



Motivated by our different religious traditions, we believe that attitudes, priorities, and institutions can be changed to reflect a just and democratic use of the universe's bounty; we believe in the value of work that contributes to the common good; and in the healing influence of respect for the differences as well as the commonness of human experience.

**SPRING 2000**

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# Religious Socialism

THE JOURNAL FOR PEOPLE OF FAITH AND SOCIALISM

## The (Not-So) Hidden Agenda of Charitable Choice

CATHLIN BAKER

Our current presidential election will go down in history for its overwhelming focus on religion. As the major candidates have tried to out-Christian each other, many of us wonder how it all relates to politics. They have gambled that wearing the Christian label gets votes, and as part of that strategy, they have embraced a provision of the Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act of 1996 (welfare reform) known as Charitable Choice. Both George W. and Al claim that the contributions of faith-based organizations (FBOs) have been ignored for too long and that Charitable Choice is the answer to our country's social problems. But before religious organizations accept that rhetoric, they should seriously examine its implications



Specifically, the Charitable Choice provision requires states, if they contract with non-profit organizations for social service delivery, to include religious organizations as eligible contractees. Many faith-based 501(c)(3) organizations, particularly in urban and rural impoverished areas, have received government funding for decades, whether for emergency food service, child care, youth programs, or housing. The difference in this legislation is that religious congregations, such as churches, synagogues, and mosques, no longer have to establish a separate 501(c)(3) non-profit organization in order to receive funds. Gone are the prohibitions regarding government funding of *pervasively sectarian* organizations. Churches and other religious congregations that provide welfare services on behalf of the government can display religious symbols, use religious language, and use religious criteria in hiring and firing employees. Funds flow directly into the church budget; however, they must be used exclusively for the provision of social services and not for religious activities.

Since 1996, Senator John Ashcroft (R-Missouri) and such organizations as the Christian Coalition, the Family Research Council, and the Christian Legal Society have promoted the expansion of the Charitable Choice provision from welfare services to other public services, such as after-school programs, food aid, juvenile justice, substance abuse, and fatherhood initiatives (i.e., child-support enforcement). Some predict that education is the next sector to be permeated by Charitable Choice provi-

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## editor's notes

Welcome to the Spring issue, which is probably arriving close to the dog days of summer, just in time for vacation reading. We apologize for the delay, and are happy to report that the Summer issue is being mailed within a few days of this one, putting us back on track.

The underlying theme of this issue is coalition building. As democratic socialists and as people of faith, we are committed to coalition work and coalition politics. Our socialist vision informs our approach, but as the articles in this issue make clear, our class, race, and gender biases can prevent us from building effective coalitions. As we formulate responses to the Charitable Choice provision of welfare "reform," reach out to secular and religious leftists, forge alliances against global capitalism, highlight environmental injustice, oppose the war machine, expose the horrors of the war on drugs, or struggle with the legacy of slavery, we have to be open to the experiences and perceptions of those with whom we should be in coalition. We invite you to read these articles and respond, sending us examples from your own areas of activism, challenging us to think more deeply.

We welcome letters to the editor and reserve the right to edit for space. —M.P.



Religious Socialism  
1 Maolis Road  
Nahant, MA  
01908  
rsocialism@socialist.org  
[www.dsusa.org/rs](http://www.dsusa.org/rs)

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**UNION MADE  
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## the editors



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Winter Issue



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Spring Issue



John Cort  
Summer Issue



Norm Faramelli  
Fall Issue

## Socialist Scholars Meet Religion and Socialism Commission

**ROD RYON**

It almost didn't happen. In the fall, the Religion and Socialism Commission raised and then dropped the subject of having a session at the Socialist Scholars Conference. Co-chairs Rod Ryon and Juanita Webster decided to work on it anyway, since the Commission had not sponsored a session in at least five years. Despite several setbacks and the illness of one of the two panelists, "Contemporary Religion and the Secular Left" drew much more than the expected handful. Although tucked in the middle of the three-day conference in late March-early April, the topic seemed to touch a chord: how do people of faith defining themselves as socialists relate to the secular left and to religious organizations. Rod argued that the sheer numbers of the religiously affiliated in our culture

ought to prod people-of-faith-socialists to stay in dialogue with them. Then the 25 to 30 people (mostly Christians, Jews, and the professedly non-religious) engaged in a lively discussion, chaired by Juanita, about the "big" issues—institutional religion's shortcomings, being misunderstood by the secular left, the role of people of faith.

The Commission also had a table at the conference that attracted many passers-by. The session and dialogue at the table each fed the other. At the end, we thought, "We'll be back."

*Rod Ryon is co-chair of the Religion and Socialism Commission. He invites readers of RS to send suggestions for future panels at the Socialist Scholars Conference.*

## Pitfalls of Charitable Choice

*cont'd from cover page*

sions, thereby smoothing the way for voucher programs and religious education, predominantly Christian education. Generally speaking, this is the same coalition that created welfare reform as we know it, with its emphasis on personal responsibility and assertions about how single-parent families and out-of-wedlock births are the root causes of poverty.

Even though there has been little public outcry about Charitable Choice, many national denominational bodies, as well as secular advocacy groups, have strongly opposed the legislation. These groups have been primarily concerned about the erosion of the separation of church and state. They include American Baptist Churches, USA and the Baptist Joint Committee; Central Conference of American Rabbis; Friends Committee on National Legislation; General Board of Church and Society, United Methodist Church; Presbyterian Church, USA; Unitarian Universalist Association, Washington Office; United Church of Christ, Office for Church in Society; American Civil Liberties Union; and Americans United for the Separation of Church and State.

### A Split with the Grassroots

On the national policy level, conservatives have largely backed Charitable Choice and liberals and progressives have expressed deep concern about the provision. This is fairly predictable. However, at the grassroots level, it is a different story, one that reveals a confusing set of alliances. A 1998 study of more than 1,200 congregations by sociologist Mark Chaves of the University of Arizona reflects some of these surprises. Chaves explains that congregations that interact freely with the secular institutional environment appear more likely to be willing to apply for government funds and congregations within the fold of religious institutions are less likely to be willing to apply for government funds. Overall, Chaves discovered that politically conservative congregations are much less likely to apply for government funds than are middle-of-the-road or liberal congregations. There is clearly a disconnect between national conservative policy groups and conservative congregations and between national liberal and progressive policy groups and liberal congregations.

In addition, race and class affect which congregations express the most interest in applying for government funding. Predominantly black congregations are substantially more likely to be willing to apply for government funds than are white congregations. Another breakdown of Chaves's survey shows that congregations in which more than 20 percent are poor are more likely to express a willingness to apply for government funding for social services activities. It is no surprise that African-American and Latino churches, which have historically served their own community in an effort to augment limited government services, would be more comfortable taking on broader social service responsibilities.

Charitable Choice raises immediate concerns for those interested in preserving the separation of church and state. It ap-  
*cont'd on page 4*

## LETTERS

During my time of waiting in the hospital for the death of my beloved wife, Marcella, last December, I read the following quote from Reinhold Niebuhr, who was my professor of Christian Ethics many years ago at Union Theological Seminary. I want to dedicate it to Marcella's memory and also share it with readers of *Religious Socialism*.

Nothing that is worth doing can be achieved in our lifetime, therefore we must be saved by hope. Nothing that is true or beautiful or good makes complete sense in any context of history, therefore we must be saved by faith. Nothing we do, however virtuous, can be accomplished alone, therefore we must be saved by love.

Bob Aldrich  
Las Vegas, NV

Ed. Note: We send our warmest sympathy and prayers to Bob Aldrich, a longtime reader and contributor to *Religious Socialism*.

RS co-editor John Cort recently wrote about the *Religion and Socialism Commission in the millennium issue of Democratic Left, the newsletter of Democratic Socialists of America*. He spoke of socialism as being a "hard sell" in these days. The article brought in several subscriptions and letters, from which some excerpts appear below.

As a leftist who is also an evangelical Christian, you may imagine that my reading tastes are often frustrated by much of what's out there—both in the socio-economic theoretical field and in the religious field! . . . Please find my \$10 subscription enclosed.

Andrew A. Peabody  
Marietta, GA

Please enter my subscription to *Religious Socialism*. . . I vacillate back and forth about keeping my membership in DSA, but have been active on the religious left since the sixties in one way or another. Would be interested in knowing more about the Religion and Socialism Commission, thinking it might be reason to continue my membership in an organization that generally appears, other than keeping the word socialism alive, to have questionable relevance or potential. If you think otherwise, I'd love to hear about it.

Don Manning-Miller  
Holly Spring, MS

### NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Because of the editorial changeover and mild confusion in switching the mailing of *Religious Socialism* from Pennsylvania to Massachusetts, we produced only three issues in 1998. Therefore, if you were a subscriber at that time, we are extending your subscription to receive another issue. Recent subscriptions will not be extended.

## Pitfalls of Charitable Choice

*cont'd from page 3*

appears to be a clear-cut threat to religious liberty and religious pluralism, but the complex alignment of groups around this issue makes it hard to formulate resistance strategies. In addition, I suspect that we have heard little discussion of this issue exactly because there is more at stake than just the crumbling of the separation of church and state. Behind the Charitable Choice provision lurks a panoply of issues involving morality, ideology, race, and class.

### The Moral Framework

Welfare reform and the Charitable Choice provision embedded within it cannot be separated from the rhetoric that initiated these policies. Rhetoric about the necessity of two-parent families, the epidemic of out-of-wedlock births, and the lack of personal responsibility among the poor is written into the 1996 legislation and keeps any discussion of poverty within a moral framework. Advocates of Charitable Choice suggest that poverty is neither an economic issue nor a personal responsibility issue, rather it is related to a general moral breakdown in our society. According to this logic, religious congregations, the bearers of morality, are best suited for the task of addressing poverty. Charitable Choice is seen as a way to activate the civic sector, particularly the faith community, in restoring our society to the way it was before the welfare state. In the "good old days," people just took care of each other.

The rhetoric of welfare reform and Charitable Choice also emphasizes the importance of strong local communities, and this may be what attracts liberal congregations and congregations of color. But what is neglected is any discussion of the economy, politics, or social change. The moral aspects of the Judeo-Christian tradition are emphasized and the liberative elements ignored. Without a critique of the economy or a call for the political empowerment of those who are poor, this rhetoric not only maintains the status quo but leads to serious questions concerning the role of religious institutions.

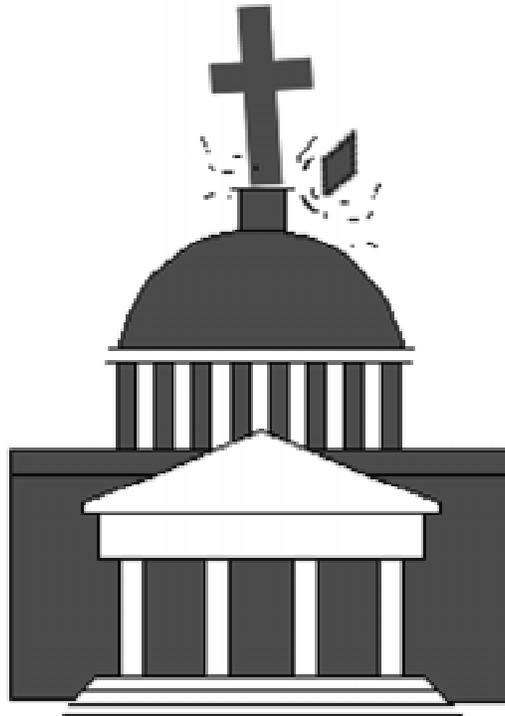
### Where Will Charitable Choice Lead?

Following are just some of the major implications of this new social policy:

#### CHARITABLE CHOICE UNDERMINES THE NOTION OF COMMON GOOD

Since 1996, responsibility for welfare services has shifted from the federal government to the states, from the states to the counties, from the counties to for-profit corporations, and increas-

ingly to faith-based organizations and religious congregations. This devolution of responsibility can be attributed to an aversion to big government, but has more to do with macro-economic changes that are reducing government responsibility and promoting privatization in all areas of the public sector. Indeed, this is a global phenomenon. While many people of faith may honestly believe in the potential of religious organizations to deliver better *social services*, *welfare services* are another matter. Cash benefits, food stamps, and rent allowances are essentially a means of wealth distribution, a function of government responsibility to the common good. Although in some countries such redistribution is perceived as an entitlement to all in society, in the United States welfare involves a complex eligibility system. *Do congregations want to be in the business of determining eligibility and further eroding the government's commitment to the common good?*



#### CHARITABLE CHOICE THREATENS PROGRESS ON ECUMENICAL AND INTER-FAITH COALITION BUILDING

The United States contains a diversity of faith expressions including Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, and Hinduism among others. Acknowledging the reality of religious pluralism, Charitable Choice regulations stipulate that there be no discrimination in the provision of service on account of religious belief and also that the state must arrange for an alternative service provider if a client objects to receiving help through a church. However, there has been no government outreach to alert welfare recipients of their right to alternative welfare services. In many areas, an alternative may not even exist. But perhaps the most disturbing issue here is the unwillingness of some evangelical congregations to offer interfaith social services. At a recent Call to Renewal summit, Ron Sider of Evangelicals for Social Action, a proponent of the Charitable

Choice provision, claimed that interfaith work would "water down" the Christian message. He suggested that Jews go to Jewish social service agencies and Muslims go to Muslim agencies. It became clear to me that many people are interpreting this legislation as a way to promote Christian morality alone. Another concern is related to the contracting process. *If Charitable Choice contracts are determined on a local level, how can the public be sure that religious pluralism is reflected in regions where one or two particular sects are in decision-making positions?*

#### CHARITABLE CHOICE THREATENS THE FRAGILE NETWORK OF OVERWORKED, FAITH-BASED EMERGENCY FOOD PROVIDERS

Recent studies have shown that welfare reform has increased the demand for emergency food services, the majority of which are faith-based organizations. These groups have been forced

to turn families away because they cannot handle the demand. Religious congregations simply cannot take on much more responsibility for service to poor families. Such efforts have been transformed from emergency services to a permanent safety valve because the government has neglected its responsibilities. *Do congregations want to put even more resources into stop-gap measures rather than address the systemic issues that cause poverty?*

**“Will the churches  
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poor?”**

**CHARITABLE CHOICE JEOPARDIZES CIVIL RIGHTS AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION MEASURES**

The provision enables religious congregations to use religious criteria in the hiring and firing of employees. Does this mean a qualified Catholic social worker can be discriminated against by a Protestant social service organization? This is a major concern of ecumenical organizations and may lead to a flurry of lawsuits. And if religious affiliation affects equal access to employment, how will a welfare recipient seeking services fare in such a purist religious setting? Will the churches be willing to serve even those with whom they disagree? Can a church with a strong position against homosexuality serve homosexual clients without prejudice? *As Charitable Choice contracts are established, will programs be monitored with respect to equal access to social services?*

**CHARITABLE CHOICE ERODES LEADERSHIP AND EMPOWERMENT OF PEOPLE WHO ARE POOR**

The rhetoric of welfare reform emphasizes not only individuals' responsibility to move themselves and their family off of welfare, but also suggests that individuals are personally responsible for their poverty in the first place. In fact, they are so morally bankrupt that a religious community must be brought in to “fix” them. *Will liberal congregations move away from acknowledging the sinfulness of social structures that perpetuate injustice and from recognizing the leadership capacity of people who are poor?*

**CHARITABLE CHOICE MAY SILENCE THE PROPHETIC VOICE OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES**

In recent decades, outspoken community development corporations (CDCs) have lost government funds or experienced a slowdown in funds as a result of speaking out against certain policies. Faith-based CDCs with separate 501(c)(3) status have not escaped this kind of punishment. Even proponents of Charitable Choice acknowledge that government control and intervention are inevitable. They recommend that concerned congregations establish a separate 501(c)(3). Congregations that have operated on a shoestring budget may be enticed by more funding, only to find out down the road that they have become a welfare agency rather than a house of worship. *Can a reli-*

*gious congregation speak truth to power and still receive government funds?*

**Defining Solidarity**

So how does one proceed to work on this issue? Education is certainly a priority. As congregations come to understand the moral, political, and economic agenda behind welfare reform, they must determine whether this is an agenda they want to support. Is Charitable Choice an effective policy for overcoming poverty? How does the Charitable Choice option affect the relationship of churches to the issue of poverty? Many churches, struggling to identify a way to serve their communities, see Charitable Choice as a remarkable opportunity. Charitable Choice funding provides an entrée for churches into the provision of welfare services, particularly welfare-to-work or workforce development services such as mentoring, job training, job readiness, and placement—a major emphasis of the 1996 reforms. While some welfare-to-work services have enabled the best-qualified welfare recipients to find work, the vast majority of poor families are caught in crises that make work difficult and then are penalized by punitive welfare regulations. Congregations would not be immune from enforcing these punitive regulations. Thus this funding may alter the church's relationship to poor families. *Will the churches that once stood in solidarity with families who are poor and fought for economic justice become the new “policers” of the poor?*

It is urgent that faith communities engage in a critical assessment of welfare rhetoric and the Charitable Choice provision. As they navigate through this rhetoric, they can discard what is misguided and false in favor of the courageous, restorative, and liberatory elements of their traditions. The language of welfare is enmeshed in a discussion of personal responsibility and morality, thereby masking the massive social and economic changes confronted by the vast majority of people in the world. The faith community, as ecumenical and interfaith, must chart a new direction in solidarity with the poor and oppressed, in judgment of racial and economic injustice, and grapple positively with the new realities of family and work. Such critical voices will be attacked as naïve, idealistic, and elitist, and these congregations should respond with their own definition of what constitutes moral decency and fairness. This battle quite literally is one of who can shout the loudest; too many lives are at risk to remain silent.

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*Cathlin Baker is co-director of The Employment Project in New York City.*

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# Toward a Truly Global Anti-capitalism

ANDREW HAMMER

"You are a beautiful sight to behold", said Njoki Njehu, one of the organizers of the April 16 protests against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in Washington, D.C., as she spoke to more than 20,000 people gathered on the Ellipse. A few blocks away, another 10,000 protesters blocked the streets of the nation's capital as they engaged in direct action aimed at shutting down meetings of the two institutions. The day's events capped off a week of rallies, teach-ins, and other efforts to raise awareness of how our global economy is managed, or mismanaged, and how that method of management affects all of our lives.

The week began with a focus on debt cancellation and a rally on the Mall organized by the Jubilee 2000 campaign. The middle of the week brought another rally, organized by the AFL-CIO, specifically against Most Favored Nation trade status for China and China's admission into the World Trade Organization (WTO). Although neither rally was as well attended as organizers had hoped, they helped to draw attention to the problems caused by international capital run rampant. The media were already speaking of the "next Seattle," in reference to the anti-WTO demonstrations in that city last November, and the events that took place during the week reinforced both the perception and reality of constant activity leading up to April 16. After three months of planning, the April 16 direct action and rally, organized by a broad coalition of progressive, faith-based, and labor groups that called itself the Mobilization for Global Justice, had now become the main event. However, the showdown started the day before, when police raided the headquarters of the street protesters and began blocking off streets around the IMF and World Bank buildings in an attempt to forestall the complete shutdown that was achieved in Seattle. Two hundred protesters were arrested that evening, before any of the planned actions had occurred. From the moment the sun rose on the morning of April 16, all cameras were focused on the streets of Washington, which for the organizers was already the first success.

As protesters delayed the meetings in the streets (D.C. is not Seattle; the authorities are used to dealing with protests, and thus the best that the participants in direct action could do was manage a delay in the proceedings), the rally demonstrated the diversity of the growing movement against the

**"Other movements have attempted to build solidarity among the working classes of the world, but have been divided by their national concerns . . ."**

institutions of global capitalism. Voices from what seemed like every aspect of the world of social change movements were heard, from Ralph Nader and AFL-CIO Vice President Richard Trumka to Oscar Olivera, a Bolivian worker who had only days before been released from jail after being arrested for organizing demonstrations against the privatization of the water company in his country. Students, environmentalists, and representatives of African and Asian nations were also on stage. Members of Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) in the D.C. area played an active role in planning the April 16 events, particularly the rally, which was emceed in part by DSA National Director Horace Small as well as by filmmaker Michael Moore (*Roger and Me*). Contingents of DSA members from New York, Philadelphia, Ithaca, and Detroit showed up at the event, and their banners were visible on both C-SPAN and CNN.

## The Point of it All

One might observe that the actions in D.C. and Seattle put us at the beginning of the first *genuinely global* movement for social justice. Other movements in the past have attempted to build solidarity between the working classes of the world, but have been divided by their national concerns or have had a precarious power relationship that puts the oppressed parties of third world nations together with that enlightened segment of the oppressor nation's population that opposes its own country's imperialism. Although the intentions of previous movements have been noble, the interests have sometimes been too mismatched to say that all parties are equally committed for the same reasons.

Two factors distinguish the movement against capitalist globalization from those previous struggles. First, although we in the affluent nations appear to just now be "discovering" the issues around the WTO, IMF, and World Bank, the idea of protesting these institutions is neither new nor our own. Protests and even riots against the IMF have been commonplace for some time now in the developing nations of the global South. Seattle was merely the first widely visible sign (being a bigger media story than the European demonstrations for debt cancellation) that we in the North are beginning to understand for ourselves what our comrades in the South have been trying to tell us for years about the IMF and World Bank, and in this sense we are joining their cause.

Second, the reason that this movement is the first one that is truly global, is because the enemy here is no longer one nation, one region, or one polity. The enemy here, at long last, for all to see without even needing to embrace the politics of socialism, is capital itself. The Bretton Woods system that set up the IMF and the World Bank in 1944 created a transnational corporate "estate" that affects all nations very differently, but affects them nonetheless. In one way or another, it has rendered all nation-states victims of the Unholy Trinity that is the

**“The enemy here is no longer one nation, one region, or one polity. The enemy here, for all to see, is capital itself.”**

IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO. Each of us has a stake in this issue in a way that no movement has ever made as clear before, and the fact that we have a common opponent without requiring of ourselves a common ideology is a strength.

Those involved in this movement are asking different things from it. Some are asking for concessions from the existing structure and its three institutions, some are making demands of it, and others are calling for it to be

abolished and replaced with a new economic system. Among our own socialist ranks, there are people engaged in each approach, including representatives of socialist governments who are attempting to change things from inside the meetings. But what unites us is that people from every corner of the globe,

with different conditions of life, different politics, and different national loyalties, are in agreement that the power and policies of these unaccountable global institutions must be confronted.

Those of us who make the case for abolition argue that Bretton Woods was no magical Mount Sinai where superhuman souls decided something a half-century ago that we are incapable of undoing or improving upon. In fact, when one considers that in 1944 most of the nations that are most adversely affected by these policies today were not nations but *colonies* of the very imperial powers that created our current economic system, it would seem imperative that we dismantle and rebuild for the sake of democracy itself. To twist a phrase from that era, the only thing we have to fear is the power of our own ideas. Given the current direction of globalization, we certainly have nothing to lose.

*Andrew Hammer is a co-editor of Religious Socialism and was one of the speakers at the April 16 rally.*

## Environmental Justice: A Religious Socialist View

NORMAN J. FARAMELLI

Nature is God’s creation, and all of us are part of the natural or created order. Hence, if we hurt the natural environment, we hurt ourselves. But that is only part of the story. From the standpoint of religious socialists, it is essential that we consider the categories of class, race, and gender whenever we speak of the natural environmental issues. The metaphor that “we are all in the same boat” is a limited concept.

In the early 1970s some of us were shouting for eco-justice—that is, the need to consider the social and economic effects of any action that had an impact on the natural environment, especially on the poor and minorities. Few of those voices were heard until many years later. The work of the United Church of Christ (1987) about the disproportionate number of toxic waste dumps near communities of people of color sounded the alarm, and “environmental racism” suddenly became a new reality. But it took the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) another ten years to do anything about it. And then it simply developed some fuzzy categories of assessing “environmental justice.” That is, EPA now asks those whose actions would have a negative impact on the natural environment to consider whether those actions would have disproportionate impacts on the poor and minority groups. That “scorecard” approach is simply inadequate to cope with the realities.

It should be no surprise that those with the lowest incomes are more vulnerable to the actions that pollute the environment, not because the project proponents are mean-spirited against

poor people or even overtly racist. It is because the poor and minority groups usually do not have the political or legal clout to stop projects.

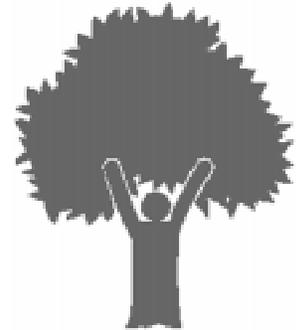
Our cities and towns are filled with countless examples of environmental injustice. In the 1960s, for example, there was a proposal for a major highway project in the Boston region that would have cut through the largely black Roxbury community, as well as other low-income communities. Not surprisingly, the first homes to be torn down were in the Roxbury community. Demolition was stalled in the other communities. In the early 1970s, when the highway project was stopped, Roxbury was filled with many square miles of razed land, which are still in the process of being developed.

If we do not recognize the realities of race and class, we will miss the significance of the real environmental issues facing us today.

### We Do To Nature What We Do To (Some) People

The exploitation of the natural environment has its analogue in the exploitation of people. There is an adage “We do to nature what we do to people.” But we know that all people are not equally affected. We should more properly say, “We do to na-

*cont’d on page 8*



ture what we do to some people." For instance, when a toxic waste dump seeps into the groundwater system and pollutes the drinking water supply, all people are not equally affected. At the first sign of cloudy water, the more affluent can turn to bottled drinking water. In U.S. society, race and class go hand in glove.

Class conflicts abound in environmental struggles, so that the more privileged classes are seen as pushing an environmental agenda that will hurt the less privileged. For instance, workers in the lumber industry are told by the logging industry, "If you save the trees, you will lose your jobs." When industrial corporations are pressured to clean up their act, they often counter with, "If we have to add expensive pollution controls to this plant, that will result in a loss of jobs." And the beat goes on. There is something fundamentally wrong with an economic system that offers such false choices to workers. It should never be a case of "It's your job or your health."

We know the need to build affordable housing, but environmental arguments are often used to stop such projects. "You cannot build on conservation land or on an wetland." It is futile for those who want to protect the natural environment to battle with those who advocate the need for affordable housing for low- and moderate-income families, so it is essential that new coalitions be formed. Social/economic justice and environmental quality need to be seen as counterparts not as opposites.

It is encouraging to see new coalitions emerging that unite labor, the poor, and people of color in a common focus, as in Boston, where the Conservation Law Foundation works with community organizations on lead paint in houses and elevated lead levels in the blood of urban children, or in the Northwest, where members of the United Steelworkers walked off the job at Kaiser Aluminum in late 1998 and joined with environmentalists against the Maaxam Corp, owner of Kaiser Aluminum and Pacific Lumber Company. This latter consortium showed that environmentalists can reach beyond the typical wilderness concerns and join in the struggles of the working class.

Most recently, we saw coalitions at the recent demonstrations against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle or against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in Washington, D. C. Are these coalitions a temporary phenomenon? Do such coalitions only work when there is a common target? Can such coalitions be sustained when we are addressing the building of an environmentally just society that considers the needs of the poor and minorities as well as the natural environment? We are not sure, but we must work and hope for it to be so.

#### **What Does the Religious Socialist Bring to the Debate?**

As religious socialists, we begin with an affirmation that the creation is God's creation and "it is good" (Gen 1) "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof" (Ps 24) The natural or material world is not the work of a lesser deity. It is the handi-

work of the divine Creator. Hence, we are entrusted with the responsibility to care for it, and to be stewards of those precious gifts that God has given us to use. We do not own it—regardless of what the deed says, and regardless of the cries of the sacrosanct nature of "private property." From a religious perspective, the ultimate ownership of land in human hands is a fiction—it is entrusted to us for our responsible use. The same holds true for the air, the water, and the other natural resources contained in the natural order.

Although human beings have developed the skills of science and technology, and in the Jewish and Christian traditions have been given the powers to "name" the natural order (Gen 2), we should remember that such powers can be greatly misused or used for our own self-aggrandizement (see Gen 3—the story of the Fall in the Garden of Eden).

But we always remember that the God who created the whole creation also made human beings in the divine image as part of that creation—and each person has an inherent worth independent of his/her contributions to and status in society. That is a tough one to swallow in a competitive society that sees itself as a "meritocracy," but it is essential that we never forget it.

Furthermore, our God is a God of justice and righteousness, who champions the cause of the poor and the dispossessed—symbolized in the Hebrew Scriptures by the widow and the orphan. The liberation theologians have called for God's "preferential option for the poor."

Thus, a religious socialist cannot consider the natural environment independent from the issues of race, class, and gender.

#### **There Is Still Much To Do**

There is not enough space to recite a litany of actions to be taken to promote a more fair and sound environment. Let me close with just one example. On the first Earth Day in Boston in 1970 a dramatic event took place on City Hall Plaza. An automobile was clobbered by a sledgehammer, signifying the death of the private car. After 30 years, the private automobile is alive and well, and it is public transportation that is on the "endangered species list." There has been progress, however, but some of that progress is now being negated. For example, the benefits of the cleaner burning automobile engines with greater fuel economies—something that the auto industry vehemently resisted until the federal government mandated them to do it—are being eroded by the appearance of gigantic, gas-guzzling sport utility vehicles that dominate the landscape. It is again time for government regulation. The question that we must raise is, What are the effects of regulations on the natural environment and on the people, especially those of limited financial means and different skin colors? Unless these questions are asked together, we will get a distorted view of the environmental issue. So let's move on with our tasks!

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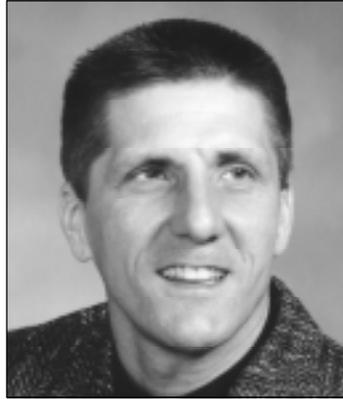
*Norm Faramelli is a co-editor of Religious Socialism.*

**The metaphor that "we're all in the same boat" is a limited concept when it comes to race, class, and gender.**

# Reflections on the Future of the Protestant Left

MARK HULSEHER

Ed. Note: Last year, Mark Hulsether, a professor at the University of Tennessee, published a detailed study of Christianity and *Crisis* magazine, using its 52-year life to discuss the developments and conflicts within progressive Protestantism. This editor served on C&C's editorial advisory board, as did several contributors and readers of RS. It was an important magazine, and we thought the readers of RS should know about the book. We asked Gary Dorrien, a frequent contributor to these pages and a keen observer of the Protestant left, for a review. We were too late. His review had already appeared in the *Christian Century*. There it ignited a controversy that played out in the letters to the editors page for several months. The themes were familiar to those of us on the democratic left although the language is different: identity politics vs. class struggle, intellectual rigor vs. popularization, mushy liberalism vs. intellectual vanguardism,, infighting vs. uniting against a common foe, apostasy, coalition building and with whom, and above all, what is to be done? We asked Mark Hulsether to reflect on the future of the Protestant left in light of that controversy and present his remarks here. —M.P.



In my book *Building a Protestant Left: Christianity and Crisis Magazine, 1941-1993*, I advanced two cautiously hopeful arguments about the prospects for an activist tradition of left-liberal Protestantism. First, the book uses transformations in this liberal Protestant journal of opinion as a case study in the ongoing relevance and vitality of a broad tradition of social critique that used C&C as an arena for debate from its 1941 founding by Reinhold Niebuhr, through its participation in the various social movements of the 1960s, to its role as a key arena for debating liberation theologies in the 1970s and 1980s. I attempted to write in a way that could build bridges across generations within this tradition, as well as between the religious left and the secular academic left. Second, a chapter on the nuts and bolts of C&C's institutional history presented evidence that its closing in 1993 was not inevitable. Although reduced support from its key backers at Union Theological Seminary and ecumenical organizations like the National Council of Churches brought C&C's last organizational configuration to a dead end, it retained a solid subscriber base and might have had a viable future in a different form.

To bolster these arguments, I quoted an article in *Dissent* about

C&C's closing. It argued that voter apathy about Democrats did not imply that all social activism is pointless. Similarly, a crisis in liberal Protestant institutions "does not mean the end of liberalism among Protestants. There are plenty of people out there staffing soup kitchens, involved in urban ministry and peace and justice activities.... Did C&C collapse because it was too anchored to dying institutional structures? It tried to bridge a space between what was and what is being born. The bridge couldn't bear the weight, but the space must still be crossed."

I expected these arguments to attract criticism, since my interpretation of C&C's debates over the years is a window on conflicts among a huge cast of characters from neoconservative, New Deal liberal, and various liberationist camps. C&C contributing editors over the years spanned a spectrum from Michael Novak on the right to Cornel West and Beverly Harrison on the left. Its writers constituted a *Who's Who* of people in between: Karl Barth, Robert Bellah, George Kennan, Harvey Cox, Margaret Mead, Noam Chomsky, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Manning Marable, Rosemary Ruether, Paul Tillich, and so on. Because I tilt toward leftist, multiculturalist, and feminist positions when analyzing the debates they waged in C&C, I expected cool reviews from people who agree with Max Stackhouse's assessment of C&C: "boring, predictable, and filled with empty leftist clichés." Sure enough, *First Things* complained about my "blatant bias."

What I did not expect was to get caught in a crossfire between Gary Dorrien and a group of C&C editors, all of whom share my broad support for C&C's left turn after the 1960s and are treated sympathetically in my book. After the *Christian Century* published Dorrien's positive review of my book in June 1999, more than a dozen former board members and contributing editors signed a hostile response. This in turn provoked several more letters, not ending before eight months had passed. Although some of the disputed issues hold limited interest outside C&C's former inner circle, the flap serves as a sort of barometer of perceptions about the larger Protestant left-liberal tradition for which C&C was a key representative voice. Unfortunately, a reading based on this "barometer" suggests that all is not well with the

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book's more optimistic visions of hope for the Protestant left.

The most discouraging thing about the editors' letter was its suggestion that Dorrien and I were aiding and abetting neoconservatism. This complaint apparently stemmed from some combination of my reporting about neoconservative attacks on C&C and my arguments about the limitations of mainstream Niebuhrian liberalism as a resource for the left. This supposed "invocation" of neoconservative "charges" led the editors to protest: "Are we really to imagine that Niebuhr. . . would have enjoyed a cozy role in the councils of the Reagan administration?" This question appears to assume that Protestant social thinkers fall into two basic camps: neoconservatives who betray Niebuhr and liberals who are faithful to him. In this two-sided war one must take sides, and if anyone questions whether Niebuhr was in certain respects too conservative, such a person must be driving Niebuhr into the arms of neoconservatism—even if (as the editors granted) neither Dorrien nor I "belong to the neoconservative camp."

If this is, in fact, the underlying logic of the above question, it is not helpful. If we must sort C&C writers into camps, we need at least three: neoconservatives, liberals, and liberationists (themselves significantly divided). My arguments about old-time Niebuhrian liberals and liberationists are complex, since I map the blend of conflicts and continuities among them, which vary from decade to decade and issue to issue. I support liberationist arguments about the limitations of classic Niebuhrian positions, through showing in concrete and unambiguous detail how they unfolded with a bias toward white, male elite standpoints. At the same time I argue that some liberationists have been excessively sweeping, ungenerous, and historically uninformed in their criticisms of people whose work they now build upon, such as John Bennett, C&C's top leader during the 1950s and 1960s. This leads into my efforts to build bridges, both through analyzing how current debates unfolded and by making a case that liberals and liberationists should spend less time fighting each other and more time fighting neoconservatives. However, I insist that a working alliance cannot be based on discounting the critiques of feminists and multiculturalists, but only on presupposing them and moving forward. If Protestant debate remains stuck in a binary opposition—liberal Niebuhrians versus neoconservatives, with no feminists, multiculturalists, or other radical critics of liberalism in sight—I must withdraw most of my arguments about hope for the Protestant left.

It is also demoralizing that the *Century's* discussion unfolded with such disproportionate fascination about C&C's closing, so much so that casual readers may have gained an impression that my book is primarily an institutional study of C&C's death. I have long feared that the book would be interpreted this way, because I have met too many people who, upon hearing that I was writing about C&C as a study in the fortunes of liberal Protestantism, have jumped to the conclusion that my purpose must be to trace a decline of liberal institutions linked to excessive radicalization. In fact, only one of twelve chapters treats C&C's institutional history, and it argues against such an interpretation.

In this connection, one of the more interesting letters in the

*Century's* exchange was a query from Theodore Erickson that largely pressed the *Century* to move left into the vacuum vacated by C&C—to become a more hospitable place for Christian feminists, critics of globalization, and so on. Although I also endorse this idea, I do not expect to see widespread support for it at the *Century*, and this is as good a way as any to explain why C&C was important while it lived and

leaves a significant gap now. Part of the explanation for this situation is the perception by some people at the *Century*—roughly comparable to the perception of centrist Democrats like Bill Clinton about a spectrum of possible allies on the left—that there is a stench of defeat and decline attached to such a left turn, bound up with painful polarization and neoconservative condescension. However, a key question about the future of liberal Protestantism is which religious tendencies will capture the interest of liberal baby boomers and their children, who have tended to drift away from mainline churches that they consider bland and vaguely repressive. The question I would press—in C&C if it still existed—is whether there is an equally damaging aroma of apathy attached to the *Century's* centrist liberalism, which hampers efforts to capture these energies.

Of course the question of why C&C folded is worth discussing, especially if considered in light of questions about possible replacements for it. Dorrien boiled his diagnosis down to three factors in his *Century* response to the C&C editors. The first was C&C's relative lack of resources and elite allies during the Reagan era and beyond, compared to Niebuhr's heyday. Controversy about this point is misplaced, because everyone agrees that this was the most important factor. A major purpose of my book is to trace such shifts in the allies and social context of the Protestant left in concrete detail. Maneuvering within this new context is the key problem for the religious left today.

The second problem Dorrien flagged, provoking a vehement reaction from the C&C editors, was C&C's declining "intellectual rigor" during its last few years. We must return to the question of who judges this rigor, but at one level this diagnosis should be equally uncontroversial. During C&C's struggle to survive in the 1980s, it clearly moved closer to a publishing model like *Sojourners*—shorter articles less engaged with academic debates—as compared to its historic niche, which overlapped more with scholarly religious journals and journals such as the *Nation*. In no way do I disparage the value of a "*Sojourners* strategy" nor the sincerity and hard work of the C&C leaders who followed it. I simply insist that it weakened C&C's traditional base among academics. This strategy also made it harder for C&C to imagine shifting responsibility to an editorial collective of academics—which had been C&C's survival strategy for the majority of its career. Of course it is unclear

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whether such a path really could have saved C&C or—more important today—could be adapted for a successor. However, it is a strategy followed today by umpteen scholarly journals with fewer resources than C&C commanded at the end.

Third, Dorrien claimed that neither I nor the C&C editors paid enough attention to a “lack of Christian content” in the later C&C. Here I must side with the editors. At every stage of C&C’s career it published substantial amounts, *both* of social analysis indistinguishable from writing in the *Nation*, and of writing that did what Dorrien called for—wrestled with how best to conceive Christian discipleship in the current social context. Its major change was not in the relative proportions of these kinds of writing but in its paradigms for understanding what *counts* as Christian content. Who judges this? From what standpoints? For example, is analysis of gender and sexuality a relevant priority for theology and social analysis? In its early years C&C said no, while the later C&C not only said yes but engaged in extensive debates about *how* to say yes—debates that at times received flak for abandoning Christianity but in fact were seriously engaged in rethinking Christianity.

On balance, C&C’s engagement with liberationist approaches increased its critical consciousness, and in any case was a separate issue from its efforts at popularization during its final years. C&C’s best work after its liberationist turn remained as intellectually rigorous as in earlier years. Judged by the priorities of left, feminist, and multicultural approaches, it made *more* valuable contributions to intra-Christian faith and praxis. It is because of these contributions that I—like Dorrien and the C&C editors—mourn its loss.

In light of my experience of studying C&C, my conclusions about the prospects for the Protestant left are somewhat contradictory. Although the left is unquestionably demoralized, fragmented, and out-organized by neoconservatives, its basic analyses still seem to me sound when stated at their strongest, whether for consumption in academic circles or popular ones. There is a powerful tradition still available to tap. Nothing about

C&C’s institutional defeat suggests that a journal like it could not be revived, albeit within a very different social matrix than the early C&C enjoyed. However, the reception of my book so far—although a small matter in and of itself—does strike me as symptomatic of deeper problems.

In several places that touch on the question of hope for the Protestant left, my book uses the phrase “remains to be seen.” I first borrow it when discussing a skeptical newspaper reporter who taunted C&C with a comment that the effectiveness of its radicalizing critiques “remained to be seen.” Later I evoke the phrase to express my fear that my book might fail in its goal of peacemaking across generations because “I have tried to bridge so many gaps that I am left standing, not with feet planted solidly on both sides, but in mid-air over a chasm. Probably I remain grounded enough in feminist, multiculturalist, and other radical critiques to rub salt in old grievances of moderates and neoconservatives, yet it remains to be seen how my kind words for John Bennett’s pragmatism will play on the left.” Still, I concluded, “I cling to a modest hope that the bridges will hold.”

I’ll stand by that last comment. There is no end in sight to the underlying conditions that helped contribute to this “friendly fire” among former C&C allies. Insofar as this episode represents broader trends, I cannot help but feel some stress weighing down my most optimistic hopes for the Protestant left, since my hopes are premised on a working coalition among liberals and liberationists to counteract the ongoing fire directed at us by neoconservatives. Still, the post-mortem on C&C in *Dissent* was correct to say that “there are plenty of people out there. . . . The bridge couldn’t bear the weight but the space must still be crossed.” I see no reason why the bridges can’t hold, at least for limited traffic. It just remains to be seen whether they actually will.

Mark Hulsether’s Web page address is <http://web.utk.edu/hulseth/default.html>.

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# Plowshares vs. Depleted Uranium

MAX OBUSZEWSKI

On December 19, 1999, a group calling itself Plowshares vs. Depleted Uranium, made up of Philip Berrigan and Susan Crane of Baltimore's Jonah House; the Rev. Stephen Kelly, S.J., from New York City; and Elizabeth Walz, a Catholic Worker from Philadelphia, disarmed two A-10 Warthog (Fairchild Thunderbolt II) aircraft at the Warfield Air National Guard base in Middle River, Maryland. Following Isaiah's vision of a disarmed world ("They shall beat their swords into plowshares ..."), the activists hammered and poured blood on A-10s, because the Warthog, used against Iraq and Yugoslavia, has a Gatling gun that fires depleted uranium [DU] ammunition. The action, however, attracted little media attention.

The group acted against A-10s because DU has had devastating environmental and health effects that will last for thousands of years. DU (U-238) is made from uranium hexafluoride, which is the non-fissionable by-product of the uranium enrichment process during which fissionable U-234 and U-235 are removed to make bombs and reactor fuel. DU is used in munitions, counterweights, shielding, and now commercial concrete (DUCRETE). DU munitions include penetrators and cluster bombs. Upon impact, radioactive and heavy metal poison U-238 fragments and dangerous oxides are released.

Baltimore County Circuit Court Judge James Smith, Jr., effectively sealed the fate of the Plowshares on March 13, 2000, when he granted the prosecution's motion for a gag order that prohibited "the defense from introducing evidence and/or propounding argument concerning depleted uranium." As Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general and counsel to the defense, reminded Judge Smith, it is unprecedented, except in Plowshares cases, that a defendant is not allowed to explain why an act was committed.

The gag order also forbade expert witnesses for the defense. As the trial began March 20, the only unanswered questions

were whether the jury would convict Crane of a bogus assault charge and the severity of the sentences.

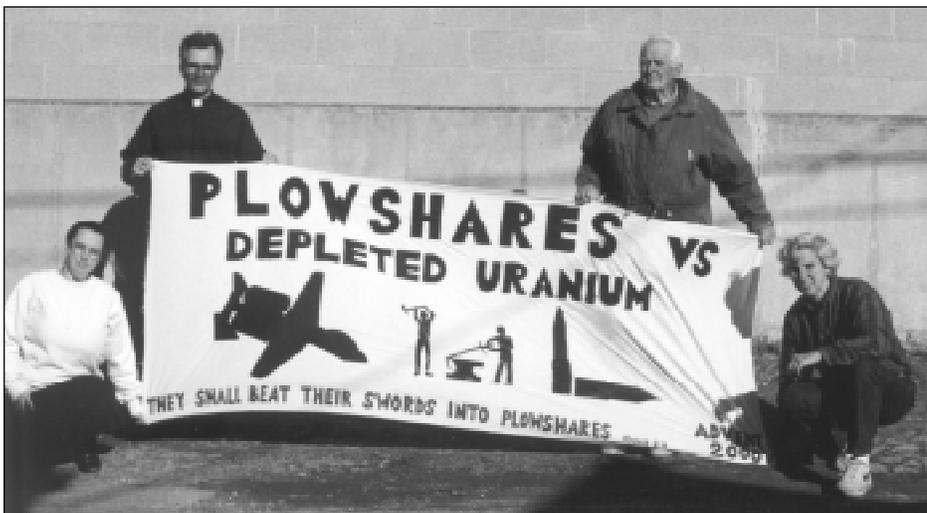
Possibly the most provocative testimony during the trial came from Sergeant Christopher Rivera, who described the A-10 as his specialty. An 18-year veteran with the Air National Guard, he testified, "I am the mother, the aircraft is my child." Despite his idolatry of this warjet, under oath he claimed to know nothing about depleted uranium.

Another prosecution expert, John Herzberger, on cross-examination, claimed a lack of knowledge of depleted uranium. Eventually, though, he admitted the military does not use the term. Instead, the ammunition is called Armor Piercing Incendiary [API], an obvious euphemism.

The Plowshares tried to introduce Doug Rokke, a Jacksonville State University professor and Army Reserves major, as an expert witness on DU. However, he was not allowed to testify. This caused the defendants to turn their backs on the court and refuse participation in a legal sham. Supporters began to sing, and the courtroom was cleared.

Coincidentally, that same day (March 22), the Associated Press revealed NATO finally admitted using DU in Kosovo, exposing civilians, its own troops, and aid workers to future health problems. The revelation of 31,000 rounds being fired in Kosovo, though, is probably understated. There is suspicion that DU was also used elsewhere in Yugoslavia, but NATO refuses to release data as to where and how.

**"Depleted uranium has had devastating environmental and health effects that will last for thousands of years. . ."**



The Plowshares activists were not in the courtroom the following day when a jury convicted them of destruction of government property and conspiracy to destroy government property. The jury failed to reach a verdict on Crane's assault charge, and it was dismissed.

In retaliation to the defendants' courtroom resistance, the judge vastly exceeded the sentencing guidelines. Berrigan, a former Josephite priest, is serving 30 months (guidelines, 6-to-12 months). Walz received 18 months (guidelines, 0-to-1 month) and Crane and Kelly got 27 months each (guidelines, 2-to-9 months). The defendants must share in paying \$88,622.11

in restitution, and, really rubbing salt in their wounds, the judge set cash bail of \$90,000 each should the four seek appeals.

Rokke was ignored by the Baltimore media, but Patrick O'Neill, a journalist from North Carolina, did an interview and got the following story. Rokke was exposed to radiation "while cleaning up the DU mess" in Iraq during Operation Desert Storm and may have been exposed twice more while conducting research for the Army in 1994 and 1995.

"Mine was all inhalation or absorption," said Rokke. "Inhalation has caused confirmed reactive airway disease." Since his exposure, Rokke said, he has lost most of his fine motor skills, his vision is damaged, and he has only 60 percent lung function. "I live with continuous pain," he said.

"The United States deliberately used depleted uranium munitions in Iraq, Kuwait, Okinawa, Kosovo, Serbia, Bosnia, Puerto Rico and within the United States," Rokke reported. "Thousands of individuals have been exposed and today many are sick or dead. DU is a health hazard if it is inhaled, ingested, or gets in wounds."

After years of unsuccessfully challenging the Pentagon to tell the truth about DU and implement safeguards to prevent further exposures, Rokke went public with his story, being interviewed on *60 Minutes* on in December. When General Wesley

Clark spoke at the Hyatt Hotel in Baltimore in February, he denied that NATO used DU.

Rokke was warned—including by e-mails from the Pentagon—not to attend the trial. Nevertheless, while in Baltimore, he outlined his three demands: (1) anyone contaminated by DU must receive medical care; (2) all DU uranium material must be disposed of properly; and (3) the use of depleted uranium munitions must be banned.

*Max Obuszewski, a Plowshares supporter, can be reached at [Mobuszewski@afsc.org](mailto:Mobuszewski@afsc.org); Doug Rokke can be contacted at [Drokke@jsucc.jsu.edu](mailto:Drokke@jsucc.jsu.edu). The e-mail address for Jonah House is [Disarmnow@erols.com](mailto:Disarmnow@erols.com).*

### The prisoners are at the following addresses:

**Susan Crane** #916-999, Maryland Correctional Institution for Women, PO Box 535, Jessup, MD 20794. (Mail is sent to that address. If you want to enclose a money order, that needs to be addressed to PO Box 306. The rest of the address remains the same.)  
**Philip Berrigan** #292-139 and **Rev. Steve Kelly**, SJ #292-140, Roxbury Correction Institution, 18701 Roxbury Road, Hagerstown, MD 21746  
**Liz Walz** #995-376, 200 Court House Court, Towson, MD 21204.

# The Holy War against the War on Drugs

MAXINE PHILLIPS

It's a war that has dragged on longer than the one in Vietnam, but the massive devastation remains hidden from all except the casualties and their communities. It's called the War on Drugs, and Howard Moody, coordinator of Religious Leaders for a More Just and Compassionate Drug Policy, wants a truce.

Moody, pastor emeritus of Judson Memorial Church in New York City, spent years fighting for civil rights and women's rights (especially women's rights to safe and legal abortion). Now, at 78, he sits in a small, cluttered office donated by the church where he worked for 35 years and describes plans to change the hearts and minds of those who don't yet realize how doomed this war is.

"This may be one of the most important issues before the country," he says. To him, the war on drugs is about the "control and subjugation of the black community" and affects hundreds of thousands of people. The statistics are

startling. Although drug users among the black, Latino, and white populations roughly parallel their percentages in the general population, the percentages in prison are horribly skewed. For instance, blacks make up 12.7 percent of the U.S. population and 13 percent of U.S. drug users. However, they make up 49 percent of the federal and state prison population. Whites make up 74 percent of the U.S. population and 33 percent of the U.S. state and federal prison population. About 52 percent of all crack users are white, but 88 percent of people convicted for crack offenses in 1995 were black.



Since 1981, Moody reminds the interviewer, the United States has spent 150 billion dollars fighting illegal drugs. Eighty-five percent of the increase in the federal prison population from 1985 to 1995 was due to drug convictions. Overall, the number of drug offenders in the jail and prison populations has increased nearly twelve-fold from 1980 to 1995, as have drug overdose deaths. In 1975, 87 percent of young people

said it was easy to obtain marijuana. In 1993, after millions of arrests, 89.6 percent told pollsters it could be obtained easily. Government interdiction of hypodermic needles has led to sharing of needles, a primary cause of HIV infection, and the spread of Hepatitis C. The public health consequences (by the end of 1997, more than 110,000 African-Americans and 55,000 Latinos were living with injection-related AIDS or had already died from it) are staggering.

Far from making drugs scarce or prohibitively expensive, the war has had the opposite effect. The initial scarcity created an artificially high price, and the huge profit margins encouraged more drug producers to come into the market. Greater production created economies of scale, so that, for instance, the price of cocaine dropped from \$275.12 per gram in 1981 to \$94.52 in 1996.

By any measure, the war is not being won, nor is it winnable, when drugs are to be found in even maximum security prisons. Such a massive failure of any other government program would bring cries of outrage. However, Moody points out, the increase in the prison population has been a boon for some. Prison construction and staffing have given new life to many dying communities outside of urban centers. And, of course, unemployment is down, in part, "because so many people are in prison."

As the war has dragged on, women and children have been hard hit. More and more women are serving time for non-violent drug-related offenses, leaving their children in the foster care system. From 1980 to 1992 the female prison population increased by 276 percent compared to 164 percent for men. Between 1986 and 1991 the number of African-American women incarcerated for drug-related offenses increased by 828

percent. Most of these women are not career criminals, nor are they dangerous. They are often caught in a web of substance abuse and physical and sexual abuse that could be broken by good treatment programs and more community resources.

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**“The war on drugs is about the ‘control and subjugation of the black community.’ ”**

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Even if our own families don't suffer direct casualties in this war, we all suffer from a steady erosion of civil liberties as the courts expand the conditions under which the police can search individuals. Highly publicized racial profiling cases are a result of police targeting of certain racial and ethnic groups because of suspected drug use. "I'll bet that if you did random search and seizures on the Upper West Side of Manhattan [Ed. Note: home to many white liberals and professionals] the way they do in Harlem, you'd find plenty of drugs," Moody asserts. But that's not going to happen because the communities that have political clout can resist. For now.

The drug war affects who votes. Ten states deny convicted felons the right to vote, which means that in those states one in four black men have permanently lost their voting rights.

Do religious institutions see the War on Drugs for what it is? Hardly. "We're not a movement at this point," Moody says in wry understatement about his group. Most churches prefer not to deal with anything other than Band-Aid social service programs. Black churches, whose communities are hardest hit, have been extremely reluctant to call for decriminalization of drugs. This is starting to change, though, Moody said, citing N.Y. Representative Charles Rangel, who until recently supported New York's draconian drug laws, but who now speaks of the need for different policies.

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**“By any measure, the war [on drugs] is not being won, nor is it winnable. . .”**

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Religious Leaders for a More Just and Compassionate Drug Policy has targeted religious academics as a group to which it wants to bring its message. Members of its board, which includes an imam, several priests, one nun, two rabbis, and several Protestant clergy and academics, have issued a call to "our religious communities to take seriously the task of examining and speaking out on our current drug policies, helping to reform and make more realistic and less punitive our attempts to deal with drug users and addicts." The group does not support legalization. "All discussion stops when you bring that up," says Moody, "and besides, I'm sure that somewhere R.J. Reynolds has a cigarette called Acapulco Gold that it would be only too happy to start advertising if drugs became legal. We're not advocating increased use." Instead, the group wants the federal government to adopt a policy of prevention, decriminalization, and "compassionate intervention." Thus, drug use and possession would be misdemeanors. Abuse of drugs, as opposed to use, would presumably carry penalties similar to those for abuse of alcohol. That is, people of legal age have a right to get drunk, but they don't have a right to drive a car or endanger other people while they are abusing alcohol. Treatment programs would be widely available, as would needle exchange programs.

Moody has no illusions that reform is close at hand, but he is heartened by small signs. Arizona now sends non-violent offenders into treatment rather than prison. California and Maine allow medical use of marijuana, and Vermont is close to enacting a similar law. New York state is speaking of sending some nonviolent offenders to treatment programs rather than prison. As U.S. military presence in Colombia increases, there is more public discussion of the foreign-policy implications of the drug war. Still, the road is long.

"This is a process of changing people' minds one-by-one," Moody says.

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*Maxine Phillips is a co-editor of Religious Socialism.*

Religious Leaders for a More Just and Compassionate Drug Policy can be reached at [religiousleaders@juno.com](mailto:religiousleaders@juno.com). Visit the Web site at <http://religiousleaders.home.mindspring.com>.

# Walking Home Together: The Role of European-Americans in Healing the Wounds of Slavery

YESHI SHEROVER NEUMANN

At the top of a cramped staircase on the third floor of the First Baptist Church in Framingham, Massachusetts, there's a tiny room with a narrow wooden bench. Next to the bench is a square stool where an overseer used to sit. It's a grim reminder that, for almost 400 years, between 30 and 60 million African women, men, and children were torn from their homelands and brought to work as slaves in the Americas.<sup>1</sup>

I came to Framingham on foot, as a pilgrim. It was one of the first stops on the Interfaith Pilgrimage of the Middle Passage,<sup>2</sup> a year-long journey, in 1998 and 1999, retracing the route of slavery.



The Interfaith Pilgrimage was the vision of two women. Sister Claire Carter is a Buddhist European-American nun in the Japanese Nipponzan Myohoji Order, which had initiated a pilgrimage from Auschwitz to Hiroshima in 1995 and currently sponsors one through Khmer Rouge-decimated villages in Cambodia; her friend Ingrid Askew is an African-American playwright and actor, whose great-grandfather escaped enslavement on a plantation in Maryland via the Underground Railroad.<sup>3</sup> On the Pilgrimage, people of African descent would be able to honor their ancestors, celebrate their spirit of resistance, and return their souls to the Motherland of Africa. For people of European descent, the Pilgrimage would be an opportunity to take responsibility for the history of slavery and "express repentance on behalf of the peoples and civilizations of the West." (Pilgrimage Brochure 1998)

I had been invited to facilitate an "unlearning racism" orientation with some of the European-Americans involved with the Pilgrimage. The inspiration and mentor for my work was my older sister, Ricky. Ricky Sherover-Marcuse, a European-American Jewish woman, created Unlearning Racism Workshops in the late seventies and led these workshops internationally until her death in 1988. Ricky believed that racism, a system of institutionalized mistreatment of people of color and economic and social advantages for white people, has left many white people paralyzed by guilt. She insisted that, although white people do not deserve unearned or special advantages, they deserve to be cherished as much as any other people. Through "unlearning racism," we can begin to work effectively for justice, and recover a close connection with our own ancestors and with all human beings.<sup>4</sup>

At first I planned only to be on the Pilgrimage for a week. But once I began walking, I couldn't stop. I put one foot in front of the other, twenty miles a day, for much of the six months of the journey. I carried Ricky with me as my beloved ancestor. In my backpack, in a small, many-colored cloth bag, I brought her ashes, as an offering. I wanted to share her passionate devotion to the thirst for freedom and justice in all human beings.

In making this trip, I was repeating a voyage I had made 34 years before, when I went to teach history at Tuskegee Institute, a historically black college in Tuskegee, Alabama. At the height of the Civil Rights Movement, the way for me as a European-American to fight racism seemed clear, but when Stokely Carmichael urged people like me to "go home to your people," to change the hearts, minds, and institutions of our own brothers and sisters, I took his advice and returned to New York City.

However, it was not until almost 25 years later that I began to understand who my people, white people, were. In 1619, when the first English colonists came to this land, the word "white" was not used to describe a type of person. By the middle of that century, "white" referred to indentured servants of European descent, distinguishing them from enslaved Africans. Status as a white person, which meant immunity from slavery, stopped European servants from joining together with Africans to end their mutual exploitation.

The concept of race, linked with the big lie of innate white superiority, was a social construct used to justify an economy that depended on the massive enslavement of Africans. European-Americans in power have continued to use this insidious fiction to create divisions between people based on status; designations of race did not and do not describe biological differences between human beings. For example, in the late 1800s, in spite of their light skin, Finns, who did the lowest paid, most dangerous mining work in the upper Midwest, were deemed not white by the courts; and in the 1848 constitutional debates in California, Mexicans, as opposed to Chinese, were judged to be white. Being white meant that they were allowed to own land, become citizens, and marry white people. Today Mexicans are not considered white, but Finns and all other European-Americans are. Although race is a fiction, the effects have been devastatingly real. And being white means being exempt from the myriad forms of systematic mistreatment, violence, and degradation that people of color experience daily. It means being entitled to seen and unseen economic and social benefits.

In order to become white and gain those benefits, though, European immigrants had to give up their language, their names, their accents, their customs, their dress, and their songs, as well as the stories of what happened to them before they arrived.

Throughout the U.S. portion of the Pilgrimage, some of the European-Americans were reluctant to acknowledge the significance of being white. J, a Vietnam veteran, insisted that in the life and death situations that he had experienced, he did not see color, his own or others. K, a young hippie, claimed that, because he was persecuted as a member of the counter-culture, he did not have white privilege.<sup>5</sup> Aversion to studying ourselves as white people and talking about our issues impeded our collective task of taking responsibility and expressing repentance for the history of slavery and its legacy.

Although we were all rising at 5:30 a.m. to meditate and pray together, sweating under the same scorching sun, eating the same cheese sandwiches by the side of the road, and sleeping on the same hard church floors, the white pilgrims carried what social theorist Peggy McIntosh has described as “an invisible knapsack of White privilege.” For example, for the U.S. portion of this Pilgrimage, there were significantly more white people than black. This reflected not just that there are more white people in this country, but that more white people have the option to take breaks from the obligations of their daily lives. In addition, many of the African-Americans asserted that we unloaded our “knapsack of White privilege” frequently. K, an African-American woman, was angry that N, a white man, always turned out the lights in our sleeping space at 10 p.m., without checking if people wanted to hang out that night. R told me that she was irate that I didn’t ask her if it was okay before I took her dry laundry off the clothesline, and put my wet clothes on. As a black woman, she was sick, she said, of white people making decisions for her. I listened and apologized. Taken out of context, the above interactions, and others, might have seemed insignificant. But given the legacy of slavery, the African-Americans experienced them as repetitions in our community of the patterns of control and domination of the lives of black people by white people.

Another issue that we needed to discuss was that, once we crossed the Mason-Dixon line, the Pilgrimage rarely engaged with or drew on the resources of white communities. In the South, black people fed, sheltered, and embraced us almost every night. It was crucial for the African-American pilgrims to make deep connections with their sisters and brothers wherever we went, but because we were a mixed group, the challenge for us as white people was to avoid carrying on a pattern derived from slavery — continually using the labor and resources of African-descended people to nourish ourselves.

\* \* \* \* \*

I returned to the work of my sister to help me understand the

reasons for the deep reluctance on the part of the white pilgrims, as well as white people in general, to engage with ourselves as white people. According to Ricky, as long as white people look through the lens of our own guilt, we cannot see clearly the consequences of racism, either for the lives of people of color or for our own lives. In addition, from the time we are very young children, we are trained against our will to be perpetrators of racism, either to dish it out actively or to stand by while it happens. Although it takes different forms, racist conditioning happens to us all, whether we grew up in overtly racist homes or liberal or progressive ones where we were taught “not to see color” or to be “extra nice” to dark-skinned people. The conditioning not only separates us from people of color, it divides white people from each other, pitting the “good” ones against the “bad” ones.

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**“Racism operates as a strategy of divide and conquer. It helps to perpetuate a social system in which some people are consistently ‘haves’ and others are consistently ‘have nots.’ While the ‘haves’ receive certain material benefits from this situation, the long-range effects of racism shortchange everyone. Racism sets groups of people against each other and makes it difficult for us to perceive our common interests as human beings. . . . [I]t makes us abandon our visions of solidarity; it robs us of our dreams of community.”**  
**—Ricky Sherover Marcuse**

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The conditioning, which we breathe like polluted air—that white people are more entitled, more deserving, or somehow better than people of color—has caused many of us to lose the sense of our own goodness, and of the goodness of our families. In addition, many white people suffer from the belief that we are helpless to redress the harm we do, or see done, to our sisters and brothers of color.

Ricky was convinced that the more we retrieve our buried awareness of the cost of those benefits the more we will work to transform oppressive institutions and create a just society. She believed that we had to bring our stories out of the shadows and listen to each other with compassion. We had to ask, “What happened to you?

How did you learn to be white?”

I tell one of my own stories here as an example of the complicated and painful ways that we, as children, learn to be white. Although I have told this story before in intimate settings, I notice my hesitation as I share it publicly in writing, a fear that I will be blamed for my experience as a white child. The creators of the Pilgrimage believe that, “the expression of repentance... help[s] break the pattern of defensiveness, denial and fear which...form the unconscious underpinnings of [our] society still gripped by racism.” (Pilgrimage Brochure 1998). Telling my story here is one way to express what I understand as repentance: allowing the full weight of grief for what was wrong to pass through my heart in the service of acting to bring about more justice.<sup>6</sup>

My father emigrated as a child from Poland to New York City. When he was 11 his father died, and he had to quit school and sell insurance door-to-door to support his mother and siblings. But by the time I was born, he had become financially well off. When I was seven, my father left our family, taking our upper-

middle-class status with him. From then on, Ricky and I lived with our mother, who worked as a secretary, and our grandmother, who worked as a maid in a hotel in New York City. I remember my grandmother scrambling about in the dark once a week, in order to scrub our apartment spotless before she went to work. She wanted the African-American women hired by my mother and sent by a temp agency to clean our house to think that we were clean. As I watched my grandmother frantically wash the dishes, I prayed that whoever was coming would not look down on us because we didn't have a father in our family.

In the 1950s, there was a TV sitcom in which a black woman named Beulah solved all the problems of the "nice" two-parent, middle-class white family for whom she worked. As I look back on it now, I see that I picked up from my mother, who was afraid that she could not survive without a husband, a desperate fantasy. I imagined that the African-American women who rang the doorbell on Friday mornings, prepared to sweep, mop, and vacuum, would, like Beulah, fix my broken family. I believed that our very life depended on these women.

I remember being completely confused. There was so much worry preparing for "the cleaning woman," each week a different one. She seemed to have tremendous power over us. Yet after each woman shut the door behind her, my grandmother would criticize her for not scouring the bathroom sink or scrubbing the kitchen floor the way my grandmother would have. I couldn't stand seeing her be so unfair. Also, on each occasion, my desperate hope that the "cleaning woman" would somehow make everything all right was dashed.

Of all the women who came to our house, there's only one whose face I can recall. Dora was a tall, smooth-skinned dark woman with fierce eyes. I remember being lonely and hanging around Dora, wanting to be next to her, as she bent down to change my mother's sheets. Somehow I got tangled in Dora's feet and she angrily kicked me out of her way so that she could finish making the bed.

I understand now something no one explained to me as a child: the painful intersection of the legacy of slavery and class. My grandmother, an unschooled, Jewish Russian immigrant who worked as a maid, and her daughter, my mother, were concerned that they themselves might not be clean enough or good enough in the eyes of the black women. Nevertheless, my mother's brief stint in the upper middle class had given her a taste of being entitled to have other people clean while she gave dinner parties. It did not make economic or practical sense; it was not even done to impress other people. But because we were white, we had a black "cleaning woman."

As a child I felt as if I was to blame for Dora's anger, and for the relationship we had with these black women. Telling my story in the context of Ricky's workshops, I was able to transform my guilt. Frozen inside the guilt were rivers of grief and outrage, grief that my trust in my mother and my grandmother was betrayed as they kept this insane ritual going, grief about the lie that got played out in my house, that some human beings are more deserving, and others less, and grief that the human connection that I had yearned to have with Dora was impossible in the context of a relationship so distorted by the legacy of slavery. I was outraged

that I had inherited this relationship. As I told this story it became clear to me that my life depended, not as I had believed, on having had Dora or the other "cleaning women" make everything okay in my family; my life depended on joining with other people to transform centuries of injustice done to African-descended people originally torn from their African home.

In addition, Ricky helped me reframe my experience. She insisted that, as a child, I did not have the resources to rectify the situation. But my thoughts and emotions were expressions of resistance. They were the only ways I had to fight against the idea that the twisted relationship between my family and the African-American women who cleaned our house was the way things were supposed to be. Ricky asserted that, "The recovery of the resistance of the past contradicts the lie that one has never resisted; in so doing it opens the vista of a possible resistance in the present." By facing the memories of how we learned to be white, we can set free a sense of ourselves as courageous people able to act powerfully for justice.

In naming one of the tasks for European-Americans on the Pilgrimage as the expression of repentance, the creators of the Pilgrimage were significantly influenced by The Most Reverend Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Chair of its Board of Advisors. One of the guiding intentions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, chaired by Archbishop Tutu, is the notion that uncovering stories that have been hidden in shame, and denied, is necessary for the healing and restoration of a community. Malidoma Some, a medicine man of the Dagara tribe of Burkina Faso, in West Africa, emphasizes the importance of addressing shame in a ceremonial context. The shame that comes from guilt, Some says, is a "collapsing emotional force that paralyzes the self....In order to heal... one must re-experience [the shame] within the context of ritual...to prevent [it] from destroying self-esteem and dangerously affecting the whole community."

\* \* \* \* \*

In addition to uncovering our own buried resistance to injustice, we must uncover the resistance of our ancestors. Who in our own white American families spoke out, in whatever way they could, against slavery? What songs of freedom did our Irish, Greek, and Russian foremothers and fathers sing? Seeing the people who came before me from the perspective of their quest for freedom and justice, I was able to unearth and shed the lie from deep in my cells that Jews did not deserve to live. I learned to love what my mother and father had tried to cast off in order to protect themselves from anti-Jewish oppression and become white Americans: the Yiddish language, my Semitic skin color, nose, and hair, and the sacred customs of my ancestral tribe. Standing on the strong shoulders of our own ancestors, European-Americans do not arrive empty-handed; we can come to the table, for example, to the black churches and communities that welcomed us on the Pilgrimage, sharing gifts from our own cultures, not just hungry and waiting to be served and fed by others.

In the early months of the Pilgrimage, I wrestled with whether, because of my family's late arrival to the United States, there were limits to my responsibility for the history of slavery.<sup>7</sup> But one day we were standing in the center of Louisville, Georgia, under the shade of a 200-year-old roof of huge curved timbers

with open sides. What looked like a temple had actually been a market where enslaved people were auctioned. I don't know exactly how it happened. Maybe it was just walking mindfully, day in and day out, paying attention to slavery and its legacy, that allowed me, at that moment, to see clearly: Because I was white, I had inherited the auctioneer as my ancestor. I no longer felt constrained by the literal question of whether my own blood ancestors had or had not been there. I no longer felt that there were limits to my responsibility for the history of slavery and its legacy.

Something else happened under those huge timbers. In the moment of recognizing that I was not separate from my white-skinned "grandfather," the auctioneer, it became clear that I was also not separate from my dark-skinned "grandmother," the woman who never abandoned her dream of giving her breast milk to her own baby girl. As a Jew and a leftist I had mostly felt like an outsider no matter where I was; as a child of recent immigrants I had felt like an outsider to this country, to the history that we pilgrims were walking to heal. In walking away from the auction site in Louisville that afternoon, I had a new sense of belonging on the Pilgrimage.

\* \* \* \* \*

And yet, the white people in our group continued to struggle with the legacy of slavery and the racism that played itself out on the Pilgrimage.

Isoke Femi, an African-American facilitator of diversity workshops throughout the United States, describes how white people's supposed fragility on this topic obstructs healing: "Every time there is an opportunity for a face-off between Black people and White people, White people cave in, collapse, turn away, and Black people are left with the feeling of being batterers, that it's our fault that we are so angry." Isoke gets more and more passionate as she cries, "We just want White people to stop worrying about whose fault it is and share the burden!"

As the Pilgrimage prepared to leave New Orleans for the Caribbean, we created a Council of People of European "Dissent." The purpose of the Council was to listen to the African-Americans' concerns about racism, take responsibility for European-Americans' education and actions around the legacy of slavery, and seek practical ways to give up our white privilege in the Pilgrimage community. We laid down a rug, lit a fire, and made a hearth around which to tell each other our stories — creating a space for the ritual of healing and a springboard for restorative action.

Creating a space consecrated to listening deeply to each other made accountability for our actions possible. Thus, when our doing or saying something experienced as racism was pointed out, we did not need to deny it and defend ourselves. Instead of immediately saying, "What I did was not racist; I would have treated anyone the same way," or "I didn't intend it as racism," we could be open to the impact of our actions. We could be curious and ask ourselves, "What is an element of racism in this situation? What can I learn here? Is there a corrective action I can take?"

Two weeks after forming the Council, European-Americans had

an opportunity to deal with giving up white privilege. As the Pilgrimage was about to leave the United States for Cuba, we discovered that the boat could only hold 40 out of the 48 pilgrims ready to sail. At first, mostly African-Americans offered to stay behind and meet up with the rest of the group in Jamaica, but later they expressed bitterness that so few white people had volunteered not to go. The Council met, and as a result, several white people gave up their seats on the boat. L, one of the Council members, reported, "We didn't get it right on the first round, but we did on the second."

When people ask me, "What did the Pilgrimage really accomplish?", I do not have a ready response. But I remember that somewhere in the Talmud my ancestors answer: "It is not upon you to finish the work. Neither are you free to refrain from it." And I remember Ricky. The small, many-colored bag with her ashes continued on its way in the hands of one of my sister pilgrims, as she walked to Africa.

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*Yeshi Sherover Neumann is executive director of the Women's National Leadership Project and founder of the Multicultural Alliance Project. She has been a midwife for twenty-nine years. A longer version of this article appeared in the Summer 1999 issue of ReVision and is excerpted here with permission of the author.*

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#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Throughout I prefer to use the term enslaved people rather than slaves to convey that Africans and African descended people were human beings in the condition of slavery.

<sup>2</sup>The Middle Passage was the leg of the triangular slave trade system that brought Africans to North and South America and the Caribbean. The Interfaith Pilgrimage can be reached c/o First Congregational Church, 165 Main Street, Amherst, MA 01002.

<sup>3</sup>I will use the terms African-American and black interchangeably; and European-American and white interchangeably.

<sup>4</sup>In addition to a theoretical framework rooted in Marxism and the work of Herbert Marcuse and the Frankfurt School, Ricky's Unlearning Racism Workshops were based in her experience in the Civil Rights Movement and in the theory and practice of Re-Evaluation Counseling. Re-Evaluation Counseling is a peer counseling social movement developed over the last 49 years and practiced in around 80 countries. For more information on working to eliminate racism and other social oppressions using this approach, contact Rational Island Publishers 719 Second Ave. N., Seattle, WA 98109

<sup>5</sup>I have used initials rather than names when quoting the words or describing someone on the Pilgrimage whose permission to be identified in this essay I could not obtain

<sup>6</sup>Levins Morales says, "to transform the traumatic...we must allow the full weight of grief to pass through our hearts." p.19.

<sup>7</sup>For a thoroughly researched discussion of the role of Jews, the slave trade and slavery in the U.S. see Farber, E. 1998. *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade: Setting The Record Straight*. New York: NYU Press.

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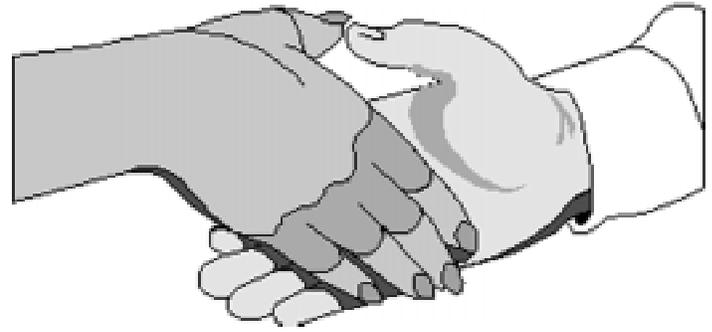
# Religious Unity on the Left?

PETER LAARMAN

The messianic tone is still there, and interesting people still come to speak and listen and learn. But Michael Lerner's "politics of meaning" has yet to find legs as a significant social movement. It will undoubtedly persist as a boutique enterprise with particular appeal to progressives who cannot shut their eyes to horrific social realities but who reject traditional left analysis and shun traditional styles of activism as stale and superficial. This anti-political politics will find a ready market, in other words.

These are impressions gleaned from "Re-Imagining Politics and Society," the most recent national conference held to promote Lerner's project. Cosponsored by the New York Open Center, the late May gathering drew 600 participants and a glittering array of speakers ranging from some certified old-school scholar-agitators to the doyenne of pop spirituality, Marianne Williamson. Lasting three full days and sprawling over several Upper Manhattan venues, the conference cost a small fortune to organize.

What's the return on this investment? I spent a day at the conference and spoke with several friends and colleagues who were also serving as faculty. We agreed that we would self-critically accept Lerner's mandate to "make this conference something more than just another gathering of the faithful wondering why we are not yet running the country." In doing so, we faced the key question of just how we should reframe our analysis and recharge our activism. Lerner believes that what most of us lack is mature spirituality; he and his collaborators contend that left activists lack proper appreciation and respect for humankind's spiritual yearnings. In this respect, argues Lerner, most of today's progressives merely mimic the brutal capitalists: we think that the bottom line is all that counts, and thus our approach to seeking justice becomes almost as blind and as antihuman as the capitalists' passion for accumulating new wealth. Lerner suggests, for example, that the mounting critique of corporate-led globalization would be far stronger if it were infused with a clearer sense of how much the bottom-line mentality diminishes rather than enhances human capacities for awe



and wonder, love and caring.

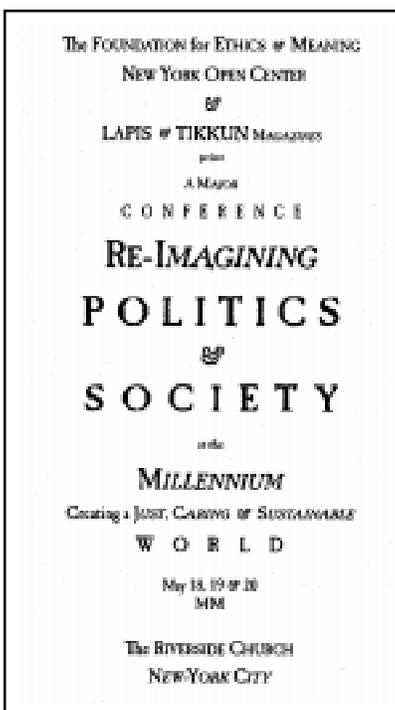
I have no quarrel with this, except that I think many on the left actually have a good deal more appreciation for the things of the spirit than Lerner will admit. My question is not really about how Lerner's "Emancipatory Spirituality" sees the world. My question is about how it proposes to *change* the world. Here things get murky indeed. We are sternly instructed to think in terms of wholeness and to avoid polarization. This would exclude well-known polarizers Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. Among Lerner's supporters today there is some talk of forming a "League of Spiritual Voters" in order to transcend the polarities of contemporary politics. Forgive me if I say that this will have approximately the same general efficacy as printing more "Visualize World Peace" bumper stickers.

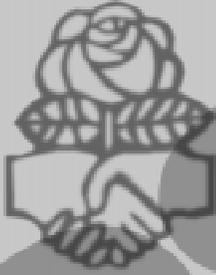
Altogether, and despite its capacity to engage many good people, Lerner's project remains self-indulgently nebulous. And as elite American endeavors of this kind always do, his "politics of meaning" is slowly morphing into a mere politics of nice.

*Peter Laarman is the pastor of Judson Memorial Church in New York City and a DSA member.*

## RESOURCES ON GAY AND LESBIAN ISSUES

The Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force has compiled resources of interest to religious socialists. One is "Selected Readings on the History of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender People in Religious Organizations," a compilation of reports and news clippings, and "Challenging the Ex-Gay Movement, An Information Packet." The latter, co-published with Equal Partners in Faith and Political Research Associates, is an examination of the ways that the right uses the ex-gay movement to advance its political agenda. It contains analyses of organizations and reprints materials from them. It also offers strategies for progressive religious organizations. For more information about these and other resources, contact Jesse Heiwa at HAPANes@yahoo.com or the Policy Institute of NGLTF at 121 W. 17<sup>th</sup> St., Suite 501, NYC 10001-6207.





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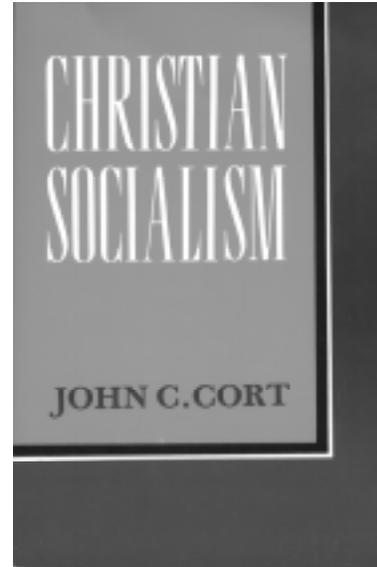
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