japan.

TW: So it would be possible, with a really concerted effort, to decrease drastically the dependence on oil.

MK: Correct. But what is Congress doing? It's voting to build more interstates. Wherever you build an interstate, you're building new sprawl.

I first drove across the U. S. in 1970. Some Witness readers will remember driving across country back then, and you would go huge distances between cities and see farms or wilderness. But now, in so many parts of the U.S., what you see is suburbs wherever you go. All of California, all of the East Coast, the Midwest — it's all sprawl. And the census data confirm what our eyes tell us — that all of the growth in the American population in the last 20 years has been within 25 miles of the interstates.

TW: One of the things that come up over and over again in your book is the question of population growth. Should government be looking at ways to discourage such rapid population growth? And, if so, is there any way to do that in a non-nasty way?

MK: Two things. First, to make clear that population growth is part of the problem. Globalization is equally serious, and I want to lead with that because there is a tendency of some people in the U.S. to blame it all on population, and therefore absolve thempublication. selves of responsibility for their part, which is the consumption of more and more petroleum and other products. Poor people in Nigeria do not own automobiles and do not consume oil, so even if the population there Б increases a thousand-fold, it won't make the slightest bit of difference compared to our failure to raise government standards for automobile mileage. Poor people without cars do not contribute to oil depletion. OK. I want to say that first.

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Permission However, population growth does matter With the secarce water that's shared between three or four countries and high rates of population growth — that's a recipe for disin turns of water consumption and arable population growth — that's a recipe for disaster.

TW: And why is population growth so strong right now?

MK: It's high in many parts of the world, but it's particularly high in those areas because of religious tradition.

Before, you asked what governments can do. All the studies show that the one best way to control population growth is to provide more education to girls and young



Suburban housing replaces farmland in Fresno, Calif. (1998)

women. And provide them with information on reproductive options. That is the best, in fact, the only way to reduce population growth.

TW: Doesn't a reduction in the birth rate usually go along with a rising standard of living?

MK: Yes, but if it's men who are educated. and not women, it doesn't have the same effect. Because, women, when they are empowered, are the ones who tend to be more vigorous in controlling the size of their families. People in the oil countries have high standards of living - like Saudi Arabia — but they have an explosive population growth. And it's because women have no power.

TW: In terms of resources, is there anything that we should be asking the government to do, or doing ourselves?

MK: Resources are increasingly central to world affairs, and managing global resource supplies is crucial to our ability as a species to survive on this planet. Unless we become more adept at managing and conserving the resources that we have, we can expect a very bloody and ugly future.

It is going to require a different kind of ethics than the ethics of consumption, so this is a moral issue as well as an economic

issue. It's how we choose to lead our lives. I think we should be looking to examples of people who struggle with these issues and might provide us with some guidance like the Shakers and the Quakers, who regard a simple life as a superior life.

TW: And the Shakers had the population question down pat!

MK: Oh, yes. We won't go there.

I live not far from one of the largest Shaker communities, the Hancock Village. And their life was austere, but not harsh, because everything they made was so beautiful, so elegant. We could learn to live with less, be happier with less.

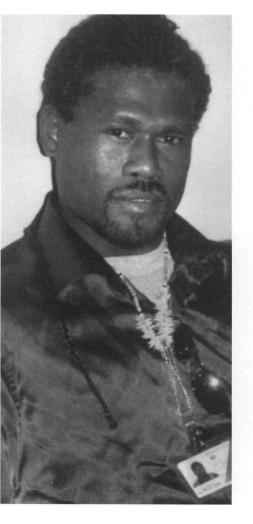
One last thought is that this issue of resources cannot be managed on a countryby-country basis. Water and energy are global issues that have to be addressed on a global scale. And they have to be addressed through the principle of equity — that all people are entitled to basic minimums of the things that we need to survive. And if we don't provide people with that, we're going to invite violence and terrorism and war. So in the pursuit of peace, resource equity is crucial.

TW: What's at stake is not just our lifestyle, but ...

MK: ... peace itself.

RESISTING EXPLOITATION IN

An interview with Ian Aujare by Cristina Verán



F ROM THE BRITISH COLONIAL occupation to World War II battles, the Solomon Islands have endured many waves of powerful, uninvited and exploitative guests. The most recent are Malaysian-owned logging corporations, which are behind the massive deforestation of the nation. These foreign firms stand accused of everything from desecrating sacred sites to soil erosion to the pollution of the sea and local water supply.

Solomon Islander Ian Aujare is an organizer for the Zazao Environmental Rights Organization which is working in Santa Isabel Province to address the grave environmental impact there of the globalized logging industry. He recently addressed the United Nations during the historic first session of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.

C.V.: How should Witness readers understand the context for the Solomon Islands, particularly Santa Isabel Province, which the Zazao Environmental Rights Organization represents?

I.A.: The Solomon Islands are very diverse, people-wise, culture-wise, linguistic-wise. I am only representing my own organization, which is made up of my own people from my own island of Santa Isabel. We share a lot with the other parts of the Solomon Islands, in what we are facing as a whole — the result of colonization and what people are now talking of as globalization. Colonization started from the north and moved southwards around the globe, so we in the Pacific were probably the last peoples to be colonized. In the Solomons, we received our independence as late as 1978, so I look at us as late-comers, the way these waves of problems reach us.

C.V.: How do average citizens of the Solomon Islands make a living?

I.A.: Only 15 percent of the population works for wages, while 85 percent live within a rural subsistence economy. They survive on their own, not because of the government or the companies, but because they grow their own food, they go fishing if they want to eat fish. They live in this way without really knowing of the various dangers coming from outside that are slowly creeping up and will threaten their lives and their way of survival.

C.V.: Why does the logging industry appear to have such a tight grip on things in your country?

I.A.: We are so small that we can be bought for breakfast, so we have been used to being pushed and pulled by bigger governments and multi-national companies. We began studying foreign logging companies operating on our lands and after a while we started to understand that all these companies coming in were really from the same company - just using different names. Operating in the Solomon Islands the company's name is Earth Movers, though on Santa Isabel it is called Eastern Development Enterprises. We have been very confused by all of this, and we have to get our minds focused so we will be sure of the right way to proceed.

C.V.: The island nations of the Pacific region are distant and widely dispersed from one another — with which do you see the most similarities in this situation?

I.A.: Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, New Caledonia — the whole Melanesian sector of the Pacific region — have many logging companies and mining companies coming

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS



World's largest open-pit tin mine, Ariquemes, Rondonia, Brazil

in. I don't really know much about the situation with the Polynesians and the Micronesians. We may share some commonalities in regards to dealing with multinational companies, but on a different wavelength.

C.V.: Unlike countries such as the U.S. or Australia, where indigenous representation within the national government remains sparse, your own government is itself comprised of indigenous Solomon Islanders. To what extent has it been in tune with and responsive to the concerns of the people?

I.A.: There is a lot of understanding between the government and the people, but even though we are 99 percent indigenous and have a government that is also 99 percent indigenous-represented, the system itself is not indigenous.

That is where the main conflict exists. I tend to believe that we no longer even have our own systems.

C.V.: Do you think the United Nations and the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues can really address indigenous concerns?

I.A.: The Permanent Forum is the only higher body within the U.N. that has taken on board the issues of indigenous peoples. Its role, as I see it, is to provide advice to U.N. agencies and governments to the ECOSOC level — which is high — compared to the Working Groups on Indigenous Populations and the Working Group on the Draft Declaration — which are so low. So far as I know, the U.N. Draft Declaration has only adopted two articles in seven years.

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WARS

Brazil's landless movement: sign of hope

by Cynthia Peters

Forty thousand Brazilians die every year of hunger and malnutrition-related diseases, and more than 23 million of Brazil's 170 million people are malnourished. How has Latin America's most resource-rich country ended up with such a large part of its population struggling to survive? Brazil's recent decades of dictatorship and still powerful military, its high concentration of wealth and landownership, and its struggle to develop under the weight of immense debt and IMFenforced neoliberal economic policies have contributed to a fractured and impoverished society. But the Landless Workers' Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra, or MST) has been an important sign of hope.

The MST, with support from the Catholic Church, began its struggle in 1985, taking over an unused plantation in the south of the country. The occupiers gained title to the land two years later. Since then, the MST has helped 300,000 families settle on previously idle land, while close to 100,000 other families are living on land they have occupied, waiting for government recognition. In May 2000, 30,000 MST members took over federal buildings across the country in a successful bid to persuade President Fernando Henrique Cardoso to address the country's extreme economic inequality. In response to pressure from the MST, Cardoso promised \$1 billion in reforms. In addition to its successful resettlement program and considerable grassroots power, the MST boasts a sophisticated literacy program for adults and adolescents, as well as 1,000 primary schools, in which 2,000 teachers work with about 50,000 kids. According to Bill Hinchberger, writing for The Nation (March 2, 1998), "the MST represents Latin America's most dynamic popular movement south of Chiapas."

As such, it is not popular among certain segments of Brazilian society. The police and military, as well as landlords' private gunmen, still target activists. According to the Roman Catholic-run Pastoral Land Commission, over 1,100 people were killed in land disputes between 1985 and 1999. And only 47 cases have gone to trial, leading to just 18 convictions. In 2001, 16 MST activists were murdered, and few of the cases were properly investigated or brought to trial. "At least ten landowners are threatening me, saying that I will be next," José Brito, president of the Agricultural Workers Union of Rondon in the state of Para, has told the press. "Even though I have registered complaints to the police station, I have never been called to give a deposition. Whoever fights for life here will have his own life threatened."

In addition to violent repression, the MST faces other challenges. According to Global Exchange, "landowners and some elected officials are trying to repeal the clause of the Brazilian constitution that says land should be used for social purposes - and can be redistributed if it is not. That provision has formed the legal foundation of the MST's occupations of unused lands." Furthermore, the World Bank's \$2 billion "land bank" program, which offers loans to small farmers to purchase land, is transparently designed to undermine the grassroots-based MST. The MST must also contend with "free trade" agreements that knock down trade barriers, allowing cheap food to be imported from abroad, and undercutting domestic markets. The struggle ahead remains enormous. Today, 3 percent of Brazil's population still owns two-thirds of the country's arable land, much of which lies idle. Meanwhile, millions of peasants struggle to survive by working in temporary agricultural jobs.

At an MST cooperative in Herval, in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul, which I visited in February 2002, I saw productive farms, well-built homes with electricity and running water, schools, and cultural activities. If the 40,000 who die from hunger each year in Brazil are the victims of "class warfare," as the UN's Ziegler argues, the MST is on the front line — fighting back, not with bullets, but with mass organizing and grassroots pressure to meet basic human needs.

— Excerpted from the introduction to an interview with Joao Pedro Stedile, MST National Board Member, by Cynthia Peters and Justin Podur entitled, "They Can Walk With Their Heads Up" in Dollars and Sense (http://www.dollarsandsense.org/).

RESOURCE WARS

I have been following the process since 1998, and part of it for three years, attending the meetings in Geneva including the Working Groups on Indigenous Populations and on the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

I tend to find these meetings so painful. We go there, year after year and give the same statements, talk about the same issues. We may be using different words, but it's all the same things, really.

I see all of these [other] indigenous peoples from all over the world coming there as "victims," as witnesses presenting their cases, their testimonies, while governments are pretending not to see, not to understand.

C.V.: The potential benefits of bringing together such diverse peoples seems very clear. And yet, too, there are real obstacles to organizations like your own even attending these summits.

I.A.: Indeed. The Zazao Environmental Rights Organization is not "funded" and so, since we got organized, we have worked only according to our own resources. If we could buy airline tickets using coconuts and things that we have, more of us might be able to come to the meetings. But even if we could get here that way, we couldn't pay our hotel bill in New York City with coconuts.

C.V.: How does island culture and the local church influence the populace in its dealings with foreign corporations doing business in the Solomons?

I.A.: We have five main churches here: the Anglican Church, and then we have Catholic, Seventh-Day Adventist, South Seas Evangelical Church, Wesleyan United, and now also many, many smaller churches coming up as well. The way they operate here is, more or less, just taking care of the spiritual needs and religious life of the people. None of them have I seen to stand up to actually talk about the issues like the environment or sustainable development. They never do.

We are so Christian here, and because of Christianity, we are so vulnerable. If you walk into a village in the Solomon Islands, you will be well received. It doesn't matter if you're a good person or a bad person. If we were to ever say "no" or "get out" to a company man or a government man, then it's a sin. The Bible doesn't allow that, and we have to respect what the Bible says otherwise, we won't go to heaven.

But the way I look at it, if we are Christians, then we are supposed to take care of the Lord's creation — not destroy it. If we destroy it, then that has to be a sin itself. If you look in the Bible, the Bible never says "go off and destroy the forest." If you destroy it today, then it is also destroyed for the future generations as well.

C.V.: While the Japanese, who once occupied the Solomon Islands during World War II, now arrive with blueprints for industrial and tourism development, what level of interest have those other prior "guests", the U.S. and the U.K., shown in not only Santa Isabel but the entire Solomons group?

I.A.: It makes me sad that sometimes, when I introduce myself as coming from the Solomon Islands, people from England or the U.S. ask, "Where is that?" We know where to find the U.S. and England on the globe. Yet people from the countries who make the books, who make us read the books, still don't know who and where we are.

TO LEARN MORE

For more information, history, and statistics on logging in the Solomon Islands, throughout the Pacific Region, and beyond, visit the following:

Forests Monitor

www.forestsmonitor.org

Forest Stewardship Council

World Wildlife Fund – Pacific Regional Office www.wwfpacific.org.fj/forests.htm

Greenpeace www.greenpeace.org College of Preachers

3510 Woodley Road, NW, Washington, D.C. 20016 Phone 202.537.6381



2002–2003 Conference Schedule The Ministry of Preaching: Proclaiming the Word in a Changed World

November 4-8, 2002 Sermons That Connect, Sermons That Save Paul Zahl

November 11-15, 2002 Words to the Heart: Turning to the Monastic Tradition Esther de Waal

December 2-6, 2002 The Art of the Homily Herbert O'Driscoll

January 17-19, 2003 How Churches Handle Money For Better or Worse Michael Durrall & Randy Boone

January 27-31, 2003 Delivering the Spoken Word Don Bitsberger, Gillian Drake, Constance Fowlkes, & William Hague

February 3-7, 2003 Preaching the Resurrection David G. Buttrick

February 9-14, 2003 (Sunday-Friday) Preaching the Just Word Walter Burghardt & Raymond Kemp

February 17-21, 2003 Voices of a Generation: Xers Preaching Coordinated by Raewynne Whiteley

March 10-14, 2003 The Proclamation of Hope Rowan Greer

March 17-21, 2003 Monastic City, Mystical Gospel Herbert O'Driscoll & Marcus Losack March 24-28, 2003 Preaching in a Postmodern World Frank M. Harron, II

March 31-April 4, 2003 A Time for Truth-telling: Christian Lies and Christian Hope Alan Jones

April 23-25, 2003 (Wednesday-Friday) College of Preachers Annual Spring Fellows Gathering Open only to Fellows of the College of Preachers

May 5-12, 2003 Proclaiming God's Dream: Sharing Your Faith Michael Curry

May 19-23, 2003 The Preaching Life in a Pastoral Context John Claypool

May 26-31, 2003 Preaching Faithfully in a Multi-faith World Barbara Brown Taylor NOW FULL

June 7-12, 2003 (Sunday-Thursday) The City of God for American Cities: Reinventing the Urban Church Co-sponsored with The Center for Urban Ministry, Inc. at Wake Forest University Divinity School Douglass Bailey, Barbara Lundblad, & Johnny Ray Youngblood June 8-21, 2003 The Flight of the Dove: A Pilgrimage to Iona Herbert O'Driscoll & Marcus Losack

June 16-20, 2003 The Deacon's Voice – A Preaching Seminar for Deacons Robert Ihloff & Robert Seifert

July 5-13, 2003 Preaching With the Celtic Saints: Durham, Lindisfarne, and Whitby (U.K.) A Conference Pilgrimage on Preaching Today Illuminated by the Celtic Saints of Northern Britain Arthur Holder, John Pritchard, Kate Tristram, Stephen Cottrell, & Michael Hampel

September 14-26, 2003 The Leap of the Deer: A Pilgrimage to Ireland Herbert O'Driscoll & Marcus Losack

Registration Information

The Durall-Boone weekend conference (January 17-19, 2003) is \$2,500 (double-occupancy room, board, and program) for a church group of 6-10.

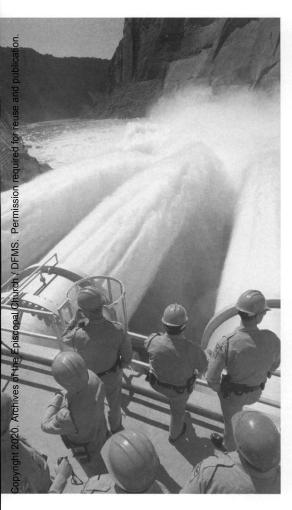
Other conferences are \$695 (double-occupancy room, board, and program). Scholarships are available.

Register online, or contact Joan Roberts at 202-537-6381 or jroberts@cathedral.org.

Register online at www.collegeofpreachers.org

www.thewitness.org

PREPARING FOR 'THE END OF



Renewable energy and the pursuit of peace

by Colleen O'Connor

HEN AMORY LOVINS talks about energy, as he did at the Energy Summit held in San Francisco last summer, he is like a human computer run amok. Without pause, he spews out reams of statistics, case studies, and the latest trends in renewable energy. In San Francisco, the room was packed with local energy and environmental leaders seeking the grail of a solution to California's energy crisis. Lovins, cofounder and CEO of the Rocky Mountain Institute in Old Snowmass, Colo., is a rock star of the sustainability set.

In his Power Point presentation, Lovins flashes photographs of green-built houses with no air conditioning that remain cool at up to 115 degrees Fahrenheit. At rapid clip, he moves through discussions of solar cells, wind power, and a prototype for SUVs that are powered by fuel cells. They'd use no more power than a regular SUV now uses just for the air conditioner, he says.

And then he mentions the simple fluorescent lamp. It uses four to five times less electricity, he explains, and lasts 8 to 13 times longer than an incandescent lamp — saving tens of dollars more than it costs.

"In suitable numbers — half a billion are made each year — it can cut by a fifth the evening peak load that causes blackouts in overloaded Bombay, boost poor American chicken farmers profits by a fourth, or raise destitute Haitian households' disposable cash income by up to a third," he says. "So we can make the world safer one light bulb at a time — its not just about energy."

There's a moment of silence as these power players ponder the implications: Something as simple as a fluorescent lamp can be an instrument of global harmony.

An energy Manhattan Project?

Like the man says: It's not just about energy.

Since the terrorist attacks on September 11, energy conservation is no longer just about saving the environment. It's now layered with new meaning: national security and world peace.

"What's needed is the energy equivalent of the Manhattan Project, the project that developed the atomic bomb in World War II," said Jesse Jackson in a newspaper column he wrote shortly after Sept. 11.

"At the very least, we should take \$8.3 billion scheduled to be wasted next year on Star Wars — on top of the \$100 billion already spent — and invest it in an energy independence project."

An editorial in The Los Angeles Times demanded the same thing. But it used a gentler World War II example, offering up the vision of dramatic lifestyle changes made in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor.

"People didn't just do without; they did things differently. Victory gardens - 20,000 of them in parks, vacant plots and back yards - produced 40 percent of all the vegetables grown in the country. People also changed their tastes. Because rubber was scarce, companies stopped making women's rubber girdles, and fashion designers created new dress styles in response. In essence, during World War II, Americans saved, substituted, recycled and proudly did with less. They invented the idea of 'green' — before they had the term — and put it together with red, white, and blue."

On the east coast Arjun Makhijani, president of the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research in Takoma Park, Md., also advocated radical American lifestyle change using potent examples of his own. "Active, non-violent resistance to evil that goes to the root of the problem in a manner that everyone could participate was the ballmark of the Gandhian struggle for 분

THE HYDROCARBON AGE'

India's independence, known as Satyagraha," he said, "just as it was of the U.S. civil rights movement, and the antiapartheid struggle in South Africa. Making salt, making cloth, and desegregating lunch counters and buses were everyday acts that mobilized millions."

Freedom movements in India, South Africa, and the U.S. Victory gardens and the Manhattan Project. These are powerful inspirations for a tough problem. According to a recent poll, 78 percent of Americans want more energy conservation. Eight in ten people favor more solar and wind power. But our actions have not yet caught up with our vision. The U.S. consumes 25 percent of the world's energy, according to the Environmental Protection Agency — more than what is used in Western Europe, South America, and Central America combined. That's nine times the amount of energy consumed in Africa, and more than three times that consumed in China, which has four times as many people. By contrast, renewable energy — with the exception of hydroelectric power — comprises just 2 percent of U.S. electricity production.

Signs of an emerging energy shift

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Change may seem hopeless. But listen to the wisdom teachers of any religious tradition, and you'll hear about the transformative power of crisis. Breakthroughs, they say, rarely come without breakdowns. If the months following the terrorist attacks are any indication, Americans may be heading toward just such a turning point. Maybe a more accurate term is "tipping point," popularized by journalist Malcolm Gladwell as the juncture at which critical mass is reached, when radical social change happens swiftly and unexpectedly.

Consider these recent events:

• In May 2002, a significant portion of shareholders of one of the world's largest corporations — ExxonMobil — made a surprising decision. More than 20 percent voted in favor of a resolution to urge directors to develop renewable energy as part of the corporation's energy mix. The vote, which represented \$55 billion in company stock, is leverage for shareholders that want a change in corporate attitude toward renewable energy. The number of concerned shareholders is increasing dramatically. Last year, when the same resolution was presented, only 8.9 percent voted in favor—which means that concern more than doubled in a year.

• On April 25, 2002, Tennessee became the first South-

eastern state to buy green power — solar, wind, and methane gas from landfills — for its state buildings. "Tennessee's future depends upon affordable, dependable energy," said Gov. Don Sundquist, who then urged Tennessee residents, businesses and local governments to get on the bandwagon and follow the state's example.

• Just a few days earlier in Illinois, governor George Ryan issued an executive order to purchase green power for at least 5 percent of the buildings owned or operated by agencies under his control — that amount of renewable energy will grow to at least 15 percent by 2020.

• In November 2001, residents of San Francisco approved two bond measures that will generate \$100 million for the installation of solar power, wind power, and energy efficiency technologies on city-owned property. The solar panels will be installed on rooftops of city facilities in the sunniest areas of the city, and the wind turbines will be located on city-owned property in Alameda and San Mateo counties.

Growing commitment to renewable energy reaches from state and local governments into the ivory towers of academia. Pennsylvania recently made headlines because 25 of its colleges and universities — more than any other state in the country — are now buying wind power from new Pennsylvania wind farms.

They're in the vanguard of a resurgence of interest in wind power, which is fueled by its increased effectiveness and reduced cost. Wind power plants now produce more than 3.1 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity each year — enough electricity to supply the needs of every household in the state of Montana, with some left over

Americans also are experiencing a resurgence of interest in solar power, perhaps because its cost has decreased 71 percent since 1980. This summer, the national conference of the American Solar Energy Society had the highest attendance in its history. "People are thirsty for knowledge," says Marion Barritt, national chair of the conference.

Meanwhile, that same week in California, a leading homebuilder named Clarum announced an agreement to make solar electric power a standard feature in two of its new communities. AstroPower, a Delaware-based solar company, will supply 277 solar electric home power systems within the next three years. They'll be standard on every home in the new neighborhoods, and they will also be net-metered.

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Celebrating Earth Ministry

by Carla Valentine Pryne

Unbelievably, 10 years have passed [since the birth of Earth Ministry, a Seattle-based Christian environmental ministry (see www.earthministry.org)]. *Creation* no longer is such a stranger to the language of mainstream denominations and no longer a foreign concept on the agenda of national jurisdictions. People can consult many excellent books on theology and spirituality focused on creation. And, perhaps most important, the themes of ecojustice — the inseparability of the needs of nature and the needs of humans, espe-

cially those on the economic margins of the nation and the world — are now more a part of mainstream church work.

In congregations it is no longer considered radical or risky to hold St. Francis Day blessings of animals or Earth Day celebrations. Going further, many congregations have successfully incorporated stewardship of creation dimensions within their mission statements. Others brought "living lightly on the earth" standards to their parish's land use, waste stream and energy flow. And over and over again, we have seen such inspiration, creativity and continuing vigilance brought to congregations by individuals and committees passionate for the Earth.

All this is good, and to be celebrated. But what also needs to be said is this: The work is often still a struggle and demands a certain vigilance. Keeping this vision before the average congregation has not become any easier over the last decade. And having returned to full-time parish work over the last two years, I have a few observations and some guesses as to why the struggle is still difficult.

A quarrelsome church. A recent news clip noted the upcoming retirement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey. "The Anglican family is a broad but quarrelsome church that ranges from England to Canada, from Australia to Africa," he observed. Quarrelsomeness describes in part the life of most denominations. Church people expend much energy on internal church issues and disagreements and have inevitably less to give for looking beyond the church. This particularly impacts an area such as environment, perceived as large and complex.

Survival and growth. Within the typical congregation — and this was true before the economic downturn of recent months — survival and growth continued to dominate the agenda. For most congregations I know at all well — and none of these are in poor communities — the central efforts of the staff and leadership focus on simply keeping things going and maintaining central programs. Typically, churches are chronically understaffed at a support and administrative level. Contributing to this has also been, in recent years, a smaller number of volunteer hours coming from the congregation than was typical 10 or 20 years ago. Consequently, ministry for creation efforts often seem like an "extra,"

RESOURCE WARS

"By including these features as standard, Clarum is enabling homeowners to reduce their energy consumption by up to 60 percent," says Bob Ruggio, manager of residential system sales at AstroPower.

Fuel cells at Yellowstone and a 'green' skyscraper

Even national parks are investing in renewable energy. Last May, fuelcell technology debuted at Yellowstone, the nation's oldest national park. Fuel cells, the cleanest emerging source of alternative energy, convert energy produced by a chemical reaction directly into electric power.

To better spread the seeds of this innovative technology to the American masses, the 4.5-kilowatt, propane-powered fuel cell was installed at the park's West Entrance in West Yellowstone, Mont., where it provides electricity and heating to offices and ticket kiosks. This location now draws exceptional attention to the introduction of the cutting-edge technology to Yellowstone because, over the next year, more than one million visitors will pass within a few yards of the fuel cell. Education is paramount, so the staff are demonstrating how the fuel cell works to park visitors — many of whom will return to their homes around the country, spreading the news to their friends and neighbors.

As an emerging technology, fuel cells are now touted as one of the most promising solutions for an energy-independent future. They're popping up everywhere. At the Energy Summit held in San Francisco, for example, Amory Lovins zoomed in on a slide of the Conde Nast building in Manhattan, which is the country's first 'green' skyscraper.

"It was designed to use half the energy of an ordinary office building," he says, "and with the saved construction costs, the developers were able to equip it with the two most reliable known power sources — fuel cells and solar cells."

Like Lovins, many experts believe that fuel cells will play a critical role in the coming hydrogen economy, which is expected to eliminate the carbon burning of fossil fuels by using pure hydrogen in fuel cells.

Perhaps most remarkable is that the head of a major oil company is leading the pack. Just three weeks after Sept. 11, Phil Watts, chairman of Royal Dutch Shell, stunned the audience at the United Nations Development Program when he announced that Shell was preparing for "The End of the Hydrocarbon Age."

His vision of the future is like a road with two forks. One is an evolutionary path, moving at a stately pace from coal to natural gas to renewables: By 2050, petroleum's current 40 percent global energy share would decrease to 25 percent, the natural gas market share would increase to 20 percent, and all else would come from nuclear and various renewable sources.

But the other path is a radical shift in thinking that he believes will lead to "the potential for a truly hydrogen economy, growing out of new and exciting developments in fuel cells, advanced hydrocarbon technologies and carbon dioxide sequestration."

The end of the hydrocarbon age, experts say, is rushing toward us because we now consume fossil fuels 100,000 times faster than they are made. Eventually we'll run out of them, but hydrogen is the most abundant element in the universe. Its also non-toxic, renewable, and offers more energy per pound.

Fast-growing industry

Fuel cells, predicted to be the driver of the coming hydrogen economy, aren't exactly new. They fueled the 1960s Gemini spacecraft, still power the Space Shuttle, and have been utilized by NASA on other space missions. A fuel-cell industry is growing quickly, and leading companies include Avista Laboratories of Spokane, Wash.; Energy Research Corporation of Danbury, Conn.; and H Power of Belleville, $\frac{5}{8}$ N.J., which made the fuel cell used at Yellowstone. Fuel cells are dential and small business power generators, and large-scale power Egenerators. All major car companies have fuel-cell cars in developgment, and this summer, the DaimlerChrysler NECAR 5 powered ^ethrough the single longest trip yet in a fuel-cell car: more than 3000 gmiles from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. "I think fuel cells are a very important part of

"I think fuel cells are a very important part of the energy mix," says Lovins. "It's important to use them in ways that make sense, that inte-Egrate stationery and mobile deployment so each can help the other Lovins notes

Lovins notes that just a 2.7 miles-per-hour gain in the fuel economy $\overline{0}$ of America's cars could displace our Persian Gulf imports entirely. It's Ža popular concept these days. Jesse Jackson likes to say that if we all drove cars like the hybrid Honda Insight, which gets 70 miles per gal-

 Image: Construction of the second Episcopal Power & Light and The Regeneration Project: affiliated with the Episcopal Church, this organization works on climate change. Thanks to advances in energy efficiency technologies, the deregulation of the electric industry and the development of renewable energy resources, religious people have a historic opportunity to put their faith into action and help reduce

www.theregenerationproject.org

National Religious Partnership for the Environment: NRPE is a formal alliance of major faith groups and denominations across the spectrum of Jewish and Christian communities and organizations in the U.S. NRPE integrates care for God's creation throughout religious life: theology, worship, social teaching, education, congregational life and public policy initiative. It seeks to provide inspiration, moral vision and commitment to social justice for all efforts to protect the natural world and human well-being within it.

www.nrpe.org

Target Earth: a national movement of Christians active in 15 countries buying endangered lands, protecting people, saving the jaguar, sharing the love of Jesus, reforesting ravaged terrain.

www.targetearth.org

likely to happen and keep happening only by the extraordinary efforts of individuals. In the current economic climate, with many parishes struggling to meet bare-bones budgets, mere visibility for this work is likely to be a challenge.

Lifestyle change. It's much easier to identify the need for change than to do it. Parishes find it just as hard as individuals, perhaps harder. Turn down the heat? People complain the church is too cold. Cut down on mailings in order to save paper? You worry that's the reason for the poor turnout for an event. And it's just easier to get volunteers to clean up after an event if paper and plastic have been used. Over the past two years, I have cringed in making every one of these decisions myself.

Culture of extravagant consumption. In the 10 years since Earth Ministry's official birth, the country's self-image has changed enormously. The current economic downturn comes at the end of a decade of extravagant consumption and the promotion of a self-image with lavishness as the norm. When my older son turned 11, someone asked him what he wanted to be when he grew up. "A millionaire," he replied in a nanosecond. Gee, way to go to embarass your enviropriest mom!

It's hard to remember that only 30 or so years ago, mansions were associated with the comedy show "The Beverly Hillbillies." Now, what with humongous SUVs, mansions on postage-stamp lots, homes jammed with electronics that not long ago could have run a small business, the culture of consumerism has become the norm. Although we are capsizing the Earth's life systems by our very lives, it has become more countercultural than ever to try to live differently.

Nevertheless, to my way of thinking, here precisely is the opportunity and the invitation to the church as a whole, and in particular to efforts such as Earth Ministry. I was speaking the other day to the Ministry Resource Coordinator of the Diocese of Olympia. She makes available hundreds of books, videos and curricula on every aspect of church life and ministry. Without a doubt, she told me, the most popular resources in her collection in recent months pertain to simplifying lifestyle! What an encouragement for this work! It's as if, choking on our own lifestyle, people are searching for another way. Although we might hope lifestyle and vision might spontaneously change for love of creation, none of us are in fact pure. A shift of this kind is a beginning and a good one.

 Excerpted from "Tenth Anniversary Musings," in A Globe of Witnesses at www.thewitness.org/agw.

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The Ground Zero Memorial attracted throngs of visitors during commemorative observances in New York last month.

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