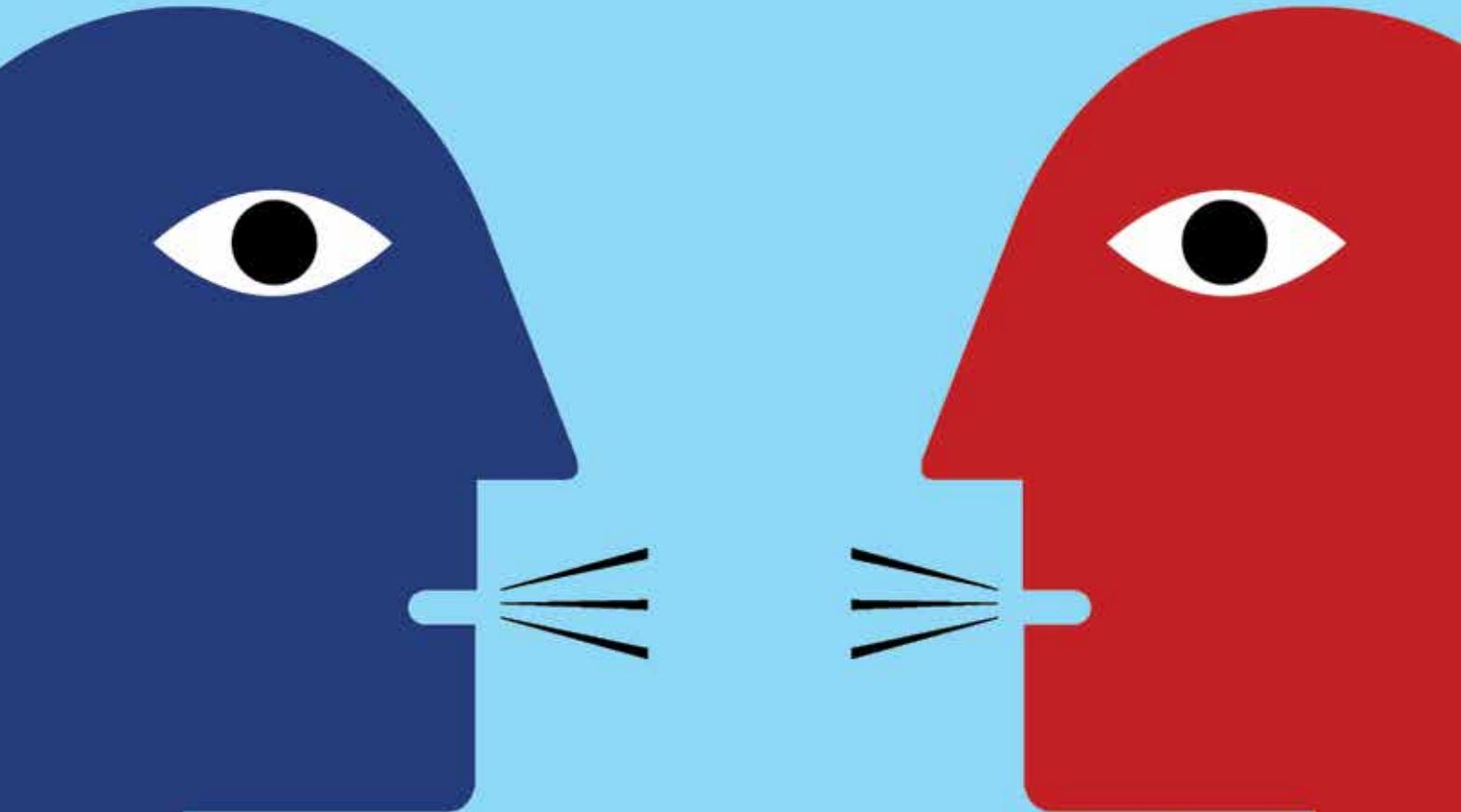


America

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC REVIEW

MARCH 28, 2016 \$4.99



A Sacred Calling

WHAT POLITICS IS AND ISN'T

STEVEN P. MILLIES

Last Saturday, hundreds of protesters briefly disturbed the conscience of the island paradise of Palm Beach, Fla. Led by Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, widow of the late U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the peaceful cavalcade wended its way under a brilliant blue sky through a 2.5-mile route, across the Royal Park Bridge and past the trendy shops and coiffured lawns of the 1 percent. At 87 Mrs. Kennedy is as spry and as passionate as ever, doing what she has done for 50 years: marching with the underprivileged, often forgotten constituents her husband championed in his final political campaign.

Wearing a T-shirt emblazoned with a picture of Senator Kennedy and Cesar Chavez, the late labor leader and civil rights activist, Mrs. Kennedy joined the Coalition of Immokalee Workers to protest the low wages and poor working conditions of area tomato harvesters, who earn about 50 cents for every 32-pound basket they fill in the dusty, sweltering south Florida sun. Almost all the workers live below the poverty line. The Immokalee Coalition's Fair Food Program pressures fast-food companies to add a penny per pound to the price they pay for tomatoes, which means \$20 to \$150 more in the workers' weekly paychecks.

McDonald's, Burger King, Subway and Taco Bell have all joined the Fair Food program; but Wendy's is holding out, claiming that the farmworkers are not technically their employees and so they shouldn't have to pay. The coalition does not buy that argument, nor are they buying Wendy's burgers until that freckled, pigtailed redhead does the right thing. While the boycott has brought needed attention to the plight of workers in Immokalee, a farming town 100 miles from Palm Beach, Mrs. Kennedy and the coalition's other leaders thought that it would be even more effective to take the fight to the front door, literally, of the chain's chairman. Nelson Peltz,

the billionaire head of Wendy's, has one of his homes in Palm Beach. "It's an opportunity for Wendy's to just join and do the right thing," said Gerardo Reyes Chavez, one of the day's protesters. "Instead of that, they punish their own suppliers by not purchasing from them."

But as much as the protest was meant to pressure Wendy's and its chairman, the marchers also sought to raise awareness among the folks who were out for their Saturday morning shop. "The people in this town saw for the first time the faces of the people who pick their food," said Santiago Perez, another of the organizers. "Their reality is tied to our reality, and they can't continue to ignore us." If that sounds familiar, it is because it's a lot like what Pope Francis has been telling us: A more just economic system begins by seeing the person, the one who toils to produce what we consume. When we fail to see the person, our conscience is blind.

Seeing the person who is affected by our choices also makes our choices more manageable. Few of us have the power to change the whole world, but we all have the power to change our part of it, one person at a time. "Each of us can work to change a small portion of events," Robert Kennedy once said. "It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring, those ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

Those ripples of hope rushed the shores of Palm Beach last weekend. Let us pray that the current will carry the cause of justice to every heart. In the meantime, tell the folks at Wendy's to pay it forward and give an extra buck to the people who make it all possible. It is, quite literally, the least they should do.

MATT MALONE, S.J.

106 West 56th Street
New York, NY 10019-3803
Ph: (212) 581-4640; Fax: (212) 399-3596
Subscriptions: (800) 627-9533
www.americamedia.org
facebook.com/amicamag
twitter.com/amicamag

PRESIDENT AND EDITOR IN CHIEF
Matt Malone, S.J.

EXECUTIVE EDITORS

Robert C. Collins, S.J., Maurice Timothy Reidy

MANAGING EDITOR Kerry Weber

LITERARY EDITOR Raymond A. Schroth, S.J.

SENIOR EDITOR AND CHIEF CORRESPONDENT
Kevin Clarke

EDITOR AT LARGE James Martin, S.J.

EXECUTIVE EDITOR, AMERICA FILMS
Jeremy Zippel, S.J.

POETRY EDITOR Joseph Hoover, S.J.

ASSOCIATE EDITOR AND VATICAN CORRESPONDENT
Gerard O'Connell

ASSOCIATE EDITOR AND DIRECTOR OF DIGITAL STRATEGY Sam Sawyer, S.J.

SENIOR EDITOR Edward W. Schmidt, S.J.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS Ashley McKinless, Olga Segura, Robert David Sullivan

ASSISTANT EDITOR Joseph McAuley

ART DIRECTOR Sonja Kodiak Wilder

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT Zachary Davis

COLUMNISTS Helen Alvaré, John J. Conley, S.J., Daniel P. Horan, O.F.M., James T. Keane, John W. Martens, Bill McGarvey, Angela Alaimo O'Donnell, Margot Patterson, Nathan Schneider

CORRESPONDENTS John Carr (Washington), Anthony Egan, S.J., and Russell Pollitt, S.J. (Johannesburg), Jim McDermott, S.J. (Los Angeles), Timothy Padgett (Miami), Steven Schwankert (Beijing), David Stewart, S.J. (London), Judith Valente (Chicago)

MODERATOR, CATHOLIC BOOK CLUB
Kevin Spinale, S.J.

EDITOR, THE JESUIT POST Michael Rossmann, S.J.

EDITORIAL E-MAIL
america@americamedia.org

PUBLISHER AND CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER
Edward G. Spallone **DEPUTY PUBLISHER** Rosa M. Del Saz **VICE PRESIDENT FOR ADVANCEMENT** Daniel Pawlus **ADVERTISING SALES MANAGER** Chris Keller **DEVELOPMENT COORDINATOR** Kerry Goleski **BUSINESS OPERATIONS STAFF** Khairah Walker, Glenda Castro, Katy Zhou, Frankarlos Cruz **ADVERTISING CONTACT** ads@americamedia.org; 212-515-0102 **SUBSCRIPTION CONTACT/ADDITIONAL COPIES** 1-800-627-9533 **REPRINTS:** reprints@americamedia.org

© 2016 America Press Inc.

CONTENTS



ARTICLES

14 A SACRED CALLING

Recovering what politics is—and is not
Steven P. Millies

19 WHERE BEAUTY RULED

One monk's response to the AIDS epidemic
Kevin T. DiCamillo



COLUMNS & DEPARTMENTS

4 Current Comment

5 Editorial Take, Give, Do

6 Reply All

8 Signs of the Times

12 Column [Unintelligible Yelling] Nathan Schneider

24 Vatican Dispatch Globalization of Mercy Gerard O'Connell

26 Faith in Focus Lifegiving Bread Brian Doyle Aging With Ignatius Barbara A. Lee

30 Philosopher's Notebook Racine and Sacral Violence John J. Conley

39 The Word The Witness of Life John W. Martens

BOOKS & CULTURE

31 IDEAS The Catholic connections of Tennessee Williams

POEM Emmaus **BOOKS** *University Ethics; Dark Money; Lord of the World*



ON THE WEB

Nicole Perone, right, of **Voices of Faith** talks about expanding women's roles in the church. Plus, **Robert David Sullivan** blogs on the **presidential primaries** at "(Un)Conventional Wisdom." Full digital highlights at americamagazine.org/webfeatures.



Oil Tax Benefits

Unveiled in February, President Obama's proposed budget includes hundreds of billions of dollars of investments in transportation, from mass transit to self-driving cars. What may be most notable about the proposal, though, is the way he proposes to pay for them: with a \$10 per barrel tax on oil.

Leaders in Congress have already called the proposal dead on arrival, but the idea should not be dismissed so quickly. Oil prices remain low, and economists tend to agree that a tax on oil is a smart idea. "There's all sorts of bad stuff that goes along with oil that economists view as a kind of market failure," said Gregory Mankiw, an economic adviser to George W. Bush and Mitt Romney. "And the simplest way of fixing a market failure is to tax the activity that's causing these adverse side effects."

These "adverse side effects" include climate change but also nuisances that may be easier for the general public to relate to, like congestion and car accidents.

A tax on oil is an incentive to consider other modes of transportation. Rail travel, buses and, yes, even self-driving cars represent safer and more efficient ways to travel. Mr. Obama's proposed budget also includes money for road improvements and repair (this is the United States, after all), but the amount no longer dwarfs investments in travel alternatives. It should be remembered, too, that better public transit is especially important for poor communities, where people do not have access to safe or reliable modes of transportation. Investments in public transit can be a way to fight climate change and serve people in need.

A Martyr in Honduras

It is perhaps no surprise that the investigation into the murder of Berta Cáceres in Honduras is so far not going well. Ms. Cáceres, a well-known defender of indigenous people, protector of the environment in Honduras and mother of four, was brazenly gunned down in a private home in La Esperanza, Intibucá, on March 3. Local police have suggested that her homicide was the result of a botched home invasion and robbery. (Signs of the Times, pg. 9.)

Her family is not buying that tale, nor should they. They insist that her slaying was an assassination prompted by her leadership of high-profile campaigns against hydroelectric projects, illegal loggers and plantation owners. The Mexican activist Gustavo Castro Soto, also wounded in the attack, charges that the crime scene has been altered and alleges mistreatment by police. He is eager to return home, but he has been prevented from leaving the country. Mr. Castro should be allowed to depart now, recuperate

and live on to testify another day.

The handling of Ms. Cáceres's murder will be a test of the Honduran security and justice systems. In a nation where crime and official impunity are rampant, Honduras endures an alarmingly high rate of unsolved homicides—particularly among its environmental and indigenous activists and journalists. Ms. Cáceres was surely aware of the risks she was taking; now the global community must honor her courageous witness and insist that the investigation into her death be pursued wherever it leads. The local church should stand with indigenous and environmental advocates in Honduras to insist on it. International lenders who have supported the hydroelectric project that Ms. Cáceres and her colleagues have so long resisted, the Agua Zarca Dam in the Gualcarque River basin, should use this tragedy as an opportunity to re-examine the integrity of the "investment" they are making in the region.

Safer Homes in China

Earlier this month, the Chinese government passed its first law against domestic violence. Prior to the new legislation, separate laws and regulations, like China's Second Marriage Law, dictated how to deal legally with domestic violence. The Anti-Family Violence Law, which went into effect on March 1, defines "domestic violence as...when people within a family beat, tie up, abuse or limit personal freedoms, or regularly verbally abuse or terrorize, causing physical or mental harm." Along with specifically defining what constitutes domestic violence, the new law makes it easier for abuse victims to obtain restraining orders.

Many in China commend the law, which also applies to cohabiting partners as well as children and the elderly. But certain women's rights activists in China expressed concerns because the law does not clarify whether it protects same-sex partners. (Studies show that domestic violence among same-sex partners is as prevalent as among heterosexual couples, but it is not as openly discussed.) Others argue that the law will create problems because it will change certain traditions accepted in the country, like the corporal punishment of children.

The Anti-Family Violence Law, while still raising many concerns, is a great step forward for China. According to a survey conducted by the All-China Women's Federation, one in four Chinese women suffers from domestic violence at some point in her life. This kind of legislation will make it easier for many Chinese women to leave abusive relationships and get the help and support they need.

Take, Give, Do

It was an incomprehensible act of violence: 16 individuals, including four members of the Missionaries of Charity, were brutally shot and killed in a church-run retirement home in Yemen. Pope Francis responded to the murders on March 4 saying that the sisters were “victims not only of those who have murdered them, but also of indifference...this globalization of indifference.” It is difficult to make sense of events like this, and it sometimes seems preferable simply to turn away, to tune out such suffering. Yet as Christians we are called not only to pay attention to the suffering of others but to accompany those who are suffering in whatever way we can.

Calls for an international response followed the martyrdom of the sisters, and the U.S. Catholic bishops issued a statement reminding us of the deeper meaning found in what seems like senseless suffering: “Through their sacrifice, [the sisters] were transformed into signs of Christ’s victory over sin, violence and death.”

Few of us are called to be martyrs, yet the example given by these women reminds us of our shared call to be witnesses to the Gospel and to the transformative power of service and sacrifice in our daily lives. But what does this witness look like? How might we allow our own suffering to transform us?

The Resurrection points to an answer, and we need not wait for a tragic moment to recognize it. The Easter story in the Gospel of John reminds us that when Mary “saw the stone removed from the tomb” she “ran and went to Simon Peter and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and told them.” Both of them, in turn, ran to the tomb to confirm her story. When the disciples heard her testimony, they acted immediately, although they could not yet fully understand what was happening.

Having been transformed through the power of the Resurrection, we, too, are called to action, to a new kind of awakening. We are called to go out into the world and to share the reality of this salvific love, even as we seek to understand it, even as we search for hope, even though we do not yet fully comprehend God’s kingdom or our own role in its unfolding.

Today, having the benefit of 2,000 years of church history and theology, we have in some ways a more complete picture of the events of that first Easter weekend. As Peter reminded the early church in the Acts of the Apostles, we “know what has happened all over Judea.” We know of

Christ’s life, death and resurrection, of his grace-filled love and his mercy. And with this knowledge comes real responsibility: We, like Jesus, must go about doing good, focused on healing and uniting. Peter’s reminders ring just as true today: We too are commissioned to testify to the truth of Christ’s life and to bear witness.

Yet, in the midst of a fraught and divided political climate, in the face of a refugee crisis, war, poverty, hunger and sorrow, it is easy to be tempted to despair. In times of turmoil and trouble, it is easy to feel as though Christ has abandoned us and to feel hatred or anger toward our neighbor. But the Resurrection calls us to transform those feelings into hope, love and compassion. It calls us to move outside of ourselves, our own wants and comforts. The Resurrection is not only about new life but also about reconciliation and union. As such it holds out a powerful message to a divided world.

The restorative power of the Resurrection calls us to be transformed each day, by the power of God’s love. This is evident in the Gospels: Jesus is raised to new life. Peter is restored to communion with Jesus. Thomas is restored to faith. Mary Magdalene to hope.

The Resurrection also encourages the conversion of our imaginations and teaches us to hope in ways we could not have done before. When we face the broken state of the world, the Resurrection invites us to imagine not just how to fix it but also how to cooperate in God’s remaking of it. Thankfully, we are not alone in this struggle. The Resurrection inspires us, of course, but its power is in the fact that the risen One remains with us. It is not simply the idea of the Resurrection but Christ himself who guides us, accompanies us, suffers and rejoices with us, even today.

We are reminded of Christ’s transformation and the need for our own week after week in the words of the Mass: “Take this all of you and eat of it. This is my body, *given up* for you. Do this in memory of me.” We are called to receive the body of Christ. But we are also called to build it, and, as the martyred sisters did, to transform our indifference into involvement: *take, give, do*. Take time to pray. Give of yourself. Do something kind for someone. In leading merciful lives inspired by the Resurrection, we both become and tend to the body of Christ.



REPLY ALL

A Public Failure

Re “When I Was in Prison” (Current Comment, 2/29): “For profit” is not the root of the prison problem. Every organization has financial performance goals, even **America**, even the Jesuits, even your local church. The problem is a lack of oversight generally of privatized services by public entities, in many cases resulting from poorly designed contracts and a tendency of public agencies to consider their responsibility transferred to the private operator once the ink is dry.

Almost anything can operate successfully and as a “win-win” as long as privatization is executed through a well-crafted contract that has meaningful operating parameters and provisions for effective program oversight and administration. Blaming “for profit” here is like blaming a writer for an error-filled article when the editor gave no instructions and performed no review before publication.

BILL STEWART
Online Comment

Earth Dividend

“Life Without Work,” by Ted Nunez (2/22): In “Laudato Si” Pope Francis expressed his concerns about income inequality, the environment and the economy. A basic income guarantee could be beneficial on all three of these issues—with the following caveats. The basic income must be funded from environmental taxes and not economic taxes. That means no tax on individual income, corporate profits, sales or property. Just a tax on the earth that we are still trying to kick others out of. That also means no subsidies other than an earth dividend distributed to each adult—no Wall Street bailouts, no energy subsidies, no housing subsidies, no entitlements. No government so big it prowls the earth looking for monsters to destroy.

ERNEST MARTINSON
Online Comment

Accountability in Flint

Re “Flint Was No Accident” (Editorial, 2/15): The editors’ tracing of the water crisis in Flint, Mich., back to the Reconstruction era and blaming it more proximately on “environmental racism...lack of solidarity and numbness of conscience” left me bewildered. To me, it looks as if government employees not doing the jobs they were hired and paid to do was the issue, as was the emergency manager’s attitude that murky, foul-smelling water was acceptable as long as lab employees stated it met purity standards.

Why the city emergency manager, who clearly has access to the governor, did not insist that employees correct the coloration and odor (which would have led them to discover the lead and the inadequate treatment) is an open question. For those who believe racism is at the heart of this, please note that the city emergency manager is a black man and an attorney, so I am inclined to doubt that his actions or inactions were racially motivated.

Attitudes of bureaucratic lethargy and unresponsiveness in individual public workers were the issues here, pure and simple, and the results are indeed tragic, especially for the children involved. Restoring a proper water supply and providing proper treatment and compensation for those affected are going to be expensive for taxpayers at one level or another. But if we ignore facts, or bend them to fit a political or social bias, that does not help us move forward. Forgive me for not being able to grasp the big picture described by the editors and focusing on individual actions and accountability.

JOSEPH J. DUNN
Online Comment

Facts and Figures

Recently, the water in Sebring, Ohio, was also found to have unsafe lead levels. The village is 98 percent white. Go figure.

JOHN WALTON
Online Comment

Catholic Through And Through

I applaud J. Michael Byron’s recognition in “What’s Catholic About It?” (2/8) that Catholic studies departments at Catholic colleges are an anomaly. The Catholic intellectual tradition should permeate a school’s curriculum and culture. This will allow truth to emerge under academic scrutiny without jeopardizing the reasonableness of faith. To enable this, a school’s administration and faculty must constantly refer to the school’s mission and the integrity of the Catholic worldview, which, as Father Byron correctly implies, is more than departmental and catechetical.

(REV.) MICHAEL P. ORSI
Naples, Fla.

A Scandalous Suggestion

A legal studies department at a law school is an absurdity, but an American studies department at an American university is not. Rather, it seems to me that what the Father Byron calls a “conceptual problem” is simply an objection to the very idea of an interdisciplinary department. I think something interesting could be written about whether interdisciplinary departments make sense, but the idea is hardly self-refuting.

Father Byron’s suggestion that Catholic studies departments are nothing more than counterfeit theology departments in which inadequately credentialed “John Paul II Catholic” ideologues play at theological study while indulging in adulation of “certain popes and bishops, and those scholars who agree with them” is much more interesting. The evidence for such scandalous claims must be very compelling indeed. I only wish he had shared some of it.

DAVID KIDD
Online Comment

A Click Away

Thanks to Megan K. McCabe for “Create in Me a Just Heart” (2/8). Porn is a ubiquitous temptation. I

have not looked at it in a long while, but I am aware it is always just a few mouse clicks away. Friends who make their living on the Internet say porn accounts for a shocking portion of all online traffic.

Oddly, I cannot recall ever hearing it addressed in a homily—not from a traditional perspective and not from a feminist perspective. I fear that this neglect leads more than one of the faithful to believe mistakenly either that it is no big deal to subject oneself to such a heart-hardening influence or that she or he is one of only a handful of Catholics who do so.

KEVIN DOYLE
Online Comment

What ISIS Wants

Re “Cupich: Confront Gun Violence,” by Judith Valente (2/1): Did Archbishop Blase Cupich really say that “ISIS is not ideological in the sense of wanting to promote a particular faith or religion”? I wish Ms. Valente had asked him to clarify. ISIS says that they want to establish or have already established a caliphate, and that ultimately all people should submit to Islam. True, they are misinterpreting or perverting Islam, but they certainly want to “promote a particular faith or religion,” i.e., their twisted version of Islam. I cannot find a way to align the archbishop’s statement with the stated goals of ISIS.

JACK LLOYD
Online Comment

Welcoming The Elder Son

Re “The Merciful Father,” by Msgr. Peter J. Vaghi (2/1): In my own experience the tendency has been to focus on our relationship to the prodigal son and, in turn, on the father’s relationship to us. Recently, however, I have been struck by the equally merciful,

yet completely disparate, response of the father to “the other brother.”

The elder sibling refuses to “return to the fold,” so to speak, because his expectations of his home have been turned upside down by the father’s conduct toward the prodigal. In this case the father does not wait for the elder to “come to his senses” but goes out to confront the elder brother first! This, too, is merciful, as it evidences, in Monsignor Vaghi’s terms, “restorative power of God, revealed here in the father’s initiative of love and welcome”—to his elder son. He invites the elder to set aside his self-righteousness and judgment in order to be reconciled with his brother and father.

DAVID GEISLINGER
Online Comment

What Jesus Taught

In “Our Reason for Being” (2/1), Don Briel, Kenneth E. Goodpaster and Michael Naughton describe the two pillars of Catholic universities as: 1) the pursuit of the unity of knowledge; and 2) the complementarity of faith and reason. I do not find either of these concepts in the Gospels or the words of Jesus. They sound like some-

thing from Thomism. That’s O.K., but I want to base my Catholic faith and education on Jesus, not on St. Thomas Aquinas, as intelligent as he was. What if the pillars were taken from Jesus’ own teaching ministry, as in Lk 4:18-30? Good news to the poor, liberty to captives, sight to the blind and freedom for the oppressed—maybe that would get to why there was a crucifix in the first place.

JOE SCHAUB
Online Comment

Impossible Prayers

I am grateful to David Hollenbach, S.J., for his fine article “The Rights of Refugees” (1/4), but I had expected to find something about how the international community should deal with the causes of the refugee crisis. I am in no way a statesman, and as a semi-retired Jesuit of 81 my job is to pray for the Society of Jesus and for the world.

I am praying for the reform of the United Nations, that it may truly be representative of the people (not just the governments) who send their delegates to it; that it may have more power to enforce its resolutions; that reports by the U.N. High Commission for Refugees are thoroughly dealt with—not just with regard to what to do with victims but also what to do about the injustices in the countries from which people have to flee. And, as prayer can also be about the impossible, I am praying for a declaration against the arms trade—which is at the root of all the conflicts that are mushrooming all over the planet. The free trade of arms should be illegal, just as the drug and slave trades are, and steps, including military action, if need be, should be taken to stop it.

ALBERT SAID, S.J.
Victoria, Australia



RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

A Press for Genocide Declaration For Christians Trapped Under ISIS

The Obama administration is nearing a decision on whether to declare formally that atrocities by the Islamic State against religious minorities, including Christians, constitute genocide. As impatient lawmakers and religious groups step up calls for action, Secretary of State John Kerry may not make a determination by the March 17 deadline set by Congress, according to several administration officials.

The House will vote on March 14 on a bill that would identify the Islamic State's actions against Christians, Yazidis and other groups as "genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity." In a bid to push the process, several groups, including the Knights of Columbus, released reports documenting what they called clear evidence that the legal standard has been met.

"There is only one word that adequately, and legally, describes what is happening to Christians and other religious minorities in the Middle East. That word is genocide," Knights of Columbus chief Carl Anderson said on March 10 while presenting a 280-page report. The report identifies by name more than 1,100 Christians who have been killed by Islamic State militants. It also details numerous instances of people kidnapped, raped, sold into slavery and driven from their homes, along with the destruction of churches.

The report contains dozens of statements collected from Feb. 22 through March 3 from witnesses and victims of atrocities carried out by Islamic State forces. The incidents include torture, rapes, kidnappings, murder, forced conversions, bombings and the destruction of religious property and monuments. "Murder of Christians is commonplace. Many have been killed in front of their own families," said the report, titled "Genocide Against Christians in the Middle East."

The report argues that there is a case for genocide and called on Secretary of State John Kerry to make such a declaration and to include Christians in it. State Department officials hinted in October that a genocide designation was coming for the Yazidi minority but not for Christians. Those comments led to a firestorm of protest from Christian groups that resulted in Congressional action setting the March 17 deadline

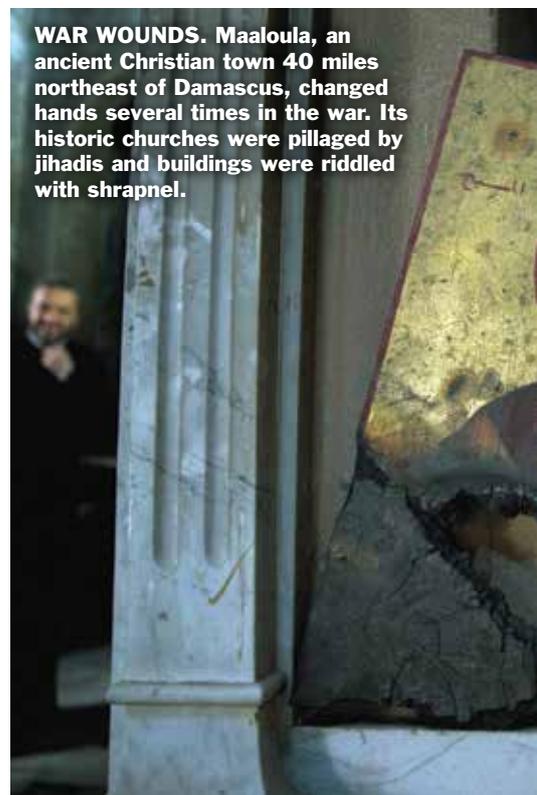
for Kerry to respond.

An executive branch determination of genocide would be fraught with moral and potential legal consequences. Although the United States is already involved in military strikes against ISIS and has helped prevent some incidents of ethnic cleansing, notably of Yazidis, a genocide determination could require additional U.S. action.

Kerry must weigh whether the Islamic State group's targeting of Christians and other minorities meets the legal definition of genocide, which is "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group," according to the U.N. Convention.

"This has to be done on the basis of the legal standard with respect to genocide and the legal standard with respect to crimes against humanity," Kerry said in Congressional testimo-

WAR WOUNDS. Maaloula, an ancient Christian town 40 miles northeast of Damascus, changed hands several times in the war. Its historic churches were pillaged by jihadis and buildings were riddled with shrapnel.



ny late last month. "I have asked for further evaluation based on what I've heard in order to test against the law some of my own perceptions and evaluations and see where we come out."

The European Parliament adopted a resolution in February stating that the Islamic State was "committing genocide against Christians and Yazidis and other religious and ethnic minorities who do not agree with the so-called ISIS/Daesh interpretation of Islam, and that this, therefore, entails action under the 1948 U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom called on the U.S. government in December to designate Christian, Yazidi, Shiite Muslim, Turkmen and Shabak communities in Iraq and Syria as victims of genocide by the Islamic State.



AP PHOTO/PAVEL GOLOVKIN

HONDURAS

Who Killed Berta Cáceres?

Friends, family members and activists associated with the slain Honduran Berta Cáceres are calling for an independent investigation into her killing through the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. According to Jennifer Avila, an investigative reporter for the Jesuit-supported Radio Progreso in Honduras, there is little trust in the official investigation into the homicide of Cáceres, an internationally recognized defender of the environment and indigenous communities in Honduras, because government officials had paid little attention to the last threats she had received. Cáceres and her organization, the Council of Popular and Indigenous Organizations of

Honduras, had been working for years to thwart the massive Agua Zarca hydroelectric dam project.

“They are prioritizing personal issues as a cause of the crime,” Avila reports via email from Honduras. “She was criminalized by Honduran authorities because of her activism, so now it is too difficult for her family to think the same system is going to make an independent and true investigation.” Avila says investigators so far have shown a “clear interest to inculcate partners or people who were close to her so they could say it is not a political murder.”

The only witness to the crime, a Mexican activist named Gustavo Castro, has been barred from leaving Honduras, and U.N. officials have expressed concern for his safety. Castro had been shot by the same two men who murdered Cáceres after storming her home in the city of La Esperanza in western Honduras in the early morning hours of March 3; he survived by playing dead.

All of the images Castro has been shown by police as possible suspects “are from people of the same organization that Berta led,” Avila says. Meanwhile, indigenous activists and Cáceres’s family report feeling newly threatened. “They say some strange people are surrounding them in the communities, and they are afraid because they know that if there is no justice, they will be the next victims.”

The project Cáceres had been resisting at the time of her death, the Agua Zarca Dam, is planned for the Gualcarque River. It had been pushed through without consultation with the indigenous Lenca people—a violation of international treaties governing indigenous peoples’ rights. The

Lenca oppose the project, which would obliterate their land and communities.

Despite the apparent assassination of Cáceres, Avila says indigenous activists she has spoken to remain as committed as ever to halting the dam project and other “developments” that trample the rights of indigenous people in Honduras.

“It is so common to hear from them, especially indigenous women, that they are not afraid to die, and that they are sure they will be next victims, but they will continue,” Avila says. “The first demand is justice for Berta and the second one is to stop the Agua Zarca project. They are asking the government to cut the dam contract and name the Gualcarque River as a national heritage [site]. They are also asking to cut every project—it could be mining or for energy production—that threaten indigenous communities.”

According to Avila, local activists hope the international community will pressure Honduran authorities into permitting an independent investigation of the killing of Cáceres. Beyond that, they ask citizens outside Honduras to “push their countries,



INDIGENOUS MARTYR? Family and friends of murdered activist Berta Cáceres are demanding an independent investigation into her death.

enterprises or international funding agencies not to support projects like the dam in Rio Blanco, which is supported by the Finnish Fund for Industrial Cooperation and also receives support from U.S.A.I.D. The [indigenous] communities have the right to decide which project they accept or which not to accept, and that right is being violated in this country; that has to be an international demand, also.”

KEVIN CLARKE

‘Horrendous’ Human Rights Abuses

A U.N. report describing sweeping crimes, including the burning alive of children and disabled people and fighters being allowed to rape women as payment, shows South Sudan is facing “one of the most horrendous human rights situations in the world,” the U.N. human rights chief said on March 11. Zeid Raad al-Hussein lamented that the crisis in the nearly five-year-old country has been largely overlooked by the international community; and his office said attacks against civilians, forced disappearances, rape and other violations could amount to war crimes and crimes against humanity. According to the United Nations, “state actors” bear most responsibility for the crimes. The report recommends that the U.N. Security Council consider expanding sanctions already in place by imposing a “comprehensive arms embargo” on South Sudan and also consider referring the matter to the International Criminal Court if other judicial avenues fail.

‘Enmity’ in Chicago

The morning after a rally for Donald J. Trump in Chicago was canceled for fear of violence, the city’s Catholic archbishop warned that “enmity and animosity” are hallmarks of today’s

NEWS BRIEFS

“The most massive failure of the Catholic community at all levels in the past 20 years has been to address the question of our ongoing involvement in the Middle East,” Bishop Robert W. McElroy of San Diego said on March 7. • The Netherlands-based group Open Doors International urged on March 9 better protection for Christian refugees in Germany after church officials said many face abuse in Muslim-dominated refugee camps and reception centers. • Pope Francis will visit the former Nazi concentration camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau during a visit to Poland on July 27-31 for the celebration of World Youth Day, Polish bishops announced on March 12. • West Virginia became the third state to outlaw second-trimester abortion by dismemberment after its legislature voted on March 10 to override a veto by Gov. Earl Ray Tomblin. • Press reports on March 10 suggest that French-born Archbishop Christophe Pierre appears to be on track to become the new apostolic nuncio to the United States, nine years after his appointment as nuncio to Mexico.



Archbishop Christophe Pierre in Mexico

politics and a “cancer” that is threatening the nation’s civic health. “Our nation seems to have lost a sense of the importance of cultivating friendships as fellow citizens who, being equal, share much in common,” Archbishop Blase Cupich said in a homily on March 12 at Old St. Patrick’s Church. “Instead, our politics and public discourse are often marked by enmity and animosity,” he said. The archbishop worried over a process that emphasizes “what divides us rather than what we share in common.” He said, “And because we do not value growing together, a cancer is developing that threatens to harm us all.”

Women’s Voices

“Women are knocking on the door of the church.... But I fear a generation will come that will stop knocking,” Dr.

Carolyn Woo, president and C.E.O. of Catholic Relief Services, said at the Vatican on March 8 during a panel discussion organized by Voices of Faith, a Catholic women’s international network. “This conversation about women is not for women, it is for the church,” Woo told the third annual gathering of Voices of Faith to celebrate International Women’s Day. Geralyn Sheehan, country director for the U.S. Peace Corps in Colombia, noted that mothers are the ones who teach children about service and worried over a generational change that suggests there are fewer young women in the church today. She spoke too about the fact that women are so often victims of physical violence and sexual behavior, adding that it is an issue the church must address.

From America Media, CNS, RNS, AP and other sources.

Refugee Crisis: Sentiments Harden

Europe's refugee disaster is one of the biggest humanitarian crises of our century, yet it is still not widely understood as such. Within the European Union it has become primarily a political problem rather than a desperate human tragedy. Points of arrival are multiplying and the people keep coming, met not with the welcome they received just months ago from some European states but with hostility, closed borders and razor-wire fencing.

Even politicians like Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, not so long ago admired for opening a door of welcome to as many as one million refugees, are now backtracking before increasing political opposition. French police supervised the demolition of the infamous Jungle refugee camp near the channel port of Calais. But as winter turns to spring, more people will come. Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan are not yet empty.

European leaders, crippled by bickering indecision, uncertainty and electoral peril in the face of this tragedy, have reached a strange deal with Turkey that they are trying to present as a breakthrough. If the plan proceeds, the European Union agrees to pay to return all refugees who have irregularly reached Greece, particularly its islands, to Turkish territory from which they embarked. For each person returned, one will be allowed to enter the European Union by official means. Part of the stated aim of this plan is to destroy the people-smuggling business that has become a scourge. Some estimates suggest that as many as 2.7 mil-

lion refugees, mostly Syrians, remain in Turkey.

Turkey has, of course, for years coveted E.U. membership—to the consternation of some on Europe's right wing, who fear giving the Islamic world such an opening into Europe. The decade-old government of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his Islamist-rooted Justice and Development Party, which seeks

More people will come. Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan are not yet empty.

to reinterpret the former Ottoman Empire's secularism, revive those concerns. Mr. Erdogan clearly wants to boost the place of religion in Turkish society, but asymmetrically, favoring Sunni Islam over other faiths. He denies having an Islamist program but has claimed that only states can be secular, not individuals.

The evolving refugee tragedy has seen in 2015 officially over one million people arrive in Europe while the point of arrival has shifted eastward. People still land in Italy and the small Mediterranean island state of Malta. But now more and more people are trying their luck on the Balkans route—or more likely the human traffickers have shifted operations. Many have begun to traverse Turkey to get to the Greek islands, which are E.U. territory, hoping to make it from there through the Balkan states into Western Europe.

At the Idomeni border crossing

from Greece to the small state of Macedonia, closed for several weeks, a build-up of people, including children, has brought about desperate conditions as food and water supplies run out. There has been violence. Younger refugees trying to storm the fence have been pushed back by Macedonian border guards and police using stun grenades and tear gas. It has become hard to imagine how further violence and bloodshed might be avoided, such are the levels of desperation among the people. As one man told the British media, "We are fleeing bombs and violence and being greeted by more violence."

The European office of the Jesuit Refugee Service notes that "the building of fences along borders is an inappropriate and ineffective attempt to control the movement of people." Instead, J.R.S. argues, efforts "should be concerted towards safe and legal channels for protection in Europe, harmonization of reception conditions in all E.U. member states and solid integration policies to assist people upon arrival."

A J.R.S. staffer in Croatia put her finger on what surely matters more than anything else—real people, real families, the massive human suffering. She described seeing "people aged 80 years and more, people in wheelchairs...yesterday there was a man who had two heart attacks. No one takes such a risky way just to leave home. They want to see if they are lucky enough to get away from a situation of certain death to one where some will survive."

It looks more and more as if European states are concerned more with protecting states and borders than protecting real lives, and it takes people like staff at J.R.S. to remind us of what really is at stake.

DAVID STEWART



[Unintelligible Yelling]

Perhaps some among those who saw it, defying the eye-blink memory of the news cycle, remember a fuzzy screenshot from the Republican debate in Texas on Feb. 25 that spread around the Internet. To the left, Marco Rubio grips his podium firmly with his right hand and glares into the camera; Ted Cruz, to the right, is talking with his fingers firmly clasped together, refusing to relinquish the floor while Donald Trump, eyes closed in a blink, taunts him from the center. Below them, CNN's closed-captioning reads, "[unintelligible yelling]."

There is a place for such things. Over the long course of this latest election circus, yelling has resonated enough to unsettle the "inevitable" match between the Bush and Clinton dynasties. From both left and right, it has expressed a certain truth about the deadlock of systems; it has granted a semblance of people power. And yet, that yelling risks leaving even the victors with—what? Anything intelligible enough to celebrate?

These Lenten weeks I have taken it upon myself to ponder the first of Pope Francis' four strange maxims in "The Joy of the Gospel," a saying he has been repeating for more than 40 years: "Time is greater than space." As much as this sounds like some kind of physics, for Francis it has to do with the careful politics he has been playing for so much of his life.

It's about the tension between the horizon of utopia and the limits of the present; it's about the need to win

and the powerlessness that can settle in even after one does. "Giving priority to time," he writes, "means being concerned about initiating processes rather than possessing spaces." It means selecting leaders who are less concerned with assuming power than with what will happen after they're gone. It means, in trust and hope, enabling one's society to choose its own future, not imposing one through domination.

I'll come out and say it: The winner of the election should not matter. Not this much, at least. We are spending way, way too much time worrying about who will be president—measured in the span of months, measured by proportion of attention. The future of our society will draw much more from the processes we undertake in the meantime. Yes, yelling can have its uses; I'm not pleading for mere civility, which can be just as toxic as its opposite. But yelling alone, plus a winning candidate, will not a better society make.

"We need to practice the art of listening, which is more than simply hearing," Pope Francis writes in the exhortation. It is, rather, "reaching a level of maturity where individuals can make truly free and responsible decisions."

What gets in the way of our listening and our freedom? There is the "big money" in campaigns that is finally arousing the ire of populists and that holds truly unconscionable sway. We need to unify behind efforts like this spring's Democracy Uprising and

Mayday.us that seek to root out this disease. There is the creeping custom of crass partisanship that prizes conquest over truth. There is the longing to turn time backward, rather than welcome the change and possibility it brings; "The Joy of the Gospel" quotes the 16th-century Jesuit Peter Faber, whom Frances was soon to canonize: "Time is God's messenger."

Maybe this: Ask not what you can restrain or control; ask what you can foster.

I'll come out and say it: The winner of the election shouldn't matter.

I suspect that to hear each other better, we need a politics in which politicians matter less. For all the ritual denunciations of politicians by politicians, we are obsessed with them. We depend on them to deliver us our supposed democracy. But democracy is not about them,

it's about us. Rather than longing for the perfect president, we need a civic culture that cleaves to liberty and justice no matter who gets the unenviable job of overseeing it all. That means wider participation and accountability everywhere from our workplaces to our churches to our elections. For now, God protect us from whomever among this cast of fallen creatures we elect.

To choose time, Francis writes, is to "accept the tension between fullness and limitation." That means relinquishing the urge to put one's faith in a Caesar. It also means working within the constraints of the present; right now this election and its addictive yelling matches have come to matter immensely. But the how should matter more than the who.

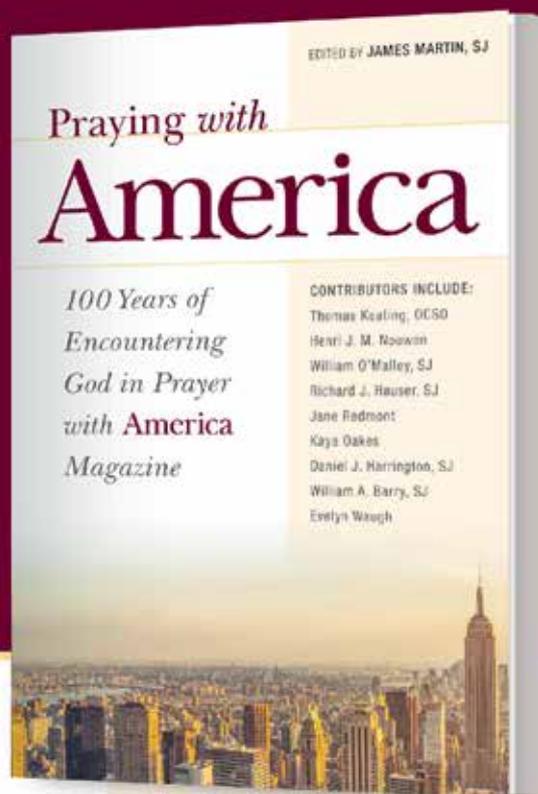
NATHAN SCHNEIDER is the author of *Thank You, Anarchy and God in Proof*. Website: TheRowBoat.com; Twitter: [@nathanairplane](https://twitter.com/nathanairplane).

“Prayer can be a difficult topic to write about, since trying to explain it is something like trying to pin down a butterfly. The more you seek to capture it, the more it wants to escape. In the end, what happens in prayer is incommunicable, as it happens privately, between one person and God.”

From the Introduction
by James Martin, SJ

Prayer is our conversation with God. It is also at the heart of Ignatian spirituality. In one collection, *Praying with America* presents and celebrates the diversity of prayer over the past century and offers readers the wisdom and inspiration of leading Catholic thinkers on the practice of prayer.

Praying with America provides a curated collection of wide-ranging discussions on the subject, full of practical and inspirational wisdom, by some of the best-known Jesuit writers and other spiritual luminaries.



Edited by James Martin, SJ

ISBN: 4394-3 | RETAIL \$19.95

YOUR PRICE: \$13.97

America readers get 30% off!

ORDER TODAY! Visit loyolapress.com or call 800.621.1008.

Mention promo code **4645** when placing your order. Price does not include S&H. Offer expires May 1, 2016.

LOYOLA PRESS.
A JESUIT MINISTRY

A Sacred Calling

Recovering what politics is—and is not

BY STEVEN P. MILLIES

Judge John T. Noonan Jr. described the Second Vatican Council as a “legislature in action” with a “right, center, and left” in *The Lustre of Our Country*, his book about the contributions of American law and civilization to the world and the Catholic Church. Such expressions are almost always taboo.

They offer an unwelcome acknowledgment that the disciplines, doctrines and dogmas of the church, though they may be inspired by a watchful Holy Spirit, are defined by mere human beings through an imperfect human process of debate and negotiation.

Pope Francis appeared to push back against that idea at the meeting of the Synod of Bishops in October of last year when he said: “The synod is not a parliament, where in order to reach consensus we start to negotiate, making deals and compromises. The lone method in the synod is to listen to the Holy Spirit.” But I would like to think that Judge Noonan also has it right and that we should indeed think of the synod as a legislature, and not just as listening to the Holy Spirit. The two possibilities do not exclude each other.

When I teach my introductory course in American government, I give little attention to listing the three branches or enumerating checks and balances. Instead, and despite teaching at a public university, I enter my classroom with a holy zeal to spread a gospel with deep, not inconsiderable roots in Catholic faith: We must reclaim the sacredness of politics. To do that, I tell my students, we must recover a better understanding of what politics is and is not.

I begin the course with a little intellectual history. For the Athenians of the ancient world, politics was the greatest of all the arts because it aims to improve our common life. Aristotle believed the two noblest professions are teaching and politics. The Romans of the Republic, as much as the Greeks, also considered public service to be a good and honorable life, and we see this ancient legacy in the language that we use so casually today. Politics (*politeia* in Greek) literally means “the things we share in common as fellow citizens,” which makes politics everyone’s duty in the most communitarian sense we can say it. The Romans drove the point home with even greater emphasis, giving us the word “repub-

lic,” derived from *res publica*—“the people’s thing.” The city makes demands on all of us because the city we belong to also belongs to all of us.

The point becomes even more important as we move forward through the medieval period, with its development of republicanism in some of the small city-states of Italy, toward the modern, constitutional republics of our time. The civic humanism of the Italian republics carried forward the sense of a tightly knit community found in ancient republics while it also embraced a more inclusive, universal sense of human dignity—first in the arts, then in literature, philosophy and science and, eventually, in politics. Modern republicanism in constitutional forms of government that regard all citizens equally and include them as participants with civil liberty protections owes its existence to this historical development. Our system of government would not have been possible without it.

Our Political Tradition

But there is another important strand in our political tradition. The Catholic political tradition certainly embraces the classical ideas of pre-Christian philosophers like Aristotle and Cicero, baptizing them into Christianity in the work of figures like Augustine and Aquinas. These philosophers represent a long line of thinking built on a sturdy division between spiritual and temporal realms, church and state. Seeing politics in that way has been healthy, an important part of our political development, insofar as those ideas nurtured a basis for the healthy secularism we enjoy in the United States—one that obliges the state to abstain from religious preferences and to avoid needless intrusions on the consciences of believers.

Yet the division between the sacred and profane that has nurtured the freedom of the Catholic Church has had a less cheerful side effect. The protections guaranteed to the church have been won largely by raising the church above the worldly concerns of the state. This superiority of the church has nurtured a Christian brand of libertarianism in some precincts, a suspicion that the state is a realm of sinfulness. Elevating the church this way, we have reduced the dignity of politics. Subtly, our sense of the nobility of politics has suffered, so the idea that bishops in a synod or a council might be involved in a political process comes to seem tawdry to us.

But politics, in the sense of the tradition we inherited that

STEVEN P. MILLIES is an associate professor of political science at the University of South Carolina, Aiken. His contribution to the Liturgical Press “People of God” series, Joseph Bernardin: Seeking Common Ground, will be released in August.



AT THE TABLE. Members of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees hash out differences between versions of legislation in the L.B.J. Room at the U.S. Capitol in February 2009.

PHOTO: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES/ISTOCKPHOTO.COM

sees it as a conversation about what is most important in our shared community, is in fact noble. Often it is not pretty, and we mere human beings are rarely at our best when we are in conflict. The councils of Jerusalem and Nicea were filled with conflict, and they were not pretty. Still, we believe that the Holy Spirit worked through those conversations to reveal something to us that is true and has stood the test of time. Throughout our history, dialogue over our disagreements has disclosed to us something new, something better than what we knew before. Our confidence in this tradition is proven in the way we have embraced the constitutional republic, a form of government that welcomes the participation of every member of the community equally in the hope that a process of dialogue will bring about a just outcome. In our most idealistic defenses of the American way, this is what we mean. We mean to evoke the nobility of our politics.

Such a form of government never satisfies everyone, and because it welcomes every point of view, it demands compromises. But these same characteristics explain why the modern constitutional republic preserves peace and promotes the development of civilization as well as it does. We have learned through bitter experience that the process by which we reach an outcome matters more than almost any outcome we reach. That process expresses our regard for the persons who are involved. Their dignity, not the policy outcome, is what politics really is about. For that reason, no outcome ever is perfect or permanent. Our system never in-

tends for it to be. Instead, the conversation goes on.

In these ways, politics in the sense that we too casually use the word is both less and more than we mean. As a lasting solution for our most difficult human problems, politics is an insufficient instrument. Politics never offers us a permanent solution, a perfect settlement of justice. Another election always follows the last one we won or lost. Yet the procedural fairness of our political conversation is a historical marvel we take too much for granted. Modern, constitutional, republican politics expresses the communitarian reality of human life and the irreducible dignity of the human person as eloquently as anything we find in Catholic moral theology, and it does so in lived reality, daily, in the rough and tumble of human affairs. This is an impressive achievement.

The Pope Approaches Politics

For all of these reasons, I was tempted to say Pope Francis' remark about the synod not being like a parliament was disappointing. His implication seems to be that the process of negotiating and compromising is not a process of listening to the Holy Spirit when, in fact, it seems clear that the Holy Spirit does speak to us and can be heard in the dialogues of politics. But while it is true that the church's tradition has sometimes diminished the importance of politics and the state, perhaps Francis' remark at the synod does not reflect a disdain for politics after all.

Throughout his encyclical letter "Laudato Si," the pope

adopts an approach to politics that is at first puzzling. He points to how much “a healthy politics is sorely needed” (No. 181), a sentiment that expresses his faith in how much good politics can do. At the same time, he condemns “the myopia of power politics,” which is “concerned with immediate results” (No. 178) and “the mindset of short-term gain and results which dominate present-day economics and politics” (No. 181).

In fact, Francis tells us that he does agree about the loftier purposes and possibilities of politics. In “The Joy of the Gospel,” he writes, “Politics, though often denigrated, remains a lofty vocation and one of the highest forms of charity, inasmuch as it seeks the common good” (No. 205). Moreover, he identifies politics with “sincere and effective dialogue aimed at healing the deepest roots—and not simply the appearances—of the evils in our world” (No. 205). It seems clear that Francis holds politics, defined as the search for our common good, in high regard. His message seems to be that there is something wrong not with politics as such, but with us and how we approach politics.

Throughout “Laudato Si” and “The Joy of the Gospel,”

the pope discusses politics in the light of the various ways we have allowed it to become corrupted. In “Laudato Si” he says, “Politics must not be subject to the economy” (No. 189), and “There are too many special interests, and economic interests” (No. 54) that thwart the common good, and there is an “alliance between the economy and technology [that] ends

up sidelining anything unrelated to its immediate interests” (No. 54), while “politics and the economy tend to blame each other when it comes to poverty and environmental degradation” (No. 198). In “The Joy of the Gospel,” we see that “government leaders

and financial leaders” (No. 205) are complicit with each other in the myopic, power politics the pope has condemned, and even the very “sovereignty of each nation” (No. 206) may be a part of our problem for how it fractures the human community into seemingly fixed groups of winners and losers, rich and poor, with one group insulated by sovereignty and the other group trapped by it.

It is in “The Joy of the Gospel” that Francis makes perhaps his clearest statement about what he means: “We have politicians—and even religious leaders—who wonder why

Pope Francis has called us all not just to dialogue but to a better appreciation of our true relationship to one another.

Margaret F. Grace Lecture “Where Do I Find Hope?”

Dorothy Day and the Solution of Love:

*A Conversation with Robert Ellsberg,
John L. Allen Jr., and
Sr. Simone Campbell*

April 12, 2016

7 p.m. | Smith Hall

College of Mount Saint Vincent

To learn more and register for this free event, visit:
mountsaintvincent.edu/grace



**COLLEGE OF
MOUNT SAINT VINCENT**

6301 Riverdale Avenue, Riverdale, New York 10473-1093
718.405-3305 | gracelecture@mountsaintvincent.edu

In Memory

If a Jesuit or Loved One has changed your life...



Consider a memorial gift to honor
a special Jesuit or loved one...

Support America through a one-time or endowed gift today.

For more information contact Dan Pawlus
at 212-515-0118 or pawlus@americamedia.org

Please note when writing your Will, our legal title and address are:
America Press, Inc. 106 W. 56th Street, New York, NY 10019-3803 (212) 581-4640

people do not understand and follow them, since their proposals are so clear and logical. Perhaps it is because they are stuck in the realm of pure ideas and end up reducing politics or faith to rhetoric" (No. 232). The church is not, after all, immune to the corruptions of politics. The processes of compromising and negotiating through dialogue are corrupted in both places by selfishness, or by special interests, or by an airy devotion to ideas at the expense of the real human beings who must live out our ideas in their daily existences.

The pope has laid before all of us a challenge to rethink our relationship to politics. He calls us in "Laudato Si" to a "politics which is farsighted and capable of a new, integral, and interdisciplinary approach" (No. 197), and he names the "corruption" that has cost us our confidence in what we can accomplish together through politics. Perhaps more important, he has confronted the bishops in the synod and around the world with a challenge to re-examine how they interact with one another and with the lay faithful. Pope Francis has recognized that our political malaise is also a disease of the church. The manner in which he has led the Synod of Bishops suggests that he hopes, if he can succeed in calling the church to dialogue and to *parrhesia* (frank speech), that the church can be a model for a better politics for the world.

Pope Francis has called us all not just to dialogue but to a better appreciation of our true relationship to one another. In an important way, this is a recovery of what is noble about politics. Most of all, he calls on us in "Laudato Si" to "regain the conviction that we need one another, that we have a shared responsibility for each other and the world" (No. 229). This is what we mean by politics, of course. It is a bond of "civic and political" (No. 231) love.

Of course the Holy Spirit speaks to us and through us when we gather with one another in dialogue as an expression of *caritas*, our sincere love for our community and for one another. This is the expectation that lives in the church's adherence to tradition in its teaching, and the teaching tradition of the church is a dialogue among generations of Christians who have interpreted revelation. This also is why we must believe that there is no shame in calling a synod a parliament, or calling a council a legislature in action. We undertake something like sacred work whenever we enter into dialogue with one another, whether within the church or when we govern the state. We are fulfilling a scriptural mandate that links the divine commands to "Have dominion" (Gn 1:28) and "As I have loved you, so you should love one another" (Jn 13:34).

As the ministry of Pope Francis develops, it becomes clearer and clearer that his most important purpose is to call us to this dialogue in love. Only in this way can we hope to have a church that better serves the needs of the faithful. Only in this way can we hope to recover the esteem for politics that will enable us to bring justice and mercy to a world that needs them so badly. ■

ANNUAL SPRING MCGINLEY LECTURE

Making War, Making Peace

Jewish, Christian and
Muslim Attitudes

The Reverend Patrick J. Ryan, SJ
Laurence J. McGinley Professor
of Religion and Society

RESPONDENTS

Professor Sarit Kattan Gribetz, PhD
Fordham University

Professor Mehnaz Afridi, PhD
Manhattan College

This lecture will be delivered first on

Tuesday, April 19 | 6 p.m.

12th-Floor Lounge | Corrigan Conference Center
Lowenstein Center | 113 W. 60th St.
Lincoln Center Campus | New York City

and repeated on

Wednesday, April 20 | 6 p.m.

Flom Auditorium | Walsh Family Library
Rose Hill Campus | Bronx, N.Y.

FREE AND OPEN TO THE PUBLIC

For more information, please call 718-817-4745
or write to mcgchair@fordham.edu.

fordham.edu/mcginleychair



FORDHAM
THE JESUIT UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

An Ignatian Journey to Spain

In the Footsteps of Ignatius Loyola & Francis Xavier

Featuring Loyola, Aranzazu, Xavier, Manresa, Montserrat & Barcelona

10-Days: Tuesday, November 1, to Thursday, November 10, 2016



UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF:

Rev. Matt Malone, S.J.

President and Editor in Chief
America - The National Catholic Review



Rev. Joe Lingan, S.J.

Rector of Jesuit Community
Georgetown University

WITH

Mr. Dan Pawlus - VP for Advancement, *America*

For ten days, we will immerse ourselves in the lives of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, visiting key sites in their stories of conversion and transformation. Mass will be celebrated daily with ample time for reflection and prayer.

PROGRAM PRICE:

Full Package: \$5,499 per person from New York, including economy class airfare, accommodations in double occupancy, breakfast and dinner daily, all taxes, fees, and gratuities.

Land Only Package: \$4,499 per person, double occupancy, for persons making their own airline arrangements.

Single Room Supplement: \$845

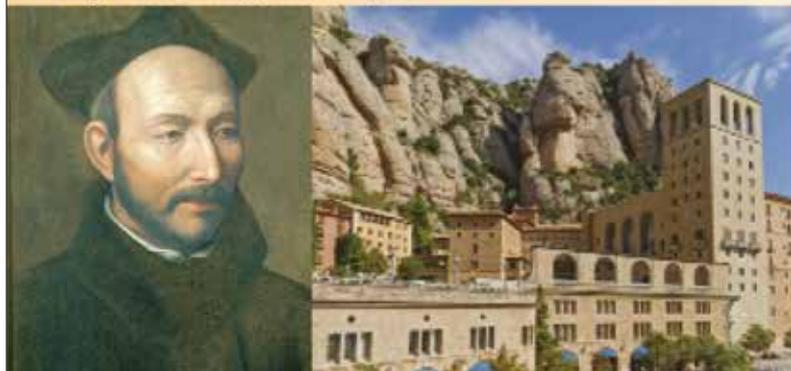


REGISTRATION & INFORMATION

Space is limited. To receive a copy of the brochure and registration form, send your name and email address to:



Mr. Dan Pawlus, America
(212) 515-0118
Pawlus@americamedia.org



Travel Arrangements
Exclusively by
Catholic Travel Centre
of Burbank, Calif.



Where Beauty Ruled

One monk's response to the AIDS epidemic

BY KEVIN T. Di CAMILLO



HOUSE OF CARE. The first Benedict House, a small cottage in Buffalo, N.Y., where Father Vincent Crosby lived with Tom, the first resident.

Beauty is not the first word that comes to mind when most people think of the AIDS epidemic in the United States. For those of us who can remember the early days of the outbreak, AIDS was a full-blown pandemic, widely misunderstood, rife with fear not only for the victims but for the medical professionals who cared for them. I remember the days all too well, as a priest friend of mine died from AIDS at age 46, having disclosed his true illness to no one. Conflicting accounts of whether the dreaded disease could be spread by saliva, casual contact or water fountains abounded. There were Christians who spread the hateful message that the epidemic represented God's vengeance upon homosexuality. In short, few were

thinking clearly in what the poet Thom Gunn described as a "Time of Plague."

And then there was Vincent de Paul Crosby, O.S.B., a monk in love with beauty. Not the facile, belles-lettristic "beauty" of John Keats ("Beauty is truth, truth beauty,—that is all/ Ye know on earth and all ye need to know") but a useful beauty, a beauty of utility. As an artist, he saw the potential and purpose of beauty in all things—whether he was designing altar linens, leading the renovation of his archabbe's basilica or founding an AIDS residence for homeless men. His is the type of beauty found in *The Rule of Saint Benedict*.

Part of the brilliance of *The Rule of Saint Benedict* is its elasticity, its mutability. This may account, too, for its longevity and many different interpretations. This remarkable document, which gives the abbot in particular and his fold in general wide discretion about how the *Rule* should be imple-

KEVIN T. DICAMILLO, a freelance writer and editor, is the author of three books of poetry and editor of over 120 volumes, ranging from The Pope Francis Resource Library (*Crossroad*) to The Emerging Diaconate.

mented, is open to judgment calls. Granted, this has also given rise to entirely “new” orders such as the Camaldolese, the Cistercians and the Trappists (who prefer a more literal reading and interpretation of the *Rule*). But the fact remains that the Benedictine community has, if not flourished, at least survived these many centuries by adhering to the founder’s seminal writing.

And it is worth remembering that when St. Benedict was founding his first monasteries—and nunneries—he was still a layman. Indeed, the laity were encouraged to visit and stay at length in Benedictine foundations. Benedict himself encouraged “oblates”: laypeople who would participate in the abbey to the degree that their station in life allowed them. Indeed, Benedictine oblates are still a huge and continuing influence on almost all abbeys that follow the *Rule*.

A Place to Call Home

Flash forward from the sixth century in central Italy to Buffalo, N.Y., in 1986. A young Benedictine monk, Father Vincent, was given permission by his archabbot at St. Vincent Archabbey in Latrobe, Pa., to take the newly created position of director of pastoral liturgy at Christ the King Diocesan Seminary in East Aurora. While living in Buffalo, Father Vincent was asked by a friend if he would be willing to meet with a young man who had AIDS. His name was Jim. Jim, because he had AIDS, had been refused the sacraments by his own parish priest—and Father Vincent filled not only the sacramental but human needs of Jim during this difficult time.

After caring for Jim and several other men, Father Vincent realized he was needed more in AIDS ministry than at the seminary. His archabbot gave him permission to continue his work with the sick in the Buffalo area—on the condition that he was able to support himself and his ministry. “I did not see that as a problem,” Father Vincent told me, “because I knew I could live off the proceeds from my studio work.”

That “studio work” was Father Vincent’s custom-made vestments and altar linens. For decades, Father Vincent has been regarded as one of the foremost designers of liturgical vestments in the United States. Indeed, he designed the altar linens for Pope Francis’ visit to Philadelphia in 2015 and St. John Paul II’s vestment for World Youth Day in Toronto in 2001. For the 150th anniversary of the University of Notre



Father Crosby
in his studio

Dame, Father Vincent was commissioned to create a chasuble for the university’s president, Edward Malloy, C.S.C.

Father Vincent runs Archabbey Studios on the grounds of St. Vincent Archabbey, where he designs and makes his singular vestments by hand. (I lived for a brief time as a Norbertine affiliate at St. Norbert Canonry in De Pere, Wis. When some of the canons there learned that I personally knew Father Vincent, who is a friend of my family in Niagara Falls, N.Y., it was almost the equivalent of knowing Gianni Versace or Gianfranco Ferré.)

While Father Vincent had the resources to support his ministry, he needed to know what, exactly, he could do to help those stricken with H.I.V./AIDS. He contacted the Western New York AIDS Task Force and was told that they were unable to address the housing needs of patients who became homeless. He figured his years of living in community could serve him well in this project; the problem was getting it started.

After discussions with the Diocese of Buffalo and the archabbot of St. Vincent, it became clear that at this point, neither body felt it could become involved in the venture. So Father Vincent turned to the wider Christian community and found support from a number of churches. And while the institutional church kept its distance, individual parishes, pastors and countless Catholic laypeople came forward to help.

Finally, with help of the Sisters of Mercy and other concerned individuals—Buffalo’s moniker is not for nothing the City of Good Neighbors—and not without adventure and skull-clenching headaches from the bureaucracy involved, Benedict House: A Ministry of Healing Hospitality opened

its doors at 419 Summer Street in downtown Buffalo in August 1987. It was not officially or merely a “hospice”—a place to die or a skilled nursing facility. Rather, it served as the official residence of these homeless people. With their own address, they could qualify to have hospice and skilled nursing brought into their home.

The Art of Community

Father Vincent made sure that Benedict House was a home filled with beauty, inside and out. Indeed, the whole house was modeled on *The Rule of St. Benedict*, a sort of independent, transitional to long-term housing for people with AIDS, with the option of hospice services.

The key word here is long-term. No group, not even Larry Kramer’s Gay Men’s Health Crisis in New York City, the world’s first AIDS service organization, had at that point come up with a truly workable solution for the problem of where men with AIDS could live for a long period of time. Because Father Vincent had based Benedict House on the *Rule*, it was a place of *ora et labora*: work and prayer, or, as its mission statement read: “Those who reside at Benedict House benefit from a staff of ‘good listeners.’ Great care is taken to provide a wholesome environment within the House, so that each resident will eat well, sleep well, recreate well, and, if they are inclined, pray well.”

For Father Vincent, “wholesome” included elements of beauty, from the décor to the paint job. An interior decorator selected fine art to display in common areas, and one resident painted a large mural for the entrance hall. They introduced art therapy, encouraging residents to express their talents in visual arts and music.

And in a codicil that could have come right from St. Benedict’s own pen: “While much value is invested in a common life, the privacy of the individual is respected. The option to ‘get away’ behind one’s own closed door is available for each resident who requires quiet time, meditation and/or privacy.”

A Common Effort

From time immemorial, monks have been artists who have created stunning and timeless works of beauty. One need only view *The Book of Kells* to see that monastic communities produced not art-for-art’s-sake but a utile art: the illumination of manuscripts, the sculpting of sacred statuary and, in the Eastern tradition, the writing of icons. Father Vincent, then, was following in a proud and long tradition of artist-monks when he began designing his unique vestments and altar linens.

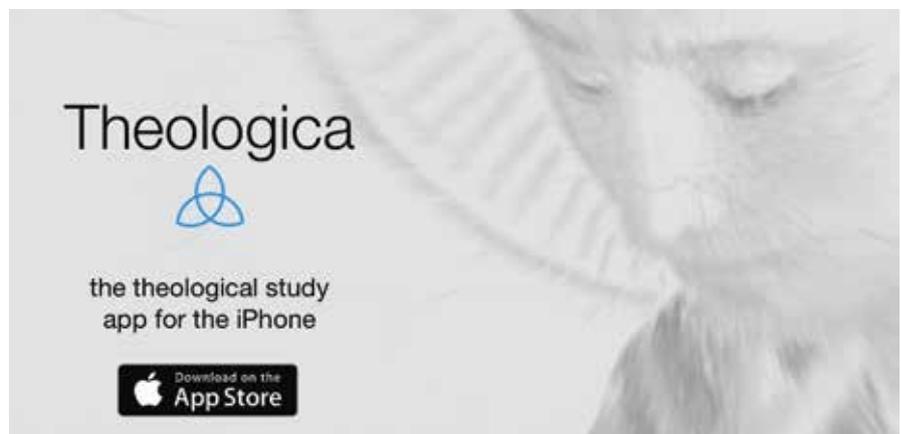
And with this new undertaking, Father Vincent’s creations became useful even beyond their liturgical function. In the early stages, Benedict House had no official backing from the diocese or the archabbey. Without the proceeds from his artwork, Father Vincent would not have been able to support himself, much less buy the first house for his ministry.

In retrospect, it was of course not ideal that the institutional church had to “play it safe” regarding the beginnings of Benedict House. But this also provided an opportunity for the spirit to become active at the grassroots level; the tireless ministry of faithful individuals gave an example to the institutional church, which would later spring into action on a greater scale.

And, to be fair, at first Buffalo’s elected officials were not eager to assist in tackling the sudden and growing problem of homeless men with H.I.V./AIDS. There were various attempts to “rezone” around Benedict House and thus rid a neighborhood of what was simply seen as an “AIDS hospice.” The city redesignated Benedict House as a “health care institution” so that it could not exist in a residential neighborhood and in 1993 provided only \$45 a month per individual from the Department of Social Services. (Later, as the city came to better understand the import of Benedict House, more support was forthcoming.)

And yet Benedict House grew and even expanded. “We were able to do this—to grow Benedict House—because we held everything in common; we pooled our rather meager resources,” Father Vincent explained. This, of course, is one of the very tenets of *The Rule of St. Benedict*: All is held in common, from pens to napkins. There is a certain beauty in sharing.

However much good Father Vincent had done in founding Benedict House, he was still a Benedictine monk and, ultimately, monks live in monasteries (or in Father Vincent’s case, an archabbey). In 1990 he decided to return to St. Vincent, though he continued to support Benedict House as a member of the board of directors. Looking back on his decision, he said: “I realized that as an artist, I could envision something new, and inspire others to work with me to



PEOPLE of GOD

Compelling and honest biographies of heroes of faith

Popular series!



Available May 2016

ELIZABETH JOHNSON

Questing for God
Heidi Schlumpf

Paperback, 152 pp., \$14.95 | eBook, \$11.99
Paperback/eBook Bundle, \$16.49

"Two words come to mind in reading this biographical sketch of the life and work of Elizabeth Johnson: integrity and courage."

+Robert F. Morneau

Auxiliary Bishop Emeritus of Green Bay
Pastor of Resurrection Parish

NEW

Now Available

JEAN VANIER

Logician of the Heart
Michael W. Higgins

Paperback, 128 pp., \$14.95 | eBook, \$11.99
Paperback/eBook Bundle, \$16.49

"An eloquent and moving meditation on what it means to be truly human in a 'throwaway' culture."

James Clarke

Author of *L'Arche Journal: A Family's Experience in Jean Vanier's Community*

NEW

Now Available

LUIS ANTONIO TAGLE

Leading by Listening
Cindy Wooden

Paperback, 112 pp., \$12.95 | eBook, \$9.99
Paperback/eBook Bundle, \$14.49

"Deeply researched and crisply written."

Austen Ivereigh

Author, *The Great Reformers: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope*

Now Available

DOROTHY DAY

Love in Action
Patrick Jordan

Paperback, 144 pp., \$12.95 | eBook, \$9.99
Paperback/eBook Bundle, \$14.49

"In Patrick Jordan's portrait, an inspiringly authentic Dorothy Day springs to life."

Karen Sue Smith

former Editorial Director, *America*

The series is growing!

Don't miss a book in the PEOPLE of GOD series.

CALL TODAY FOR A
STANDING ORDER AND SAVE 25%!

PeopleOfGodBooks.org • 1-800-858-5450

LITURGICAL PRESS



bring it into being. But I was exhausted from the constant round of public speaking, the number of residents I got to know and love—and then had to bury. It was time for me to go home—and even though I'm from Buffalo, my home is my archabbey."

The Hard Work of Beauty

Last year, Benedict House closed in Buffalo, becoming a victim of its own success. Father Vincent said he would occasionally tell the board members that if they were ever asked how Benedict House was doing, they should just respond, "We are grateful we can continue to be a service to those in need. We will only be a 'success' when our services are no longer needed." In 2015 federal funding of congregate, community living was slashed in favor of supporting long-term independent living. Benedict House was founded to care for poor, terminally ill patients; today most people are living with AIDS rather than dying from it.

When the house formally closed in July 2015, the board gathered for the last time to share memories and toast the good work done by so many for nearly 30 years. This was not so much a somber affair as a celebration of the wonderful work done by that singular home for the sick. While Father Vincent was certainly sad to see it end, he remained not only philosophical but more than a bit wise about what had been accomplished there: "The sick and the poor do not only need beds and bread—the poor need beauty, too. This is a big part of my vocation, and I try to live it out as both priest and artist. Artists are by nature a bit prophetic. They can see what can be, or what should be done—and work hard to bring it to reality."

St. Benedict could not have foreseen the house in Buffalo that centuries later and continents away would bear his name. But his vision of communal life continues to bear fruit not just in monasteries but in all places where, through work and prayer, individuals come together to build up the body of Christ. And therein lies the beauty of the *Rule*. **A**



BECOME AN AMERICA ASSOCIATE TODAY!

Enjoy great membership benefits including:

- Complimentary subscription
- Books by *America* editors and contributors
- Invitations to exclusive events

ASSOCIATE LEVELS

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA ASSOCIATES

Founder of the Society of Jesus
\$10,000 and up

- Renewal of print and digital subscription
- Complimentary one-year print and digital subscription for a friend or colleague
- Copy of *Praying With America*, edited by James Martin, S.J.
- Exclusive invitations to events
- Quarterly updates from the Editor in Chief

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER ASSOCIATES

The First Great Jesuit Missionary
\$5,000 and up

- Renewal of print and digital subscription
- Complimentary one-year print and digital subscription for a friend or colleague
- Copy of *Praying With America*, edited by James Martin, S.J.
- Invitations to special events
- Quarterly updates from the Editor in Chief

ST. PETER FABER ASSOCIATES

A Founding Jesuit and Master of the Spiritual Exercises
\$1,000 and up

- Renewal of print and digital subscription
- Copy of *Praying With America*, edited by James Martin, S.J.
- Invitations to special events
- Quarterly updates from the Editor in Chief

ST. EDMUND CAMPION ASSOCIATES

English Jesuit Martyr, Patron Saint of America
\$500 and up

- Renewal of print and digital subscription
- Copy of *Praying With America*, edited by James Martin, S.J.
- Invitations to special events
- Quarterly updates from the Editor in Chief

BL. MIGUEL PRO ASSOCIATES

Mexican Jesuit Martyr
\$300 and up

- Renewal of print and digital subscription
- Quarterly updates from the Editor in Chief

AVERY DULLES ASSOCIATES

First U.S. Jesuit Cardinal
\$150 and up

- Renewal of print and digital subscription

All America Associates are enrolled in America's Book of Prayer Intentions

Send contributions to: AMERICA MEDIA

106 West 56th Street, New York, NY 10019 | 212-515-4640 | development@americamedia.org



Globalization of Mercy

The Jubilee Year of Mercy opened by Pope Francis in Bangui, the capital of war-torn Central African Republic, on Nov. 30 has given rise to many creative initiatives and concrete ways of showing mercy to children, men and women in our day.

One of these is the Mercy in Motion campaign of Jesuit Refugee Service. This one-year campaign aims to raise \$35 million toward the Global Education Initiative so that J.R.S. will be able to support the education of 220,000 refugees worldwide by the year 2020.

This noble initiative has recently gained the precious support of the international Catholic women's network, Voices of Faith, which has entered into partnership with J.R.S. This good news was announced at a press conference in Rome on March 4 by Joaquín Martínez, S.J., J.R.S.'s international education coordinator, and Chantal Götz, managing director of V.O.F. and executive director of the Fidel Götz Foundation, a charitable trust based in Liechtenstein that is the driving force behind V.O.F.

Since it was founded by Pedro Arrupe, the superior general of the Jesuits, on Nov. 18, 1980, J.R.S. has focused on education as a key contribution to the needs and hopes of refugees. Schools provide the stability that children need to cope with loss, fear, stress and violence experienced during times of crisis. Being in school can keep children safe and protected from risks, including gender-based violence,

recruitment into armed groups, child labor and early marriage.

There are some 15 million refugees and some 38 million internally displaced persons in the world today. The refugees face many barriers as they seek access to education, ranging from overcrowding in schools to xenophobia in host communities. Only 36 percent of refugee children go to secondary school and fewer than 1 percent make it to higher education.

As for access to education, women and girls are particularly disadvantaged. Jesuit Refugee Service, in a briefing paper, explains that the reasons for the low educational participation for girls are often related to limited or difficult school access, the presence or fear of an unsafe learning environment, financial constraints that require girls to contribute to family economies and lack of documentation or cultural assumptions about the value of educating girls. Furthermore, refugee and internally displaced women and girls often fall victim to sexual violence and exploitation.

In an effort to address this problem, J.R.S., which has programs in 45 countries, decided on the Global Education Initiative because it recognizes that through quality education people can better fulfill their own potential and fully contribute to the growth, strength and stability of their communities. Education gives refugees the tools not only to contribute to their new communities, but to rebuild their old ones. It contributes to peace-building and fosters the development of more resilient and cohesive societies.

Voices of Faith, for its part, seeks to enhance the dignity, participation and leadership of women and girls in the Catholic Church and in society, so it was natural for it to join the J.R.S. initiative. "It's a perfect fit to link the Voices of Faith initiative and J.R.S. Mercy in Motion campaign, because as partners we aim to support the Catholic Church's mission and work in looking at it through a gender lens," Father Martínez said.

Education gives refugees the tools to contribute to their new communities.

"Education helps empower women to assert their rights and strengthen their protection. It promotes equality and full participation in all decisions regarding their lives, which can improve not only their lives but also the lives of their children and communities," he added.

"It takes courage to break through traditional barriers to access and provide education; to venture into war-torn countries; to help war victims believe in peace," Ms. Götz told the press conference.

The decision of Voices of Faith to join forces with the Mercy in Motion campaign of J.R.S. will surely be welcomed by Pope Francis. Since his election three years ago, he has frequently denounced "the globalization of indifference" in the face of the greatest humanitarian crisis since World War II, involving some 60 million refugees and migrants. He has called for a response of mercy to the cries of these suffering people. This partnership of Voices of Faith with J.R.S. seeks to do just that, in a small but significant way.

GERARD O'CONNELL

GERARD O'CONNELL is *America's* Rome correspondent. *America's* Vatican coverage is sponsored in part by the Jesuit communities of the United States. Twitter: @gerryrome.

JAMES MARTIN OFFERS *an* INVITATION *to a* DEEPER FRIENDSHIP *with* JESUS

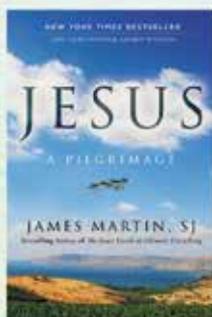
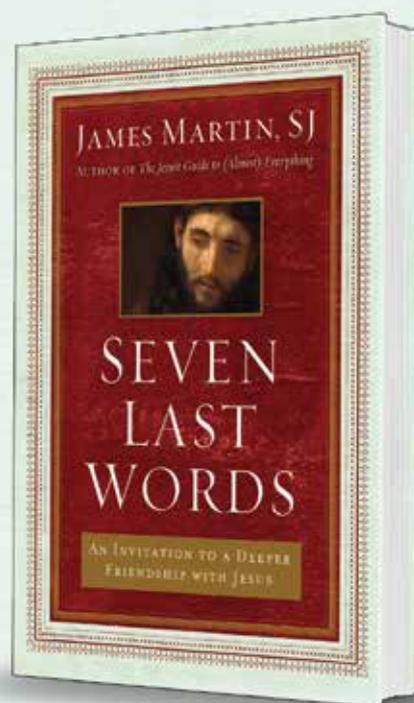
From the *New York Times* bestselling and award-winning author comes a series of meditations on the seven sayings of Jesus from the Cross, which reveal not only Jesus's love and forgiveness, but also how deeply he understands us—with our worries, our fears, and even our doubts.

"Spiritually rewarding and uplifting."

—Cardinal Timothy Dolan,
from the Foreword

"This insight alone makes this book worth reading: Jesus endured suffering, so he understands ours."

—Sister Helen Prejean, CSJ,
author of *Dead Man Walking*



NOW AVAILABLE *in* PAPERBACK

New York Times Bestseller and Christopher Award Winner

"One of the best books I've read in years—on any subject."

—Mary Karr, author of *Lit*

"Martin is one of our most popular spiritual writers—and for good reason."

—*Commonweal*

Learn more at JamesMartinSJ.com

Lifegiving Bread

Did Jesus get ‘hangry’?

BY BRIAN DOYLE

The Christos, for a skinny guy, sure was interested in good things to eat: he is constantly talking about bread and wine and oil and grain and seeds and vineyards, and he turns a hundred-some gallons of water into excellent wine, and he turns two fish (probably sardines) and five loaves of barley bread into so much food that 12 baskets of bread shards remain after 5,000 people have eaten, and he grills fish (probably St. Peter’s fish, or tilapia) and bread on the shore of the Sea of Galilee; and even after he died and traveled unto the nether reaches of hell, and was returned by the word of the Father to life, and walked along the road to Emmaus expounding learnedly, and appeared suddenly amid the rattled remaining 11 disciples in a locked room, he is still absorbed with food, for the first question he asks his followers is this: “Have ye here any meat?”

And they gave him a piece of broiled fish and of a honeycomb, and he took it and did eat before them, which you can totally understand, as he must have been waspish with hunger after three days without food. And while troops of scholars have opined that his eating fish and honey is an editorial signifier of his actual corporeal resurrection, and we are to understand his breaking of bread and sharing of water and wine as the first Eucharist, I would like to not so politely insist that there

BRIAN DOYLE is the editor of *Portland Magazine* at the University of Portland and the author, most recently, of *So Very Much the Best of Us* (ACTA).



is a blunt salty side to these gustatory reports that we do ill to forget or ignore.

For they are there, scattered amid all the Gospels, not for symbolic reasons, I think, but because they happened, and he actually said those things, and he was a guy, a dude, a bro, a youngish man, in fact, just past 30, with dusty feet and a peevish temper sometimes (remember his tantrum in the temple), and a snippy tone sometimes (he actually says, “Woman, what have I to do with thee?” to his mother at Cana—can you imagine saying that in that tone to your mother?), and

hungry most of the time, fond of the breaking of bread.

If he is only a story, a legend, a fable, a faint and faraway hero, a target to whom we direct our muddled prayers, he is nothing. If he is only a hero, a superstar, a superior order of being, he is nothing. The inexplicable genius of Christianity is that it is nonsensical and unreasonable and impossible: a gaunt Arab Jew, speaking Aramaic and Hebrew, copper-skinned, short, slight of build, skilled only in carpentry and scholarly analysis of the Torah, often testy and gnomic when he spoke—this unknown obscure unassuming fel-

APT: ANN KISSANE ENGELHART

low was the incarnation of that which dreamed and spoke everything that is into being? The star child, the chosen one, the distilled love that set the worlds to whirl in the void, is a stumpy Jewish guy tucking into his broiled fish and honeycomb?

Yes. No wise king nor visionary noble, no epic warrior nor brilliant merchant, no hero at all, no startling muscles, no beautiful visage causing women and men alike to swoon. Just a brown guy beaten by goons, spat upon in the street, hauled in for questioning by the cops, and trundled finally to the killing ground, one among millions forced at knife point to their deaths, shuffling along in chains and despair. A guy. A nobody. One of us. Us.

He was your testy brother, your wayward uncle, your troublesome cousin. He was your difficult son, your awkward neighbor, your unruly classmate, the guy who just didn't fit in, get

with the program, go with the flow. We forget that. We forget he was us. We forget he was a jerk sometimes, snappish and surly, just like us. We forget he wept with fear at night, just like us. We forget he cried aloud in a terrible agony of loneliness, as every one of us has cried, in the bedroom, behind the barn, behind the chapel, in the back room of the bar.

And it came to pass, as he sat at meal with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and broke it, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him. They knew him by the breaking of the bread! And suddenly they recognized his hands, his face, his wry kind hawkish eyes; and they gave him a piece of broiled fish, and of a honeycomb, and he took it, and did eat before them, and almost certainly they ate with him, that very last time, and the bread tasted both sweet and bitter in their mouths, for they must have been stunned, and

wearied and affrighted, each in his heart knowing he was soon to leave them forever, until they saw him again by the right hand of the Father, in the unimaginable country made of love and joy; and he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands and blessed them. And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.

But a few hours later, I would guess just after dusk, they sat again at table, those 11 men and surely several women, all of them both joyful and sore of heart, and they broke bread, and remembered him; and so do we all, every morning, noon and night when we do the same, even unto this day; but remember ye the bruised witty dusty peculiar man he was; for it is by the very impossibility of who he was that we may yet be saved, we who are wholly human, but also shot through with the light of the love.

Aging With Ignatius

Applying the spiritual exercises in the later stages of life

BY BARBARA A. LEE

When I retired after a career as a lawyer and a judge, I found myself confronting questions of identity and choice. Overnight, I went from feeling respected to feeling practically invisible. Who am I? What should I do? Facing these questions led me back to principles of Ignatian spirituality that I had first encountered in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius many years earlier. These

reflections, in turn, convinced me that St. Ignatius has much to say to older adults as we embark on a new stage of the spiritual journey.

Making the exercises involves a commitment away from self-absorption to a God-centered life. Thus the advice St. Ignatius gives in the course of the exercises does not cease to be useful after four weeks. The sections of the exercises that I have found most helpful entering retirement are those relating to the making of choices, attitudes toward possessions and status, rules for the discernment of spirits and some of the particular graces prayed

for in the third and fourth weeks.

First and foremost, the Exercises are about seeing, loving and following Jesus. At any age, we need to continue contemplating the life of Jesus—in Scripture-based prayer, the daily examen and regular journaling. Living this commitment poses new challenges for older adults. There are new kinds of choices, including life changes that may be involuntary, inevitable losses and frustration when favorite activities are no longer possible because of diminished capacity or reduced income. It is important to preserve the freedom to discern what underlies these feel-

BARBARA A. LEE, a retired U.S. magistrate judge, lives in New York City, where she has been a member of the Ignatian Volunteer Corps for 16 years. She teaches English at Cabrini Immigrant Services in Manhattan.

ings. Which are drawing us to God, and which are drawing us away?

Turning Points

For many people, the realization that they are entering a new stage of life

strive to be as detached as possible without assuming the result you prefer. Third, rationally consider the advantages and disadvantages. Last, ask God to move your will toward what pleases him and makes you a better Christian.

Downsizing Life

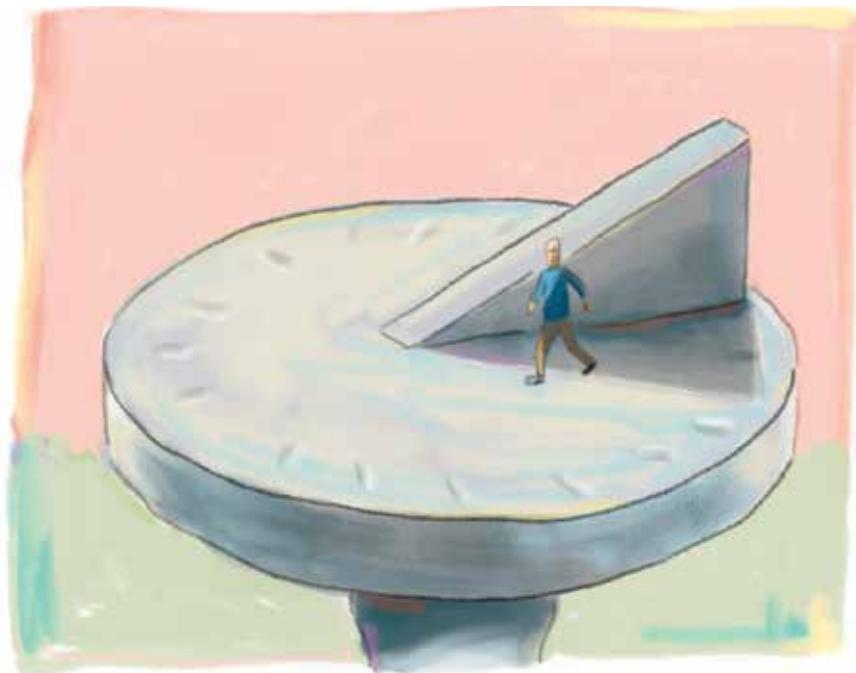
Many retired people have substantial property; some barely have enough to live on. How much is enough? There is no one-size-fits-all answer.

Most of us need to make prudent decisions so that we do not outlive our money. We are not all called to lives of evangelical poverty, even in old age. Yet those of us who have worked hard all our lives feel a sense of entitlement to the fruits of our labor. "I've earned it" is not a Christian attitude; it is a cultural assumption that calls for honest prayer and prudent discernment. St. Ignatius' advice on property is a useful starting point. We should, he writes, "desire to keep it or dispose of it solely according to what God our Lord will move [our] will to choose," and we should not "desire or feel...strongly attached to have wealth rather than poverty, or honor rather than dishonor, or a long life rather than a short one."

We may not all have the grace to feel a genuine preference for poverty, but we may still find greater clarity in distinguishing what we really need for a well-balanced life. For me, it meant the painful decision to give up my car. When I was working, driving was a necessity; in retirement in New York City, a car was a luxury. For others, it might mean moving from a house to an apartment or something as simple as fewer restaurant meals.

No matter how modest our circumstances, St. Ignatius reminds us of the need to provide "for the poor and other good works." Retirees on limited incomes may be able to make only small financial contributions, but for many of us the opportunity to give our time and talents in service can be a special grace. Downsizing can thus help to focus on social justice, in both what we give to the poor and what we might be called to do.

Finally, we can return to focusing on Jesus, who took on our humanity so that we might learn how to be fully human. St. Ignatius urges that at meal-



comes with retirement from full-time work (voluntarily or not) or from finding themselves empty-nest parents. St. Ignatius recommends detachment. Ideally, we should be no more disposed to retire or to keep working; to live with our children or apart from them. How is it possible to consider with detachment what may be a traumatic loss? Who will I be if I retire? Who am I when my children no longer need me?

One of the first decisions to make is how to spend our new "free" time. Playing golf and shopping? Going back to school? Taking a part-time job? Finding new ways to give back to the church and the community through volunteer service?

When it comes to decision-making, St. Ignatius has a great deal of practical advice. His principles for making what he calls a "changeable election," i.e., one that is not irrevocable, can be summarized as follows. First, place the question before God in prayer. Second,

God can indeed move the will toward choices we might never have imagined: a new call, timed by the Holy Spirit, for this stage of life. For me, praying over what to do in retirement, the call was unmistakable.

Shortly after I retired, the Holy Spirit pushed me toward the Ignatian Volunteer Corps, an organization that serves the poor in the context of Ignatian spirituality. And I do mean pushed. I had twice set aside the application materials for later attention, and the local coordinator twice followed up with me—the second time with a phone call. I asked myself in astonishment how many people would make that kind of call, with the obvious risk of rejection, unless impelled by the Holy Spirit. I got the message. For the last 16 years I have taught English at an immigrant services center on Manhattan's Lower East Side, all while sharing the spiritual journey with other volunteers in monthly meetings and periodic retreats.

times we reflect on how Jesus ate and try to imitate him. While this should not be reduced to “What would Jesus do?” (often asked as a preface to a predetermined answer), it is a good reminder to reflect on Jesus as our model in all things.

Facing Death

Although St. Ignatius prescribes a meditation on hell for the first week of the Spiritual Exercises and includes among the criteria for decision-making the advice that we imagine ourselves “at the point of death” or “on judgment day,” he has little explicit advice on how one should look at death. This is not surprising, since his expectation was that the exercises would most often be made by people making irrevocable decisions about the state of life. But all the graces of the third and fourth weeks of the exercises prepare us for death and the promise of eternal life.

Praying about how much of my spiritual journey might still lie ahead

of me, I had a vivid recollection of an experience I had while making the Spiritual Exercises many years earlier in the form called the exercises in daily life.

I entered the third period of the exercises shortly before Easter. I prayed for the grace to share the Passion. At the beginning of Holy Week, my father entered the hospital for a minor procedure, where it was discovered that he had lung cancer and would require immediate surgery. On the train from New York to Hartford early on the morning of Good Friday, full of sadness and worry, I was reading the Passion narratives and trying to place myself among the sorrowful women at the foot of the cross. Suddenly I realized that they did not know how the story ended. How total their desolation must have been, without knowledge of the resurrection! It was an extraordinary experience of entering into the minds and hearts of the companions of Jesus and sharing their ex-

perience. At the same time, it was an experience of hope, because we know how the story ends.

But the Holy Spirit has not finished with me. After a long period of discernment, I am currently enrolled in the Christian Spirituality Program at Creighton University, working toward a certificate in spiritual direction. My journey continues. I hope the graces I have experienced will help me accompany others in my age group.

The Spiritual Exercises are inexhaustible. While anyone, at any stage of life, can experience abundant grace meditating on the passion and resurrection of Our Lord, these mysteries can be particularly consoling to the aging. Instead of looking back on what has been lost or given up, we can ask for the grace to look forward with hope to life eternal, remembering the promise of Jesus, as quoted in the Gospel of John: “I will see you again, and your hearts will rejoice, and no one will take your joy away from you.”

How are you being called to serve?

 **JESUITS**

For information about the vocation of Jesuit Priests and Brothers contact:

Jesuit Conference
1016 16th Street, NW, #400
Washington, DC 20036

202.462.0400
www.Jesuits.org



Racine and Sacral Violence

The Théâtre du Nord-Ouest is a hidden temple in the cultural web of Paris. Housed in a nondescript 1920s movie palace, the repertory company houses two austere black-box theaters to present the classics and avant-garde works. There is rarely much of a set, fewer props and stark monochrome costumes. The performances are executed with religious devotion. The ushers seem to be guiding you toward your pew amid the hushed parishioners in the dim light.

Each year the troupe performs the entire canon of a single playwright. This year's choice was the neoclassical tragedian Jean Racine. For an American, Racine is an acquired taste, but I have revered his taut verse and anguished characters since I directed his "Phaedra" years ago at Wheeling College. During my sabbatical in Paris last fall, I purchased a season pass and looked forward to seeing all his dramas. The fact that I was finishing a monograph on another Jansenist, Blaise Pascal, deepened my desire to rediscover Racine.

The sabbatical was not the serene oasis I had planned. On Nov. 13 Islamic terrorists allied with ISIS murdered 130 Parisians, wounded hundreds more and plunged the city into mourning, fear and lockdown. Racine suddenly became an interpreter of the religious violence that had just erupted on the cobblestones outside the theater.

Many of the Racine plays unveiled sacral violence. The rarely produced "Iphigenia" reworked the ancient Greek myth. To obtain the winds they

need to propel their ships toward Troy, the Greeks must sacrifice Iphigenia. Placing the good of the state above her own life, Iphigenia, the daughter of King Agamemnon, accepts the summons to human sacrifice, but Agamemnon is torn between duty to the state and love for his frail daughter. The oddly happy ending—in this version the oracle intervenes in the nick of time to announce that the Greeks were ready to sacrifice the wrong Iphigenia—does not change the theological rules of the play's setting: a cosmos controlled by mysterious deities satisfied only with the blood of the innocent.

On Nov. 15 I joined thousands of other Parisians attending a Mass for the terrorist victims at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. In his sermon Archbishop André Vingt-Trois raised a neuralgic question: "How is it possible that young people formed in our schools and our neighborhoods could have known such distress that the violence of the caliphate came to represent some sort of driving ideal?" The terrorists were not impoverished immigrants; most were French citizens who had enjoyed the middle-class benefits of the republic. How could they massacre their fellow citizens in cold blood in the name of God?

When I saw the performance of "Phaedra," the play seemed different from the work I had once directed. The psychological horror was still there. Phaedra incestuously attempts to seduce her stepson, Hippolytus. When her husband, Theseus, unexpectedly returns from war, Phaedra covers

up her crime by blaming Hippolytus for attempted rape. Unjustly exiled by his father, Hippolytus meets a violent death; and as the truth emerges, Phaedra takes her own life. But the religious subtext to the violence had taken on a new life. Unable to control her lust and violence, Phaedra claims she is driven "like a ship to the rocks" by the vengeful goddess Venus. Hippolytus's death is brought about by Neptune

in response to Theseus' prayer for retribution. Behind the psychological torment is the implacable will of jealous gods driving their votaries to fury and ultimately to murder and suicide.

During the sabbatical, I often attended noon Mass at the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, the old royal chapel adjacent to the

Louvre. On Aug. 23, 1572, Catholic fanatics began the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre by ringing the bell in the church's Gothic tower. Thousands of Protestants who had gathered for the wedding of the king's sister to the Protestant Henry of Navarre (a future French king) were murdered. After the attack in November I often stopped in front of the bell tower as I left the church. Why do we murder each other in the name of God? This is not a Muslim or a Christian or a Jewish or a pagan Greek problem. This is a terror buried in the veiled human heart. John Calvin once remarked that the human heart is an efficient idol factory. But why is this idolatry so lethal?

Racine understood.

JOHN J. CONLEY

JOHN J. CONLEY, S.J., holds the Knott Chair in Philosophy and Theology at Loyola University Maryland in Baltimore, Md.

IDEAS | MICHAEL V. TUETH

HIS FINAL ACT

The Catholic connections of Tennessee Williams

March 26, 2016, would have been Tennessee Williams's 105th birthday. The esteemed and infamous playwright, known for works like "A Streetcar Named Desire" and "Cat On a Hot Tin Roof," was born in Columbus, Miss., in 1911. But his attempt at a rebirth of sorts happened on Jan. 10, 1969. That was the day he was received into the Catholic Church by Joseph LeRoy, S.J. The event points to a little-known spiritual side of a man whose life at times seemed to contain as much drama as his characters.

As in any good drama, the event was not without controversy. The process was instigated by Williams's younger brother, Dakin, who had converted to Catholicism when he was doing military service during World War II. The older Williams had only recently recovered from a near-fatal bout of Hong Kong flu. While we cannot know what was in his heart, the illness may have caused a reckoning with his mortality and also served as a reminder of his comment to his brother that he hoped one day to have a deathbed conversion to Catholicism.

Dakin contacted Father LeRoy, pastor of the Church of St. Mary Star of the Sea in Key West, Fla., where Williams lived, who agreed to visit him several times. Williams was heavily medicated at the time of the priest's visits but expressed the hope that a Catholic baptism would help him "get [his] goodness back." Yet the baptism was, technically speaking, conditional, as Williams had already been baptized in the Episcopal Church as an infant by his grandfather, the Rev. Walter Dakin. Although the Catholic Church recognizes the validity of other Christian baptisms, Father Leroy said that "it was Mr. Williams's wish, in the interest of his own spiritual and emotional needs



BOUND FOR ROME?
Tennessee Williams,
walking to a service for
Dylan Thomas, 1953

at the time, that the rite be repeated.”

The second baptism does not seem to have lived up to Williams’s expectations and did not have any obvious effect on the playwright’s lifestyle. As he later said, “I have always loved the richness of the Catholic ritual, the aroma of the incense, the splendor of the art.” But he did not feel the same admiration for the doctrines of Catholicism. His prebaptismal confession was, in Father LeRoy’s words, the shortest confession he had ever heard.

Williams never became much of a churchgoer, saying that he liked to pray in the quiet of empty churches, claiming that large congregations disturbed him. He later said, “I loved the beauty of the ritual, but the tenets of the church are ridiculous.” A strange sort of conversion, indeed! He whimsically admitted later on—at the time of the “God is Dead” movement—“I do believe in God, and I don’t think he’s dead like people say. But I don’t know where

he is or what he’s doing.”

Williams chose St. Francis Xavier as his patron saint. Perhaps this was because he was a direct descendant of a younger brother of St. Francis—Valentine Xavier—who migrated from Spain to France in the 16th century, where the offspring of the Xavier clan become Huguenots. In the wake of the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, when many Huguenots were slaughtered, the family fled to England, where their name was Anglicized to Sevier. In 1730 one of the descendants, also named Valentine, fled to America. (Williams named the hero of his first professionally produced play, “Battle of Angels,” Valentine Xavier.)

In the month following his Catholic baptism rite, Williams went to Rome, where he met the superior general of the Jesuits, Pedro Arrupe. (A Jesuit present at their meeting once told me, “You should have seen Arrupe’s face when Tennessee Williams informed

him that he was a blood relation of St. Francis Xavier.”)

Yet, despite his hopes for the transforming power of the sacrament, Williams continued to struggle with alcohol and drugs, which only intensified as the years went along and his plays were not well received. Finally, back in New York City and staying in the Sunset Suite of the Hotel Elysee, Williams died on Jan. 25, 1983. He was found surrounded by pills, yet it is uncertain whether his death was accidental or a suicide.

Williams’s body lay in state at Frank E. Campbell’s funeral parlor on Madison Avenue in New York in a simple Orthodox Jewish wooden coffin, with a Russian icon in his folded hands. On March 5 more than 1,200 mourners attended the Mass of Christian Burial for Williams in St. Louis, Mo., in the magnificent Byzantine-style Cathedral Basilica. The presider and homilist was Msgr. Jerome Wilkerson, a long-time friend of Dakin and his mother. The Scripture readings fittingly dwelt upon the flesh and dying, constant themes in Williams’s dramas.

In his homily, Monsignor Wilkerson quoted several memorable lines from Williams’s plays. But he also described the effect the playwright’s work had on a group of recovering addicts Monsignor Wilkerson had dealt with over many years. He spoke of “the strength and power they found in the poetic lines of Williams’s plays”:

The courage, the beauty, and the truth uncovered there gave them a new hope and motivation. Tennessee’s words got through to them, convinced them that they were not alone.... And perhaps most important of all, they learned that someone understood. Someone read the secret recesses of their heart and still affirmed them, cherished them, and cheered them in their anguish and struggle.

What do you need for a more “sustainable future?”



- A Strategic Plan to move toward that future?
- A revitalized fund development program to support your mission and vision?
- Formation for current leaders?
- Help with searches for new leaders?
- More cohesive staff teams to serve your community?

More than one of the above? All of the above?

The Reid Group has a tool to help you identify the challenges to your sustainability. To download the Sustainable Future Audit tool, go to www.TheReidGroup.biz and click on “Resources.”

**Ready to address the challenges to your sustainable future?
Contact us for a complimentary strategy session.**

The Reid Group
1.800.916.3472 | info@TheReidGroup.biz
www.TheReidGroup.biz

Contrary to his wishes, Williams was buried in the main Catholic cemetery in Saint Louis, Calvary Cemetery. He had asked to have his body taken out into the Gulf of Mexico and dropped into the sea, where one of his literary heroes, the deeply troubled early-20th-century modernist poet Hart Crane, had died at the age of 33. According to witnesses, Crane had jumped overboard, saying, "Goodbye, everybody."

But Dakin defied those instructions and had Williams buried only a few yards away from the grave of their mother, Edwina, with whom Williams had struggled and who most critics agree was the model for Amanda Wingfield, the constantly anxious and domineering matriarch in his play "The Glass Menagerie." John Lahr, in his definitive biography, *Tennessee Williams: Mad Pilgrimage of the Flesh*, captures the irony of the situation:

And so it came to pass that Tennessee Williams was bur-

ied in the city he called "St. Pollution"; an Episcopalian by birth and a Roman Catholic by conversion, he went to his resting place in a Jewish coffin marked by a gravestone emblazoned with an Orthodox cross. The man who had wanted to be absorbed back into the Mother Ocean ended up spending eternity next to his mother, the woman he'd fled and kept at a distance for a lifetime.

The many studies of Tennessee Williams's life, including his own memoirs and a biography by Dakin, display the tempestuous and troubled life of the man. We can only hope that somewhere deep down in Williams's soul the grace of his baptism supported him and granted him entrance into the paradise that God has promised to the compassionate.

MICHAEL V. TUETH, S.J., *emeritus professor of communication and media studies at Fordham University, now lives in St. Louis, Mo.*

cial or sexual discrimination on campus, fraternity misbehavior, absurd levels of student debt upon graduation and the sad saga of the underpaid adjunct professor. There is, to put it mildly, a surfeit of ethical issues facing our campuses that would seem to require a campus-wide ethical system in response.

So why do our universities not teach and practice university-wide ethics? Keenan's answer is that we still run universities in the United States on a feudal basis, with administrative fiefs and educational (school and department) fiefs and student life fiefs and athletic (sport by sport) fiefs, each highly structured in top-down fashion and each disinclined to acknowledge the need for campus wide ethical practices that might upset that hierarchy. Witness that when there were problems at Penn State University with the sexual abuse of children, the problems stayed inside the silo of the athletic department, and that even when the university central administration was made aware, they deferred to the athletic department's do-nothing solution. Keenan asks why the university would not see the matter as an ethical issue and solve it using ethical principles common across every part of the university.

Or take the rampant problems of gender and racial bias at our universities, which Keenan deals with in depth. Why is there such a dearth of female and racial minorities at the leadership of American universities? Might that be because there is a dearth of female and minority faculty members? And why are these not seen as ethical issues that require an ethical solution?

BOOKS | NICHOLAS P. CAFARDI

THE COMMODIFICATION CURSE

UNIVERSITY ETHICS How Colleges Can Build and Benefit from a Culture of Ethics

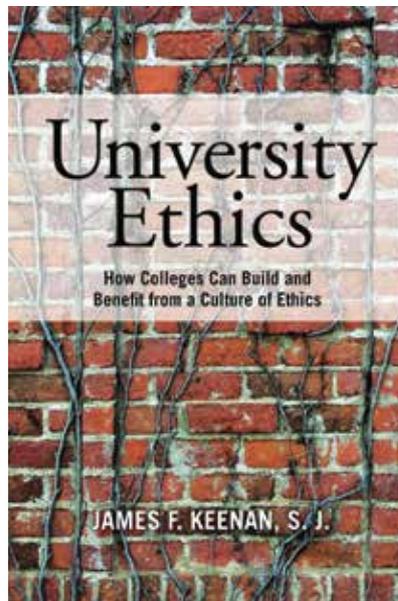
By James F. Keenan, S.J.
Rowman & Littlefield. 292p \$34

The paradox that lies at the heart of *University Ethics*, by James F. Keenan, S.J., is this: American universities have medical schools that teach medical ethics, pharmacy schools that teach pharmaceutical ethics, law schools that teach legal ethics, nursing schools that teach nursing ethics but no schools that teach university ethics. At the center of the university's moral mass there is a black hole.

Why is this? How can universities divide up the teaching of ethics school by school and not understand that none of this makes any didactic sense unless

the students being taught a localized ethical system perceive the university itself as a moral actor, with a controlling ethical vision of its own? Keenan's basic answer is that the people who lead universities do not seem to notice this lacuna or, worse, they do not seem to care.

Every day one newspaper or another in the United States, not to mention the Internet, has a story about campus hazing, campus sexual assault, cheating, ra-



One reason, which Keenan does not cite, might be the dearth of women and minority members on university boards of trustees. As the author points out, universities are places of privilege and self-importance, and no one at a university is more privileged or self-important than the wealthy donors who get to sit on the university board. Board members tend to choose university presidents from among those who are like themselves, and these presidents

then pick senior administrators and deans who tend to resemble them, and so it goes, down through the system, with new faculty hires reproducing the existing faculty.

About the only place on campus where Keenan does not see this system of privilege being perpetuated without ethical question is in the universities' search for a diverse student body. But then, he points out, why would a diverse student want to come to a univer-

sity where the university's restricted culture and leadership composition would make them feel out of place? And why is this not seen as an ethical issue requiring an ethical solution by our universities?

The fabric that Keenan sees unifying all of these threads is what he calls the commodification of the university, by which he means the treatment of education as a commodity to be purchased rather than an acquisition of knowledge to be experienced.

On this point, Keenan is dead right. Commodification, which has led to the building of Taj Mahal residence halls and recreation centers to attract students, which has led to the huge expansion of admissions and other administrative staff, which has led to the cutting of educational costs in order to be able to afford these higher administrative expenses, which has led to the growth of ill-paid and ill-treated adjunct faculty (now accounting for more than half the hours taught in all American universities) in order to save money, lies at the center of all of the ethical issues facing our universities. But absent recognition by the university that it cannot teach ethics without consciously practicing them, we are back in that black hole again.

Keenan's work is multilayered, analytically sharp and engaging, and demonstrates not just the depth of his research but his own personal experience as a university professor. Being one of those myself, as well as a former university administrator, I found myself nodding in recognition at his diagnosis. Luckily, he also provides the cure: the creation of a universitywide ethical system that universities both teach and practice. If you have anything to do with the life of a university, even if you are simply a concerned alumnus, get this book. The patient cannot wait much longer for the cure.

NICHOLAS P. CAFARDI is a professor of law at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh.

Emmaus

Spring is his burden, and the night, a robe: livid
as poppies in a roadside wrap, facing the dying weather.
Spring is the furrow on his shoulder swathe,
between the neck and forearm.

Thus was the intimation right: a savior comes
out of Jerusalem, with pericardial thread
to make a heart's claim: that history bears his thumb,
that saints soak up their suppers,

while the food, redolent on the table, aches for his hands.
And so he stops,
shuffling between a bramble and a gate, making as if
to leave, as if in earnest—

which means uncertainty rings true:
the crooked arm—come near—the branch that either
bleeds or flowers, the trickle fog.

Ah, how the stars gallop off one another,

betting whether the men might, might not, will, will not
quiver the lock, set plates and cups and saucers.
The day is nearly over.

The moon, struck briefly mute, takes heart—

SOFIA M. STARNES

SOFIA M. STARNES is the author of five poetry collections, including *A Commerce of Moments*, which was a *Library of Virginia Honor Book in Poetry* the year of its publication. In 2012 she was appointed *Poet Laureate of Virginia*, and during her two-year tenure she edited *The Nearest Poem Anthology*. She is currently the poetry editor and poetry book review editor for the *Anglican Theological Review*. This poem is from a manuscript in progress titled "The Consequence of Moonlight."

POWER FOR SALE

DARK MONEY

The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right

By Jane Mayer

Doubleday. 464p \$29.95

Over a century after President Theodore Roosevelt denounced “malefactors of great wealth” and aided the Progressive movement’s adoption of rules to check corporate excess, a handful of billionaires has launched a sweeping, privately financed war to turn the country back to the Gilded Age and destroy these rules. Masquerading as “social welfare organizations,” these political allies have used the tax laws to hide their contributions and to emerge after a 40-year ideological campaign as what Jane Mayer calls “the single most effective special-interest group in the country.”

Although *Dark Money* exhaustively describes the complex network of nonprofit foundations the billionaires have created, the narrative focuses on Charles and David Koch, the brothers who own Koch Industries, a fossil fuel conglomerate based in Wichita, Kan., and the second largest privately owned company in the United States. The two Koch brothers have used their fortunes, estimated by *Forbes* in 2015 at \$41.6 billion each, to create a fully integrated network of think tanks, lobbying groups, academic programs and political candidates committed to their antitax, antigovernment philosophy. Fred Chase Koch, the brothers’ father, created the family fortune in the 1930s by building oil refineries for Stalin and Hitler and helped found the John Birch Society in 1958, an archconservative group that believed Communists dominated the government. Since 1980, when David ran for

vice president on the Libertarian Party ticket, the brothers have spent millions of dollars to move their views from the fringes to the center of American political life.

In a brilliant analysis of the Kochs’ steadily increasing influence, Jane Mayer shows how their philosophical opposition to government regulations coincided with their private interests. Whatever their motivations, for a quarter of a century “between 1980 and 2005, under Charles Koch’s leadership, his company developed a stunning record of corporate malfeasance,” she writes, including record fines for allowing benzene and crude oil to leach into ground water, firing whistleblowers, stealing oil from an Indian tribe and, more recently, even trying to dig up dirt on Jane Mayer. In 2012, the Environmental Protection Agency’s database revealed Koch

Industries to be the country’s number one producer of toxic waste. According to one long-time employee, constant litigation with the E.P.A. did not affect the company’s bottom line because “if they got fined, it didn’t matter because they made so much money.” Despite the Kochs’ unceasing complaints about the Obama administration’s enforcement of environmental regulations, their personal wealth has tripled since 2009.

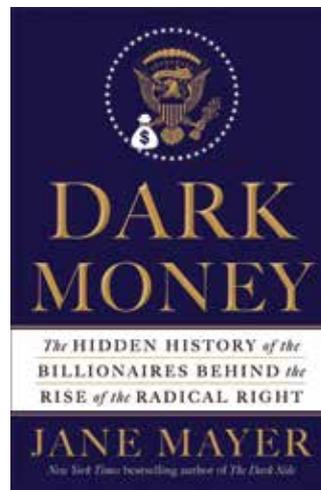
The tax code has helped the Kochs and their billionaire allies increase their influence. Richard Mellon Scaife, an early practitioner of “advocacy philanthropy,” spent much of his fortune in the late 1970s investing in conservative

think tanks, including the Heritage Foundation. The John M. Olin Foundation bankrolled the creation of right-wing academic centers and professorships on college campuses. By 2013 there were over 100,000 private foundations with assets of over \$800 billion, “completely irresponsible institutions, answerable to nobody,” according to Richard Posner, the conservative judge and legal scholar. Of particular interest to the Kochs, the brothers contributed to foundations that cast doubt on the science of climate change, lobbied against a carbon tax and created the Tea Party movement.

Private foundations have few legal restrictions. The I.R.S. only requires them to donate 5 percent of their assets annually to public charities or nonprofit organizations. Donations to section 501(c)(3) educational nonprofits are tax deductible. Section 501(c)(4) “social welfare” groups may engage in politics so long as politics is not their primary purpose, and they need not disclose their donors.

The Kochs and their allies were part of an explosion of dark money. They funded two groups that spent heavily in the 2010 midterms—the Center for Patient Rights, an anti-Obamacare group, and Crossroads GPS, a group initiated by Karl Rove.

The Supreme Court’s *Citizens United* decision in 2010 fueled this explosion. The 5-to-4 decision overturned Progressive-era restrictions banning corporations and unions from unlimited spending on political candidates. So long as businesses and unions did not directly fund candidates, they could give as much as they wanted to outside groups that were technically independent of the campaigns. In granting free speech rights





Ignatian Solidarity Network
is honored to present

MICHAEL GARANZINI, S.J.

with the

ROBERT M. HOLSTEIN
Faith Doing Justice Award

APRIL 27, 2016

CHICAGO, IL

The Holstein Award is given by the Ignatian Solidarity Network each year to one individual who has demonstrated a significant commitment to leadership for social justice grounded in the spirituality of St. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits).

Learn more and RSVP:

IGSOL.NET/HOLSTEIN



to corporations, the court assumed that corporate expenditures would be transparent and thus free from the taint of corruption. But as Mayer convincingly shows, that assumption proved incorrect “as more and more of the money flooding into elections was spent by secretive nonprofit organizations that claimed the right to conceal their donors’ identities.” By contributing to Donors Trust, “the dark-money ATM of the conservative movement” that in turn distributed money to their preferred candidates and causes, donors were able to hide their identities.

The hosts of private semi-annual donors meetings, the Kochs have raised pledges of \$889 million for the

2016 elections. The \$2 million that W. Clement Stone contributed to Richard Nixon in 1972 (\$11 million in today’s dollars) seems almost quaint by comparison, though it outraged the public and contributed to post-Watergate campaign finance laws. These laws have been largely gutted by the Supreme Court, suggesting the need for a new Progressive movement. Just as journalists stirred the public to action in the first decade of the last century, Mayer has written a powerful call for much-needed reform.

MARK J. DAVIS, formerly counsel to the Maryland State Board of Elections, is a retired attorney who lives in Santa Fe, N.M.

ROBERT ELLIS HOSMER JR.

A BOOK REBORN

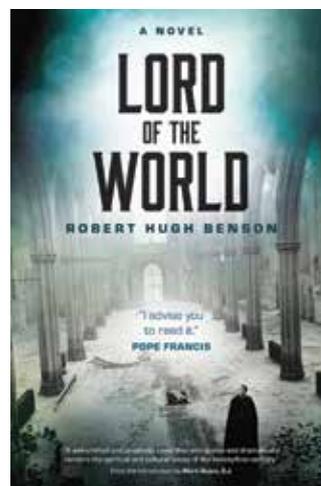
LORD OF THE WORLD

By Robert Hugh Benson
CreateSpace Independent Publishing
Platform. 234p \$11.99

The point, supported by scriptural references from the Book of Daniel, the Gospels, the letters of Paul and the Book of Revelation and by centuries of church teaching is well taken: The world will careen toward an apocalyptic confrontation between a faithful remnant and the forces of evil. Preceded by the metastatic growth of secular humanism and the appearance of the anti-Christ, to whom numbers of apostates will pledge themselves, this global cataclysm will lay the foundation for the return of Christ in glory, a final judgment and the inauguration of a new heaven and a new earth.

It certainly hits home right now, as we observe the world in which we live: pockets of military conflict, proliferating acts of terrorism, clashes between adherents of various religions, pervasive secularism, diminishment of formal affiliation to organized religion, shocking decreases in church attendance and participation in the sacramental life. Within this context, our two most recent popes have praised a relatively obscure work by a largely forgotten cleric: *Lord of the World*, written by Robert Hugh Benson and published in 1907.

Benson’s name drifted into relative obscurity some time ago despite his considerable reputation during the early part of the last century. Born in 1871, third son of an Anglican cleric and brother of E. F. Benson (author of the Mapp and Lucia series of novels)



and A. C. Benson (master of Magdalene College, Cambridge), Hugh Benson attended Eton and Cambridge, then took Anglican orders in 1895, with his father, who by then had become the archbishop of Canterbury, as the ordaining prelate. Following his father's death (1896), he embarked on a spiritual quest that culminated in his conversion to Roman Catholicism (1903), promptly followed by his ordination to the priesthood (1904). Benson thereby renounced family, friends and a likely elevation to bishop (with a seat in Parliament). Shock waves reverberated throughout Establishment England. The next 10 years included four years of ministry as Catholic chaplain at Cambridge (1904-8), followed by six years of writing (16 novels and many other works, including essays, sermons, poems and children's stories) and preaching at home and in the United States. He died in 1914 at age 42.

The message of *Lord of the World* is neither profoundly "new" nor radically innovative. Nor is its construction. Though written during the time when modernist literary ideas were filtering into various European literatures, *Lord of the World* is very much a Victorian novel, with a clear, linear plot; two-dimensional characters; firm, consistent authorial voice and control; and clear demarcation into beginning, middle and end.

Lord opens with a Prologue set near the narrative present (c. 2000) with Mr. Templeton, a 90-year-old man, reviewing the upheavals of the 20th century for two Roman Catholic priests. He characterizes the war as a series of conflicts between Catholicism and humanitarianism, a grab-bag of ideas, its fundamental principle a belief that "God is man," clearly a perversion of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. Templeton's survey serves as a curtainraiser for the three part narrative that follows: Book I: Advent; Book II: The Encounter; Book III: The Victory.

One of the priests will emerge as a key character in the unfolding drama. Unlike many of his brothers who fall into apostasy, Father Percy Franklin remains faithful, asserting that the principles of Roman Catholicism, particularly those concerning transcendence and immanence, alone are capable of resisting and ultimately destroying the lethal forces of humanitarianism. To counter the dark powers of destruction, the pope establishes the Order of Christ Crucified, a group of faithful "like the Jesuits," who, empowered by

traditional, orthodox faith, enter the battle full tilt.

Arrayed against the vicar of Christ and his cohort are the anti-Christ, Julian Felsenburgh—a charismatic leader whose belief and message seem much like a pastiche of humanism, secularism, pantheism, positivism and materialism—and his followers. He articulates a man-centered gospel of inevitable progress leading to harmony and happiness. The means by which they seek to establish this entity, encompassing North America and

CLASSIFIED

Retreats

CELEBRATE Pope Francis' vision. Inspiring, dynamic parish missions, retreats: "Discipleship and the Francis Effect" and "Celebrating the Jubilee of Mercy." Website: www.sabbathretreats.org.

Sabbatical

NEW DIRECTIONS sabbatical at the Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley. Enjoy a semester or two at the only Jesuit sabbatical program in North America. The scenic San Francisco Bay Area is the setting for this unique program, situating experienced ecclesial ministers within the broader context of a major international Jesuit formation center. Meet future church leaders from over 35 countries: Jesuit scholastics, women religious and laypeople. The holistic program is

enriched by training and renewal in the Ignatian vision. For more information, visit www.scu.edu/jst, or contact Rob McChesney, S.J., at (510) 549-5046 or RMCchesney@jstb.edu. "Your time, God's goodness!"

Translator

Luis Baudry-Simón, translator (from English into Spanish): newsletters, articles, essays, websites, pastoral letters, ministry resources, motivational conferences, spirituality material, etc. Contact: luisbaudrysimon@gmail.com (815) 694-0713.

WANT YOUR AD HERE?

Visit americamagazine.org.
Email: ads@americamagazine.org.
Call 212-515-0102.

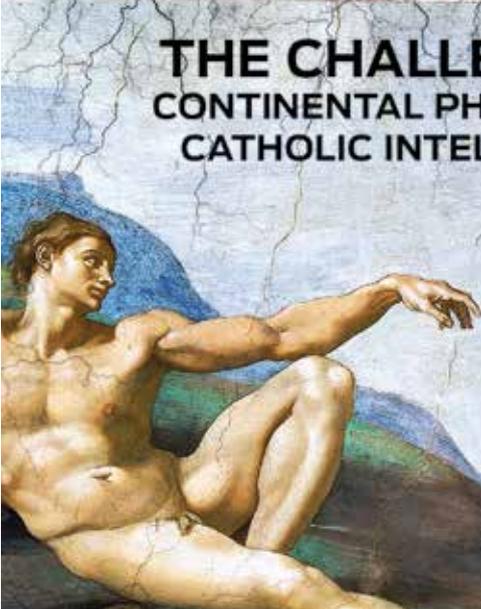
THE HANK CENTER FOR THE CATHOLIC INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE

THE CHALLENGE OF GOD: CONTINENTAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE CATHOLIC INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE

Featured keynote speakers:
Jean-Luc Marion • Adriaan Peperzak
John Caputo • Richard Kearney
Robyn Horner • Thomas J.J. Altizer

April 14–16 • Beane and Regents Halls
Lewis Towers • Water Tower Campus

Register today at
LUC.edu/challengeofgodregistration.




Europe, are pragmatic, ruthless and immoral (euthanasia among them). Felsenburgh's troops stage a series of coups across the globe. The confrontations are fierce and bloody; the results devastating, particularly at Rome where the pope, most of the cardinals and many bishops are slaughtered.

At novel's end, a new pontiff, Silvester II, has been elected by the handful of surviving cardinals. He lives in a simple dwelling at Nazareth, humbly preparing for the return of Christ.

Despite the reputation he enjoyed, Benson, to judge from *Lord of the World*, is simply not a writer of the first rank. He is known to have worked hastily (how else could he have produced so many works in so short a lifetime?) and to have done little revising. His narrative is bloated and listless, acquiring shape and energy only in *The Victory*. Everything beforehand is nec-

essary preparation, to be sure, but skillful editing could have strengthened the narrative without significant loss. In addition, while it may be intentional that a character like Julian Felsenburgh is two-dimensional, most other characters seem cut from the same bolt of cloth, with the possible exception of three. In Father Franklyn, the pope of Book III, we do get a sense of an inner, deeper life; and two female characters, Mabel Brand, wife of Oliver Brand, political leader in England, and her mother-in-law hover on the edge of three dimensionality but do not quite make it. Certainly, in critical terms, it is an act of literary naïveté to put *Lord of the World* in the same rank as Orwell's *1984* or Huxley's *Brave New World*. Indeed, such an uncritical, anachronistic judgment does a disservice to Benson's work, the purposeful excellence of which lies elsewhere.

Robert Hugh Benson's *Lord of the World*, a distinctively Catholic dystopian novel, is a thought-provoking text for anyone who struggles to live a life of faith in our contemporary world. The careful, reflective reader finishes the novel and asks, "Where am I?" In the final analysis, though, the novel offers little hope and even less guidance. It is a darkly brooding and pessimistic exercise, perhaps all the more fascinating for that. Certainly Benson's predictions for our time (not all of them realized, yet) rivet attention, and we can only marvel at his astounding, prescient accuracy. But human beings need hope. It may well be that Benson himself recognized that. Several years later he published *The Dawn of All* (1911), which offered a slightly brighter view of the end.

ROBERT ELLIS HOSMER JR., teaches English at Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

JESUIT REFUGEE SERVICE

 MERCY IN MOTION

"To give a child a seat at school is the finest gift you can give."
 Pope Francis

Mercy in Motion supports the
 Jesuit Refugee Service
 Global Education Initiative,
 a five-year plan to double the number
 refugee children and youth served in
 JRS educational programs.

Learn how you can help support
 refugee education, visit
jrsusa.org/mercy

35
 JRS
 Jesuit Refugee Service/USA
www.jrsusa.org/mercy

Jesuit Refugee Service school in South Sudan

America (ISSN 000-7049) is published weekly (except for 13 combined issues: Jan. 4-11, 18-25, April 4-11, May 23-30, June 6-13, 20-27, July 4-11, 18-25, Aug. 1-8, 15-22, Aug. 29-Sept. 5, Dec. 5-12, 19-26) by America Press Inc., 106 West 56th Street, New York, NY 10019. Periodical postage is paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. Circulation: (800) 627-9533. Subscription: United States \$69 per year; add U.S. \$30 postage and GST (#131870719) for Canada; or add U.S. \$69 per year for international priority airmail. Postmaster: Send address changes to: America, P.O. Box 293159, Kettering, OH 45429.

The Witness of Life

SECOND SUNDAY OF EASTER (C), APRIL 3, 2016

Readings: Acts 5:12-16; Ps 118:2-24; Rev 1:9-19; Jn 20:19-31

“Many signs and wonders were done through the apostles” (Acts 5:12)

Christian apologists will sometimes argue that the truth of the Gospel is proven by the willingness of Jesus’ disciples to die for their faith in Christ. The apostles were, indeed, willing to die for the truth of the Gospel, but if we grant that willingness to die for a religion, a movement or a cause speaks to the truth of a belief system, we would have to admit that many people in the past and today, who have died willingly for all sorts of causes in all sorts of ways, have thereby demonstrated the truth of their beliefs. The truth of the Gospel, in fact, was demonstrated by the disciples’ experience of the risen Jesus and their desire to witness to Jesus’ new life and to share in it.

Each of the first disciples was inspired to be a witness (Greek, *martys*), which sometimes led unavoidably to death, but the witness they shared was to what Christ had accomplished through his death and resurrection and what Christ was accomplishing in the church and the world through his followers. They were inspired by the guidance of the Holy Spirit infused in their lives and community and empowered by God working through them to bring the reality of Christ raised to those among whom they lived.

The events of Easter were not just about the disciples’ personal experienc-

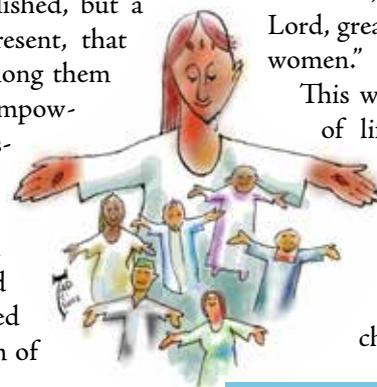
es of the risen Lord in their midst; they were also about witnessing to this reality to the world around them. And this was not just a witness to the past, what had been accomplished, but a witness to the present, that Jesus was alive among them inspiring and empowering their ministry and that they awaited a future glorification in which they would share in the renewed life in the kingdom of God.

The Revelation of John, so often seen as a document oriented only to mysterious future events, witnesses to the reality of the past, present and future of Easter’s power. John writes that when he was “in the spirit on the Lord’s Day,” “one like the Son of Man” told him to “write what you have seen, what is, and what is to take place after this.” John is asked to bear witness not only to what has been and what is to come, but to what is. The church lives in this tension between what has been accomplished through Christ and the fulfillment of God’s kingdom; but it lives in the now, and our witness is for today. We celebrate the death and resurrection as a historical commemoration and as a sign of Christ’s coming, but we also witness and celebrate Christ’s presence among us today.

John’s Gospel describes the risen Christ among the disciples, in which the breath of the Lord carries the gift of the Spirit, empowering them as the

church to carry out Christ’s mission of forgiveness. This same power is described in Acts, in which “many signs and wonders were done among the people through the apostles,” continuing Christ’s ministry of healing among the disciples. The empowered and inspired life of the church both frightened people—Luke says that “none of the rest dared to join them”—but, conversely, attracted people: “Yet more than ever, believers were added to the Lord, great numbers of both men and women.”

This was the power of the witness of life, of death conquered, of new life given, of the glorified life to come; it could overwhelm and frighten but had an inexorable pull. It was the challenge of the church to bear witness to this



PRAYING WITH SCRIPTURE

Think about the risen Lord among the first disciples. How do you bear witness to Christ in your midst? When do you witness the presence of Christ in the church? Where do you most often experience the presence of Christ in the world?

ART: TAD DUNNE

life, a confounding reality that even the apostle Thomas struggled to understand even as Jesus stood before him. The church was asked to bear witness to the very challenge Christ issued to Thomas: “Do not doubt but believe.”

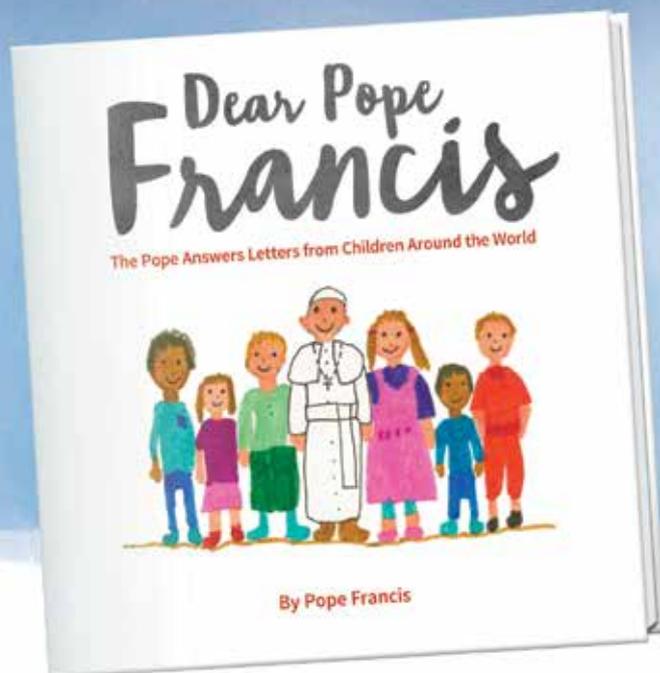
The witness of the church was to life, through the preaching of Christ raised up, through the forgiveness of sins, through the healing of the sick and desperate. It was life that always drove the church, for the message always had a single purpose: “So that you may come to believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing you may have life in his name.” **JOHN W. MARTENS**

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



POPE FRANCIS'S FIRST AND ONLY BOOK FOR CHILDREN

IF YOU COULD ASK POPE FRANCIS
ONE QUESTION, WHAT WOULD IT BE?



What did God do before
the world was made?

Do bad people have
a guardian angel too?

Why are there not as
many miracles anymore?

Dear Pope Francis:
*The Pope Answers Letters from
Children Around the World*
BY POPE FRANCIS

Hardcover (English) | 72 pages
978-0-8294-4433-9 | \$18.95

Hardcover (Spanish) | 72 pages
978-0-8294-4435-3 | \$18.95

Your family can write a letter
to Pope Francis, too! Visit the
website below for your free kit.

Small children have BIG questions. Some are fun. Some are serious. And some will quietly break your heart. In ***Dear Pope Francis***, the Pope's first and only book for children, he personally responds to 30 questions from children all over the world. With his optimistic heart, Pope Francis writes with an honesty that will impact every reader long after the final page is turned. Illuminating and inspiring, *Dear Pope Francis* is that rare, lasting book with a universal message for children and adults.

www.loyolapress.com/DearPopeFrancis
AVAILABLE ONLINE AND AT LOCAL BOOKSELLERS

LOYOLA PRESS.
A JESUIT MINISTRY