

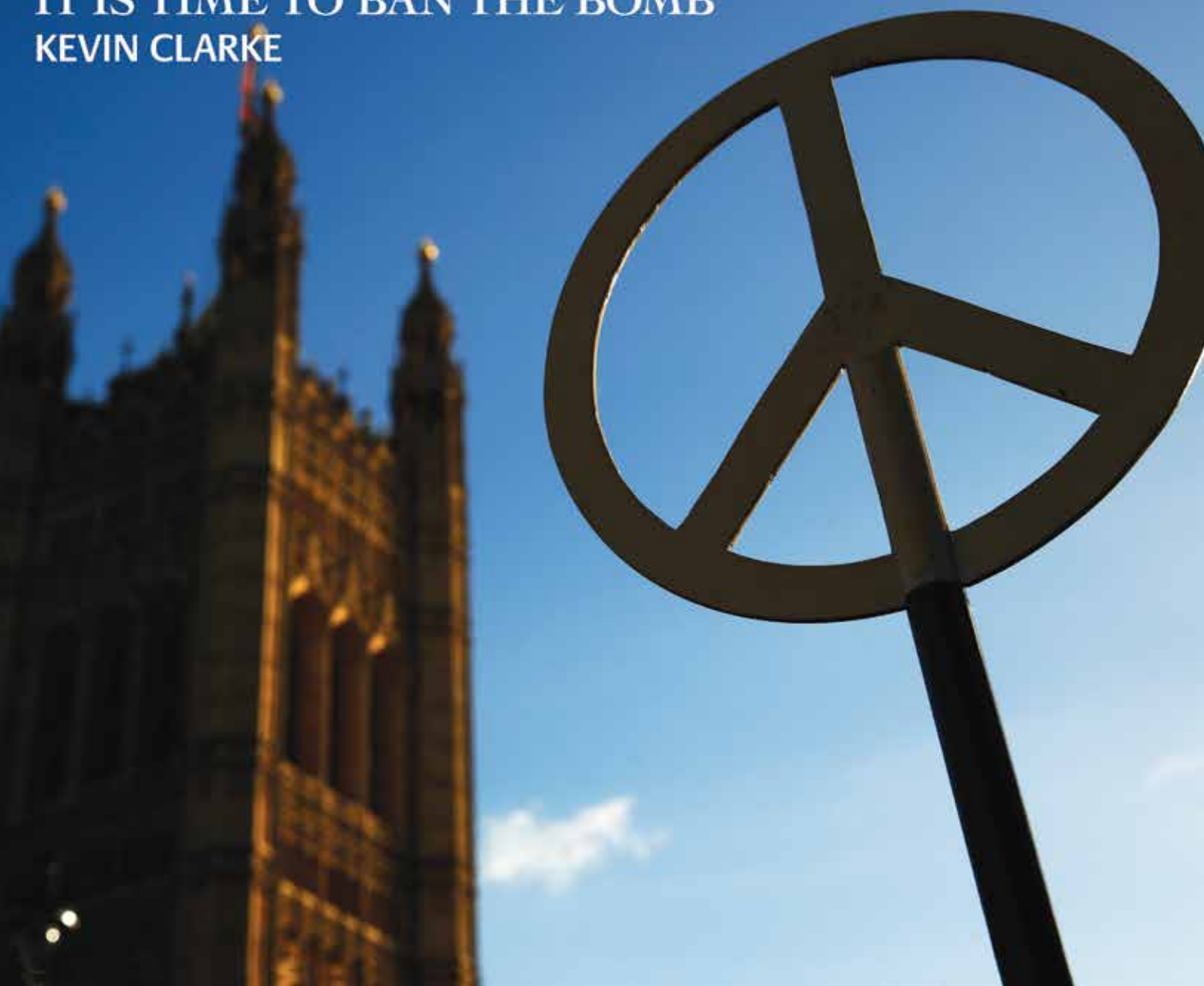
America

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC REVIEW

MAY 4, 2015 \$4.99

No More Nukes?

A NEW MOVEMENT ARGUES
IT IS TIME TO BAN THE BOMB
KEVIN CLARKE



Matt Malone, S.J. is traveling abroad this week. Michael Rossmann, S.J., is the editor of The Jesuit Post.

Just over three years ago, my friend Paddy called and asked if I wanted to be part of a new website that would deal with sacred and secular issues and everything in between. He envisioned it being about Jesus, politics and pop culture; about the Catholic Church, sports and Socrates.

We wanted to talk about religious stuff with our peers without appearing like religious weirdos. We wanted to discuss serious topics but also not take ourselves too seriously. We wanted to speak to a younger generation in a way that most Catholic media did not.

And so The Jesuit Post was born.

Speaking with our peers—young or young-ish adults—and using a variety of digital media, The Jesuit Post (or TJP) offers a Jesuit, Catholic perspective on the contemporary world. We aim to show that faith is relevant to today's culture and that God is already at work in it.

When The Jesuit Post is at its best, we talk about topics like the attacks in Paris and Kenya or #BlackLivesMatter but also reflect on the life lessons learned from Bob Ross or the phone calls you get in your 20s. Sometimes we talk explicitly about God or church or Jesus; most of the time we write about what it means to be human today. It might not look like the evangelization of a previous era, but it speaks to our peers in a way that is relevant to our time.

Our guiding principle springs from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola: write "as one friend speaks to another." We write as we would speak to others in Jesuit community: funny while still serious, deeply profound and yet light and accessible.

TJP is a project of Jesuits in formation. Nearly all the contributors are not-yet-ordained Jesuits studying

theology or philosophy or working in our Jesuit ministries.

By keeping TJP a project of Jesuits still in formation—younger Jesuits savvy about pop culture and social media—we know that even while the people behind the project constantly change as we move along in our Jesuit training, we can keep a fresh voice.

This spring we announced a partnership with America Media, publisher of **America**. At TJP young Jesuits in formation will still have editorial control over what and how we decide to write. In other words, we will keep that fresh voice. But now, with America Media as our publisher, we'll have the institutional backing and professional mentorship to ensure The Jesuit Post remains a unique voice in the Catholic media landscape for a long time to come.

We can learn much from an institution with as much experience as **America**. America Media can learn a thing or two from The Jesuit Post about how people communicate today and about what matters to younger generations of Catholics and people on the frontiers of faith.

Instead of existing as two separate Jesuit entities that might talk past each other, we now have the opportunity to enrich each other. We have already collaborated on articles and promoted each other's content.

If you have not seen us, please check us out at thejesuitpost.org. While we aim to speak to our fellow young adults, the "young at heart" are most welcome.

In looking back at the phone call asking me to be part of The Jesuit Post, I could not have expected that during my theology studies, the final stage of our formation before priestly ordination, I would be working with brother Jesuits on a project that reaches people all over the world. These past three years have been fantastic. The future, with America Media, looks even better. **MICHAEL ROSSMANN, S.J.**

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Cover: A sign with the peace symbol is seen during a peace rally against nuclear weapons in front of the Houses of Parliament in London on Jan. 24, 2015. Reuters/Luke MacGregor

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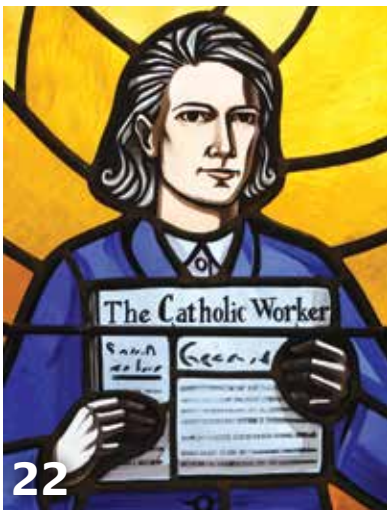
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ON THE WEB

Holly Taylor Coolman, right, talks about adoption and the Christian life on "America This Week," and Rob Weinert-Kendt reviews "**Hand to God**" on Broadway. Full digital highlights on page 15 and at americamagazine.org/webfeatures.



Death From Above

The use of drones, the Obama administration maintains, is a civilized substitute for all-out war. After deliberation, each victim is put on a kill list by the Pentagon, then hunted down and killed by the Central Intelligence Agency or Special Operations forces. Unfortunately, according to the human rights group Reprieve, “targeted killing” terminates many more people than just the targets. In one study last November, attempts to kill 41 men resulted in the deaths of an estimated 1,147 people. Other studies report total drone deaths as exceeding 5,000.

But there is a sign of hope. Mohanad Mahmoud Al Farekh, an American citizen from Texas who moved to Pakistan in 2007 to join Al Qaeda, had been put on the kill list by the Pentagon and C.I.A. But instead of being obliterated, he was arrested in Pakistan and will be tried in federal court in the United States. Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. was not convinced that he posed an imminent threat.

In May 2013 President Obama explained what he considered a rigorous standard for drone strikes, including “near certainty that no civilians will be killed or injured.” Some civilian casualties had been unavoidable, he said, “but those deaths will haunt us as long as we live.” Evidence is mounting that those deaths are not a few. A new study by the Open Society Justice Initiative reports that nine drone strikes in Yemen between 2012 and 2014 killed 26 civilians, including five children, and injured 13 others. Those deaths should haunt us all.

A Trafficking Jam

The Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015 seemed poised to sail through a polarized Congress with wide bipartisan support. The legislation would establish a fund to assist and compensate victims of human trafficking and bolster enforcement efforts with fines from convicted offenders. Democrats have filibustered against the bill since it arrived on the Senate floor in March, objecting to a provision that restricts the use of restitution funds for abortions, which they say they had not noticed in earlier drafts.

The anti-abortion language, the Hyde Amendment, has been attached in some form to every Congressional appropriations bill since 1976 to prohibit the use of federal funds for abortion. The Democrats argue that its inclusion in the J.V.T.A. unacceptably expands Hyde by applying it to a fund that does not rely on taxpayer dollars but on monies collected from traffickers. Sen. Richard Blumenthal,

Democrat of Connecticut, said in an interview, “The Hyde provision is absolutely antithetical to the goal of anti-trafficking.” The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, meanwhile, has offered qualified support for the bill. Kevin Appleby, director of the bishops’ Office of Migration Policy and Public Affairs, said the support for victims was “a positive step forward,” but that if the Hyde Amendment were to be weakened, the bishops would oppose the legislation.

As it stands, the Hyde provision of the J.V.T.A. grants exceptions for pregnancies that result from rape or incest or threaten the life of the mother. It is unclear how limiting payments for other elective abortions is “antithetical” to ending trafficking. But holding up this bill with an absolutist pro-choice stand certainly does not help these victims.

Missteps After Cuba

The appearance of President Raúl Castro of Cuba at the Summit of the Americas in Panama in April marked a breakthrough for the gathering, which has taken place every few years since 1994. Not only was it the first time a Castro appeared at the event; the United States also enjoyed a more positive reception than in years past. A few days after the conclusion of the summit, President Obama removed Cuba from a list of state sponsors of terrorism, another sign that a new era in Latin American relations may be breaking.

The White House decision to re-establish diplomatic ties with Cuba has clearly borne fruit. Yet the months since that announcement have not been free of controversy. Venezuelan leaders have condemned the White House for imposing economic sanctions on individuals who played a key role in Venezuelan government crackdowns that led to the deaths of dozens of protesters.

But the sanctions were not as controversial as the language that prefaced the announcement. The executive order said that Venezuela posed “an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States.” The language, which was criticized throughout Latin America, was a mistake. It gave President Maduro added ammunition in his efforts to demonize the United States. Fortunately, President Obama sent a seasoned foreign policy hand to Venezuela to meet with the president. By the time of the summit, Maduro seemed willing to engage with Obama, at least in a limited way.

The episode illustrates the difficulties of clearing a new diplomatic path. In some quarters of Latin America, distrust of *los yanquis* still runs deep.

Preventing a Nuclear Iran

Nearly 50 years after Pope Paul VI pleaded “No more war, war never again,” at the United Nations, his call remains as urgent as ever as members of the so-called P5-plus-1 group work to prevent a nuclear-armed Iran. The members, led by the United States, hope that the details of a framework deal reached in early April will be hammered out by the end of June and that the terms will help to forestall a potentially disastrous arms race. The tentative agreement includes positive steps, like cutting the number of Iran’s centrifuges by two-thirds, reducing their fuel stockpile and banning new enrichment facilities for 15 years. In return the United States and other nations would lift some economic sanctions.

Despite the hope this framework deal offers, tensions remain. The Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei has since insisted on the immediate lifting of all sanctions if an agreement is signed and has stated that he will limit the reach of U.N. inspectors. If an agreement is to be reached, definitive terms for action must be clarified and agreed upon in good faith. Iran must demonstrate a willingness to allow inspections, but the P5-plus-1 members and the United Nations must also recognize the challenges that come with inspecting a country more than twice the size of Texas. There will be significant ground to cover, and inspection plans must recognize this reality.

Unfortunately, the tensions inherent in this international dialogue have been exacerbated by Congress, which has sought to interpose itself in the details, oversight and implementation of the nuclear agreement. In addition, Wisconsin’s Gov. Scott Walker has publicly pledged to revoke the nuclear agreement should he be elected president, and Florida’s Senator Marco Rubio initially fought to make the agreement contingent upon the recognition of Israel by Iran. Both men are seeking the Republican presidential nomination, yet statements like these directly contravene the current president’s constitutional authority to promulgate agreements, as well as his influence and credibility in a volatile situation, and seem aimed at political gains at home rather than a resolution abroad.

If we hope to reach agreements on critical issues abroad, there must be concerted efforts to foster political solidarity here at home. After much debate, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has managed to pass a version of the bipartisan Iran Nuclear Agreement Review Act that allows Congress some oversight and control while softening some of the terrorism provisions originally proposed. President Obama

is expected to sign the act. Although the process remains contentious, the move shows some willingness among U.S. politicians to work together and is a positive step, in line with pleas from Bishop Oscar Cantú, chairman of the U.S. bishops’ Committee on International Justice and Peace.

In a letter to Congress, Bishop Cantú wrote that “it is vital to continue to foster an environment in which all parties can build mutual confidence and trust” and that the committee “continues to oppose Congressional efforts that seek to undermine the negotiation process or make a responsible multi-party agreement more difficult to achieve.”

Failure to negotiate an agreement could produce potentially disastrous results, including a diplomatic stalemate, a rapid nuclear arms race and possible regional war. However, a successful agreement could result in many positive steps toward peace. In the region it could mean quelling fears in Saudi Arabia that could provoke its own race to the bomb. In Iran it could mean meaningful inspections and monitoring of nuclear facilities, as well as the long-term possibility of improving relations between Iran and the international community. This, in turn, could mean greater regional security and stability—a clear benefit to Israel, a U.S. ally.

Although many Israeli government officials have spoken out against the possible agreement, former President Shimon Peres has voiced his cautious support. However, he emphasized the importance of backing diplomatic agreements with concrete action and called on the Iranian people, saying: “Reject terrorism. Stop the nuclear program. Stop the development of long-range missiles.”

In his Easter message, Pope Francis also expressed hope for a diplomatic solution, saying that the agreement among Iran and the P5-plus-1 nations “may be a definitive step toward a more secure and fraternal world.” This broader vision is all the more reason for these nations and Iran to work deliberately toward a successful agreement.

Preventing a nuclear Iran is too crucial a move to be stalled by narrow political agendas. Nor should the framework deal be expected to solve every issue at once. For now, a signed agreement would be a positive and hopeful next step toward longer-term solutions, greater solidarity and what Pope Paul VI described as the kind of peace “which must guide the destinies of peoples and of all mankind.”



STATE OF THE QUESTION

Editor's Note: In "Why Go to Mass?" (4/13), Mary Ann Walsh, R.S.M., wrote, "To evoke lively conversations, ask why so many Catholics no longer go to Mass." We did that, and because of the volume of responses, this week's Reply All is dedicated to that topic.

Listen Up

The Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate recently reported: "What has held steadier [than Mass attendance] is the frequency with which Catholics have their own conversations with God in their daily lives. Just fewer than six in ten Catholics pray daily, and this has remained relatively unchanged since the early 1980s."

So the question should be rephrased: Why do most Catholics who pray daily also not go to Mass weekly, or even monthly? They certainly connect with God on a daily basis in prayer. Why do they not connect with the church at worship? This connection with God and prayer should be the starting place of an affirmative approach. Churches should have large signs that read, "Do you pray daily? Come worship with us this weekend!"

The Vibrant Parish Life Survey of the Diocese of Cleveland, published in April 2003 with 129 participating parishes and 46,241 responses, found that "Masses that are prayerful, rever-

ent and spiritually moving" ranked first among 39 items in importance but only 21st in being well done. "The parish as a supportive, caring community" ranked second in importance but, again, only 18th in being well done.

In the same study, "Parish leadership that listens to the concerns of parishioners" ranked seventh in importance but was 29th in being well done; this was the largest importance/well done gap in the whole survey. Bottom line: parish leaders need to stop talking and begin listening.

JACK RAKOSKY
Online Comment

The 'Dones'

In response to those who say they "don't get anything out of Mass," Mary Ann Walsh, R.S.M., writes, "They were expecting good feelings? The right numbers for the lottery? Feeling all good inside?"

But these people do not say they want to feel "all good inside." Sister Walsh interpreted their words for

them. And that is supposed to bring people back? Has the author paid attention to the debate on the so-called Dones? These are people who have gone to church for decades and are just done. Many church leaders say exactly what Sister Walsh is saying. Others are saying what I am saying: "Take our concerns seriously, and do not put words in our mouths."

As Sister Walsh at least mentions, people feel marginalized. The church must listen to these people and take their reasons seriously. Isn't that what Pope Francis is saying?

DAVID WOOLWINE
Online Comment

Give and Take

When I hear people say that they get little out of Mass, it gives me the impression that the church is a place one goes to get her or his ticket punched, or that Mass is one leg of the three-legged stool (pray, pay, obey) concept that some people have.

For me, the phrase "skin in the game" comes to mind. I have to ask myself: What is my investment in my church? Am I only in for the take and not for the give? Msgr. Romano Guardini's *Meditations Before Mass* has helped me to understand what my role is, not only

STATUS UPDATE

I go to Mass for the Eucharist. What keeps me away? Nothing—certainly no mere man in the pulpit.

DONNA CLARK

What gets me to Mass is the outreach that the church offers to all—you don't have to be Catholic to benefit from its many social justice programs. What makes me want to leave the church on a nearly monthly basis? The obtuse and stubborn insistence by some clergy and some laypeople that the sexual abuse scandals are media driven and that all should be forgiven and forgotten.

MARY WAGGONER

I go to Mass because God gives me so much that I can surely spare him an hour a week. I switch parishes when faced with uninspired homilies, priests who lack humility or empathy and thinly veiled political references.

CATHY MUCKIAN LANSKI

So many times I have heard Catholics say that they "don't get anything out of Mass." I want to say that I go to Mass to give something—my love, my gratitude, my needs, myself to my God—but I feel shy about expressing it out loud. At Mass I enter

a sacred place, more than a building—a communion.

ETHEL M. KITCHEL

There are folks around the world who cannot attend Mass or any Christian service without risking their freedom or even their lives. I've been thinking about that a lot lately—especially now, as the one-year anniversary of the kidnapping of the (mostly) Christian schoolgirls by Boko Haram draws near and, just recently, after the massacre in Kenya in which Christians were targeted. I go because they can't.

ADRIA GALLUP-BLACK

when participating in Mass but when assisting in the mission of the greater church.

PETER CONNOR
Online Comment

Joyful Return

I am rather surprised not to see a common complaint among the comments. Frankly, many priests lack public speaking skills and conviction when celebrating the Mass. Nothing turns off people faster than having a priest read a sermon to the faithful from a script. There is a huge difference between a priest talking and engaging with the faithful and reading a sermon he wrote three years ago or in haste the previous night. I see few priests these days behaving as if they're turning bread and wine into the body and blood of God the Son. Instead it's done by rote, with a minimum of reverence instead of awe and humility. Only when this joy and enthusiasm are the norm, rather than the exception, will the fallen-away return.

JIM COYLE
Online Comment

Two Reasons

I did not see in "Why Go to Mass" the two reasons I attend Sunday Mass. I want to stay out of mortal sin, and I want to receive Jesus Christ. Absent those two reasons, I would not go. Fellowship I find at the barbershop, where homilies abound and there's only one collection.

DONAL MAHONEY
St. Louis, Mo.

Catholic Core

I am concerned with Sister Walsh's statement about "homilies against what they are at their very core," referring to the divorced and remarried and L.G.B.T. Catholics. I must argue that what one is at his or her "very core" is beautifully and simply a child of God. While one's life choices and innate tendencies certainly shape a person's circumstances, and may at times feel like one's identity (especially when, in

my personal experience, something is off track in the relationship with God), choices do not make the person. We follow Christ because we recognize his voice.

Maybe when we don't follow, it's because choices that we have no intention of changing make us uncomfortable in the presence of the Lord. Maybe we need to get better at being in the discomfort and letting the Lord speak to us. I am a faithful Mass attendee and often feel uncomfortable at Mass when I have been making poor choices. But I always find that if I ask the Lord to speak to me through the word and heal me through the Eucharist, he never fails.

KATIE BROCKLEHURST
Online Comment

Take-Aways

Sister Walsh does not mention in her analysis the legitimate, unfulfilled desires Catholics may have when they come to church. How about a carefully prepared sermon by a well-educated priest, a homily that explains the Scripture readings and applies them to our lives? How about some spiritual instruction that offers guidance for the week to come? How about a sense that the entire congregation is engaged in worship, rather than simply watching a priest do "transubstantiation," a term that is meaningful only to medieval

metaphysicians?

When I talk to Catholics who have left to go to non-Catholic churches, I always hear the same thing: that every Sunday they learn something and come to understand the Bible better. Instead of criticizing Catholics who are absent on Sunday, the church has to ask if they are offered any real reason to come.

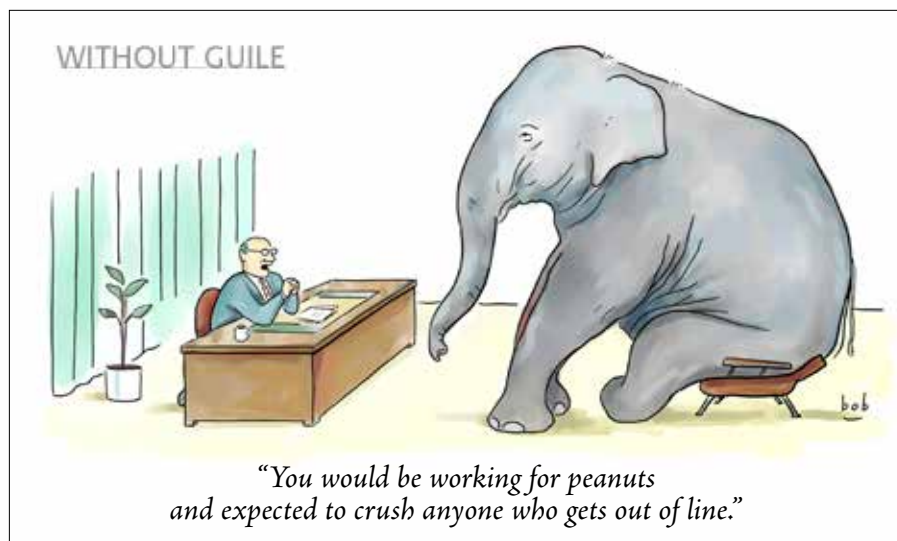
LOUIS MANZO
Cocoa Beach, Fla.

Applied Readings

I attend a parish in the mid-Atlantic region. The homilies are generally good, sometimes even great. Easter found me in New England at a parish run by the same order of priests. I found the experience much more vibrant and the homily, while brief, was masterful.

The experience led me to understand that people need the readings to be applied to their daily lives. Generally I find that most priests either speak in a historical-catechetical context rather than in a way that leads to the application of the Scripture passage to a person's heart and life. Great homiletics are critical to people going to Mass. If the homily speaks to people's hearts, they will keep coming back. When we as church cease to speak to the heart—well, we see the results of that all around us.

G. MILLER
Online Comment



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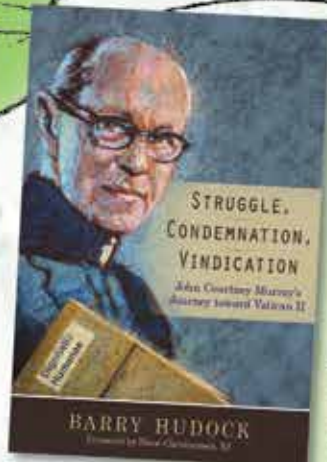
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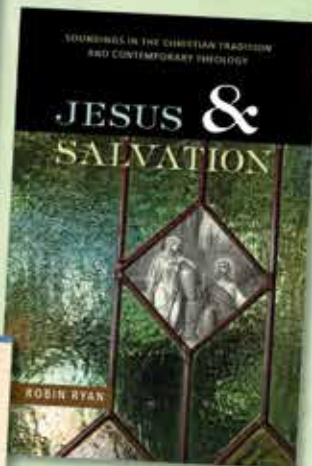
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Jesus of Nazareth

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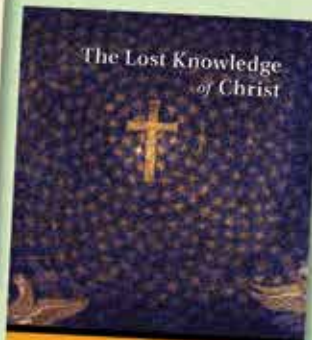
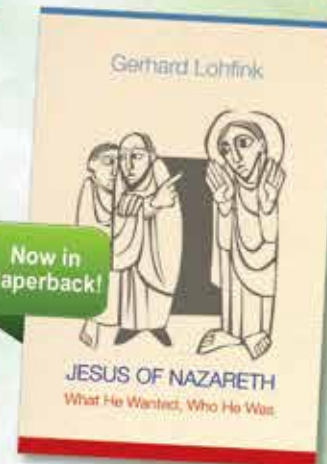
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At Play in Creation

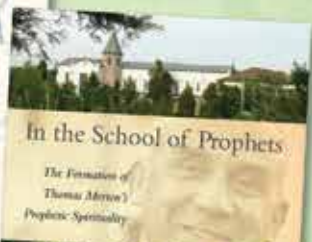
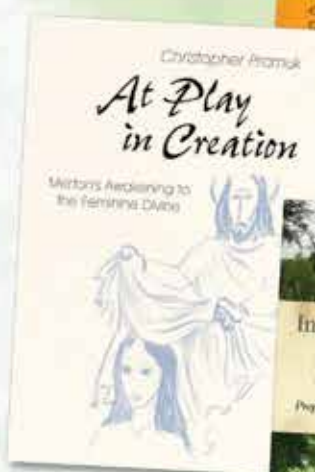
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SIGNS OF THE TIMES

MIGRATION CRISIS

Death Toll on the Mediterranean Rises as E.U. Response Falters

A YOUNG SURVIVOR. Italian police photograph a child after migrants arrived by boat at the Sicilian harbor of Pozzallo on April 19, 2015.



PHOTO: REUTERS/ALESSANDRO BIANCHI

Pope Francis has appealed to the international community to take swift and decisive action to avoid more tragedies as the migrant crisis in the southern Mediterranean worsens by the day. In the latest catastrophic episode, as many as 900 migrants appear to have drowned on April 19. Migrants had rushed to one side of the boat as rescuers approached, causing the overloaded vessel to capsize and trapping many below decks.

Pope Francis expressed his “deepest sorrow” over the sinking. “These are men and women like us who seek a better life,” he said on Sunday morning after the Regina Coeli prayer in St. Peter’s Square. “Hungry, persecuted, injured, exploited, victims of wars. They were looking for happiness.”

Carlotta Sami, a spokeswoman for the United Nations refugee agency, told a reporter with Agence France-Presse that the disaster could turn out to be “the worst massacre ever seen in the Mediterranean.” Many E.U. officials blame human traffickers for overloading vessels and forcing migrants aboard, sometimes at gunpoint.

The death toll, if confirmed, would raise the tally so far in 2015 to more than 1,600, a figure expected to rise further as summer approaches. More than 400 others died in similar circumstances just the week before, including many women and children.

On April 16 Italian police arrested 15 migrants for allegedly throwing 12 other migrants overboard—all are presumed lost—during what appeared to be an attack

by Muslim migrants on Christians on the high seas. Over the Easter weekend last month, the Italian navy and coast guard had rescued up to 1,500 migrants from five different boats after picking up distress calls from satellite phones. Separately, the Icelandic navy rescued over 300 migrants, including 14 children and five pregnant women, off the Libyan coast. The Icelandic vessel formed part of a patrol for the E.U. borders agency Frontex.

Officially, the number of people entering Europe illegally almost tripled in 2014; arrivals in early 2015 are up 43 percent. The dangerous sea-crossing often starts in chaotic Libya as people flee war, poverty or both in the Middle East, Syria and Africa. Most often these vulnerable people, having paid as much as \$6,000 for the crossing, attempt the northward Mediterranean passage in boats that are barely seaworthy and always seriously overcrowded. This led to over 3,200 deaths at sea in 2014 and over 200,000 rescues, according to U.N. figures.

E.U. member states are being criticized for refusing to accept and resettle greater numbers of migrants. Italy has been hard pressed to cope with the crisis and, according to some reports, is preparing a joint effort with Tunisian authorities to intercept and repel seaborne refugees. In what critics are describing as a European “outsourcing” of the crisis, the deal allegedly includes E.U. financing and training of Egyptian and Tunisian naval forces in rescue missions. Meanwhile German officials have proposed setting up refugee transit centers in North Africa to stem the flow of migrants and to prevent so many deaths by drowning. That plan has so far been supported by Spain, France and Austria.

Human rights groups have expressed considerable concern at these

proposals, citing the instability of the North African states involved as well as a moral claim on rich European states to welcome people who are desperate for a better chance in life. But on the continent, politicians stoke populist fears that migrants come to feed off

generous social benefits. Increasingly too, some European voices warn of a link between migrants and terror; not only is the destination state's social and economic stability threatened, in this view, but also its security.

DAVID STEWART, S.J.

CHICAGO

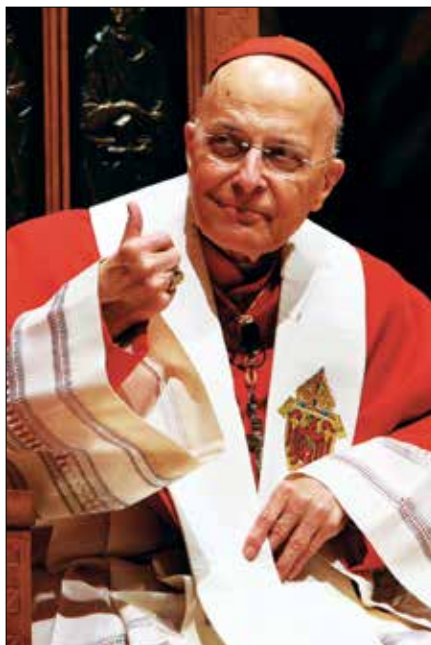
Cardinal Francis George Completes His 'Ministry of Unity'

A bishop stands for Christ, the head of the church," Chicago's Cardinal Francis George said to Mary Ann Walsh, R.S.M., America's U.S. Church correspondent, in one of his last interviews. "What he faces is always tied to that vocational understanding. It means that the bishop has a unique perspective on the 'whole,' on an entire local church with all its people... His is a ministry of unity.

"Within that vision, he has to see that the church has the institutions necessary to pass on the faith and that the faith is clearly enough presented to call people to conversion of life."

The cardinal told Sister Walsh in October 2014, "A growing challenge to this 'normal' life of the church and the full range of a bishop's concerns is the secularization of our culture and the conviction, on the part of many, that religion is a threat to peace and social harmony, not a contribution to the common good."

Cardinal George may be best remembered as a defender of church orthodoxy during a time of rapidly shifting cultural and political realities, responding to that problem as a public intellectual. He passed away at the age of 78 on April 17 after battling cancer for many years. The return of the illness in March 2014 contributed to his decision to step down from shepherding the



A CARDINAL'S FAREWELL. Cardinal Francis E. George gestures to Archbishop Blase J. Cupich after receiving a standing ovation when Archbishop Cupich thanked him for his service in November 2014.

nation's third largest archdiocese and its 2.2 million members—the first man to retire rather than die in that office.

"A man of peace, tenacity and courage has been called home to the Lord," Archbishop Blase Cupich of Chicago said, confirming media reports of the cardinal's passing. Archbishop Cupich recalled Cardinal George's courageous struggle with cancer. "He pursued an

overfull schedule," said Archbishop Cupich, "always choosing the church over his own comforts and the people over his own needs."

The archbishop added, "Let us heed his example and be a little more brave, a little more steadfast and a lot more loving."

Archbishop Cupich observed that "Cardinal George's life's journey began and ended in Chicago." He said, "He was a man of great courage who overcame many obstacles to become a priest." George had been afflicted with polio as a child and was forced to wear a leg brace. Because of that encumbrance, Chicago's Quigley Seminary rejected his application, and Cardinal George joined the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

Archbishop Cupich remembered Cardinal George as "a resolute leader among the bishops of the United States when the church struggled with the grave sin of sexual abuse," insisting that zero tolerance be the policy adopted as the bishops established guidelines to respond to the crisis. The cardinal has been credited with guiding that policy through Curial obstacles in Rome soon after its adoption in 2002's Dallas Charter. Ironically, his apparent willingness to sidestep the policy in the case of the serial child molester Dan McCormick proved a painful error.

George was a native son of Chicago, born on Jan. 16, 1937, in Portage Park, an altar boy who thought of becoming a priest from the time of his first Communion at age 7. Perceived as well-aligned with the policies and intentions of previous popes St. John Paul II and Benedict XVI, Cardinal George struggled to understand the direction Pope Francis hoped for the contemporary church. A willing combatant on challenges to the church on religious liberty issues, the cardinal also joined church leaders in defense

of human dignity for contemporary migrants and people left behind by a volatile economy.

He was president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops from 2007 to 2010 and was remembered by its current president, Archbishop Joseph E. Kurtz of Louisville, Ky., as an exemplary churchman in a statement released on April 17. "Cardinal George led as a kindly servant and unmatched intellectual," Archbishop Kurtz said, "a man who encouraged everyone to see how God makes us all brother and sister to one another."

Death in Lahore

Nauman Masih, a 14-year-old Pakistani Christian doused with gasoline and set afire by a group of Muslim attackers, passed away on April 15 in Lahore. The boy had been stopped and assaulted after confirming he was a Christian. The attack was allegedly in retaliation for the lynching by Christians of two Muslim men suspected of being involved in two church bombings on March 15. "I would say that today we are in the worst period in history for the life of Christians in Pakistan," said James Channan, O.P., director of the Peace Center in Lahore. "Discrimination, suffering, oppression often become real persecution. Today we ask the government: where is justice?" Mervyn Thomas, director of Christian Solidarity Worldwide, said in a statement released on April 15: "The culture of impunity must end, and religious minorities must be guaranteed the rights of all citizens in Pakistan."

Welcoming Iran Deal

Bishop Oscar Cantú of Las Cruces, N.M., chair of the Committee on International Justice and Peace of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, urged Congress to give the "Lausanne framework," concluded by U.S. and

NEWS BRIEFS

Pope Francis is considering the possibility of **visiting Cuba** in September, before or after his trip to the United States, the Vatican said on April 17. • **Parents of Martin Richard**, the 8-year-old boy killed in the Boston Marathon bombings of April 2013, called on the government on April 17 to end its quest for the death penalty and sentence the convicted bomber to life in prison. • Responding to petitions from members of the Papal Commission for the Protection of Children, Cardinal Sean O'Malley, O.F.M.Cap., put the **question of the accountability** of bishops and religious superiors before the members of Pope Francis' Council of Nine cardinal advisors on April 15. • Even the dead, it seems, cannot escape Islamic State extremism as militants who have been in control of Mosul, Iraq, since June began **toppling tombstones and crosses** in the city's oldest Christian cemetery—part of a campaign to "eradicate pagan symbols." • At the general audience in St Peter's Square on April 15, Pope Francis gave a special greeting to the **husband and daughter of Asia Bibi**, a Pakistani Christian who has been imprisoned since 2010 after being convicted of blasphemy against the prophet Muhammad and sentenced to death by hanging.



The Richard Family in 2014

E.U. negotiators with Iran, a chance. His letter arrived on April 14 as U.S. senators put the finishing touches on a bill intended to create additional congressional oversight of the agreement. "We welcome the most recent step the United States and its international partners have taken with Iran and encourage our nation to continue down this path," Bishop Cantú wrote in a letter to Congress. "The alternative to an agreement leads toward armed conflict, an outcome of profound concern to the church."

L.C.W.R. Report Issued

Pope Francis spent 50 minutes with a delegation from the Leadership Conference of Women Religious on April 16. The symbolic encounter came after the Vatican's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and the L.C.W.R. announced that they had reached a

positive conclusion to a three-year effort by the congregation to ensure that the L.C.W.R. carries out its work in harmony with the Catholic Church's teaching. Thus ended, on an amicable note, a controversial process involving the C.D.F. and the leadership of the umbrella organization of over 80 percent of the 57,000 American sisters that had made international headlines. "We learned that what we hold in common is much greater than any of our differences," Sharon Holland, I.H.M., president of the L.C.W.R., commented afterward. It had been known for some time in Rome that Pope Francis wanted to bring closure to this contentious and unhappy chapter in the relations between the Vatican (spurred on by some U.S. bishops) and the L.C.W.R. and to open a new, positive and constructive relationship with the sisters.

From CNS, RNS and other sources.

DISPATCH | LONDON

Campaign Christianity

Since former Prime Minister Tony Blair declared himself a Christian believer in 2007 and was received into the Catholic Church shortly thereafter—once he had left office—public declarations of faith by U.K. politicians have not gone down well among British voters. Contradicting his boss, Blair’s spin-doctor Alistair Campbell famously, and perhaps desperately, declared of the Blair administration, “We don’t do God.”

Contemporary Britain, like much of Europe, is thoroughly secularized. Thus declaring atheism or agnosticism is not a vote-loser as it might be in the United States. The junior partner in the recent coalition government, Nick Clegg, lost his early popularity this election season, but not because of his declared atheism. The current Labour leader and prime ministerial hopeful Ed Miliband has likewise declared himself an atheist.

Suspicion of Roman Catholicism is a thing of the past except on the wilder fringes of Ulster Orangeism. It had been rooted in the legacy of the Act of Settlement that followed the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the deposing of the last Catholic monarch, James II. That history, barely known, matters little in the 21st century.

Blair’s own crossing of the Tiber did not include, in the eyes of many, an entirely wholehearted embrace of recent Catholic thought. Like U.S. President George W. Bush, Blair appeared to ignore papal concerns about the Iraq war.

The underlying political calculus here appears to be that one’s religion should, at most, be seen but not heard. But this is rarely a principled and articulated separation of the sacred and the secular. Rather, we see among believers a relegation of faith to the private realm, while nonbelievers feel no need to listen for anything of value in, for example, Catholic social thought.

Public declarations of faith by U.K. politicians have not gone down well with British voters.

In the United Kingdom, “We don’t do God,” but when political leaders decide that they are going to anyway, the results can be mystifying.

As the general election campaign reached peak intensity this April, for some reason the outgoing Prime Minister David Cameron produced an “Easter message” in which he lauded Britain as a “Christian country.” Christians, he intoned, do much good in the community: feeding the homeless and hungry (perhaps especially those whose hunger was caused by his government’s austerity policies).

Cameron went on to explain that the key values of Easter were “compassion, forgiveness, kindness, hard work and responsibility.” Quite how he extracted that insight from the passion and resurrection of Christ remains unclear. Perhaps he had in mind the forgiveness shown by Christ on the cross to the good thief. Who was he, an asylum-seeker or benefit cheat? Perhaps

the hard work and responsibility cited was that shown by Simon of Cyrene. But the P.M. chose not to give these or any other examples. This was not so much bad theology as no theology.

Cameron went on to inform the nation that “like so many others, I’m a bit hazy on the finer points of our faith.” This, one had to assume, explained his sense that “Easter is all about remembering the importance of change, responsibility, and doing the right thing for the good of our children.” Yes, Prime Minister.

Cameron’s Easter exegesis could be counted a cynical attempt to woo the Christian vote, whatever that might mean in 2015 Britain, for Conservatives. As the United Kingdom goes to the polls on May 7, his gambit appears unlikely to pay off. Other politicians were even more egregious. The leader of the U.K. Independence Party,

Nigel Farage, was roundly condemned for asserting in a televised leaders’ debate that treatment for H.I.V. should be denied to immigrants, putting “our own people first.” Despite the consequent outrage, Farage stood by his remarks, asserting without substantiation that “it is a sensible Christian thing to look after your family and your own community first.”

Thatcher, on her accession to Number 10 Downing Street in 1979, churned many stomachs when she infamously invoked a prayer often erroneously attributed to St. Francis of Assisi: “Where there is discord, may we bring harmony...” Most quasi-religious interventions by our politicians, let alone those of no professed faith. Yet it is for the followers of Christ to call candidates to account, not only for their policies, but also their cynical appropriation of the Christian faith.

DAVID STEWART

DAVID STEWART, S.J., is *America’s* London correspondent.

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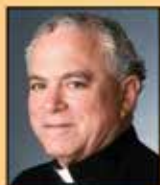
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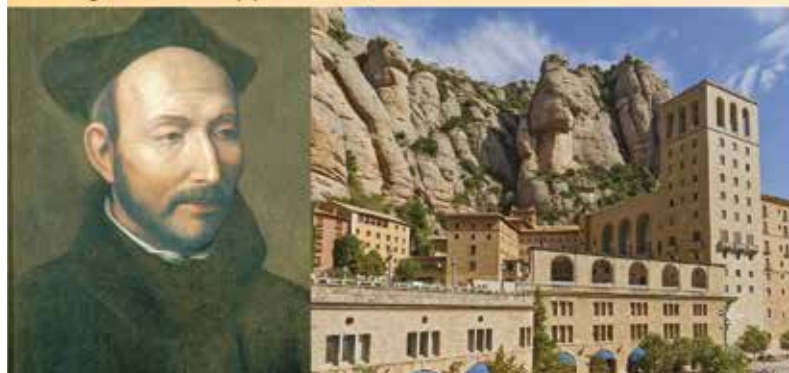


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A Prayer for El Salvador

The day is almost here: the beatification of Oscar Romero. Thirty-five years after his martyrdom, hordes of pilgrims will descend on El Salvador on May 23 to honor Romero's life and witness. The archbishop of San Salvador was a "sign of contradiction" in every sense of the phrase, from the theological to the political to the commonsensical, and his devotees include many Americans who revere him as a modern-day prophet. "Part of Romero's power was his understanding that the church, by her nature, must be revolutionary in the truest sense," wrote Archbishop Charles J. Chaput of Philadelphia recently. "She seeks, and at her best actually lives, a revolution of Christian love."

Romero had as many enemies in death as in life, but we will not be hearing much from them. Everyone these days—even those who hindered his cause for sainthood on the grounds he was a Marxist, even those who promote an economic creed against which he prophesied with hellfire and brimstone, even the erstwhile allies of those believed to have murdered him—has nothing but love for Oscar Romero.

One cannot help but cast a gimlet eye on some of it, and I am reminded of a conversation I had with a wise Jesuit retreat director 13 years ago. I had asked him about the seemingly endless list of those murdered in El Salvador, both the famous and the anonymous. How would we remember those killed by the Catholic soldiers of a Catholic government in a country named for our Savior?

"The one the church will pick to

JAMES T. KEANE is an editor at Orbis Books in Ossining, N.Y., and a former associate editor of *America*. Twitter: @jamestkeane.

recognize as a saint is Romero," he said. "And that will be fine; he will stand for all the martyrs. But," he cautioned with a smile, "once we make them saints, they are no longer dangerous to us." But what about all those who hated Romero and his message, I asked, including some in the church? Weren't they complicit in his death and all that followed?

"Not just the church," he rebuked me, "the Western world. All of our hands are dirty. Yours and mine too. Who paid for all those guns?"

It was Romero himself who asked President Jimmy Carter in 1980 to halt a military aid shipment to El Salvador. "Instead of favoring greater justice and peace in El Salvador," Romero wrote, "your government's contribution will undoubtedly sharpen the injustice and the repression inflicted on the organized people, whose struggle has often been for respect of their most basic human rights." Over the next 12 years, the United States gave over \$6 billion to prop up the murderous Salvadoran regime.

President Obama, who lit a candle at Romero's tomb during a visit to El Salvador in 2011, made the following statement recently regarding Central America: "The days in which our agenda in this hemisphere presumed that the United States could meddle with impunity, those days are past." A reporter friend offered a single comment: "LOL." Like most foreign policy reporters, he recognized Obama's claim as a laughably preposterous lie, Nixonian in its stout assertion of an absurdity. After 150 years of meddling, the United States is suddenly out of

the empire game in Latin America? This greasy assurance sounds a lot like Vladimir Putin's claim that Russia does not meddle in the affairs of Ukraine. Meanwhile, the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (formerly the School of the Americas) remains open in Fort Benning, Ga.

That retreat director was right about more than just American complicity in El Salvador's tortured history. He also presciently identified the peril we all face in honoring Romero the man: we run the risk of ignoring or sanitizing Romero's message.

Romero had as many enemies in death as in life.

Yes, Oscar Romero sought "a revolution of Christian love." But part and parcel of that love was a rejection of American-style econom-

ics. Romero wrote that "In concrete terms, capitalism is in fact what is most unjust and un-Christian about our own society." He also rejected any ecclesiology that exempted or banned the church from criticizing political and economic injustice.

Romero is considered a martyr because he was killed "in hatred of the faith," but (to quote his Vatican postulator) it was "a hatred for a faith that, imbued with charity, would not be silent in the face of the injustices that relentlessly and cruelly slaughtered the poor and their defenders." He also had a chilling warning for the first world, one later adopted by St. John Paul II: On Judgment Day, the people of the third world will stand in judgment upon those of the first.

JAMES T. KEANE

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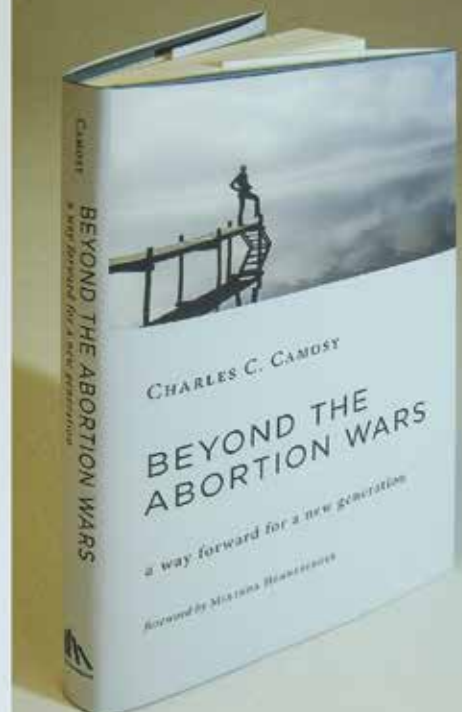
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No More Nukes?

A new movement argues it is time to finally ban the bomb.

BY KEVIN CLARKE

There is an oddly anachronistic feel to talk about the abolition of nuclear weapons. Like watching Civil Defense films of the 1960s, contemporary calls to ban the bomb provoke a disorienting déjà vu, recalling a different, more paranoid and dangerous time. After all, with the Cold War over—sort of—hasn't humanity dodged the threat of nuclear annihilation? Long past the era of classroom "duck and cover" exercises and H-bomb scares, haven't we all learned how to stop worrying and live with, if not love, the bomb?

"Young people don't understand what nuclear weapons can do," says Patricia Lewis of London's Chatham House, an independent policy and research institute. "They don't think of them as weapons, but as political entities." And, according to Ms. Lewis, contemporary efforts to ban the bomb have been hamstrung by unsuccessful exercises in the past. "Young people haven't been interested in this problem because old people talk about it in sort of a gloom of failure," she says. That disinterest appears to be ending.

The familiar cry of "No Nukes" has now been taken up by the hashtag generation, who are putting social media savvy to work on the issue—#NoNukes and #GoodbyeNukes have led a rhetorical offensive across the Twitterverse. This generation's peace warriors are arising from among global civil society groups, defying government officials and the nuclear proliferation nomenclatura who seem unsure how to respond to the abolitionists' firm belief that civil society can—and should—have a meaningful role to play in nuclear disarmament.

But today's bomb abolitionists not only have to remind a mostly indifferent public that nuclear weapons remain a global environmental, humanitarian and even existential threat; they have to persuade new recruits that challenging the nuclear orthodoxy of deterrence is a real geopolitical possibility.

Civil Society Steps Up

Opening a meeting of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons in Vienna in December, Beatrice Fihn, the group's executive director, reminds the ICAN cho-

rus that each of the world's 16,300 or so nuclear weapons remains "ready to kill millions of lives within minutes." She says, "These weapons are unworthy of anyone, of any state" that follows "fundamental principles of humanity."

Ms. Fihn acknowledges that nuclear powers "will say a ban is impossible; they are wrong. Don't let anyone tell you that making nuclear weapons [illegal] is not possible." In fact, she says, it is the obligation of the members of the world's civil society organizations to help their governments come to terms with the threat of nuclear weapons. "Civil society can be the guiding force," she says.

At 32, Ms. Fihn is a youthful face of an international movement that has been gathering momentum overseas and may soon make an impression in the homeworld of nuclear weapons, the United States. The new nuclear abolitionists point to recent successes in global bans on land mines and cluster munitions, drives led by civil society groups against stiff government resistance, as models for this latest campaign against nuclear weapons. Why shouldn't nuclear weapons face the same fate?

"We can't do anything about the victims of the past or the damage [to the environment] from nuclear testing," Ms. Fihn said in Vienna. "But we now have a chance to prevent another humanitarian disaster from happening. It is our responsibility to do so no matter what nuclear state might object."

By email, Ms. Fihn discusses ICAN's strategy. "Getting people to care about nuclear weapons is obviously a big challenge today," she says. "Many people don't really think about these weapons anymore; they barely know they exist." Worse, the issue has come to be seen as "old-fashioned" to younger activists, who have moved on to other pressing problems of the times—climate change, human rights and sustainable development. "It is also very difficult to engage people in an issue they think is hopeless," she adds. "Many people agree that nuclear weapons are bad, but don't feel that there is something that can be done about it."

Ms. Fihn reports that ICAN is "re-energizing the nuclear abolition movement and reaching out to new audiences" by avoiding "security-focused arguments, with deterrence theory and cold war rhetoric" and focusing on the humanitarian case for nuclear abolition. The evidence of ICAN's success is clear in Vienna. The campaign's third international conference is crowded with activists in their 20s and 30s. "By

KEVIN CLARKE is senior editor and chief correspondent of *America*. His participation in Vienna was sponsored by *The Nuclear Threat Initiative*.



basing our arguments on the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons, we have managed to reach out to new constituencies and a younger generation,” she says. “Talking about what nuclear weapons do if used has a very powerful awareness-raising aspect, and it also creates a feeling of urgency to do something about it.”

As weapons that evoke a demand for abolition on humanitarian grounds, nuclear weapons “tick every box,” according to Ms. Lewis. They are clearly weapons of mass destruction, designed to instill terror and cause grievous suffering to survivors; they pose an imminent ecological threat if used; but even if they are never used, their creation and maintenance create profound hazards.

A parallel conference that same month in Vienna considered the humanitarian impacts that could be anticipated from the detonation of one or more nuclear weapons. International Red Cross officials warned that humanitarian agencies would be unable to respond on the scale required by a catastrophe caused by an accidental or intentional detonation of a nuclear warhead, let alone by the multiple detonations that might result from a “moderate” exchange of nuclear strikes. Climatologists grimly warned that even a limited exchange of nuclear strikes, such as might occur

between the nuclear-armed antagonists of South Asia, India and Pakistan, could have a devastating impact on global climate and agriculture as the atmosphere choked on the radioactive dust and debris thrown up by nuclear detonations.

Some members of the ICAN coalition want to proceed directly toward a global ban that would create an international normative process to which states with nuclear weapons would eventually have to respond, much as powers like the United States had to be dragged into the process to reduce land mines and cluster bombs. Some wish to follow a gradualist approach toward a negotiated abolition.

Ms. Lewis observes that most members of this civil society effort are unwilling to involve the nuclear-armed states in the process. “If you include them, they will do everything they can to slow the process down or to stop it,” she says.

The presumed historical success of “mutually assured destruction” style deterrence in preventing an actual exchange between nuclear powers is perhaps the biggest rhetorical obstacle to the abolition proposal. But “there is nobody seriously arguing that disarmament doesn’t lead to greater security and peace,” says Desmond Browne, a former United Kingdom secretary of state for defense and now a campaigner against nuclear proliferation for the Nuclear Threat

Initiative. “There’s nobody who believes that the world is not more secure without chemical and biological weapons, or land mines or without the deployment or use of cluster munitions,” Browne said. “Now that they’re gone, no one is arguing for them coming back.”

Ms. Lewis has profound doubts about the continued efficacy of deterrence as a geopolitical strategy. She points out that nuclear weapons are clearly “too awful to be used, therefore [they] won’t be”; they have in fact become merely “symbols of power.” Even small-scale antagonists of the West understand this reality and proceed with their terror campaigns in complete indifference to the West’s vastly superior nuclear firepower.

If the principle of deterrence cannot be challenged, then “we are stuck forever,” says Ms. Lewis. Stuck and running out of time and perhaps luck, she thinks. “The question I have,” she says, “is will nuclear disarmament come before or after the next use of nuclear weapons?”

Nuclear Breakthrough?

A number of key elements are converging that offer the abolition movement a chance to break into the American consciousness in the coming weeks: the successful conclusion of lengthy multilateral negotiations aimed at preventing Iran from joining the nuclear club, a review of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty at the United Nations in New York (held every five years, this one is scheduled to begin April 27 and continue through May 22) and in Washington an emerging political push for new spending to overhaul and modernize the current nuclear stockpile. Pentagon watchers say the current request for \$36 billion per year for 10 years is more likely to lead to \$1 trillion or more in new spending on the U.S. nuclear capability over the next decade. A U.S. modernization effort is certain to be matched by the Russian Federation, a mutually assured disbursement of national treasure that the Vatican and other critics of continued nuclear weapons development deplore as irrational and immoral.

What may further make this a historic moment for nuclear abolitionists has been a recent reappraisal by the Holy See. The Vatican released a study document in Vienna that raises questions about the continuing acceptance of deterrence as a morally legitimate geopolitical strategy. “The ap-

ST. JOHN XXIII: AN ABOLITIONIST AHEAD OF HIS TIME

On the other hand, We are deeply distressed to see the enormous stocks of armaments that have been, and continue to be, manufactured in the economically more developed countries. This policy is involving a vast outlay of intellectual and material resources, with the result that the people of these countries are saddled with a great burden, while other countries lack the help they need for their economic and social development.

There is a common belief that under modern conditions peace cannot be assured except on the basis of an equal balance of armaments and that this factor is the probable cause of this stockpiling of armaments. Thus, if one country increases its military strength, others are immediately roused by a competitive spirit to augment their own supply of armaments. And if one country is equipped with atomic weapons, others consider themselves justified in producing such weapons themselves, equal in destructive force.

Consequently people are living in the grip of constant fear. They are afraid that at any moment the impending storm may break upon them with horrific violence. And they have good reasons for their fear, for there is certainly no lack of such weapons. While it is difficult to believe that anyone would dare to assume responsibility for initiating the appalling slaughter and destruction that war would bring in its wake, there is no denying that the conflagration could be started by some chance and unforeseen circumstance. Moreover, even though the monstrous power of modern weapons does indeed act as a deterrent, there is reason to fear that the very testing of nuclear devices for war purposes can, if continued, lead to serious danger for various forms of life on earth.

“Pacem in Terris,” 1963

parent benefits that nuclear deterrence once provided have been compromised, and proliferation results in grave new dangers,” the document notes. “The time has come to embrace the abolition of nuclear weapons as an essential foundation of collective security.”

The Holy See document questions at length the historical validity of the claims of deterrence, arguing that deterrence “is believed to have prevented nuclear war between the superpowers, but it has also deprived the world of genuine peace and kept it under sustained risk of nuclear catastrophe.” It adds that “the very possession of nuclear weapons, even for purposes of deterrence, is morally problematic.”

The statement describes the evolution of the church’s position on nuclear weapons:

While a consensus continues to grow that any possible use of such weapons is radically inconsistent with the demands of human dignity, in the past the Church has nonetheless expressed a provisional acceptance of their possession for reasons of deterrence, under the condition that this be “a step on the way toward progressive disarmament.” This condition has not been fulfilled—far from it. In the absence of further progress toward complete disarmament, and without concrete steps toward a more secure and a more gen-

uine peace, the nuclear weapon establishment has lost much of its legitimacy.

The Holy See's statement concludes: "The misleading assumption that nuclear deterrence prevents war should no longer inspire reluctance to accepting international abolition of nuclear arsenals. If it ever was true, today it has become a dodge from meeting responsibilities to this generation and the next."

A Vatican official in Vienna, who asked to remain unidentified, downplayed the significance of the Roman Curia's turn against deterrence, arguing that the Holy See was merely returning to principles first articulated in St. John XXIII's encyclical "Peace on Earth," which condemned nuclear weapons in 1963.

But Des Browne of the Nuclear Threat Initiative sees more significance in the Vatican's statement. "This gives us an opportunity, particularly in the United States, a country whose politicians are more informed by their faith than any other, to have a dialogue across partisan lines [about abolition].... This is very important, and we are keen to have this dialogue."

Gerard Powers holds the title Professor of the Practice of Catholic Peacebuilding at the Kroc Institute for International

Abolition has always been a long-term goal of the church, he says. "I don't think that's anything new." The church, he explains, tolerated deterrence as long as it meant peace during a time of transition toward the end of nuclear weapons. What is new in the Vienna statement and in others emerging from Rome and the U.S. bishops' conference is a more pronounced emphasis on complete nuclear disarmament.

A litany of retired former hawks from the U.S. government, including the so-called Gang of Four (George Schultz, former secretary of state; William Perry, former secretary of defense; Sam Nunn, retired U.S. senator from Georgia; and Henry Kissinger, former secretary of state), have followed the U.S. bishops' arguments for disarmament and signed on to the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons. Accordingly, Mr. Powers says, church officials have now "concluded to take this goal seriously, not just as an ideal" but as "a moral imperative."

No Safe Margin for Error

While world headlines remain focused on the effort to keep Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, far less attention has been focused on the nuclear powers on the negotiation team in Switzerland. They have not done too much themselves lately on disarmament. Now that Cold War-style tensions

have re-emerged between the United States and the Russian Federation because of the Crimea/Ukraine crisis, there appears little chance that either power will continue disarmament discussions that have already been allowed to molder for years. That outcome is all the more regrettable because of the real progress that has been made on disarmament. The United States and Russia have reduced stockpiles by as much as 85 percent from Cold War highs of approximately 70,000 warheads.

But even in their reduced numbers, these weapons remain a threat whether or not they are ever put to their intended use. Building nuclear weapons generates numerous and long-term hazards to workers and the communities around weapons development and storage sites. The raw material of weapons, as well as the weapons themselves, remain the potential targets of terrorists, and the possibility of an accidental detonation remains far less improbable

than most people assume.

That is what the journalist Eric Schlosser reports in *Command and Control: Nuclear Weapons, the Damascus Accident, and the Illusion of Safety* (2013) after six years researching the safety record of the keepers of the diminished

Hence justice, right reason, and the recognition of man's dignity cry out insistently for a cessation to the arms race. The stock-piles of armaments which have been built up in various countries must be reduced all round and simultaneously by the parties concerned. Nuclear weapons must be banned. A general agreement must be reached on a suitable disarmament program, with an effective system of mutual control. In the words of Pope Pius XII: "The calamity of a world war, with the economic and social ruin and the moral excesses and dissolution that accompany it, must not on any account be permitted to engulf the human race for a third time." (59)

Everyone, however, must realize that, unless this process of disarmament be thoroughgoing and complete, and reach men's very souls, it is impossible to stop the arms race, or to reduce armaments, or—and this is the main thing—ultimately to abolish them entirely. Everyone must sincerely cooperate in the effort to banish fear and the anxious expectation of war from men's minds. But this requires that the fundamental principles upon which peace is based in today's world be replaced by an altogether different one, namely, the realization that true and lasting peace among nations cannot consist in the possession of an equal supply of armaments but only in mutual trust. And We are confident that this can be achieved, for it is a thing which not only is dictated by common sense, but is in itself most desirable and most fruitful of good.

"Pacem in Terris," 1963

Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. (He will be joining an event co-sponsored by **America**, "Revitalizing Catholic Engagement on Nuclear Disarmament," on May 7 in New York.) He sees the Vienna document as part of a continuum of Catholic ethical thought on nuclear weapons.

but still significant nuclear arsenal of the United States. The most shocking thing he has discovered, he says, is that “the difference between safety and catastrophe in the United States has come down to a single switch or a single wire....

We’ve had numerous accidents with our own nuclear weapons that could have destroyed American cities.”

But what really keeps him up at night is wondering how bad the record of other nuclear powers might be, considering how poorly the relatively sophisticated nuclear guardians in the United States have fared. “We invented this [technology]; we have more experience with it than any other country, so I would hate to see what a similar book about the Russian arsenal would say, or the Pakistani arsenal.” Mr. Schlosser says, “This is very high risk technology and the margin of error is slim, and if there’s a serious mistake you could have a major catastrophe.”

He acknowledges that nuclear weapons abolition “sounds like a pretty radical idea, and yet it was supported by President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, Carter,

Reagan and now Obama,” and also by “quite a few of the Reagan foreign policy and defense officials.”

“How you get to zero is a subject that’s open to all kinds of discussion and debate,” Mr. Schlosser says, but he thinks

we need to be trying to get there. “One less weapon is one less [potential] accident, one less potential act of mass murder.”

Mr. Schlosser says for decades the Catholic Church has been at the forefront on nuclear disarmament, and he thinks it should take the lead now on abolition. Gerard Powers agrees the church has an important role to play in the dialogue ahead.

“You are not going to achieve something as dramatic as a global ban on nuclear weapons without a clear moral imperative that’s solidly grounded in good moral analysis,” he says, “and I think that’s what the church brings to this discussion.”

And what the movement could really use is a celebrity spokesperson, according to Mr. Schlosser; Pope Francis strikes him as just the man for the job.

“He would be better than Taylor Swift,” he says with a smile.

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Called to Be Saints

Why I support the canonization of Dorothy Day

BY ROBERT ELLSBERG

Cardinal John O'Connor announced in 2000 that the Vatican had accepted his petition to initiate the cause for the beatification and canonization of Dorothy Day. With this approval, she received the title Servant of God. Progress on her cause continued under Cardinal Edward Egan, who established the Dorothy Day Guild, and even more under Cardinal Timothy Dolan. Along with soliciting support from the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, he has recently taken a number of steps to advance the process, including the initiative of personally commending her life and writings to Pope Francis.

I have supported this cause. If I take the opportunity now to explain my reasons, it is not to change the minds of those who believe Dorothy Day is unworthy to be called a saint. There are some, for instance, who believe that she was a heretic, a secret Communist or, in the words of the state senator from Virginia who felt compelled to warn the pope, a woman of “loathsome character.” Those for whom I write are instead the many deep admirers and even followers of Dorothy Day who have no doubts about her holiness but are skeptical or suspicious of the process of canonization. Some worry that in making Dorothy Day a saint the church will turn her into a pious cutout—shorn of her prophetic and radical edges—or use her to promote some agenda that was not her own. Others question the investment of resources that might better be used for the poor. Still others feel that the whole process violates her own wishes; after all, didn't she famously say, “Don't call me a saint...”?

I can identify with such concerns, some of which I have heard from friends and people I respect. Before addressing them, I would begin by reflecting on what saints meant to Dorothy and on what, I think, the process of saint-making means for the church.

Drawing Out Love

It would be hard to exaggerate the role that saints played in the life of Dorothy Day and the origins of the Catholic Worker. Peter Maurin told her that the best way to study Catholic history was through the saints—those who most faithfully embodied the spirit of Christ. Inspired by Peter

Maurin and her reading of lives of the saints, Dorothy was emboldened to launch the Catholic Worker with the means at hand, not waiting for funding or any official approval. Constantly she invoked the saints as patrons and intercessors, “picketing” before St. Joseph when funds ran dry, calling on the assistance of the Blessed Mother in coping with the problems in her Catholic Worker family. The saints cropped up constantly in her speech and writings, almost as if they were personal acquaintances: the “perfect joy of St. Francis”; the exuberance of St. Teresa, who said, “I am so grateful a person that I can be bribed with a sardine”; the mystical ardor of St. John of the Cross, who said, “Where there is no love, put love, and you will draw love out.”

In the early years of *The Catholic Worker*, the newspaper was largely illustrated with Ade Bethune's images of the saints. This was not just for pious decoration. Depicted in modern dress, engaged in the works of mercy, these figures literally illustrated what the editors were trying to communicate through words and actions. The saints, as Dorothy spoke of them, were our friends and companions, examples of the Gospel in action. She devoted many years to writing a biography of her favorite saint, Thérèse of Lisieux, exulting in the incredible speed with which the Little Flower was canonized—a sign that she was truly “the people's saint.”

In discussing the saints, Dorothy always acknowledged their humanity, their capacity for discouragement and sorrow, their mistakes and failures, along with their courage and faithfulness. There is no doubt she wished to take them off their pedestals, to show them as human beings who nevertheless represented in their time the ideals and spirit of the Gospel.

She was quite aware of the dangers of sentimental hagiography—the “pious pap” that makes saints seem somehow less than fully human. She quoted a text about the eating habits of the saints, which read, “Blessed de Montfort sometimes shed tears and sobbed bitterly when sitting at table to eat.” To this, she commented, “No wonder no one wants to be a saint.”

She felt it was important that we tell the stories of “saints as they really were, as they affected the lives of their times.” But it was also important to underscore their radical challenge: how St. Catherine of Siena confronted the pope; how St. Benedict promoted the spirit of peace; how St. Francis met with the sultan in a mission of reconciliation.

When Gordon Zahn wrote about his discouragement with the bishops and their failure to address the Vietnam

ROBERT ELLSBERG is the editor in chief and publisher of *Orbis Books*. From 1976 to 1978 he was the managing editor of *The Catholic Worker*, where he served alongside Dorothy Day. This article is adapted from an article in the May 2015 issue of *The Catholic Worker*.

War, she wrote: "In all history popes and bishops and father abbots seem to have been blind and power loving and greedy. I never expected leadership from them. It is the saints that keep appearing all thru [sic] history who keep things going."

Above all, Dorothy believed that the canonized saints were those who reminded us of our true vocation. "We are all called to be saints," she wrote, "and we might as well get over our bourgeois fear of the name. We might also get used to recognizing the fact that there is some of the saint in all of us. Inasmuch as we are growing, putting off the old man and putting on Christ, there is some of the saint, the holy, the divine right there." She acknowledged, sadly, that most people nowadays, "if they were asked, would say diffidently that they do not profess to be saints, indeed they do not want to be saints. And yet the saint is the holy man, the 'whole man,' the integrated man. We all wish to be that."

One of the things that attracted her to St. Thérèse was that in her Little Way she showed a path of holiness available to all people and in all circumstances. Dorothy—who was born the same year that Thérèse died—wished to make known the social implications of the Little Way: "The significance of our smallest acts! The significance of the little things we leave undone! The protests we do not make, the stands we do not take, we who are living in the world."

A New Kind of Saint

And what of the meaning of saints for the church? It is important to recognize that in canonizing a saint, the church is not bestowing a kind of posthumous "honor." Canonization has no impact or import for the saint herself. Canonization is really a gift the church makes to itself. Through recognition of certain individuals—a minuscule number compared to all those holy men and women known to God—the church is challenged to enlarge its understanding of the Gospel, to provide new models that people can relate to, examples who

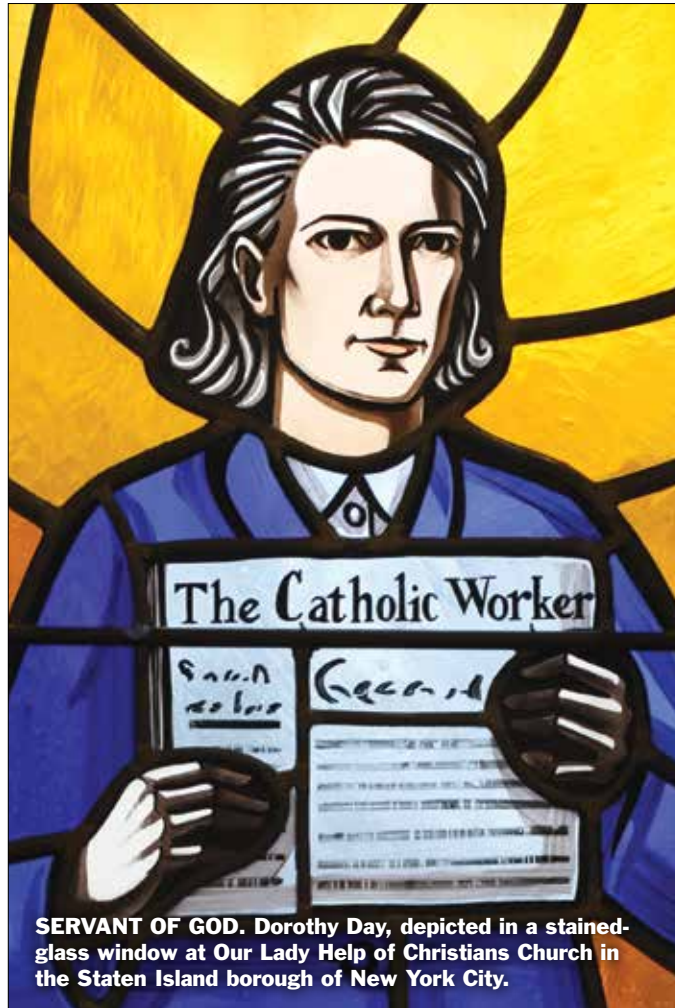
met the challenge of discipleship in their own time and thus inspire us to do the same.

But as Simone Weil said, it is not nearly enough to be a saint; "We must have the saintliness demanded by the present moment." Early in her life, Dorothy recognized the need for a new kind of saint. Even as a child she noted how moved she was by the stories of saints who cared for the poor, the sick, the leper. But another question arose in her mind: "Why was so much done in remedying the evil instead of avoiding it in the first place?... Where were the saints to try to change the social order, not just to minister to the slaves but to do away with slavery?" It was a question to be answered with her own life.

In 1932, as she uttered her fateful prayer at the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception, Dorothy sought an answer about how to integrate her faith and her commitment to justice and the cause of the oppressed. She prayed to make a synthesis of "body and soul, this world and the next." In effect she was seeking a model for how to minister to the slaves while also working to do away with slavery. Many saints had performed the works of mercy and poured themselves out in charity. By combining her work for justice with the practice of charity, Dorothy made an enormous gift to the church. No one coming afterward would have to imagine what such a saint might look like.

But there are other gifts. By far the overwhelming majority of saints, both in history and in recent times, have been priests and members of religious orders. Of the 1,000 or so saints beatified or canonized under Pope John Paul II the majority—apart from martyrs—were founders or members of religious orders. Arguably, this reinforces the stereotypical notion that religious life is a prerequisite for holiness.

Dorothy, in her deeply disciplined life of prayer and participation in the sacramental life of the church, her embrace of voluntary poverty, and her spirit of self-sacrifice and loving service, resembles many saints who went before. Yet as



SERVANT OF GOD. Dorothy Day, depicted in a stained-glass window at Our Lady Help of Christians Church in the Staten Island borough of New York City.

a layperson, as a woman, as an unmarried mother, as the founder and leader of a lay movement that has always operated without any official authorization from the church, as the publisher of a newspaper that presumed to take social positions far in advance of the magisterium of her time, Dorothy Day represents quite an unusual—and significant—candidate for canonization.

In her ecumenism, her commitment to liturgical renewal, her affirmation of religious freedom and the rights of conscience, her resistance to racism and anti-Semitism, and her prophetic implementation of the church's "preferential option for the poor," she anticipated so many themes of the Second Vatican Council and the postconciliar church. And if there is now real thought about her canonization, it is in part a reflection of how far the church has traveled in catching up with her witness. That is something to celebrate.

But there is more. Dorothy was inspired by the Gospel and the lives of the saints to respond to the needs of her day—both the needs that everyone could recognize (the Great Depression) but also the needs that were overlooked by almost everyone else. Dorothy, more than anyone, helped the church recover the forgotten peace message of Jesus. She confronted war and violence in all its forms—not just in words but in prophetic actions. In the purity of her vision and by her courageous witness she continues to walk ahead, beckoning the church to follow.

The Symbolism of Sainthood

There are inevitably symbolic or, if you will, political considerations associated with the making of saints. There is always the question, what lesson or message does the church wish to impart through this canonization? The belated recognition of Oscar Romero as a genuine martyr, and not just a pious churchman, is a significant example. In naming Romero a martyr who died because of "hatred of the faith," the church acknowledges that he did not die for getting mixed up in politics, as his ecclesial critics charged, but because he faithfully followed the Gospel. Perhaps it is meaningful that this pronouncement has awaited the pontificate of Pope Francis. In this context, Romero walks ahead, beckoning us to fulfill the pope's vision of a church that is "poor and for the poor."

By the same token, I believe this particular ecclesial season provides a very special context for promoting the canonization of Dorothy Day. Pope Francis, it seems to me, is the fulfillment of Dorothy's dreams. If she had let her imagination run free, she might have conceived of a pope who took his name from St. Francis, who set out to renew the church in

the image of Jesus, promoting the centrality of mercy, reconciliation and solidarity with those on the margins. So often she criticized ecclesial trappings of power and privilege. How she would have delighted in Francis' gestures of humility, his call for shepherds "who have the smell of the sheep," his washing the feet of prisoners (including women and Muslims), his tears on the island of Lampedusa as he contemplated the deaths of nameless immigrants and lambasted the "culture of indifference." With her love for the Cuban people, how she would have rejoiced in his role in overcoming decades of intransigent enmity between the U.S. and Cuban governments. How, on the eve of an imminent war with Syria, she would have eagerly accompanied him in his vigil for peace. How moved she would be to learn of his deep friendship with a

Dorothy's canonization contributes to the ongoing program of renewal of the church—not for its own sake but for the sake of a wounded world.



Jewish rabbi, his love for opera and Dostoevsky, and his exhortation to spread the "joy of the Gospel."

Some have suggested that the new atmosphere under Pope Francis has put wind in the sails of Dorothy's canonization. But I would put it another way. I think the cause of Dorothy's canonization helps put wind in the sails of the pope's agenda. Support for her cause, in this context, means more than keeping her memory alive. It contributes to the ongoing program of renewal of the church—not for its own sake but for the sake of a wounded world.

What of the concerns that canonization will cause her witness to be watered down and homogenized? I think her full story—so inseparable from her "message"—is clear and widely available. To be sure, there has at times been a tendency on the part of some to put all too much emphasis on her abortion, to make that experience a central feature in the narrative of her journey from "sinner to saint." In fact, as we know, the driving force of Dorothy's conversion was not shame over her sins but gratitude for God's grace. The turning point in her story was not her abortion but the experience of becoming pregnant and giving birth. In the end, I believe that canonization is the best insurance that her story and the distinctive features of her holiness will be remembered—not just in our time but far from now in the future. Just as the beatification of Franz Jägerstätter lifts up the memory of his "solitary witness," so I believe the canonization process for Dorothy Day will spread the story of her going to jail to protest civil defense

drills and the blasphemy of all preparations for nuclear war. It will move her witness from the margins to the center of the church's memory.

The Making of a Legend

Of course, we regularly witness the domestication of radical prophets. Francis of Assisi becomes the patron saint of bird baths. Martin Luther King Jr. is universally remembered for his "dream" of a post-racial America—but not for his critique of militarism and capitalism. Dorothy Day is hardly exempt from this danger. Even while she lived, Dorothy had to confront pious legend-making. She upbraided Catherine de Hueck Doherty for promoting the myth that she shared her bed with a syphilitic homeless woman. (Dorothy retorted, "I can't even sleep with my daughter, she wiggles too much!") She was exasperated with people who asked if she bore the stigmata or enjoyed visions. ("Just visions of dirty dishes and unpaid bills!") With or without canonization, some people will always prefer the myth. The answer, I think, is not to reject her canonization, but to assume the task of proclaiming her story with all its radical edges, making sure that nothing of her humanity is discarded.

But didn't Dorothy say, "Don't call me a saint; I don't want to be dismissed so easily"? I am astonished that so many people—even those who would be hard-pressed to come up with another quote—can recite those words (though their exact source is unclear). A real saint could hardly have said otherwise. But in Dorothy's case, this was more than humility. She worried that people would put her up on a pedestal, that they would believe her to be without faults, imagining that if she performed seemingly difficult things, it was because they were not really difficult for her—she, after all, being a saint. She felt this was a way for people to dismiss her witness and let themselves off the hook. She didn't believe she was better than other people. She didn't believe people should set out to imitate her. They should look to Christ as their model. All Christians were called to "put off the old person and put on Christ," to conform their lives to the pattern of the Gospel, to respond to their own call to holiness—whatever form that might take.

I once heard her say, "When they call you a saint, it means basically that you are not to be taken seriously." But when Dorothy used the word saint, she certainly wasn't indicating someone to be dismissed easily; on the contrary, a saint was someone to be taken with the utmost seriousness.

Still, there is a natural cynicism that arises in relation to this process, with all its elaborate bureaucracy, protocol and, yes, expense. Ken Woodward, in *Making Saints*, acknowledged this issue in his chapter on Dorothy Day. Whereas the usual question with regard to a potential saint is whether the candidate is worthy of the process, in the case of Dorothy Day there is a suspicion that the process is not worthy of her.


Perhaps, some might say, it is better that she remain a "people's saint"—not an officially canonized figure.

Before initiating her cause, Cardinal O'Connor conducted a series of conversations with people who knew her (sadly, many of them no longer with us). I was privileged to be part of those discussions. I was deeply moved by Cardinal O'Connor's humility in discussing his admiration for a woman he had never met. He took the discussion very seriously, noting that if God meant for Dorothy to be called a saint, he could not live with himself if he had stood in the way. But at the same time he made it clear what it meant if we proceeded: canonization, he noted, is a "process of the church." If we weren't comfortable with that, he said, there was no point in going forward. Those present, who included many of Dorothy's close friends and associates, listened to what he said; none of us raised an objection.

Since then it has become clearer that there are in fact significant expenses involved in pursuing the lengthy process of canonization—legal fees, the costs of official transcripts and such. The Archdiocese of New York has made a sizeable contribution; other funds will be raised by the Dorothy Day Guild, without any impact on contributions intended for the Catholic Worker.

We may stand aloof from her canonization on the grounds that she is "too good" for this process. But if we do, we should probably recognize that this is not an attitude Dorothy would be inclined to share. She certainly challenged and criticized the church for its failings. It was, as she liked to quote Romano Guardini, "the cross on which Christ was crucified." But for her the church was the mystical body of Christ, of which she was also a member. She had enough knowledge of her own sins and failings to include herself among all those called to penance and conversion.

The story of Dorothy is becoming known around the world. In the United States she is undoubtedly more widely known and respected than at any time since her death, or even in her lifetime. In recent years stories about her have appeared in almost every Catholic magazine, and many conferences have focused on her thought. Some may worry that Dorothy is being appropriated by elements in the church that do not share all her radical positions. It became clear to me long ago that Dorothy did not "belong" just to the Catholic peace movement, any more than she belongs solely to the Catholic Worker movement. I frankly welcome the occasion she offers to unite disparate and sometimes polarized elements in the church.

But ultimately the question of Dorothy's canonization is not about drawing greater attention to her, but whether, through her witness, more attention will be drawn to Jesus and more people will be inspired to comprehend and joyfully embrace his message of radical love. I believe the answer is yes. That is why I support her canonization. 

Changing Hearts

Four ways Pope Francis is transforming church life

BY DREW CHRISTIANSEN

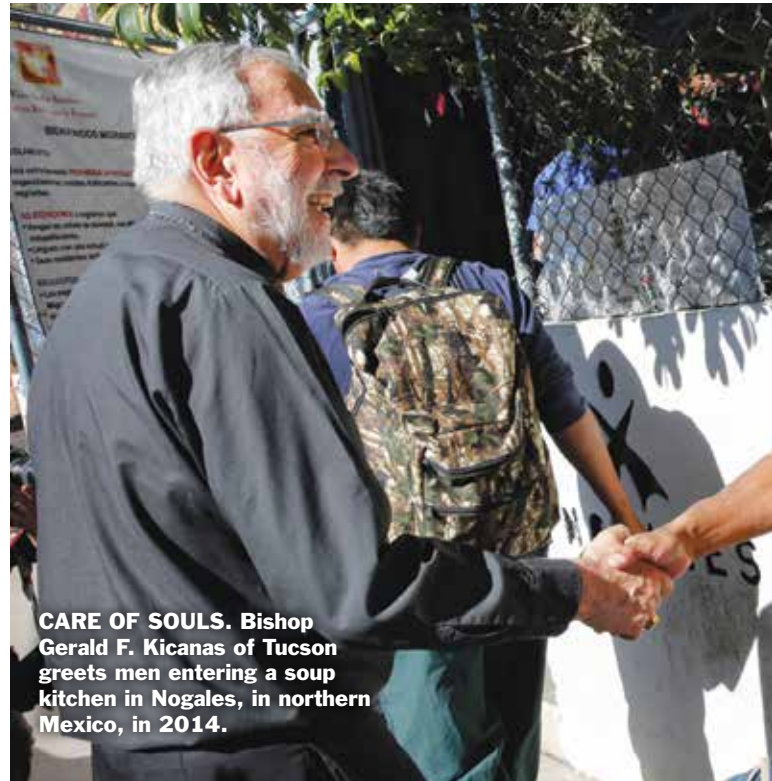
Catholicism is undergoing an epochal transformation. For more than a millennium dogma has been the hard core of church life, defining who is in and who is out. Partisans have fought over the correct way to define Christian belief; they condemned their opponents and persecuted them as heretics.

In this new era, the pertinent standard is the good of souls. With evangelization as the goal, boundaries are more porous. Openness to dissenters and critics, welcome for sinners and outreach to people on the margins of society are becoming the defining pattern of Catholic life. The challenge is to reappropriate the heart of the Gospel: “The Son of Man has come to seek and to save the lost” (Mt 19:10). The shift away from dogma as the center of church life to pastoral care has a lot to do with Pope Francis’ personal pastoral style, but the trend was already underway in the last years of St. John Paul II’s pontificate.

St. John Paul, who himself took some hardline doctrinal stands, understood nonetheless the egregious sins often “committed in service of the Truth,” that is, orthodoxy. During the Day of Pardon in 2000, in the company of the Roman Curia, he asked God’s pardon for those offenses. In his homily he urged, “Let us ask pardon for the divisions which have occurred among Christians, for the violence some have used in the service of the truth and for the distrustful and hostile attitudes sometimes taken towards the followers of other religions.”

Alongside John Paul, imploring God’s forgiveness, stood Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, enforcer of orthodox belief (no accident of casting in that solemn moment). Looking backward, their humble repudiation of so much of what had been deadly serious in church life anticipated the greater change the church has begun to undergo from a heavily dogmatic to a more pastoral church.

John Paul also smoothed the way in downgrading the role of dogma in Catholic life with his martyrial ecumenism. Since the late Reformation, both Catholics and Protestants had held that right doctrine rather than courageous behavior determined who was a true martyr. But St. John Paul took time out to pray at the tombs of Protestant martyrs,



CARE OF SOULS. Bishop Gerald F. Kicanas of Tucson greets men entering a soup kitchen in Nogales, in northern Mexico, in 2014.

and he included Protestants slain for their faith among those honored in the Jubilee of the Martyrs in 2000.

John Paul’s acts of devotion affirmed that the baptism that unites Catholics and Protestants weighs more heavily in the Christian life than the doctrines that historically had divided them. Virtue outshone truth. Putting errors of the church’s second millennium behind us, John Paul was modeling not a new type of Christianity but a different type, in which asking forgiveness and reconciliation are more important than being right.

Fourteen hundred years ago, Pope Gregory the Great exemplified this style of episcopal leadership and elaborated on it in his *Pastoral Care* (591). Originally a handbook for bishops, Gregory’s treatise quickly became a standard for priests and spiritual directors as well.

The unique good of souls. Like Pope Francis today, Gregory emphasized the role of bishops as pastors, in contrast to their status as “nobles” in the church. Their principal concern should be the good of the souls entrusted to them. Like Pope Francis in “The Joy of the Gospel,” Gregory insisted on knowing the faithful in all their diverse conditions.

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CNS PHOTO/NANCY WIECHEC

The first axiom of pastoral practice, Gregory believed, was that there is no one set solution to every case.

Each case has its own unique characteristics, which the pastor must take into consideration. "Efficacious pastoral action requires," Pope Emeritus Benedict comments, "that [the bishop]...adapt his words to the situation of each person." From Gregory's "acute and precise annotations" on individu-



At its most intimate, Christian maturity also demands conversion to a simpler, more generous way of life.

al character and the peculiarities of context, Benedict notes, "one can understand that he really knew his flock and spoke of all things with the people of his time and of his city."

Discernment, even for "the good." In directing souls the pastor must help people understand the particular temptations of their condition and penetrate the layers of self-deception in which vice poses as virtue.

Here we might think of Pope Francis' assessment, in "The Joy of the Gospel," of the temptations of pastoral workers and of his many exhortations to avoid regarding priesthood or the episcopacy as entitlements to privileged living. "Through warmth, patience, listening and spare advice," writes Thomas Oden summarizing Gregory, "the pastor helps his parishioner to overcome his self-deception" and grow in virtue.

Encouraging behavioral change. We should not be misled by certain trends in pastoral theology and spiritual direction that seem to make the spiritual life begin and end with introspection. The purpose of self-knowledge is reform of life, progress in virtue and commitment to the common good. True pastors balance sensitivity for the Christians in their

care with attention to improvement in their conduct and growth in their social engagement, particularly with the poor.


Social action, as both Pope Emeritus Benedict and Pope Francis have taught, is a core component of evangelization. According to "The Joy of the Gospel," mature Christian behavior today includes the inclusion of the poor in society; the promotion of peace; and civic, ecumenical and interreligious dialogue. At its most intimate, Christian maturity also demands a conversion of lifestyles to a simpler, more generous way of life.

Humble, considerate leadership. Christ is the model of Christian leadership, for Gregory as for Francis. Jesus mixed with people of every sort; he searched out the lost and welcomed sinners. "Whatever authority is given in the pastoral office is paradoxically validated when it is accompanied by the sign of humility," writes Oden, "signaling that it shares in Christ's own empathy for human fallenness." Bishops, priests and spiritual guides must not rejoice "to be over [persons] but to do them good," wrote Gregory. Pope Benedict, following Gregory, also underscores humility as the key virtue in pastoral leadership.

These four guidelines for pastoral ministry apply as much to bishops and pastoral ministers today as they did in Gregory's time. Pope Francis has been modeling this kind of servant leadership. It will still be some time before the college of bishops can be expected to adopt the pastoral role as their primary identity and the episcopacy is transformed.

The full emergence of a pastoral church does not depend on bishops alone, however, nor even on the time Pope Francis has to reshape the episcopacy by his appointments. It also depends on the expectations of the whole people of God. They have to aspire to spiritual growth and welcome challenges in the name of the Gospel. The people also have to demand spiritual leadership and a broad range of pastoral care from their bishops and priests.

In the hiatus between the two sessions of the Synod of Bishops on the Family, one way to begin is to demonstrate the people's desire for dialogue with bishops on the pastoral care of families. In particular, they need to voice their desire for attention to the unexplored afflictions suffered by families outside the narrow but much ballyhooed circle of divorce, remarriage and same-sex marriage.

These pastoral concerns include the growth of singleness among adult Catholics, single parenthood, the delay of marriage due to poverty, the emergence of combined households, violence and abuse of children and women, care for the divorced and for children of divorce, the multigenerational family and care of the infirm elderly, the impact of inequality on family strength and the spiritual growth of couples and families. When bishops and the synod attend to these issues, then we will know today's church is advancing along the path to becoming a pastoral church. 



When Francis Talks

Twelve years ago Pope John Paul II made a last-ditch effort to prevent the war in Iraq. After speaking out publicly and getting Holy See officials to speak with many governments, he sent his personal envoy to talk with President George W. Bush to prevent a war that the pope and his advisors foresaw would have disastrous consequences.

His envoy, Cardinal Pio Laghi, met top administration officials—Colin Powell, the secretary of state, and Condoleezza Rice, the national security advisor—and, on March 5, 2003, the president. The cardinal told them clearly that the Holy See believed a war would have three negative consequences: it would bring greater suffering to the Iraqi people; it would seriously damage Muslim-Christian relations; it could provoke geo-strategic disorder in the region.

The Holy See's analysis was dismissed out of hand; the decision had been taken to go to war. President Bush and his administration expected the war to end quickly, believed Christian-Muslim relations would not suffer and predicted the region would be a safer, more stable place.

Events since then have shown that the Holy See's analysis was accurate, even prophetic. Peace is not on the horizon, Muslim-Christian relations have suffered greatly, and there is widespread disorder in the region.

Pope Francis is profoundly concerned over the deteriorating situation in the Middle East. He wants to do everything possible to promote peace

there. He intervened to prevent the United States from bombing in Syria. He has sought ways to promote a just, lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians. He expressed support for the nuclear agreement between Iran and the U.N. Security Council's permanent members plus Germany. He called for stopping the flow of arms into Iraq and Syria.

He is deeply concerned about the plight of Christians and other minorities in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and Iraq. The pope spoke forcefully about this in St. Peter's Basilica on April 12 at a Mass about the centenary of the genocide of Armenians. He sees a disturbing parallel between what happened to them, the world's first Christian nation, during World War I and what's happening to Christians in the Middle East today, also at "a time of war, a third world war that is being fought piecemeal, one in which we daily witness savage crimes, brutal massacres and senseless destruction."

"Sadly, today too," he said, "we hear the muffled and forgotten cry of so many of our defenseless brothers and sisters who, on account of their faith in Christ or their ethnic origin, are publicly and ruthlessly put to death—decapitated, crucified, burned alive—or forced to leave their homeland."

"Today too," he stated, "we are experiencing a sort of genocide created by general and collective indifference, by the complicit silence of Cain, who cries out: 'What does it matter to me? Am I my brother's keeper?'"

Just as Benedict XV asked the Ottoman authorities to stop the slaughter of Armenians and John Paul II appealed to President Bush not to go to war against Iraq, so today Francis is calling on world leaders to stop the killings and persecution in the Middle East.

Linking the past to the present in a message to Armenians on April 12, Francis said it is the responsibility not only of the Armenian people but also of the universal church and the world "to remember" what happened in 1915 "so that the warnings from this tragedy will protect us from falling into a similar horror, which offends against God and human dignity."

"Today, in fact," he said, "these conflicts at times degenerate into unjustifiable violence, stirred up by exploiting ethnic and religious differences." He said, "All who are heads of state and of international organizations are called to oppose such crimes with a firm sense of duty, without ceding to ambiguity or compromise."

Returning from Korea last August, he told the press: "It's licit to stop the unjust aggressor. I underline the verb stop. I do not say bomb, make war.... I say stop by some means." He said those means "have to be evaluated" at the United Nations, "one nation alone cannot judge how to stop an unjust aggressor."

The Ottoman and American leaders ignored past papal appeals. Will today's leaders listen to Francis?

GERARD O'CONNELL

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In Defense of Altar Girls

Lessons learned while serving at Mass

BY KERRY WEBER

It is a Sunday morning in 1992, and I am 10 years old and visiting relatives in the midwest. We head to church, pile into a pew, sit, stand and then sing the entrance hymn at Mass. I happen to look up from my missalette just as two girls who are about my age walk up the aisle; they are wearing robes and their light brown hair is pulled back into ponytails. My eyes widen and I look at my mother. She gives me a look that says, “I know. We’ll discuss later.” But throughout Mass the questions swim through my head: Why are there altar girls at this parish? Will we ever get altar girls at our home parish in Massachusetts? Can I ever be one of them?

For years, the answer to that last question had been a resounding no. There were no female altar servers in my parish, a fact that, in my mind, always seemed arbitrary and unfair, especially since my younger—*younger!*—brother already was able to become an acolyte. I longed to be more involved in the Mass, but the chances of my being able to join him on the altar always seemed slim. These girls gave me hope.

And so, two years later, when female altar servers were allowed, I signed up immediately, despite the fact that I was now in seventh grade and would have to spend my rookie year being trained alongside second-graders. For years my place at Mass reached only to the red carpeted steps of the altar. Now I would get to see the sacraments up close; I would get to serve my church



and live my faith in a whole new way.

After our training sessions, I was asked to serve with two of my male classmates at the opening Mass for our school year in October. It was this fortunate timing, far more than any merit, that meant I became the first female altar server to serve a Mass at our parish.

The change was big news in our diocese. A reporter from our city paper called me before the Mass to get a quote for her story about new female servers. I paced across the floor of my parents’ bedroom as I talked into our cordless phone. This was my chance, I thought, to let my city know how meaningful it was to me to become an altar server.

And then, the next morning, there was my quote: “I had always wanted to do it—to serve at the altar,” I told

the reporter. “I think it’s a good idea. I think I would feel pretty important. It will be neat to go up there and serve God.”

I read these words with some dismay. “Neat”? That was all I had come up with? I was not exactly the 12-year-old theologian I had imagined myself to be.

Now, 20 years later, I have had a chance to compose my thoughts. And in light of recent criticisms of the role of female altar servers, I would like to take the opportunity to add a bit of nuance to my original sentiments. I served as an altar server for six years, and the role helped to deepen my understanding of what the church is and can be, as well as my responsibility for helping it to become better. Here is some of what I learned.

The church is accessible. In order to serve at the church, I did not have to be anyone other than myself. When I became an altar server, I felt more comfortable climbing the steps to the altar, not because it lost its mystery, but because being there helped to deepen my experience of the Paschal Mystery. The space became at once more familiar and more sacred. I felt at home in my church in the best way possible.

The church is tangible. The church is not simply an idea; it exists through individuals and through sacraments and sacramentals. The objects and symbols that accompany the sacraments became real to me as an altar server. I learned to swing a thurible; I learned the difference between a purificator and a corporal, and a chalice and a ciborium. I learned that these words and objects were part of a faith that has a vast and fascinating history, vocabulary and tradition—and that I was part of that history.

In all things, humility. As predicted, I did at times feel “important” while serving on the altar. But most days I simply felt grateful to be part of something more important than myself. I was humbled every time I held the book aloft to be read, carried the unconsecrated hosts to the altar so they could be transformed, poured out the water that washed the priest’s hands, rang the bells at the consecration. I grew in my faith as I learned about and participated in the many small, sacred actions that surrounded and celebrated this banquet.

Priests are people, too. I learned that priests forget where they put the keys to the rectory or where they left the Sacramentary. They don’t always understand how microphones work or which light switches turn on the lights by the altar. They sometimes can be rushed or late or grumpy. They also can be hilarious, kind, encouraging, enthusiastic and thoughtful. In short, they are just like everyone else. Knowing this also meant that, lat-

er, when I learned about the horrible crimes of sexual abuse by members of the clergy, I could mourn the failures of our church and work to correct them knowing that many good priests I had met along the way were doing the same.


The church is communal. One of the most coveted gigs as an acolyte was to serve at a wedding. This was in large part because each server typically got \$20 from the happy couple. But I also found joy in the fact that I got to hold the wedding rings while they were blessed, to see the dresses up close and, most important, to contribute in a small way to the celebration of two people making a commitment to a lifetime of love. I felt honored to be a part of a faith community that supported such a commitment. This sense of community also was reinforced by the chance to look at the faces of the congregation from the altar. I was especially moved every year at the Easter Vigil, when each face was lit by a candle, from the front pew to the choir loft—and to see in each one the body of Christ.

We are accountable to one another. The elderly ladies commended me or corrected me on my serving skills after Mass. My parents beamed each time I served with my two siblings on the altar. In short, I learned that our actions as servers affected how others experienced the Mass. And so I strove for flawless execution of the book-holding or cross-carrying. But I also made mistakes. One Holy Thursday I spilled the entirety of the foot-washing water across the altar. The sacristan pitched in to help clean up, and her smile let me know that I was not the only person ever to make a mistake at Mass. On her knees beside me, she saw my mistake as an opportunity to demonstrate the spirit of service we prayed about that day, to pitch in and to teach me a lesson: Do not place large bowls of water too close to the edge of the altar steps. *And* God’s grace is not easily thwarted by our own

imperfections.

You don’t always get to choose the people with whom you serve. I served beside a boy who ate the wax off candles; another who feared ringing the bells; and a guy who always seemed one second away from lighting a cigarette with the hot coals meant for the incense. There were occasional arguments over who got to carry the cross (the tallest server often won) and who would be forced to carry the boat. And yet we almost always found something to laugh about in the sacristy. We learned to get along, to be O.K. with not getting our way.

Our faith must be lived publicly. Sometimes it must be lived in front of a crowd of people, some of whom think that what you’re doing is strange and wildly uncool. Occasionally, I felt a bit idiotic as I walked up the aisle in my blousy white robe with a red yarn rope around my waist—attire that screamed *I am a religious teenager!*—while trying to avoid catching the eyes of my classmates, whom I occasionally saw at Mass. But on most days, the privilege of participating in the Mass outweighed the fashion faux pas it required. And more often than not, I found my classmates more interested in learning than judging, as they wondered about the smell of the incense or the weight of the chalice.

Altar girls are a good idea. I’m sticking with this sentiment. Young women should have the chance to serve at the altar today, not just because they might *feel* “pretty important,” as my 12-year-old self predicted, but because they *are* important to the church. Young people are not simply the future of the church. They are the church right now. We adults are not always good at reminding them of that fact. Involving young people—boys *and* girls—in the Mass can help them to understand more deeply the honor of serving at the Lord’s table, and the importance of serving one another, from wherever we stand. 



The Great Crime

First, they came for the intellectuals. On April 24, 1915, Turkish troops arrested 250 prominent Armenian journalists, professors and business leaders in Constantinople. They would not return.

The opening assault against Armenians soon broadened into a systematic campaign. Armenian soldiers—all able-bodied men had been drafted into the Ottoman wartime army—were transferred to new labor battalions, where they faced execution or death from exhaustion. Women, children and the elderly were subjected to deportation from the ancient Armenian homeland of East Anatolia. Many perished from the grim circumstances of their deportation. Others died in the anti-Armenian massacres that erupted in towns scheduled for Armenian removal. Thousands of women and children died in the forced marches through the Syrian desert.

The methods used to annihilate the Armenians stunned even some of the Ottoman Empire's Axis allies. Entire villages were destroyed as thousands of Armenian civilians were burned to death. Personnel of foreign consulates witnessed the calculated drowning of women and children who had been sent into the Black Sea in overcrowded boats. Already employed on the war front, poison gas was used to kill prisoners in caves and schools.

The anti-Armenian campaign had a bitter anti-Christian orientation. In her memoir *Ravished Armenia*, the survivor Aurora Mardiganian describes the crucifixion of 16 Armenian

adolescent women she witnessed in the town of Malatia. "Each girl had been nailed alive upon her cross, spikes through her hands and feet. Only their wind-blown hair covered their bodies."

By the end of the extermination campaign, approximately 1.5 million Armenians had perished.

Turkish authorities have long objected to the use of the term *genocide* to describe the mistreatment of the Armenians. They claim that the deportations had a military justification, since the Armenians lived on the border with the Russian enemy and had shown some sympathy for their Russian co-religionists. Allegedly, the massacres were isolated incidents inflamed by wartime passions; the starvation was caused by the famine-like conditions of wartime Turkey. But explaining the social context for the emergence of genocide cannot explain the genocide away. Many diplomatic observers of the anti-Armenian campaign quickly noted its genocidal nature.

The U. S. ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, claimed that "when the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were giving the death warrant to a whole race." The German ambassador, Hans Freiherr von Wangenheim, arrived at the same conclusion: "There no longer can be any doubt that the Porte [the Ottoman government] was trying to exterminate the Armenian race in the Turkish Empire." Raphael Lemke, the scholar who coined the word *genocide*, invented it in response to the details

of the anti-Armenian campaign he had studied for years. The Armenian community has long described the genocidal campaign as Medz Yeghern, translatable as "The Great Crime."

The centennial commemoration of the Armenian genocide is a summons to sober contemplation. In unspeakable ways, it poses the lacerating problem of evil. The suffering of one innocent person is scandalous enough. But why so

Observers of the anti-Armenian campaign quickly noted its genocidal nature.

many? With such sadism? Fueled by such religious contempt? It has rightly been categorized as our first modern genocide. The train, the telegraph and the gas chamber all played their lethal part. Medz Yeghern lays bare the scapegoating mechanism at the font of many genocides. The ethnic and religious other is perceived

as an intolerable enemy. The envy of a social minority that seems to be comparatively affluent and well educated flames into lethal rage when the nation faces military or economic crisis.

For the Christian, the annihilation of the Armenians is a call to embrace the cross. The oldest of Christian nations, having adopted Christianity as the national religion in 301, Armenia has long had the mission of proclaiming the truth of the Gospel by enduring a martyrdom that recreates the very wounds of Christ on the cross. The crucified adolescents of Malatia reveal the price of the cross and summon us to rediscover why we are Christians in the first place.

Our first duty is to remember and listen.

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FILM | JIM McDERMOTT

BASED ON A TRUE STORY

What biopics get right

In the last five years, four of the five Oscar winners for Best Picture were films based on true stories, otherwise known as biopics. This year alone, four of the eight contenders in this category came from biopics, as did four of the five Best Actors and two Best Actresses. In fact, every year since

2003 either the Best Actor or Best Actress (and sometimes both) has been awarded to a performer in a film based on a true story.

There's a think piece to be written about why we are so hungry for such stories right now, what it is we find those films uniquely able to of-

fer us. But of late the bigger question has been what it is that studios mean when they describe a film as "based on a true story." The 2012 Oscar nominee "Zero Dark Thirty" showed American interrogators getting valuable information about the location of Osama bin Laden by means of torture. That never happened. The 2010 multi-Oscar winner "The Social Network" was built on the premise that Mark Zuckerberg founded Facebook to punish/win back a girl. Also not true.

This Oscar season was a forest fire of similar conflicts, with "Selma," "American Sniper," "The Imitation Game" and "Foxcatcher" all facing significant criticism over their accuracy. What constitutes a legitimate expectation of accuracy in a movie? Can a "true story" not be totally accurate and yet in a fundamental sense still be considered true? How do we evaluate such things?

For the last year I have been trying to outline a screenplay based on the autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola. But the problem is that Ignatius' life does not fit easily into the classic three-act structure of a movie. Indeed his story is almost two different tales, one about his life before he met up with Francis Xavier and company in Paris, and one about his life after that.

I suspect most producers will say, cut to Paris as quick as you can. But in some ways the most important moments of Ignatius' journey happened earlier, when he was alone on the road having visions, screaming in monasteries, giving self-mortification a bad name and hallucinating



TOUCH UP. On location for "Zero Dark Thirty"

snakes. So what do I include? What do I lose?

On television you have hours upon hours to get to know a character, to lay out events, to take a journey with him or her. In a movie, you have 90 to 180 minutes. With that kind of time, there is no way you could possibly capture “the whole” of a person or event. You have to think about uncovering the essence.

That is not to say just anything can be altered or cut. Again, see “Zero Dark Thirty” or this year’s “American Sniper,” which has faced some similar criticism for representing an Iraq War sniper as noble, “saving lives” and “just doing his job” without ever giving a nod to the larger point that the U.S. justification for his “job” was a complete fabrication. So he was saving American lives (and destroying Iraqi ones) that should never have been put at risk.

Sometimes, though, what is more surprising about a biopic is how much can be changed without complaint. “The Theory of Everything,” about the lives of Stephen and Jane Hawking, has received enormous positive response and multiple Oscar nominations. And yet this film about the most important scientific thinker since Einstein has no time for his work. Instead, the film focuses solely on Stephen and Jane’s relationship. And people adore it.

Even so, biopics get made only because artists and studios are so moved by the stories of real people that they are willing to put in the five, six or seven years it will take to share them. But no matter how committed creators might be to accuracy, they always also have a responsibility to their story.

Films are not meant to substitute for textbooks. They are first and foremost stories, the product of artistic craft. Include every fact and detail, and you may be “true” in the sense of accurate, but you’ll almost certainly be boring. No; when it comes to film, it’s always about getting to the deep and fertile core of a person or event, about

offering not a history lesson but a moment of encounter, an opportunity to “meet” them.

These threads of accuracy and art found themselves most at odds this past season in “Selma,” a film by the writer Paul Webb and director Ava DuVerney about protests led by African-Americans in 1965 to achieve voting rights in the South. Since its release the film has faced unexpectedly vigorous criticism on questions of accuracy.

And yet, it is not its portrayal of the marches that brought it trouble, nor its take on Martin Luther King Jr., African-Americans in Selma or even the viciousness of their white opponents. No; the furor has been over its presentation of President Lyndon B. Johnson. In the film, L.B.J. is a harried, to some extent impotent figure who tries to tamp down King’s efforts lest they derail Johnson’s war on poverty legislation. It’s a strange performance. By all accounts, the real L.B.J. was outsized, endlessly colorful, a political genius; but the actor Tom Wilkinson’s version of the man lists like a middle manager. He is cardboard, and he turns on King in a nasty way. Historians who have liked the film otherwise have noted that L.B.J. was much more supportive of King’s actions at Selma.

The thing is, this film is not about Johnson; he is not even the main obstacle. In some ways “Selma” is not even a film about King. Time and again DuVerney and Webb make the unusual choice to turn the lens away from the big names to watch the ordinary people around them—the people of Selma, who risk everything just so they can vote. And in doing so, these artists uncover truth that most films of this sort, focused on some great woman or

man, never approach: the courage and vulnerability, the humanity at the heart of this great moment.

It is unfortunate that the film has the flaw that it does. I wonder whether that choice emerged out of a desire to heighten the sense of impossibility facing the protesters. But flawed though it is, there is also no doubt that at its core, “Selma” shares a profound truth.

Storytelling is predicated on a willing suspension of disbelief. But with

Gli Indifferenti

The lady of the cleaners
doesn’t care.

She really doesn’t care.

She writes your fate
in a steamed inferno
and presses with despair.

Three pins in mouth—
Judas, Cassius, Brutus,—
she greets you low
and points with tail,
like Cerberus,
to where the stained
and spotted go.

“Come again,” she groans
in stitched and stapled tones.

“Ma non torno vivo alcun
s’i’odo il vero!”¹

JOHN LAWRENCE DARRETTA

¹ “But no one returns from here
alive, if what I hear is true!”

Inferno

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that suspension always comes a risk of being led into places you do not want to be or, in the case of biopics, into information that is just not right. In the case of a film like “The Theory of Everything” or “The Social Network,” the potential harm is relatively slight. In other films, like “Zero Dark Thirty,” there is actual danger, because the stories we tell ourselves teach us things. Even as adults, they form our imagina-

tions and guide our consciences.

We do not always need those stories to be entirely accurate. Choosing small bits to represent larger wholes is practically unavoidable. But in another sense, we certainly do need those stories to be true.

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BOOKS | KENNETH L. WOODWARD

ENTREPRENEURIAL EVANGELIST

AMERICA'S PASTOR Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation

By Grant Wacker
Belknap Press. 448p \$27.95

This is a major book by a major historian of American religion about a major religious figure in American history. Grant Wacker, recently retired from Duke Divinity School, believes that Billy Graham belongs with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Pope John Paul II as the three most important religious leaders of the second half of the 20th century. I agree, though a strong case can also be made for Pope John XXIII.

At his zenith in the middle of the last century, Billy Graham ambited to make the entire population of America his congregation. He almost succeeded—and that was his nearly fatal flaw. Hence the spike of irony in Wacker's title for his book.

Graham always thought of himself as an ambassador of Christ for the kingdom of God. But during the Nixon administration he also assumed the role of high priest of the American civil religion—a set of hallowed symbols, stories, public rituals and holidays that, as sociologist Robert Bellah argued at the time, united Americans as (in Lincoln's phrase) “an almost chosen people.”

Thus, on the Fourth of July, 1970, Graham preached a sermon on loyalty from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to 400,000 gathered for “Honor America Day”—a rally orga-



nized by the Nixon White House—while antiwar protestors shouted from the edges of the National Mall. Billy was Nixon's willing surrogate, not just because he believed God had favored Nixon's election (in those days he assumed that every U.S. president was divinely chosen) but also, as Wacker explains, Graham personally abhorred

civil discord and disobedience.

At its zenith, Graham's influence extended well beyond the evangelical movement that his ministry defined. In 1970 a Newsweek poll found that more American Catholics looked to Billy for spiritual guidance than to the pope.

Catholic readers, then, will be greatly rewarded by this magnificently written and meticulously researched study of what Billy Graham meant at different times to Americans and what America meant to an evolving Billy Graham.

As Wacker demonstrates in copious detail, the fundamentalist flame-thrower of the Cold War '40s and '50s was not the same as the White House chaplain-in-chief of the 1960s and early '70s, who in turn differs from the politically sobered, more socially conscious and ecumenically engaged world evangelist of his later years. Billy changed as the nation changed. One reason he changed, I believe, is that Graham always liked to be liked. And most people who got to know Graham personally—including those who used him, as presidents routinely did, and those who judged his sermons and books theologically undernourished, as I did, found it hard not to like the man himself.

Among the scholarly gems that shine in Wacker's thematic treatment of Graham as preacher, icon, Southerner, entrepreneur, architect (of modern evangelicalism), pilgrim, pastor and patriarch is his analysis of Billy's sermon structure and pulpit style. He has fascinating things to say about what prompted listeners to respond to Billy's crusade altar calls (though there was no altar) and what difference their “decision for Christ” made in their subsequent lives. (Very often not a lot.) Another gem is Wacker's analysis of some of the millions of letters Graham received (like letters to Santa, Billy's arrived at the right place even without an address)

seeking advice, and of the answers his writers gave by return mail.

Wacker is by no means an uncritical assessor of the great evangelist's many faulty judgments. But he is certainly generous in plumbing the many possible reasons for Graham's most controversial attitudes and responses to, for example, Martin Luther King Jr. and the civil rights movement. Graham knew King well enough to call him "Mike" and as early as 1957 praised him as the leader of "a great social movement." But Billy refused to march alongside King at Selma. As "America's pastor" he went to Selma weeks later to help soothe black-white tensions.

I have a few quibbles with Wacker. I think he too readily accepts Graham's own self-assessment as we find it in his late-in-life autobiography, *Just as I Am*, which was written (as was much of his other published work) by his staff. In particular, I think he vastly underplays Billy's behind-the-scenes hand in the concerted last-minute effort

by Norman Vincent Peale and other prominent Protestant leaders to prevent John F. Kennedy from becoming the first Catholic president. Kennedy wasn't fooled, which is why he was the one president who did not hand Billy the key to the Lincoln bedroom.

One of Wacker's many revelations is the extent to which Billy ceased to identify as a Baptist in his mature years, feeling more at home within the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church, whose writers and theologians—not to mention its low-church liturgy—he greatly enjoyed. And it is worth noting that this onetime Southern fundamentalist who refused to break bread with Jerry Falwell in the 1980s was the only American Protestant luminary who—with his family—was invited to the funeral of Pope John Paul II. It was a posthumous salute from one world evangelist to another.

KENNETH L. WOODWARD, a former religion editor of *Newsweek*, is completing a book on American religion, culture and politics since 1950.

Chalmers canon law light.

The increasing revelations of abuse in the church in other countries motivated them to assemble a readable yet authoritative text. Dealing with child sexual abuse in the church is tragically still a work in progress. "There is much to be learned from the many mistakes made by the US bishops." Rightly espousing zero tolerance, they take no satisfaction in the John Jay College Report, which found "that only 4 percent of priests had been accused of sexual misconduct. But this is not a matter of pride, but instead like a fire department whose members include 4 percent arsonists." They highlight the damage done by the 1997 letter from the Congregation for the Clergy to the Irish bishops urging that they not report abuse to police but rather channel complaints through church channels. When the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (C.D.F.) took over, this advice was reversed, but not before great damage was done to the church's credibility.

The Clergy Sex Abuse Crisis is a comprehensive handbook for anyone contemplating action against the church or for those wanting to understand the complexities of the civil and canon law. The steps in criminal prosecution and civil litigation are carefully spelled out. The lay reader is given an accessible understanding of legal concepts

like *respondet superior*, vicarious liability, the statute of limitations and bankruptcy. Ten of the 195 dioceses in the United States have now filed for bankruptcy and are requiring an accounting of all assets and contingent liabilities, being "called upon to 'give 'til it hurts'" in the disposal of available land or other assets." Since 1987, insurance companies have be-

FRANK BRENNAN

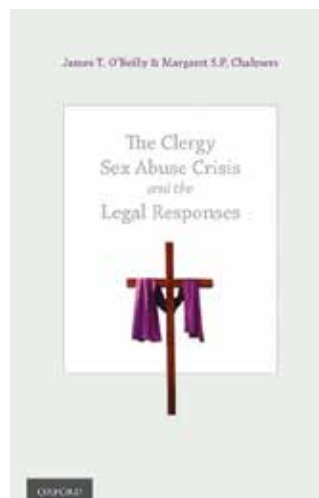
ANSWERING THE UNSPEAKABLE

THE CLERGY SEX ABUSE CRISIS AND THE LEGAL RESPONSES

By James T. O'Reilly & Margaret S.P. Chalmers
Oxford University Press. 472p \$95

James T. O'Reilly is an attorney and a much published author of legal handbooks. He was president of the Cincinnati archdiocesan pastoral council when Joseph Bernardin was archbishop. Margaret S. P. Chalmers is a canon lawyer who is chancellor of the personal ordinariate of the Chair of St. Peter, the special arrangement put in place by Pope Benedict XVI for Episcopalians wanting to come across to Rome. They describe themselves

as two explorers who entered the same large old attic by opposite stairs, armed only with a flashlight each. The attic includes those dark corners of the Catholic Church in the United States where clergy sex abuse has been perpetrated, hidden, litigated, ultimately admitted and exposed to the light of day. The first 18 chapters of *The Clergy Sex Abuse Crisis and the Legal Responses* are the findings from the O'Reilly civil law torchlight. The last 11 chapters are from the



come increasingly restrictive, refusing to offer coverage for abuse and for failure to adequately screen, train or monitor clergy. This has resulted in “over 60 dioceses and church entities that have entered the Catholic Mutual risk pool program.”

There is still no legal certainty about the extent of any Vatican liability for failure by bishops to adequately supervise their priests nor about the extent, if any, to which parish assets can be accessed to satisfy diocesan debts. If the C.D.F. were to order the reinstatement of a priest who later abused a child, the plaintiff might succeed in reaching the deep pockets of the Vatican despite the provisions of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act.

The authors think that the false and later recanted accusation of abuse made against Cardinal Bernardin in 1993 “gave the erroneous impression that many of the accusations being made were actually false. This gave bishops a false sense of security that came back

to haunt them in 2002.” Meanwhile in Rome, curial officials were slow to respond because the sex abuse scandal was seen as “a crisis brought on by greedy American lawyers looking to tarnish the good name of the Church.” The 2004 norms promulgated by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops were not replicated in Rome until 2011, when the C.D.F. published a “circular letter to assist episcopal conferences in developing guidelines for dealing with cases of sexual abuses of minors perpetrated by clerics.”

The authors rightly credit Joseph Ratzinger with having “got it” once he saw the abuse files coming across his desk at the C.D.F. when they were re-directed there from the Congregation for Clergy in 2001. O’Reilly and Chalmers state that “[i]t was his perseverance that forced the international church to come to terms with this issue within their individual contexts, and to realize that that was and is not simply an American problem.” All churches

are still on a learning curve. The authors are right to suggest, “It is likely that the challenge facing Pope Francis on the issue of the sexual abuse of minors may not stem from the Western world at all, but will be the result of a growing awareness of this problem in other parts of the world.”

The authors explain that in the 1960s “bishops’ handling of the sexual abuse of minors moved from a punitive process to almost exclusively a ‘pastoral approach’—at least in dealing with accused priests.” The Holy Office (the C.D.F.’s predecessor) had issued a revised protocol for dealing with abuse from the 1920s, but it was not promulgated and published in the usual way, and copies were sent to bishops only on request. Then with the publication of the 1983 Code of Canon Law, the C.D.F. “removed the administrative option for a bishop to laicize a priest without the priest’s participation.” This occurred at the very time that bishops were starting to be deluged with abuse



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claims; their need “to have an efficient way to laicize priests became acute.” An abusing priest could be dismissed involuntarily only after a canonical penal trial, which prior to 2002 required three priests with doctorates in canon law and preferably from an outside diocese. The process was “clunky, vague and inefficient.” The authors tell us that “it was not an exaggeration to say that no one had used” these processes.

Chapters 25 to 27 provide a very thorough outline of the processes for a canonical trial under the norms now put in place since the 2002 Dallas meeting of the U.S.C.C.B. and the C.D.F.’s 2010 update of its 2001 document “Sacramentorum Sanctitatis Tutela.” The authors think this new canonical regime “has the potential to be viable and functional, and to produce just results” but subject to five enormous caveats. The regime needs to be reconciled with the civil legal system. Citizens, not just Catholics, need to understand the church system. Bishops need to know how it works. Bishops need competent canon lawyers with the time and resources to run canonical trials with judges properly trained in canon law. The community needs good grounds for setting aside its suspicion that the church is not committed to justice and transparency.

This is all a very big task. At the outset the authors acknowledge that, like Thomas Doyle and his colleagues, they might be accused of “a catalogue of sins—from arrogance, misunderstanding and disloyalty, to heresy.” Any such charges would be misplaced. They have done a painstaking, thorough job. Revolted by child sexual abuse by errant clergy, these faithful Catholic authors have compassionately held in focus “the tragic figures” in this appalling saga—the child victims and those priests who are innocent of any abuse.

FRANK BRENNAN, S.J., is presently the Gasson professor at Boston College Law School.

THOMAS MURPHY

TO THE BARRICADES!

MASSACRE The Life and Death Of the Paris Commune

By John Merriman
Basic Books. 360p \$29.99

An academic colleague living in France asserts that he has never encountered a country more evenly and implacably divided between left and right than France. John Merriman’s account of the Paris Commune of 1871 explores a historical root of this polarity.

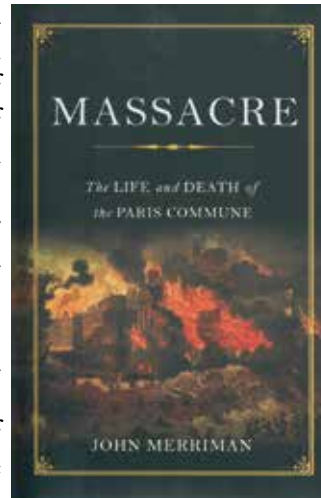
In 1870, the Emperor Napoleon III launched a disastrous war with Prussia. His defeat resulted in the fall of the Second Empire, a siege and occupation of Paris, the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and the tentative establishment of a Third Republic. National elections in early 1871 returned a strong rightist majority that suggested a restoration of pre-revolutionary kingship. Paris, far to the left of the rest of the country, objected to this result. The ensuing uprising, the Commune, controlled the city for 64 days. The French government was forced to withdraw its forces to suburban Versailles, where they regrouped to capture the city brutally. Summary executions of Communards and people suspected of collaboration with them followed. Communards were equally ruthless about killing their opponents. Merriman’s account forces the reader to ponder which is bloodier, violence in the name of the state or violence in the name of the people. His answer is clearly that the state produces worse violence, as shown by the ultimate suppression of the Commune. However, he is even enough in his presentation to raise serious questions about popular

revolutions as well.

Merriman, the Charles Seymour professor of history at Yale, sets forth these events in accessible fashion. He is a rare academic, informing general readers without sacrificing his scholarship. His book is a good combatant against today’s prevalent historical amnesia and, particularly, American ignorance of French history.

Napoleon III had already fallen from power when the Commune began, but he was a key villain of this tale. His redesign of Paris, which contributed toward the beautiful capital so familiar to visitors today, further impoverished the poor. By sharpening class divisions and hindering entry into the middle class, Napoleon III left behind conditions for a revolt. Furthermore, his sharp defeat by the Prussians humiliated all of France and made it hard for the new French state to establish credibility. Napoleon III serves as a warning today: avoid policies that divide social classes and foster winless wars.

Merriman is strongly biased toward the Communards, who were especially prescient about women’s rights and the ingredients of a future national welfare state. However, he glosses over the problematic process by which they pursued their ends. Their uprising was essentially a refusal to accept the result of a national election. Revolting just a decade after the secession of the Southern American states that rejected the election of Abraham Lincoln as president, the leftish Communards had something in common with rightist American slaveholders. Both the United States and France therefore



faced a similar challenge to building stable republics in the 1870s, namely by persuading polarized factions to accept the legitimacy of each other.

Merriman well describes individual personalities among the Communards. He does not do as much for their opponents. The book would be more balanced with more attention to their lives and concerns.

A tragic Commune victim was the

archbishop of Paris, Georges Darboy, who was executed by a Commund firing squad. Darboy actually understood that the French church had stifled evangelization through its association with Napoleon III. An intellectual pre-occupied with the relationship between history and theology, Darboy was also alarmed that so many French males had left the church. He hoped to reconcile science and faith. Darboy also knew that

the church needed to offer something more to the poor than talk of riches in eternal life. He was not unsympathetic to some Commund concerns.

To understand how Darboy was killed anyway, this book needs context on the international church during the Commune. Merriman does mention that the First Vatican Council defined papal infallibility. Opposed to the definition, the Gallican Darboy left Vatican I rather than vote on the schema and submitted to the teaching from home. Merriman portrays Darboy as a bishop whom Napoleon III appointed over the objections of the pope, who was unable to block this nomination due to a concordat giving the French state control of episcopal appointments. However, it should be added that Pius IX controlled the Papal States only as long as Napoleon III's troops protected Rome. The Franco-Prussian War forced the emperor to remove them. Papal dependence on France was likely at least as important a factor in holding Darboy in office as the concordat itself. That Darboy was vulnerable to execution in the immediate months after Pius IX's loss of Rome was not a coincidence. Many radicals worldwide saw the universal church as moribund at this time. The omission of the Roman context shows the limits of Merriman's microscopic focus on events in Paris.

Elihu B. Washburne, American envoy to France and a comprehensive chronicler of the Commune, was not the "ambassador" that Merriman frequently calls him. In fact, the United States did not award this title to its diplomats until 1893. Washburne was merely a minister, which likely diminished American efforts to help.

Limited by an excessive focus on Paris itself and by a pronounced bias toward the Communards, this nonetheless remains a book with the capacity to lead readers to their own conclusions.

THOMAS MURPHY, S.J., is an associate professor of history at Seattle University.



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Same as It Ever Was?

SIXTH SUNDAY OF EASTER (B), MAY 10, 2015

Readings: Acts 10:25–48; Ps 98:1–4; 1 Jn 4:7–10; Jn 15:9–17

“I truly understand that God shows no partiality” (Acts 10:34)

In the Talking Heads song “Once in a Lifetime,” the refrain repeats over and over: “Same as it ever was, same as it ever was....” Whether the refrain is meant to reflect the constancy of sameness or the inevitability of change is an open question. There is in life a tension between the predictability of change and growth and the permanence and stability of reality. The Easter experience of the apostles reveals to us to a number of ancient examples that bear witness to the tension between permanence and change.

We know that God is the same as God ever was, unchanging and eternal, revealed to Moses as “I am who I am” (Ex 3:14). At the heart of God’s unchanging being are unity and love. Yet the way in which God’s unity and love were revealed to the apostles and the disciples of the earliest church shattered expectations about the nature of God. By the sending of God’s own Son, Jesus Christ, to save us through the conquest of death and sin, and then in the giving of the Holy Spirit to comfort and guide the church, something had changed about how we knew and experienced God’s being and love.

It is not that the love of God was new to the Jews. As the first letter of John expresses it, “Let us love one another, because love is from God; everyone who loves is born of God and knows God.” God’s love had been made manifest throughout Israel’s history.

Yet “God’s love was revealed among us in this way: God sent his only Son into the world so that we might live through him.”

In the manifestation of God’s son, something new had happened.

The newness is found in the growth of the post-Easter church as it tried to make sense of what Jesus had wrought not just for his small group of disciples but for all humanity. There was not a clear-cut path for the church, a blueprint or manual that laid out a five-year plan for church growth. What the apostles had was the gift of the Holy Spirit to help them make sense of their mission and to discover what the church was to be.

There is an inherent wildness in the Holy Spirit, a sort of untameability or unmanageableness, and the work of the Holy Spirit can challenge old ways of thinking and acting. It certainly challenged the early church, as we see in the extended encounter between Peter and Cornelius in the Acts of the Apostles.

By means of visions, prayer and the experience of the Holy Spirit, Peter is brought to a new realization: God has given the Holy Spirit even to the Gentiles. If this does not seem shocking, it is because we have lost the sense of wonder shared by Peter and the apostles that even the Gentiles can be saved. But Peter’s shock registers

throughout Acts 10.

The newness of Gentile inclusion resonates throughout Peter’s proclamation: “I truly understand that God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him.” This is new, something radically new, head-spinning even, for a new path is being cleared for the universal mission of the church. Peter does not wait to consult with the other apostles, but acts on the experience of the Holy Spirit in their midst. “Can anyone withhold the water for baptizing these people who have received the Holy Spirit just as we have?” Peter definitely could not. He did it. He baptized them.



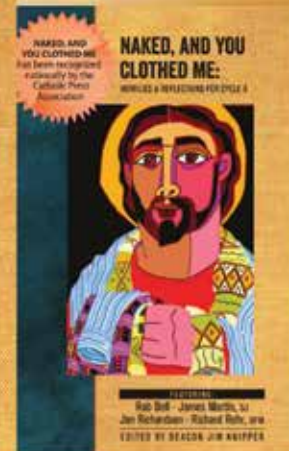
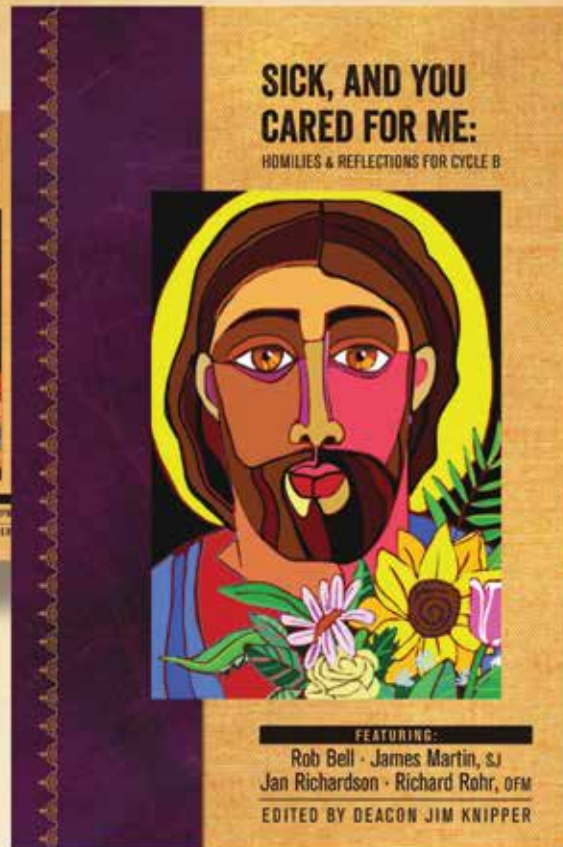
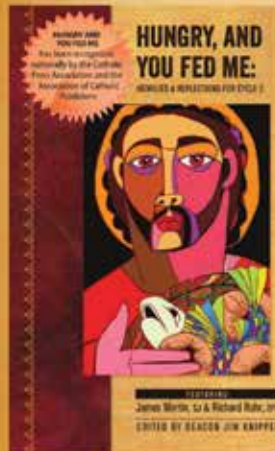
PRAYING WITH SCRIPTURE

Imagine yourself with Peter and Cornelius. How is the Holy Spirit doing a new thing today?

One cannot deny the shocking change that came upon the disciples of Jesus through the Holy Spirit and the newness of Gentile inclusion, although Peter’s quick decision would need to be ratified by the church in the council at Jerusalem. But this newness also found its resting place in the state of permanence, that is, the unchanging love of God. For what the church was called to do was to bring to the whole world the call to keep God’s commandment, something old, made new in the revelation of the Son and the Holy Spirit. “This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you”—this love of God and neighbor, the same as it ever was and made completely new.

JOHN W. MARTENS

JOHN W. MARTENS is associate professor of theology at the University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn. Twitter: @BibleJunkies.



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