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Religious Socialism

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The War on Terrorism and Iraq: A New American Crusade?

ALEX MIKULICH

A year after the horrific attacks of last September, our nation races toward war with Iraq. The political, international, and moral issues at stake in pursuing such a war have not been seriously addressed, must less debated, at the national level. While the nation rightly perceives the risk of appeasement after 9/11, we do not see the opposite risk: how our thirst for retribution may lead us into an intellectual, political, and moral posture that reflects a terrorist mentality.



I. Brief Overview of Two Legitimate Moral Responses to Violence in Catholic Moral Thought

In traditions of Catholic moral and social thought, we can argue between two morally legitimate approaches to violence: active nonviolence and the tradition of just war. Rich traditions of nonviolence actively love the enemy through a rigorous commitment to do no harm and by creating the social conditions of justice that nurture true peace. Remember that Mahatma Gandhi persuaded would-be terrorists to join him in a successful nonviolent campaign for Indian Independence. I would like to address the basic questions of the Catholic just war tradition raised by Bishop Wilton D. Gregory in his letter to President Bush on September 13. Bishop Gregory, speaking on behalf of the United States Catholic Conference, stated that a unilateral, preemptive use of force by the United States "would not meet the strict conditions in Catholic teaching for overriding the strong presumption against the use of military force."

Briefly stated, all of the following conditions must be fulfilled to judge that a war is just. First, the damage inflicted by an aggressor nation, in this case Iraq, must constitute a lasting, grave, and certain danger to international peace. Second, the criteria of right intention requires that war can be legitimately waged *only* for the purpose of defending the innocent or to secure basic human rights. Third, the criteria of a legitimate or right authority requires that in order to make a decision of this gravity that the U.S. comply with constitutional imperatives

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editor's notes

We live in a nation that deludes itself and the world by rationalizing and silencing our sins. As we fight the war on terror and continue to devastate Iraqi society through economic sanctions and bombing, we deny the root of our humanity — our fundamental responsibility for the hunger, suffering, and basic needs of the world. As I question the war on Iraq in this issue, I fear that we may becoming terrorists ourselves.

I recently learned a Rwandan proverb, referring to physical starvation, that says "hunger makes you selfish to the point of letting your own child perish." In this land of overabundance, I wonder if we have become so selfish as a society that we have forgotten about our complicity in the many ways that our children throughout the world are perishing. I wonder if we deny our own human vulnerability as we grow increasingly blind to the suffering of children in Milwaukee, Hartford, and Basra. I wonder if we are losing our humanity. Prior to economic sanctions less than 600 children under the age of five were dying each month in Iraq. Since economic sanctions were imposed infant mortality has greatly increased and nearly 5,000 children under the age of five die per month. I just received a letter from my Democratic congressman John Larson who stated that "economic sanctions were never directed against the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people." We cannot claim that we don't intend an evil effect when sanctions are devastating Iraqi society. Even worse, in the patriotism of the richest and most powerful nation in the world, I detect ignorance and arrogance in our complicity in the death of nearly 5,000 Iraqi youth every month, about the deplorable conditions youth face in urban America, and in our complicity in the environmental destruction of the planet. Amidst the corporate scandals of the past year, I hear discussion about the individual morality of particular accountants and corporate leaders and ideas about tweaking this or that law, but no questioning of the economic system itself. The system itself is sacred; we dare not question how the system creates racial and economic inequality, we dare not question how our blood, sweat, and tears venerate and pay homage to the high altar of unbridled market competition. We dare not call, much less remember, Dr. Martin Luther King's call for a true revolution in value:

A true revolution in value will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. We are called to play the good samaritan on life's roadside; but that will only be an initial act. One day the whole Jericho road must be transformed so that men and women will not be beaten and robbed as they make their journey through life. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar; it understands that the edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring.

We need restructuring and a revolution in human values. I discern a need for humility, prayer, and fasting about who we are as human beings and what our responsibility is as the most affluent and powerful nation on earth. I pray that we will live, in the theology of Gustavo Gutierrez, between gratuitousness and death dealing poverty. In all humility, prayer, and fasting may we discern God's abundant love for all creation and humanity. May we share God's gracious gifts with the entire world. May we become vulnerable. May we recognize our need for all others. May we create a true social and economic democracy. May we open ourselves to learn how our way of life kills others and threatens the very life upon which we depend, the global biosphere. May we open ourselves to learn new



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*“I am the product of an abused childhood.
My parents were always throwing money at me.”*

editor’s notes

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ways to practice our fundamental humanity, our shared vulnerability and sociality, in cooperation with all peoples and nations of the world.

Even more, I pray that we may open ourselves to learn how God’s gracious love is expressed through all other peoples and cultures in the world. May we learn anew about the hunger at the root of our humanity to love and know all others. May we beg God to hunger, thirst, and entrust ourselves to the well-being of all others. This may be the only way we may retrieve our humanity in a world of terrorism.

—Alex Mikulich

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and act only a broad consensus within our nation, and some form of international sanction, preferably by the U.N. Security Council. The fourth criteria requires that the use of force must have “serious prospects for success.” The judgement concerning probability of success is tightly joined to the fifth criteria of proportionality. Proportionality demands that the use of force “must not produce evils and disorders graver than the evil to be eliminated.” Sixth, the use of force must be a last resort; that is, every nonviolent, diplomatic, and peaceful means must be exhausted before resorting to war. In short, these six criteria support a strong presumption against the use of force.

Furthermore, two norms govern the conduct of war, discrimination and proportionality. In this case, discrimination requires that U.S. armed forces take every precaution, including the acceptance of greater risk to their own life, in order to protect the lives of innocent Iraqi people. Second, proportionality requires that the U.S. not create greater instability or conflict in the Middle East and not inflict greater destruction on Iraqi society than the people have already suffered through war and a devastating embargo.

Before we further discuss these just war criteria, it is necessary to address the complex task of responding to terrorism after 9/11. I am concerned that the President’s rhetoric, and a possible unilateral, preemptive attack on Iraq places the United States on a slippery slope outside of the moral bounds of the just war tradition — a slope that plunges the U.S. into a crusader position that is not too distant from its modern counterpart, terrorism. I base my concern on three key points: First, Presidential war rhetoric since 9/11, second, the development of a unilateral approach that includes the U.S. abandoning major international arms control and environmental accords, and third, and perhaps most ominously, a strategic shift to the preemptive use of military force at the prerogative of the United States.

II. The complexity of the task of preventing terrorism. The perpetrators of 9/11 intentionally killed innocent

civilians. Killing of innocent civilians violates international norms of universal human dignity, it violates norms of sovereignty and nonintervention, and violates international war conventions developed over the last several centuries. The immorality of the act does not, however, tell us very much about the complexity of the task before us.

WE SEEM BLIND
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The global organization of the terrorists who carried out the 9/11 bombings does not fit into traditional categories of nation-states. We must contend with a transnational, dispersed network of terrorist cells located inside of the United States and civil societies all over the world. This transnational network does not fit into traditional war categories — traditional military strategies designed against other armed nation-states are inadequate to the task ahead politically, militarily, and morally.

The task of preventing terrorism, argues the military historian Michael Howard, will require far more subtle, intricate, and difficult international detective and police work that utilizes the legal institutions of civil society throughout the world. Failure to adjust to the specific threat we face may lead the U.S. to apply force that fails to adhere to just war criteria of discrimination — protecting civilian lives, and proportionality — preventing death and destruction that outweighs the good we seek. If we fail to distinguish between nation-states and terrorists themselves, we may also fail to attend to the critical moral distinction between combatants and civilians. The use of force against terrorism must adhere to the civilian/combatant criteria to avoid doing what terrorists do: kill innocent civilians. Claiming that we do not want to kill civilians is not enough; we must accept the risks involved in protecting civilians in every corner where we pursue terrorists. A measured and discerning response is no easy task; anything less falls outside of the moral boundaries we celebrate. We must utilize every legal, political, and economic means available to us through civil societies around the world to seek out terrorists, to cut off sources of funding, and dismantle networks of communication and trade that supply terrorists with critical information and weapons. These efforts will necessarily involve international cooperation at multiple levels of government and through non-governmental programs and agencies. Moreover,

it will mean practicing what we preach, for example, by ending our global lead in the export of conventional armaments.

Furthermore, we need to understand the mentality of the terrorists who perpetrated 9/11. Michael Walzer argues in the Winter 2002 issue of *Dissent*, I think persuasively, that we need a complex cultural-religious-political explanation of terrorism that focuses “on the creation of the Enemy, a whole people who are ideologically or theologically degraded so that they are available for murder. Once this Enemy has been created, any of ‘them’ can be killed, men, women, or children, combatants or noncombatants, ordinary folk. The hostility is generalized and indiscriminate.” Moreover, argues Walzer, “the Enemy is the infidel, whose world leader is the United States and whose local representative is Israel.” While I hope that public conversations will examine the cultural, religious, and political roots of terrorism, my immediate question concerns how U.S. rhetoric, international policy, and emerging strategic posture may reflect the very thinking and practice we seek to avoid.

III. Three elements of the Bush Doctrine: A New American Crusade?

First, a “go-it-alone” approach has been emblematic of the Bush Administration’s foreign policy — Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit calls it a unilateral pursuit of a “Pax Americana.” Since January 2001, the United States dropped out of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, refuses to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, abandoned the Kyoto Accords on the global environment, withdrawn support from the World Court, and has failed to join the growing international consensus to eliminate land mines. Tragically, a recent Human Rights Watch report demonstrates that the Bush Administration has gained allies in the war on terrorism by lifting previous “arms control standards and [by increasing] military aid for broadly defined counterterrorism efforts.”

Second, in his January 2002 State of the Union address and in repeated statements, President Bush made it clear to the world that “either you are with us or against us” and declared that “Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: ‘Let’s roll.’” As the Catholic ethicist J. Bryan Hehir observes, such rhetoric may provide rhetorical bounce that fuels immediate passions but fails the test of a measured response that makes crucial distinctions about the threat we really face.

Third, and I think of gravest concern, the so-called Bush strategic Doctrine commits the United States to take pre-emptive military action at will against any hostile state developing weapons of mass destruction.

While we correctly perceive the risks of appeasement, the assumptions of our current thinking, language, and action fails to perceive the risks of a crusader mentality and its dualisms: we are all right and they are all wrong, we are good, they are evil, either you are with us or against us, God is on our side, Satan on theirs. The theology of a Pax Americana assumes we are engaged in a kind of holy war, a crusade in which God sanctifies our social order, our way of life, our values and our territory. Since God is on our side and we are all good, we need not discern the complexity of the problem we face, we need not make judgments or evaluate the moral options before us. Our holiness and right demands all the might we can muster in our moral crusade to rid the world of evil. Lest we forget, the path to hell *is* paved with good intentions. After all, the

SHOULD WE EMBARK ON A CRUSADE TO RID THE WORLD OF EVIL, HOW WILL WE AVOID THE LANGUAGE, THOUGHT, AND PRACTICE OF TERRORISTS THEMSELVES?

terrorists themselves perceived their intentions as good: they were only ridding the world of evil. Should we embark on a crusade to rid the world of evil, how will we avoid the language, thought, and practice of terrorists themselves?

We seem blind to the proposition that terrorists may *want* us to unleash indiscriminate violence to vindicate their claim that the U.S. embodies evil. Crusades — and crusaders pursuing holy wars — don’t make distinctions between combatants and non-combatants, military targets and civilians.

Moreover, U.S. rhetoric belies an ignorance and arrogance about our own history of violence as a nation. We should not forget the classic case of terrorism inside or outside of war: the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I dissent from the prevailing assumption that those atomic bombings were a necessity. Michael Walzer rightly argues that in 1945, for the United States “to kill and terrorize thousands of civilians,” without attempting other military and

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diplomatic options, “was a double crime.” In the depth of our humanity, we ought to recognize that we did use indiscriminate and disproportionate force to pursue our own ends, not only in World War II, but in many subsequent conflicts.

We would do well to educate ourselves to the devastating impact that the Western Crusades had on Islamic civilization one thousand years ago. In his book, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*, Amin Maalouf concludes that the schism between the Western and Islamic world “dates from the Crusades, [and is] deeply felt by the Arabs, even today, as an act of rape.” This is no time for a new crusade of any kind. It is a time for a public conversation that resists every kind of fundamentalism.

IV. Should the United States attack Iraq?

The rhetoric booming from Washington assumes that we have no choice except to attack Iraq. This thinking, however, fails on three key points. First, as the political hawk and former national security advisor Brent Scowcroft argues in a recent *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, Saddam Hussein’s first priority is his own survival; he has not allied with terrorists because he knows they would attract an international force that would threaten his own power. Little, if any, evidence of a link between Hussein and the terrorists responsible for 9/11 exists. Second, Scowcroft argues that attacking Iraq may seriously jeopardize, if not destroy, the global anti-terrorist campaign. He contends that an attack on Iraq “at a minimum, [] would stifle any cooperation on terrorism, and could even swell the ranks of terrorists.” Third, attacking Hussein may also seriously erode, if not destroy, international cooperation on nuclear, chemical, and biological nonproliferation efforts. If the U.S. pursues a unilateral strategy, upon what political or moral ground would we prevent China from using force against Taiwan, or dissuade India from using its forces against Pakistan? Upon what rational, political, and moral ground would we prevent other nations from attaining weapons of mass destruction for their own interests and defense? Certainly, some or many of these nations may be led to believe that since the United States can utilize force on its own prerogative, that they too must be able, and even should, do the same thing. A new American crusade may purchase temporary moral clarity at an exceedingly high cost.

The United States has yet to ask the hard moral questions about the means and the consequences of attacking Iraq. In his recent letter, Bishop Gregory asks President Bush: what is the [just cause] for a military attack on Iraq? Bishop Gregory further questions the lack of a direct connection between Iraq and the attacks of September 11 and the lack of evidence that Iraq is planning “an imminent attack of a grave nature.” Moreover, the President should consider how a preemptive use of military force would dramatically erode traditional moral and legal limits to just cause. A preemptive strike would jeopardize, rather than enforce, the very moral boundaries that protect human life and dignity.

Despite our insistence that we only intend Saddam Hussein to comply with United Nations inspections or be removed from power, the brutal truth is that only innocent Iraqi people have suffered and died. We should seek social and economic justice for the Iraqi people but we cannot do so in a way that would kill civilians or create conditions of greater injustice. The war we have been fighting in Iraq since 1991, including economic sanctions, has inflicted a heavy toll on civilians that has not disrupted Hussein’s power. More than 50,000 Iraqis die per year from causes related to poverty, disease, and economic deprivation.

We should not become arrogant about our military capability — that is, as Michael Walzer puts it, we must not assume the “smartness” of our smart bombs. Pursuit of Saddam Hussein will likely require heavy bombing that will kill civilians, destroy the civilian infrastructure of the country, and unlike the 1991 war, would require heavy house-to-house warfare throughout Iraqi cities.

In a briefing with the press on September 17, Army General William Kernan, head of the U.S. Joint Forces Command, stated that street-to-street combat “is probably the most restrictive, most complex environment in which we are going to fight. Obviously, this is linked to precise intelligence — knowing precisely what’s there — knowing what it is we can target. How can we isolate the area? How can we attack it? How can we minimize collateral damage.” He concluded that “if you get it wrong, there are an awful lot of people who are going to get hurt.”

We must also ask how a war on Iraq will impact the Middle East. For example, Jordan, a nation with unemployment reaching twenty percent, is still reeling from an influx of refugees from the Palestinian-Israeli

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an erudite intellectual lecture or a sermon in a country church with equal facility.

On his appointment he said "The recent months have been a strange time; it is a curious experience to have your future discussed, your personality, childhood influences and facial hair seriously examined in the media, and opinions you didn't know you held expanded on your behalf".

Williams continues to be outspoken. On his appointment he was asked about his arrest in 1986 for trespassing at a US Air Base in protest against nuclear weapons. He said he did not regret it. He also said he would only support war against Iraq if it was sanctioned by the

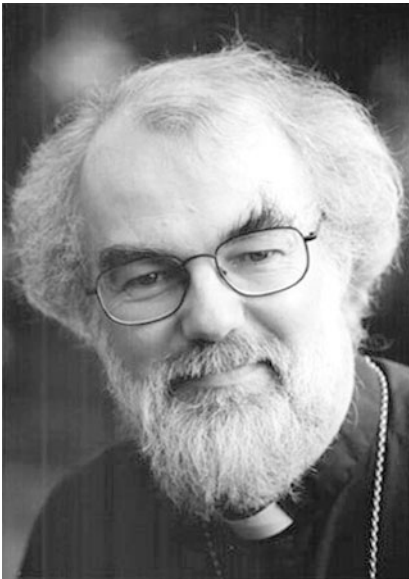
United Nations, and has signed a 'Christian Declaration' to that effect, which was handed into 10 Downing Street on Hiroshima Day, August 6th. He has also criticized the media world, in particular Disney Corporation, for commercial exploitation of children and "a marketing culture that openly feeds and colludes with obsession".

He has written a range of books. Among the more recent are 'On Christian Theology', 'Writings in the Dust' and 'Lost Icons'. 'On Christian Theology', published in 2000, is a collection of papers and lectures. In the Prologue Williams describes a theologian as being in the middle of things and trying to interpret 'God' from there. He says we need three categories in our theology, celebratory, communicative and critical. He is often described as 'orthodox' in his theology but he writes in a thoughtful and challenging way, allowing no-one to get away with easy answers.

Early this year he published a pocket-sized book, 'Writings in the Dust', (cf John 8,6), in which he reflects on the attack on the World Trade Centre. He was within 200 meters of the Centre when the first plane struck, giving theological talks. His 'writings' argue for a very considered response to that terrible event, the most difficult thing is to know what is the thing to do which will minimize such violence in the future. In July this year 'Lost Icons: Reflections on Cultural Bereavement' was published. In it Williams argues we have lost a number of 'crucial imaginative patterns – icons' for thinking about ourselves. Among them are images of childhood, the meaning of community and our unwillingness to consider remorse.

His election has been welcomed by many of the

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Britain's New Archbishop Gives Leftists Reason to Rejoice

*A PROFILE OF
ROWAN WILLIAMS BY
REV. DAVID HASLAM*

The appointment of Rowan Williams [pictured above] to be Archbishop of Canterbury has been received with almost universal acclaim. Many agree with Archbishop Desmond Tutu's analysis that he was "head and shoulders above anyone else". He is 52, the youngest Archbishop of Canterbury for nearly 200 years, and has two school age children of 14 and 6 years old. He has been the Archbishop of Wales - a non-established church - for the last few years, a post which to his pleasure he was elected.

He was born in Swansea, into a Welsh-speaking family of middle-class background. His father was a mining engineer and the family initially worshipped at the local Presbyterian Chapel (probably in Welsh) before moving across town where they attended an Anglican Church. He went to the local Grammar School, and then to Christ's College Cambridge to study Theology. It is said that on his second night he met a vagrant and first took an interest in helping the homeless.

After Cambridge he went to Oxford to take his doctorate on a Russian Orthodox theologian, became Tutor at Westcott House, Cambridge, then University Lecturer in Divinity. Ordained at 28 he became a Professor of Divinity at 36, and was elected to become Bishop of Monmouth in 1992.

Rowan Williams is a gifted speaker and writer and speaks five languages. He has great approachability and pastoral warmth. He is said to watch the Simpsons, a cult American TV programme which raises subtle moral issues. One of the other Welsh Bishops says, "Rowan is the intellectual equal of anyone who has ever been Archbishop of Canterbury He makes the Christian faith credible for ordinary people. I have never heard him speak in clichés." He can give

TOWARD AN ETHIC OF RESPONSIBILITY

REV. JUDITH DEUTSCH

I developed this process-oriented ethic of mine in reaction to what I considered a particular Christian ethicist's futile attempt to determine what was good, right and fit in an empirical way, and in reaction to the Hebrew Scriptures' Ten Commandments. My ethic is derived in part from the Judaeo-Christian prophetic tradition — a tradition that speaks about God's action in history, a tradition that speaks about God's wanting people to show their love to God by the way that they act toward each other. And it is largely derived from my own experiences with other people and the world about us, and from my reactions to these experiences. It may not be a universally applicable ethic — one that would suit all groups of people and all situations, but it is one that suits my situation. You are the only one who can decide whether it suits yours.



Although it is often difficult in our busy lives to conceive of giving much time and consideration to anything larger than our own selves, our own families, our own churches, and our own jobs, I believe what tradition says Jesus said about our finding ourselves only when we lose ourselves (Matthew 16:25, Mark: 8:35, and Luke 9:24). And I resonate with modern physiological findings which indicate that "in the body/mind economy, the benefits of helping other people flow back to the helper" and "that doing good may be good for your heart, for your immune system, and your overall vitality." ("The Immunity of Samaritans: Beyond Self," *American Health*, March 1988, pp.51ff.) For it seems that the feeling of warmth from doing good may come from the endorphins, the brain's natural opiates, and that these endorphins affect the nerve cells which, in their turn, affect parts of the body involved in fighting infection.

This ethic of responsibility involves, according to Max Weber in "Politics As A Vocation," "one's giving...an account of the foreseeable results of one's action." (p. 120) And Oliva Blanchette, a former Jesuit priest and Professor of Philosophy at Boston College says in his

book, *For A Fundamental Social Ethic: A Philosophy of Social Change*:

Rightly understood responsibility focuses neither just on the end to be achieved nor just on the means available for action, but on both at the same time and on the relation between the two. (p.12)

Blanchette's attempt is akin to the supplementary relationship of an ethic of ultimate ends and an ethic of responsibility that Weber describes as characteristic of "a genuine man."

Possibly this ethic is much akin also to what H. Richard Niebuhr tells us in his posthumous volume of his addresses, *The Responsible Self*, but his ethical perceptions are so strongly connected to his belief in Jesus Christ as the reconciler of man to God, and of God to man that I have never been able to separate his ethical concepts from his theology, and so — since I am not a Christian — feel very distant from them.

But just as Niebuhr's ethic derives from his theology, my ethic of responsibility derives from mine which is:

1: we are part of one interacting whole which is more than the sum of its parts, which is always changing, which is incomprehensible in its entirety to human reason and sensibilities and probably even to mystical awareness;

2: we people have the power to make the ground on which we walk, and the space in which we fly holy — holy in contrast to secular and profane holy in the sense of recognizing ourselves as part of an interacting whole — a whole which cannot find meaning and worth without intentional interaction with other people, with parts of the whole that are larger than ourselves, larger even than humanity;

3: recognition of our interdependence with the whole and with the parts therein can lead us to find meaningfulness in life through recognition that we are each other's keepers, and through

transformation of the world's institutions so that they will allow for, and encourage the increased humanity of all people;

4: love and respect for the power and worth of each individual person, and at least respect for the other parts of the ecosystem play important roles in this interaction.

The goal with which my ethic of responsibility is concerned is the fullest humanity possible for each living person. Included in this concept are:

- loving treatment of people by each other
- liberation and responsibility
- health care adequate for living and dying with dignity
- food, clothing, shelter, and education adequate for living with dignity
- the ability and the opportunity to work productively in a way that is of benefit to oneself, to other people, and to the rest of the ecosystem
- more equitable distribution of incomes and wealth (probably something like a one to fifteen ratio) through a strongly progressive (including negative) income tax and adequate corporate taxes
- the opportunity and the capacity for leisure and recreation
- the presence of political, economic, and legal justice
- the exercise of power with, rather than power over others.

The "natural laws" I perceive as arising from this interacting process of which we are a part are:

1. I am not the Whole and ought not to act as though I am;
2. I ought to recognize that I cannot see or perceive or understand the Whole;
3. I ought to recognize, therefore, that I cannot be certain that I know the truth about any

situation or aspect of reality;

4. I ought to recognize also and therefore that I do not have the right to kill another person except in self defense; human life — at least to humans — has a special significance (and here, please note that I believe that life begins at birth); but all of life is very significant — even to humans; and, therefore, I ought to respect the lives of other animals and plants;

5. I ought to recognize that all aspects of the universe are significant, the non-living as well as the living;

6. I ought to recognize that I and other people are social beings with a natural propensity for being religious, and that to be really human is to be human socially and religiously;

7. I ought to recognize that I and other people have the potential to be both good and evil, and that what seems good or evil to one person does not necessarily seem the same to another;

8. I ought to recognize that the environment (including society) helps determine what I and other people are like, and that I and other people help determine what the societal and non-societal environment is like

9. I ought to recognize that I and other people owe it to ourselves and to each other and to the rest of the Whole to Covenant together in mutually supportive ways, in ways that are respectful of the Whole, in ways that allow for each part of the human society to exercise power with the others and with the rest of the environment;

10. I ought to recognize that I and other people owe it to ourselves, to each other, and to the rest of the Whole to live up to our Covenants, and to work peaceably to change them when conditions call for new ones.

11. I ought to learn as much about the Whole as is feasible;

12. I ought to respect the power and worth of, and love each person, and at least respect the power and the worth of other parts of the Whole.

The contextual part of my Ethic of Responsibility consists in recognizing the importance of trying to know as much about the Whole as is feasible, and in recognizing the importance of our applying our knowledge, along with our goals and our rules, to any decision we make.

I first presented my Ethic of Responsibility to the Ethics Section of Collegium (an association of liberal religious scholars) in the Fall of 1988. At that time I also showed how I felt it could be applied to the family, the workplace, and to the political arena. Before and since then, I have led workshops in which the participants developed their own theologies and the ethical codes which they derived from them, and then applied them to the church, the community at large, and whatever other area of human interaction we came up with, as well as to the family, the workplace, and the political arena. Our roles in corporate responsibility, health care for all and peace are three areas that might well be added.

It may seem absurd in this world of escapism to be concerned with anything like an ethic of responsibility. Yet many of us who have so much are — to use Neil Postman's words — "amusing ourselves to death." If we wanted to we could do much better.

For I believe what the sociobiologist Edward O. Wilson says in his book *On Human Nature*:

Human nature is not just the array of outcomes attained in existing societies. It is also the potential array that might be achieved through conscious design by future societies....Human nature is, moreover, a hodgepodge of special genetic adaptations to an environment largely vanished, the world of the Ice-age huntergatherer. Modern life, as rich and rapidly changing as it appears to those caught in it, is nevertheless only a mosaic of cultural hypertrophies of the archaic behavioral adaptations. And at the center...is found a circularity; we are forced to choose among the elements of human nature by reference to value systems which these same elements created in an evolutionary age now long vanished. Fortunately, this circularity is not so tight that it cannot be broken through an exercise of the will. (p. 196)

Wilson goes on to maintain in this same book, "Human social evolution is more cultural than genetic." (p.153) He insists, "The human species can change its own

nature" (p. 208), and he asks, "What will it choose?" (208)

Of course I hope that many of the world's people will choose something like my ethic of responsibility. For, as Hugo Holleroth showed so clearly in his religious-education curriculum, *Freedom and Responsibility*, which was published by the Unitarian Universalist Association in the 1970's, rights cannot be exercised without people taking the responsibility to see that they are attained and maintained.

And a step in what I consider the correct direction is a push for a federal Department of Peace. Representative Dennis Kucinich, an Ohio Democrat has introduced HR 2459, a bill that would create a cabinet-level department devoted to peace-making in the executive branch of the Federal Government.

As Carol Coakley, a member of the Medfield Unitarian Universalist church and a peace-activist said in the *Metrowest Daily News* last month:

Why not...? About half of our discretionary federal tax dollars will go this year to the military budget. As we wage war around the world and struggle to pay for health care, schools and social workers here at home, doesn't it make sense to spend a little money on waging peace? It is said that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, so why not use some of our tax dollars to pursue justice, democratic principles and non-violent conflict resolution. Think of the money saved by resolving conflicts before they turn into open warfare.

And I say, think of the money we would have saved and the better condition the world's people might be in had previous generations heeded the words of the 18th century Universalist and active patriot, Dr. Benjamin Rush, who called for a Peace Office and a Secretary of the Peace to be established in the federal government — a peace office which among other things would have educated for peace.

Certainly one of the most important current elements in an ethic of responsibility is working for peace. But perhaps too many years have elapsed and too many powerful people have gotten obscenely rich from making and from preparing war for peace to become a reality. But we'll never know until we really try. ■

The Rev. Judith Deutsch is a Unitarian Universalist minister and a contributing editor to Religious Socialism.

A Tribute to Jim Chapin

There were times when Jim Chapin seemed like a marvelous voice-activated study guide. You asked him a question, and for the next half hour you got an answer that could take you back a couple of hundred years. You always learned something new, and by the end you saw the situation in a different light. He had a photographic memory and an analytical mind, both of which he put to good use—as a teacher (Rutgers and Yale), political operative (executive director, vice chair of Democratic Socialists of America, senior adviser to New York City Public Advocate Mark Green), textbook author (he was especially happy that his American history text was used in Texas, where every district had to purchase the same books), writer (national political analyst for United Press International), and citizen (board member for 22 years of the Queens Public Library; chair of National Hunger Year, an organization founded by his late brother, the singer Harry Chapin). He made his mark intellectually, but the word that comes up over and over again in the tributes written after his recent death from a massive heart attack at age 60 is “generous.”



often joked that as the tone-deaf member of a family of musicians (his father was a jazz drummer, Harry was a singer, as is his brother Tom, and brother Steve is a musician) he overcompensated with words. The tone-deafness and actual partial deafness may have contributed to his nasal monotone, which furthered the impression of a flat affect. At first meeting, you could think he was all intellect. Then you heard him talk about his sons, James and David, or his wife, Diana, and even though he could talk analytically about them, he couldn't hide his love and pride.

Despite his unsparing self-observation and observation of others, he never wasted time on pettiness or anger. He just looked at a situation, told you what all the historical precedents for it were, and helped you plot a way out of it. He served as DSA's national executive director for two years and discovered that administration wasn't his forte. He didn't sour on the organization, even though his time there was rocky. When I took the job a few years later, he told me I would need a kitchen cabinet (which seemed to be made up of former staffers) to show me

He never pulled punches or hesitated to speak his mind, yet however sharp the written words, the spirit underneath was one of generosity, an understanding that life was complex, that there were no easy answers, that his opponents had points that he understood. In an age when time is our most precious commodity, Jim was profligate with his. He was always available, at any hour, no matter whether he'd last seen you yesterday or five years ago. He gave good advice, put you in touch with the right person, or—during one period at least—acted as a one-person employment agency to find jobs for graduates of what was then the DSA youth section.

Jim was the first person I interviewed about Democratic Party politics after I became managing editor of *Democratic Left* in the late 1970s. I'd never met anyone so intense, so erudite, so talkative. He

JIM CHAPIN ON THE LEFT'S SIMILARITY TO SOME RELIGIONS (1997)

“Historically, of course, the Marxist movements used to be compared to the various forms of Christianity: Communism, like the Catholic church, with a vast structure depending upon the word of a leader in a holy city; Social democracy, like the established Lutheran or Episcopalian churches, based on single nations and stodgily moderate; and Trotskyism, like sectarian Protestantism, endlessly splitting over ever-smaller matters of theology. Maoism, of course, resembles the modern cults.”

the ropes. Those meetings in a congenial Greenwich Village restaurant helped keep my mind from being completely clogged with administrative problems. Now that I'm a parent, I know that giving up an evening at home for politics isn't something one does lightly.

Often, Jim would bring the boys to the office, where they studied or played strategy games in the mailroom while we planned other strategies in the front office. Long before the Internet, Jim played simulation war games, spreading the pieces of the Crimean War, Civil

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A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY

THE CHRISTIAN CAMPAIGN FOR
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT'S NEW
FOCUS ON THE NUCLEAR
NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

CAROLINE GILBERT

The Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty (NPT) has been the cornerstone of control of the spread of nuclear weapons since 1970. Ratified by all but four countries, the signatories are divided into the nuclear weapon states (NWS) consisting of China, France, Russia, the UK and the US, (which are those states that tested nuclear weapons before 1968) and the other 182 non-nuclear-weapon-states (NNWS). The NNWS, almost the entire world, gave up any intention or possibility of developing their own nuclear weapons, in exchange for an undertaking by the NWS, the famous Article VI always quoted by the Peace Movement, "the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament."

It nearly died in 2000 because the Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) had so long evaded their promise to disarm their nuclear arsenals. However, it survived, just, and was renewed on May 19, 2000. This was shortly after the enormous demonstrations at Seattle, but the NPT hardly made the headlines at all. Why? One vital omission: people. No people were outside the United Nations while the safety of the world was debated. That's the vital, missing ingredient, that's what we must change. So far, these negotiations remain the arcane preserve of experts, but "it's all our world," to quote our leaflet.

The Non-Nuclear States (NNWS) renewed their commitment to refrain from developing their own nuclear weapons on the understanding that the NWS would honour Article VI and eliminate their own nuclear arsenals.

Christian CND asks what steps the NWS are taking to implement their "unequivocal undertaking to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament" as under Article VI of the NPT.

We aim to build a growing movement to put pressure on the NWS so that they do honour their commitments to disarm in 2005. Whatever combination of economic, cultural and political shifts will eventually lead to nuclear disarmament, the processes of the treaties that have so far controlled the spread of nuclear weapons must be part of it. As well as protesting against existing and new nuclear weapons, the peace movement must be part of the official forum where nuclear disarmament is debated to bring the pressure of the world to bear .

What kind of world do we want? Do we want Hiroshima ever again, anywhere? Fumiko Miura, a survivor, writes of Nagasaki, where the second then merely atomic bomb fell:

"When I came to, it was evening. I was lying in the front yard of the headquarters — I still do not know how I got there, covered with countless splinters of glass, wood and concrete, and losing blood from both arms. I felt dull pains all over my body. My white short-sleeved blouse and trousers were torn and bloody. I felt strangely calm. I looked down at my wrist watch; it was completely broken. I sat in a field of rubble watching the sun set."

She wrote of radiation sickness, "vomiting loss of appetite, diarrhea, purple spots on various parts of the body, bleeding from the mouth, gums and throat, the falling out of hair" and her later cancers. This vision of the destruction of Nagasaki is not consistent with the message of the Gospel in John 10:10, where Jesus speaks of Himself as the Good Shepherd: "The thief comes only to steal and kill destroy; I have come that they may have life, and have it to the full."

Fumiko Miura ends: "I wish all human beings will become wise enough to abandon all forms of nuclear weapons in the near future."

In 1988, eight NNWS, Brazil, Egypt, Ireland, Mexico, New Zealand, South Africa, Slovenia and Sweden formed themselves into the New Agenda Coalition to demand the "speedy, final and total elimination of nuclear weapons." Their resolution had already been passed overwhelmingly two years running in the UN General Assembly.

The NPT is unfinished business, it is signed and ratified but not implemented. The nuclear arsenals are still there. The NWS have not fulfilled their side of the bargain. However the, NPT is not only a historic document, it is also a process. The signatories (which is the whole world apart from Israel, India, Pakistan and Cuba) meet every 5 years to review progress towards that "elimination of nuclear arsenals leading to complete disarmament." These are known as the Review Conferences (RevCon). Then there are the annual Preparatory Committees (we've just had one, April 2002 New York), and three long sessions a year, called the Conference on Disarmament (CD), in Geneva. The CD has been stuck in a procedural log jam, because of course the NWS do not want progress towards nuclear disarmament. They want the status quo. It is in the interest of the NWS to keep the NPT treaty processes a private and boring ritual, inaccessible to the wider public. In spite of that, because of the New Agenda Coalition, there has been some progress in the last 2000 RevCon, with the Thirteen Points of the Final Document, and further progress with the recent PrepCom in April.

The aim of CCND is to bring ordinary people into this ritual, to open it up to public scrutiny, awareness and pressure. When it next comes up for review in 2005 we want the world outside the UN in New York demanding the NWS honour their commitment to disarm; we want them inside lobbying and informing the delegates. This combination of public pressure outside and support inside the NPT process will strengthen the vast majority working for nuclear disarmament against those hanging onto the status quo.

So, what have we done? We are trying to raise awareness of the NPT, as a start. We've celebrated the Birthday of the NPT, twice now. It's true it was first signed in 1970, but really that's a bit old for birthday parties. So we count from the 2000 Review Conference and the Thirteen Points of the Final Document. It looked as if the NPT wouldn't make it because of the intransigence of the NWS, but owing to the determination of the Chair it not only survived but gave birth to the Final Document. Although the Final Document did not get as far as a time frame for nuclear disarmament, it did reiterate Article VI: "An undertaking by the nuclear weapon states to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals."

At our parties, we had a birthday cake cut by [former left-wing Labour MP] Tony Benn at the first birthday, and by [CND director] Bruce Kent at the second, at the Levellers Day celebration at Burford. Levellers Day

celebrates three soldiers of Cromwell's army who were shot for their refusal to serve in an unjust war in Ireland.

Then, on what used to be Whit Monday, on Trafalgar Square in the middle of London, we walked round all the NWS embassies, the embassies of the nations in the New Agenda Coalition, Downing St (residence of our Prime Minister), the Ministry of Defence, and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, with a cake, gave them all a piece of cake, to celebrate the birthday of the NPT, and made enquiries as to progress on the commitments made therein.

We saw someone in most embassies, and had some interesting discussions, some positively useful. We've done two Birthday Walks now, there has been some slight progress. Certainly the embassies and the police remember us and our cake. Last year we had the distinct impression that the NWS wanted to hang together rather than hang separately. None of them seemed to have nuclear weapons for military reasons. The French said they were part of the national culture, like the Eiffel Tower; the Russians said the Americans weren't too bad and we just had to wait for them to make a move; of course we weren't actually admitted by the US Embassy. The Chinese were very very angry about National Missile Defense. The man from the Foreign Office met us outside and just trotted out the usual stuff, including that Britain had played a useful role in bringing the New Agenda Coalition and the NWS together, which I believe. The New Agenda Coalition states were pretty various, some had forgotten we were coming, like the Egyptians, but when we got in we then had an interesting discussion with the man who had negotiated at the previous NPT RevCon, that extended the NPT indefinitely, with no time frame for disarmament, which he rightly considered a defeat.

This year we had to divide into two groups as we also included visits to Israel, Pakistan and India. No joy with the Indian sub continent, but we had a discussion with/lecture from the man from Israel, on the pavement outside. The police were very impressed; no one, but no one gets to see the Israelis they said. He said straight out that they had nuclear weapons to defend Israel against the enemies surrounding her. Chilling.

Of the other New Agenda Coalition countries, we mostly had more substantial discussions than last year. The Irish Ambassador was particularly helpful. According to him, the Prepcom in New York in April, bearing in mind diplomatic language, really did all that could be expected, and he said that a start had been

Archbishop

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people, including the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, the President of the Methodist Conference, the Head of the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Director of the Evangelical Alliance and the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement. Some of the problems he faces in his new job include the financial position of the Church of England, the decline in church attendance, the argument over women Bishops and over the ordination of gay or lesbian Priests and the issue of disestablishment. Williams was technically appointed by the Queen on the advice of the Prime Minister. Tony Blair would have received two names from the Commission which was appointed to

nominate the Archbishop, of which Rowan Williams was the first.

His appointment is the best news for British Christians for the last 50 years and excellent news for Christian Socialists around the world. Williams will be a moral, intellectual and political force on the world faith scene for the next 20 years. In recognition CSM [Christian Socialist Movement] is reprinting a series of profound reflections on the Beatitudes given at a CSM retreat in 1995 and is proud and privileged that Rowan Williams has been a member for many years. ■

The Rev. David Haslam is Chair of Britain's Christian Socialist Movement.

Nuclear Disarmament

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made on bringing to NWS nearer to reporting on their progress towards disarmament. Reporting is the first start of control, which is why the NWS resisted. He told us that the Irish had a constitution that was particularly responsive to pressure groups. He told us to become an effective peace pressure group. That is what makes a difference for the negotiators within the process.

In February we had our first Treaties Day School at the London School of Economics. We were really pleased with it, our aim was to educate ourselves, other activists, and students in the field. We had brief presentations on the main treaties concerned with nuclear weapons, as well as a speaker from NATO. Merav Datan, now working for the Women's League for Peace and Freedom, was the final speaker on the Draft Nuclear Weapons Convention. We put this prestigious event together with Abolition 2000uk and MEDACT.

Because it was such a success we will do it again in February 2003, with our same allies, but a scaled down version. We will concentrate on the NPT, with a lobbying workshop directed towards enabling us to lobby effectively in the structures of the NPT, specifically the CD and the Prepcom in Geneva probably March 2003. Our intention is get people to interact with the process in Geneva.

This arose out of my experience as a newcomer at the Prepcom in New York in April. It was a very steep learning curve. And I wasn't the only one. Apart from the experts who had been doing it, and very well for years, there were others like me who wanted to help it along, and that's what we need. Lots and lots of them,

inside and outside the UN building. So we need some way of inducting them into the process. We want to make it easier for people as feeble as us to be effective. So we aim to educate, train and empower ourselves and others. Our Treaties Day Schools are our first little movement in that direction. We have also had one "Dialogue with Decision Makers" workshop with the Oxford Research Group; in February we hope for something specifically directed towards the CD and the Prepcom in Geneva.

I think we have had some success, a conference in Sheffield on NMD asked for a workshop on treaties. I don't think that would have happened a year ago. We are also moving along with our intention to get into the churches, we are applying for funding for an education pack on the treaties directed to the Churches. We are also exploring the possibility of a motion in the Church of England General Synod.

We are keeping up the dialogue, by letter, with the embassies. We will see the Foreign and Commonwealth Office again in September. We also want to raise the profile of the NPT in our Parliament, we have taken some advice from a friendly MP and will start with the simplest option, an Early Day Motion in the next session. We are raising the profile of the NPT in public consciousness here in Britain; we want the same to happen in all the countries of the world so that by 2005 there will be overwhelming pressure on the Nuclear Weapon States to seriously reduce their nuclear arsenals, as promised. ■

For further information see the CCND website: <http://ccnd.gn.apc.org>

Tribute

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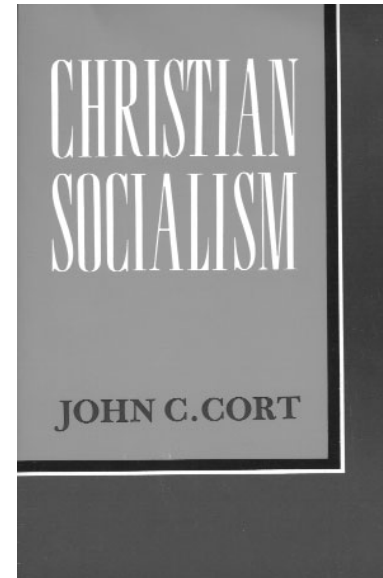
War, or Russian Revolution on a long table and communicating with fellow enthusiasts across the country, phoning in moves after 11 p.m., when the rates went down and people in other time zones were awake. He could get as excited about his next move at the Battle of Gettysburg as about Democratic Agenda's press conference at the Democratic mid-term convention. And, he reminded us, this activity gave him a chance to talk to people outside the normal leftist circles.

His enthusiasm stays in my memory. No matter how bad the political situation, he could always think of a time when it was worse. He could always propose a way out. In the perverse way that people on the left comfort themselves, this perspective helped. He saw cycles and peaks where we saw slumps and valleys.

He wasn't a sentimental person, but I'm sure he would have enjoyed knowing how much people appreciated his gifts. In recent years, as an analyst for UPI, he'd had a national stage on which to display them. There was a lot of good work still in him. The loss of this exemplary (to use Eric Alterman's word) father, son, and husband is incalculable for his family. His contributions to the left, to the larger society, and specifically to individuals were enormous. The space he leaves will not be filled by his like again. ▀

Maxine Phillips is a former managing editor of Democratic Left and executive director of DSA.

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Iraq

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conflict. Jordan is not prepared to take the influx of Iraqi refugees who would likely seek haven there. Israel is clearly prepared to retaliate against an Iraqi attack. Moreover, a U.S. attack would likely provoke and help solidify the political position of Islamic fundamentalists in the region and internationally.

Further, is the United States committed to a large-scale military operation that would facilitate re-building Iraq after such a war? The United States General Tommy Franks, commander of U.S. troops in the Middle East and Central Asia, recently commented that U.S. troops would likely need to remain in Afghanistan for many years to come. The resources necessary for re-building Iraq would likely carry a heavier financial burden than rebuilding Afghanistan. We should not forget that since he entered office, the President has made clear his disdain for building democracies around the world through U.S. intervention.

Is the United States prepared to contend with the economic costs of a war on Iraq? The President's National Economic Advisor, Lawrence Lindsey,

estimates that a war on Iraq will cost between 100 to 200 billion dollars or one to two percent of Gross Domestic Product, which does not include the increased costs that the Office of Homeland Security would likely incur during a war. And we should note that Lindsey believes that a war would likely reduce oil costs. The Administration's silence on the issue of oil, until Lindsey's report, is telling.

V. Conclusion: The Demand of Distributive Justice and Love of Enemy

Finally, we must lead international efforts that reverse economic conditions that breed many different forms of terrorism. While we should not excuse terrorist action on any ground, the demands of distributive justice cry out to us from peoples all-over the world. If 9/11 teaches us anything, it is that our international policy must express love and justice for the most oppressed people in the world. Perhaps we should take a new look at the wisdom at the heart of the Gospel and the ethic of nonviolence: love of enemy. Love of enemy may not deter terrorists but it may be the only way we will deter the terrorist in ourselves. ▀

Alex Mikulich is Editor of Religious Socialism.



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