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Short attention spans, short news cycles and short form Gospels

Matt Malone, S.J., is traveling abroad.

As I prepared to read the Gospel at Mass on a recent Sunday with a small group of Jesuits in our house chapel, one of them caught my eye and made a quick petition: "Short form?" Similar negotiations, I have no doubt, have been taking place in sacristies around the world. The readings for these Sundays in the heart of Lent are *long*: first the woman at the well (Jn 4:5-42), then the man born blind (Jn 9:1-41) and finally the raising of Lazarus (Jn 11:1-45). And then on Palm Sunday we read the Passion narrative, which is longer yet.

All of these Gospel readings have a short form available. The introduction to the Lectionary explains that "longer and shorter versions are provided to suit different situations," but it makes no practical suggestion as to which situations call for which version. Some are relatively obvious: A Mass with many small children is not the right place to read the longer form, for example. But by similar logic, a Mass with people who are capable of standing still for a little while might be exactly the place for the longer form. In this case, I decided my brother Jesuits could take it and read the whole chapter of John.

The instinct for compression, the drive to choose the fastest and most efficient means of conveying information or accomplishing a task, might seem to be the particular malady of the 21st century. But such truisms are themselves an expression of the same

instinct: Give me an answer, a story, a theory, an explanation-right now and if possible, in a soundbite.

The pundit Mickey Kaus, all the way back in 2000, linked the compression of our attention with a speedup of our politics with the Feiler Faster Thesis, which he credits to Bruce Feiler. It posits that as the news cycle has accelerated, both voters and politicians have become comfortable processing information faster, allowing politics to move faster, thus further accelerating the news cycle. This process has perhaps reached its apotheosis as F.B.I director James Comey was called upon to correct a presidential tweet in real time during his testimony before the House Intelligence Committee. A tweet from the official @POTUS account asserted that the N.S.A. and F.B.I. had told Congress Russia did not influence the electoral process; Mr. Comey, under pressure, said that it "wasn't our intention to say that today."

Being comfortable receiving and processing information faster though "comfortable" might overstate the case-unfortunately does not correlate with our ability to assess that information for truth, much less for wisdom.

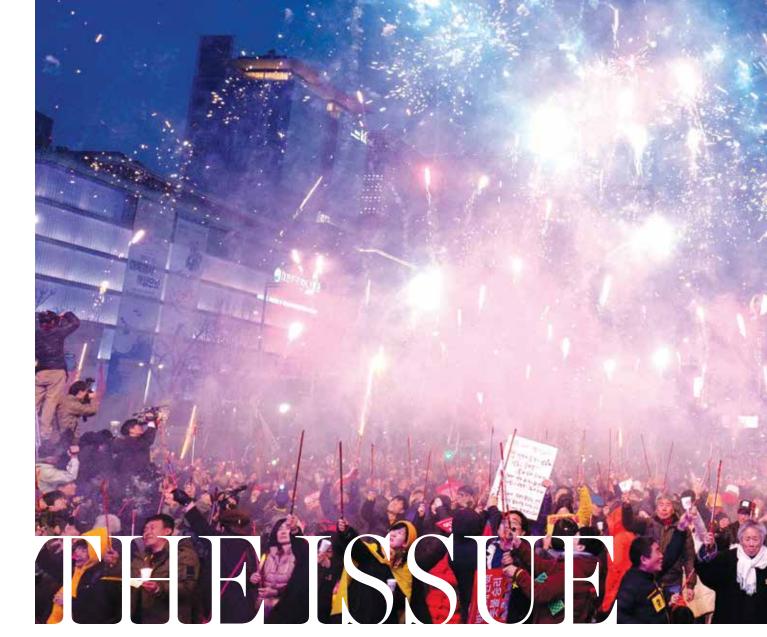
It is tempting to think that the main challenges to our attention are technological, that the fault lies in the character limits of Twitter rather than in ourselves. But once we begin paying more careful attention, we will realize we cannot pass the blame quite so efficiently onto our modern era.

After all, this new digital age has also given us a renaissance of longform journalism, streaming television series designed for a whole season to be watched at once and a new genre of podcasts where people listen at length to stories they could probably consume much faster in prose form. Whatever is going on when we start shifting uncomfortably, unwilling to wait more than five minutes for an answer, cannot be blamed-at least not exclusively-on the internet. When we are really interested in something, we are willing to devote significant time.

Instead, I suspect the compulsion for a quick response is actually about thinking that we already know the answer, which means that any effort and time devoted to finding it feels like wasted effort. If our partisan affiliations tell us in advance how we are going to respond to any political eventuality, then taking the time necessary to talk to each other, or even to listen to testimony before deciding how to vote, starts to feel like defeat rather than dialogue.

One reason it is worthwhile to stand through a long Gospel reading is to be reminded that the story is still going on and that we are caught up in it. That is also a reason for continuing to invest attention in politics and the problems of the common good, even and especially if we think we already know the answers.

Sam Sawyer, S.J., executive editor Twitter: @SSawyerSJ



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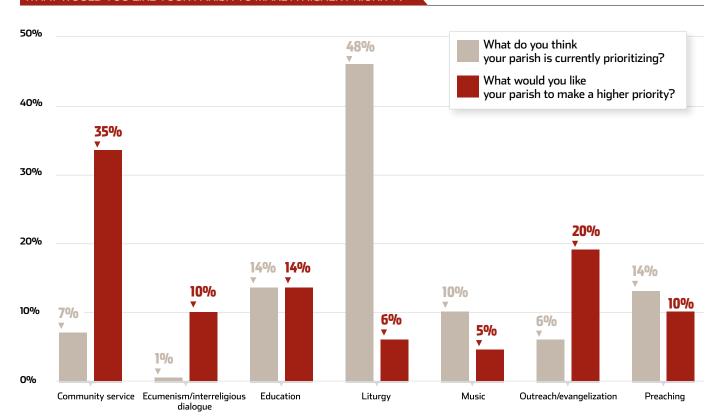
What would you like your parish to make a higher priority?

Before asking the above question, America thought it necessary to ask a sample of readers what they think their parish currently prioritizes. Almost half of respondents to our informal survey told America that liturgy appears to be the foremost concern of their parishes, while the remaining readers selected education, music and preaching among other categories. William Indermaur from Durham, N.C., was representative of many of our poll respondents in his view that "the focus on liturgy is extremely important to the Catholic faith and how we practice that faith." And yet he hoped his parish would focus more on supporting the marginalized. "The root of our religion is love through service," Mr. Indermaur said.

When asked "What would you like your parish to make a higher priority?" the most popular answer among our readers was community service (35 percent), followed by outreach/evangelization (20 percent). Trish Kinnee of Michigan selected the latter category. "We need to reach out to help others beyond our church doors. We need to be like evangelists in our own community, which is sadly divided," wrote Ms. Kinnee. "We have a wealthy parish, but our church leaves those struggling with addiction, financial problems and abuse to social services."

Ms. Kinnee was among a number of readers who saw evangelization and community service as intertwined. On the topic of community service, Debbie Dirmeyer from Maryville, Tenn., also made this link: "Teenagers and young adults feel more connected when they are rolling up their sleeves and working—seeing that they are making a difference in the world and making connections in the parish at the same time. With the crisis of so many young people leaving the church, I think this could help some stay. We older folks would feel more like a community at the same time."

WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR PARISH TO MAKE A HIGHER PRIORITY?



The results of this unofficial poll are representative of a sample of America readers who responded to our questions on Facebook, Twitter and through our email newsletter.

Do Not Stand Idly

Re "Standing with Our Jewish Brothers and Sisters" (Our Take, 3/20): I strongly applaud the determination and clarity of thought that define America's editorial. The contemporary Catholic Church, in light of the awful history of Europe in the 1930s and 1940s, cannot stand idly by when anti-Semitism even threatens to emerge. Commitment to denouncing anti-Semitism ought not be extraordinary but must be the common, unsurprising position of all Christians.

William Bagley

Online Comment

One Applauds, Another Boos

Re "John Oliver Is Good for the Republic. Or Not." by Zac Davis and Jake Martin (3/20): Quod ali cibus est aliis fuat acre venenum. One person applauds, another boos. One hears Mr. Oliver call out politicians for their patently false claims and facts. Another person hears an invalid intellectual argument along with mocking, bullying and silencing. But both groups claim Mr. Oliver's opponents are intellectually and morally bankrupt. Citizens cry to Congress, "Can't you put aside ideology and compromise for the good of the country?" But both want their side to prevail. Both claim God is on their side.

Robert Killoren

Online Comment

Not Pushing an Agenda

Mr. Oliver isn't standing up to say, "Here is a novel idea: Trump is bad." Instead, as the nation is being inundated by pro-Trump, conservative politics, Mr. Oliver is getting up to say, "Pump the brakes, here are some facts." It appears Mr. Davis does not understand this, as most of his argument seems to hinge upon the suggestion that Mr. Oliver is pushing an agenda. Certainly, Mr. Oliver represents leftwing thinking, but his show is not its womb.

Henry Callaghan

Online Comment

No Gamma Rays Required

In "Saints, Not Superheroes" (3/20), Robert Ellsberg provides an important caution for all of he faithful about how we view the women and men who lived lives of heroic virtue. It would be a mistake to view saints the same way we see mutants or aliens. But what about Batman, the self-made superhero? He is a man who transforms childhood trauma into a fight for justice with only brains and acrobatic training. Though his postmodern imaginings have been pretty dark, Batman may be a secularized saint who responds to darkness with a life of heroic virtue, no gamma rays required.

Jeffry Odell Korgen

Online Comment

Safety and Guidance

The lives of the saints, while useful as role models in many respects, also contain miracles and some personal behaviors that are maybe even dangerous to try to imitate. The psalms keep us in the communion of the saints by teaching us how we may develop the same temperament, thoughts, words and deeds that all the saints have cherished and spoken.

James Macgregor

Online Comment

Clarion Call

Re "San Diego's Bishop McElroy Encourages Catholics To Be Hope-filled 'Disruptors," by Jim McDermott, S.J. (3/20): Bishop Robert W. McElroy's voice is a clarion call to all Catholics who believe that the social justice dimensions of the Gospel and of church teaching have been neglected for far too long by our spiritual leaders.

Too often Catholics are told which evils they should avoid, but they are seldom instructed on how they can positively go about giving themselves to others. Christ was essentially a man for others. To follow him, we must become men and women for others also.

Thomas Severin

Online Comment

In Favor of the Poor

Bishop McElroy makes sense and is instructive about Christ's message. I might not agree with every political position that he takes, but it is obvious that he thinks about what he says from a Catholic perspective. And it is refreshing to hear a U.S. bishop explicitly say something meaningful and contrary to the current political climate in favor of the poor, the undocumented and the worker.

Vincent Gaglione

Online Comment

Heeding Marie Collins's Voice

The presence of Marie Collins on the Pontifical Commission for the Protection of Minors seemed to guarantee both the commission's seriousness and its effectiveness. Many believed that Ms. Collins, an outspoken survivor of clergy sexual abuse, would not allow the Vatican to ignore the urgent need to combat sexual abuse and provide adequate protection for minors.

That is why her resignation from the commission on March 1 was such a blow. In a letter published in The National Catholic Reporter on March 14, Ms. Collins said that "lack of resources, inadequate structures around support staff, slowness of forward movement and cultural resistance" made the commission's work nearly impossible. In a later interview with America, she pointed to the resistance from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith to adhere to Pope Francis' instruction that Vatican departments should acknowledge every letter received from victims of abuse.

That prompted a response by Cardinal Gerhard Müller, the prefect of the C.D.F., dismissing Ms. Collins's concern as fostering a "cliché" that pitted the Roman Curia against Pope Francis, and saying that "local shepherds" are better suited to respond to letters from abuse victims. That, in turn, led to an extraordinary statement from Ms. Collins rebutting his account and even correcting the cardinal's statement that he had never met her. Overall, she said: "I would ask that instead of falling back into the church's default position of denial and obfuscation, when a criticism like mine is raised the people of the church deserve to be given a proper

explanation. We are entitled to transparency, honesty and clarity." Especially in the area of sexual abuse, where the church ignored and minimized reports for decades, the need for transparency must be evaluated from the perspective of the victims of abuse.

That the lone survivor of abuse active on the papal commission has resigned is tragic. For the health of the church, it is essential that even though Marie Collins's voice will no longer be heard on the commission, the issues that led to her departure be dealt with swiftly.

Safe Spaces and the **Spiritual Exercises**

In early March, Charles Murray, invited by a group of conservative students at Middlebury College to speak about his book Coming Apart, was shouted off stage and harassed as he left the campus. Mr. Murray is a target of protesters because of his controversial book The Bell Curve, which appeared in 1994 and was widely discredited for advancing a hereditary theory of intelligence. The confrontation left Professor Allison Stanger, who tried to shield Mr. Murray from the hecklers, in a neck brace.

To its credit, the college did everything within its power to allow Mr. Murray to express his views and to give dissenters the chance to challenge him. But for a small subset of protesters, reasoned debate was not an option; the mere presence of a man they stridently characterized as a "racist, sexist, anti-gay" white nationalist was seen as "an intense act of aggression."

The incident at Middlebury joins a litany of protests against conservative speakers at colleges and universities. Most of these demonstrations do not end in violence. But, as Professor Stanger wrote in an op-ed article, "All violence is a breakdown of communication." And today, more Americans seem less interested in communicating with people they disagree with. This is true not only among elite collegians beholden to the language of safe spaces and trigger warnings but also among Republican state legislators who seek to increase penalties for protesters in order to create politically safe spaces for themselves.

How might we break down these barriers to communication in order to foster the dialogue that a liberal arts education-and democracy-require? One could argue that in the "marketplace of ideas," ignorant or hateful speech will inevitably lose out to speech that is true and just. But those who demand safe spaces are not wrong when they say that the marketplace has rarely been perfectly "free" but rather has been monopolized by the privileged and powerful.

What is needed, then, is a case for civility and engagement across the lines of ideology, race and class grounded not just in freedom or tolerance but in charity. In the Jesuit tradition, the shorthand term for that grounding is "the Presupposition." St. Ignatius writes in the Spiritual Exercises, "it should be presupposed that every good Christian ought to be more eager to put a good interpretation on a neighbor's statement than to condemn it." Presupposing anothAmerica M

er's good intentions does not mean papering over real disagreements. It does mean that in any situation, one's

opponent is more than the sum of his

or her beliefs.

"Check your privilege" is a common refrain in the discourse of identity politics today. Those demanding ideologically "safe spaces" surely realize what a privilege it is to live in a country where difference and injustice can be overcome without resorting to violence. But it is a privilege we risk losing if we are unwilling to see our fellow citizens as worthy of our consideration.

Papal Nuncio Reviews Pope Francis' First Four Years

To commemorate the first four years of the Francis papacy, Archbishop Christophe Pierre, apostolic nuncio to the United States, sat down on March 16 for a conversation with Matt Malone. S.J., editor in chief of America. Archbishop Pierre shared some handwritten notes written by then Cardinal Bergogio before the conclave. "The next pope," he wrote, "must be a man who from the contemplation and adoration of Jesus Christ helps the church to come out to the existential peripheries, that helps her to be the fruitful mother who lives from the sweet and comforting joy of evangelizing."

The nuncio praised the way Pope Francis has undertaken this responsibility, and noted his' continual emphasis on dialogue, mercy and evangelization. America joins the nuncio in paying tribute to Francis on this anniversary.

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What should guide U.S. immigration policy: self-interest or charity?

You do not have to be a football fan to have heard about the controversy that erupted over the national anthem in the N.F.L. last season. It began with Colin Kaepernick, the quarterback of the San Francisco 49ers, who took a knee during the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" to protest the treatment of African-Americans in this country. "I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people and people of color," he said when asked to explain his action.

I confess I was offended. Federal law says that when the national anthem is played, people should stand at attention facing the flag with their right hand over their heart. There is, of course, no penalty for violation; the First Amendment would not allow it. But the protests take the bitterness and division of politics today a step further, into dangerous territory. They show a disdain for the country, not a particular party or candidate. Simple exercises like singing the national anthem at football games may seem trivial. But in a nation as large and diverse as ours, it is a ritual that serves to bind us together.

The protesters got attention precisely because they took seriously the moral implications of standing during the national anthem. If it were indeed an empty ritual, there would be no point in protesting against it. But it is not like singing the 49ers' fight song. Rather, our standing together is an affirmation of America's essential goodness and a personal commitment to preserve, protect and defend our country.

This may seem like an odd lead into a discussion of this country's immigration debate, but it shines a light on a most important point. If the United States is a moral actor in its own right, an entity distinct from the sum of its citizens, it can be judged as good or bad, worthy or unworthy of our allegiance. Love of country, like the love that binds two people together, begins with an appreciation for the goodness of the one we love. What, then, would be a good immigration policy in this sense-the kind that would inspire love for our country?

One principle, which has guided both current policy and suggestions for reform, is enlightened national self-interest. We ask: What can immigrants do for the United States? Current law admits 140,000 people each year as permanent immigrants if they hold advanced degrees or are multinational executives or persons of extraordinary ability in the arts or sciences, or if they will invest \$500,000 in an enterprise that will hire U.S. workers. We also admit temporary agricultural workers on H-2A visas if there are not enough U.S. workers to harvest our crops.

It is not right to say, as some do, that enlightened self-interest is an immoral or discriminatory principle for guiding individual or national decision-making. But neither is it a quality we fall in love with.

There is another option, which the church commends to rich nations like ours: to practice the virtues of charity and hospitality. We should "welcome the foreigner in search of the security and the means of livelihood which he cannot find in his country of origin," as the Catechism of the Catholic Church says (No. 2241); and nations should respect the natural right "that places a guest under the protection of those who receive him."

This generous approach to immigration is neither politically expedient nor free of risk. Many citizens have argued in good faith for a more restrictive policy. But would you not love and admire a country that opened its doors to the tired, the poor and the wretched, even if they could not promise it a fair return for its hospitality? On this, at least, Mr. Kaepernick and I may find some agreement: A country that gave such a welcome to the least of our brothers and sisters would be worth standing and taking our hats off for.

John Garvey is the president of The Catholic University of America.

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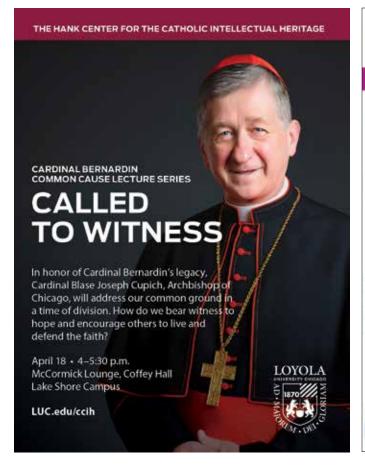


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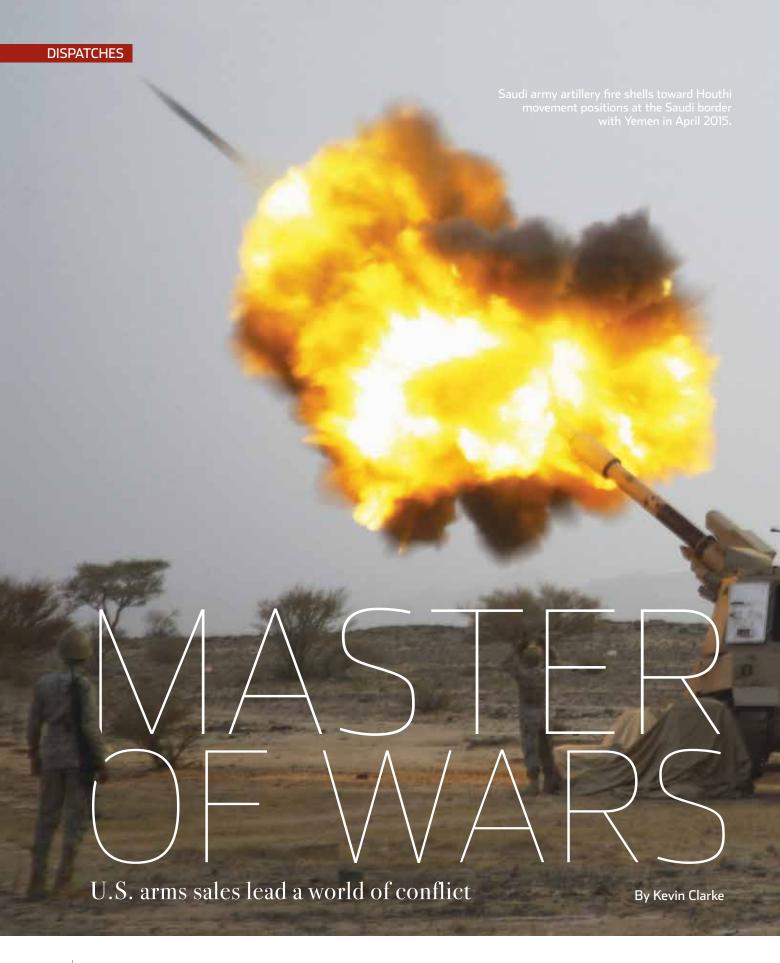
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On March 8, the Trump administration reversed a decision made by its predecessor to suspend guided munitions sales to Saudi Arabia. The Obama administration had grown weary of gruesome headlines generated by what critics described as indiscriminate use of U.S.-made weapons by Saudi coalition forces in operations over Yemen.

A mostly Arab coalition pulled together by the Saudi kingdom has been supporting Yemeni government forces against Iran-supported Houthi rebels in Yemen for three years. The conflict, described as a "quagmire" by a former State Department official, has led to more than 10,000 noncombatant fatalities, according to the United Nations. Yemen now teeters on the edge of famine as the ongoing conflict disrupts what was already a barely functioning state.

Critics wonder if the Trump administration's reversal signals a more tolerant attitude in Washington toward the possibility of collateral damage in the various conflicts that U.S. weapons sales help sustain. Restored sales to the Saudis will represent just a fraction of total U.S. arms transfers this year.

The United States is well-known as the world's biggest spender on arms and weapons systems. Catholic bishops have regularly denounced as a moral scandal a defense budget measured each year in the hundreds of billions; \$657 billion is the anticipated request for 2018, a 10 percent increase over 2017 spending.

Less noticed is the nation's status as the world's top merchant of arms and the government's role as facilitator in that market. With a 33 percent share-roughly \$38 billion in 2016-the United States dominates an annual global weapons export market that has topped \$100 billion. "The USA supplies major arms to at least 100 countries around the world-significantly more than any other supplier state," Aude Fleurant, director of the Arms and Military Expenditure Program at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Sipri) reported in a press release in February.

In a historic address in Washington on Sept. 24, 2015, Pope Francis told Congress:

Being at the service of dialogue and peace...means being truly determined to minimize and, in the long term, to end the many armed conflicts throughout our world.... Here we have to ask ourselves: Why are deadly weapons being sold to those who plan to inflict untold suffering on individuals and society? Sadly, the answer, as we all know, is simply for money: money that is drenched in blood, often innocent blood. In the face of this shameful and culpable silence, it is our duty to confront the problem and to stop the arms trade.

The pope's address drew ovations in Washington. That year the United States once again led the world in arms transfer agreements, signing deals for about \$40 billion, according to a congressional study-half of all sales that year in the global arms bazaar.

In fact repeated moral denunciation of arms transfers has done little to restrain the lucrative trade. Sipri reports that global arms transfers last vear reached a volume not seen since the end of the Cold War.

Russian provocations in Ukraine and the continuing threat posed by ISIS have proved significant drivers of U.S. weapons sales. The ISIS boom, in fact, has propelled Middle Eastern states to top spots among U.S. arms customers, despite historically low prices for oil, which had been a significant drag on arms sales. U.S. and European arms merchants have been the primary source for weapons bound for the Middle East, a volume of arms transfers that has almost doubled over the last five years, Sipri researchers say.

While big weapons sales attract headlines, the world's small arms trade supports about half of all global killing annually, according to an analysis by the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development. The United States is no slouch in that department either, ranking as both the world's top exporter and top importer of small arms, according to the Geneva-based Small Arms Survey.

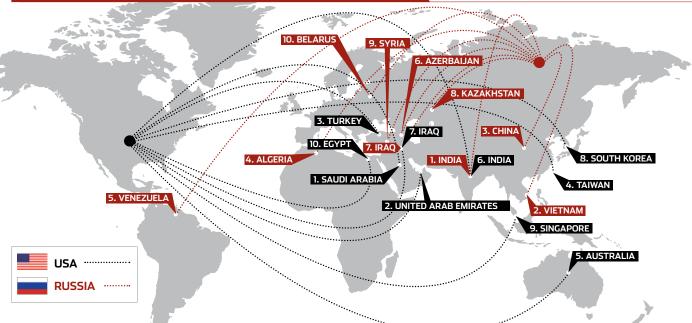
At a conference on March 2 at the United Nations reflecting on Pope Francis' message for the 50th World Day of Peace, Marie Dennis, co-president of Pax Christi International, argued that the arms trade is one powerful component of a geopolitical infrastructure that helps drive conflict. The event was sponsored by the Holy See's Permanent Observer Mission to the United Nations. Ms. Dennis said more intellectual and financial investment is needed to develop effective nonviolent approaches to peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

"Repeatedly since 1945 the U.N. has been confronted with an enormous challenge, facing complex and dangerous situations with relatively underfunded or underdeveloped nonviolent strategies," she said. "At the moment of crisis—in Aleppo or Mosel, Rwanda or the Balkans, the Philippines, Haiti or South Sudan—we have time and again opened a toolbox that is flush with military might, but woefully underinvested in the tools of active nonviolence."

The two-year-old U.N. Arms Trade Treaty represents a first, multilateral effort to restrain the global arms trade, perhaps setting the stage to address that imbalance. But the major arms exporters Russia and China have refused to sign on, and the United States, though a signatory, has yet to ratify the treaty and is unlikely to do so anytime soon. Persisting global insecurity and the big profits generated by the ongoing arms market surge suggest progress on arms trade restraint will be hard-won in the near term.

Kevin Clarke, chief correspondent. Twitter: @clarkeatamerica.

TOP RECIPIENTS OF ARMS FROM U.S. AND RUSSIA, 2012-2016



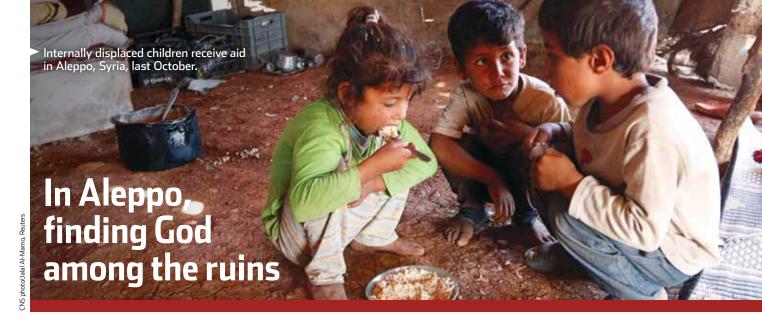
2015 ARMS TRANSFER AGREEMENTS

\$40.23 SAUCE DSAUCE OSA \$15.3B \$11.1B \$6.0B

TOP RECIPIENTS OF U.S. ARMS BY DECADE

1950s	France · Canada · West Germany
1960s	West Germany · United Kingdom · Japan
1970s	Iran ∙ Israel • West Germany
1980s	Japan • Saudi Arabia • South Korea
1990s	Japan • Saudi Arabia • Taiwan
2000s	South Korea • Israel • Egypt
2011-16	Saudi Arabia • United Arab Emirates • Australia

Sources: Data on recipients of U.S and Russian-made weapons from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, which calculates rankings based on the production costs of weapons with comparable military capabilities; data on arms transfer agreements from the Congressional Research Service, based on 2015 U.S. dollars.



Once a diverse and vibrant city, Syria's most populous, Aleppo has "paid the greatest price" during six years of civil conflict, according to Ziad Hilal, S.J., the project consultant for Syria of the agency Aid to the Church in Need. Father Hilal described the ruin of the city in near apocalyptic terms: "So many lives were lost, leaving countless numbers of widows and orphans," he told James Martin, S.J., in an interview by email in February.

"Trees and park benches are chopped up by those seeking fuel for heat. Many homeless families are living in the streets, in deserted factories and semi-constructed buildings started before the war in the cold of winter." He added, "Most of the evacuated children have been without proper teaching or schooling for the last three years." That last concern he described as "a catastrophe for the upcoming generation."

According to Father Hilal, the historic churches located in the old city of Aleppo have been demolished by incessant combat "beyond restoration."

"Aleppo was home to five million people before the war; now only 1.5 million remain," he said. "There were 120,000 Christians in the city six years ago; today, 30,000 Christians remain."

As the civil war in Syria entered its seventh year in mid-March, UNICEF reported that 2016 was the worst year yet for Syria's children. At least 652 children died last year-255 of them in or near a school—a 20 percent increase over 2015. The figure includes only formally verified deaths, meaning the actual toll could be far higher.

When the conflict erupted, regional and global powers chose sides and began to support their preferred side with money, weapons and fighters. The struggle became more foreign than domestic, according to Father Hilal. He added, "The international media played a negative and provocative part-instead of showing the good parts of the other parties, it showed the violent and negative side.

"They did not take into account that such provocation would lead to nothing but deeper cracks in the fabric of Syria. Everything was lost. Fellow citizens became enemies rather than brothers and compatriots."

The suffering of the conflict has not been confined to its combatants, of course. "In the last six years, the church in Syria has suffered as dearly as Syria has," Father Hilal reported. "The Christians have suffered as their fellow citizens did. The church offered five martyred priests and one nun. Two bishops and three priests were kidnapped, not to mention thousands of martyred and kidnapped ordinary Christians. Half of the places of worship were destroyed or partially damaged."

But "even though the number of Christians has dropped by half during the war, the bells still toll."

"The remaining believers are still going to churches to worship God," he said. "Children are attending Christian education classes and daily Mass accompanied by their families. The newly born are getting baptized, and the young couples are getting married. We are trying our best to live our faith as it was in the past before the ugly war."

He reports that Jesuit Refugee Service provides 10,000 hot meals every day, in addition to medical and social services, for all the needy persons in Aleppo, regardless of their religion.

Father Hilal says it is still possible to find God in Aleppo "in our daily prayers, in our church, in our prayers with the universal church and in our work with and aid to our Muslim fellow citizens," he said.

Despite the ongoing suffering and violence, he said, "We find God in every act of mercy we do unto others."

Kevin Clarke, chief correspondent, Twitter: @clarkeatamerica. Interview by James Martin, S.J. Twitter: @JamesMartinSJ.

Cardinal Nichols: Fight populism by appealing to what is best in people

As the United States engages in fierce debates over refugee resettlement, its role on the global stage and the implications of electing an anti-establishment president, similar scenes are unfolding across Europe, where populist political leaders are gaining traction and borders are tightening up.

The head of the Catholic Church in England and Wales, Cardinal Vincent Nichols, says one way to combat "a corruption of the democratic system" that he believes can accompany this strain of politics is for politicians to model their rhetoric on that of another European leader, Pope Francis.

"The biggest challenge in political leadership is not to play to people's fear but to genuinely appeal to what is best in them and to lead from what is best, not from what is worst," the cardinal told **America**.

"I think that's what Pope Francis does, and that's why people are so interested in what he wants to say—because he appeals to their best. They feel better when they listen to him because he seems to recognize what is best."

"He's not a politician," the cardinal continued. "But if that stance, that vision, could be translated into political programs, I think that would be the best answer to the rise of what people are calling populism."

Cardinal Nichols, the archbishop of Westminster, reflected on a number of global issues and church questions during an hourlong interview, conducted at his London residence on March 7.

One of the cardinal's higher-profile projects in recent years has been his involvement with the Santa Marta Group, a London-based organization that, with the support of the pope, contributes to the fight against human trafficking by encouraging relationships between Catholic entities and local police forces.

The group has helped foster partnerships in about two dozen countries, which has helped provide assistance to victims in Nigeria, Ireland, Argentina, Spain and locally in London, where more than 30 victims have been given refuge at a church-affiliated residence.

One of the goals of the project is to establish trust between the police and victim advocates, who are in many cases Catholic sisters.

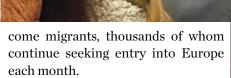
"In this cooperation, police forces have to be very clear that the cooperation is in order to get after the perpetrators and not the victims," he said. "Bit by bit, that worked here."

The cardinal's work on human trafficking strengthened a relationship with Theresa May, who last July became prime minister. She, too, has been a vocal advocate in fighting human trafficking, leading to a natural alliance between the pair. But in recent months the prime minister and the cardinal have clashed over Britain's response to the refugee crisis facing Europe, especially the plight of unaccompanied minors seeking entry into the United Kingdom.

"It is, particularly in this instance, very difficult to champion the work against human trafficking and to leave unaccompanied children vulnerable," the cardinal said.

The United Kingdom had previously indicated it would accept 3,000 unaccompanied minors who had made their way into Europe, many settling in camps in France, but that program was scrapped after just a few hundred were admitted.

On the whole, the cardinal said, Britain should be doing more to wel-



"As every country knows, this is a complex challenge. And every country has a right to be very vigilant as to potential dangers," he said. "But the whole way that migration to Europe is tackled is very unsatisfactory. It is the most dramatic challenge that we face. What's proving very difficult is to get a coordinated approach to it."

As political leaders in Britain gear up to begin the process of leaving the European Union, the cardinal said the rise in Europe and the United States of populism, often tinged with xenophobia, is attributable in part to "the distancing of the democratic system from people's regular views."

"When people feel that they are not being listened to, their views harden," he said.

Michael O'Loughlin, national correspondent. Twitter: @MikeOLoughlin.





Rutilio Grande: Is another saint on the way for El Salvador?

El Salvador's Catholic Church circles swirl these days with news about a possible miracle attributed to the intercession of Blessed Oscar Romero, one that many hope will lead to his canonization. But in other, not-so-quiet whispers of hope, there's also the yearning that the momentum will help the beatification cause of his martyred Jesuit friend, Rutilio Grande.

Father Grande was killed 40 years ago—March 12, 1977 while on his way to a novena. More than a dozen bullets went through his body, killing him and parishioners Manuel Solorzano, 70, and 16-year-old Nelson Rutilio Lemus.

Father Grande has powerful admirers in the church. His fellow Jesuit Pope Francis is said to have asked a member of the commission pushing for the beatification of Father Grande whether there was vet a documented miracle attributed to the Jesuit's intercession.

When the answer was no, the pope said he knew of one: Archbishop Romero. It is popularly believed that something inside the archbishop changed when he saw the brutal manner in which Father Grande and his parishioners were killed. Before the killings, he had not publicly spoken about the deteriorating social situation in his country.

Father Grande, a Salvadoran from the countryside, taught peasants to read using the Bible but also helped them organize against a rich and powerful elite and against the social offenses that befell them just because they were poor.

"Rutilio was assassinated for believing that the poor are worth a space at the table," said José Artiga, executive director of the San Francisco-based Salvadoran Human Aid, Research and Education Foundation.

From CNS

Oscar Romero, left, and Rutilio Grande, S.J., on a mural in El Paisnal, El Salvador







The Rev. Ray Allender (left) and Sr. Laetitia Bordes, shown outside St. Agnes Church, accompany immigrants in the Bay Area.

Opposite: Nave of St. Agnes Church.

San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood wears its 1960s countercultural history as a badge of honor. Double-decker tour buses grind up and down Haight Street throughout the day, pointing out local landmarks: the former home of the members of the Grateful Dead, the Haight Ashbury Free Clinic, the plethora of tie-dye clothing stores and smoke shops and the corner of Haight and Ashbury itself, now home to a Ben and Jerry's ice cream store. In the 1960s the Haight was so cheap to live in that communal households of young people were everywhere. In 2017 rent in the Haight starts at \$3,000 a month for a one-bedroom. The purchase price of a condo starts at one million, and the neighborhood is home to many of the city's tech elite. But at a neighborhood Jesuit parish on Masonic Street, the most vulnerable members of San Francisco's population have become the center of attention.

St. Agnes Catholic Church was established in 1893. The current building dates to the 1950s, and its classic and elegant design fits in with the Haight's famous Victorian houses and the lush landscape of nearby Golden Gate Park. Its current pastor, Ray Allender, S.J., is a San Francisco native who grew up in the neighborhood. Like the city that surrounds it, St. Agnes prides itself on its inclusiveness; its website describes the parish as "Inclusive, Welcoming and Jesuit," and Father Allender says that for years St. Agnes has been known as the "last chance Catholic church" in San Francisco. Many parishioners travel long distances for the music, hospitality and good homilies. The parish is home to a large number of graduates of Jesuit colleges and has been active in welcoming L.G.B.T. Catholics, who, Father Allender says, are leaders in the church community.

Mass at St. Agnes on a Sunday morning is packed. Young families dominate the congregation, as do younger adults, but grayer heads are present as well. The music is indeed impressive; in addition to the excellent cantors and choir, there is a full range of string instruments and woodwinds. The homily by Kevin O'Brien, S.J., dean of the nearby Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, challenges people to rethink the notion of being "salt and light" to the



world. Most of the people in the pews are white, though there are a few Asians and African-Americans. This makeup is reflective of the Haight's demographics but also of San Francisco's shifting population, which has seen an exodus of Latinos, who have been pushed out of the Mission District, and of African-Americans, who have been forced out of the Fillmore District, by exploding rents.

It is the city's remaining Latino population that is the focus of efforts at St. Agnes right now. On Jan. 19, the day before the presidential inauguration, St. Agnes became the first Jesuit parish in the United States to declare itself a sanctuary church. According to Natalie Terry, director of the parish's Ignatian Spiritual Life Center, the decision came after a period of discernment. Laetitia Bordes, S.H., a St. Agnes parishioner, approached Ms. Terry and Father Allender after the election and shared her experiences working in the sanctuary movement of the 1980s.

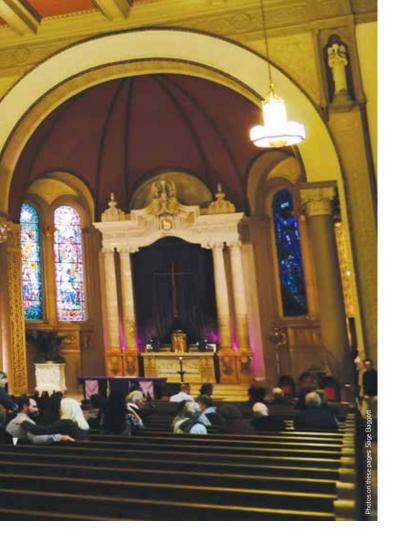
Sister Bordes recalls that the process of declaring sanctuary in the '80s started with house meetings. "People invited a few friends to their homes to listen to the story of a refugee," she says. Sister Bordes became involved in training people to hold those house meetings. "No one can deny another person's



story, and this model proved excellent in opening the eyes and changing the hearts of people who had been ignorant about what was going on in Central America," she reflects. Those who attended house meetings would be given cards "with possibilities for involvement," whether that meant writing or visiting their congressional representative, housing a refugee or hosting another house meeting. Most churches that offered sanctuary in that era took votes, according to Bordes, and the house meeting model caught the attention of Archbishop John Quinn. He headed up the Archdiocese of San Francisco at that time, and he wrote in a pastoral letter entitled "On Central America" that "[t]he moral principles of faith...call upon us to protect and shelter citizens of other nations who have been deprived of their homeland by the threat of violence or terror or war."

The difference between the sanctuary movement of the '80s and what is unfolding today, according to Sister Bordes, is that those arriving in California from Mexico and Central America are not considered refugees from recognized wars. "The wars today," Sister Bordes says, "are drug wars, gang wars, poverty wars." And yet, she argues, people are in just as much danger as they were during the military conflicts in El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras. She also says that people need a greater understanding of the roots of immigration in order to overcome the stereotyping of undocumented people as "illegals."

After Sister Bordes approached the St. Agnes staff, Ms. Terry and Father Allender participated in a conference call hosted by the Ignatian Solidarity Network that involved representatives from all 28 Jesuit colleges and universities, in addition to some Jesuit parishes. This call also involved immigration lawyers who provided practical advice, and, according to Ms. Terry, "that's where things started to move." What expedited the process for the St. Agnes community, she adds, was "hearing from immigration lawyers the immense suffering people could face after the inauguration that we're seeing in these executive orders." Ms. Terry and the other members of the St. Agnes staff used a sample draft statement from Loyola University New Orleans that declared the university a sanctuary, and adapted it with the university's permission. Anticipating a flurry of executive orders soon after the presidential inauguration, the St. Agnes community chose to release their declaration on Jan. 19.



A PIVOTAL MOMENT

San Francisco is in a unique position in the new sanctuary movement. It is a sanctuary city, and its mayor, Ed Lee, the son of Chinese immigrants, is San Francisco's first Asian-American mayor. Mr. Lee also worked as a tenants' rights lawyer fighting the eviction of Chinese immigrants in the 1980s. In the late '80s, Mayor Art Agnos signed the "City of Refuge" statement, which prevented San Francisco police from stopping or detaining individuals because of their national origin, ability to speak English or immigration status. At this year's State of the City address on Jan. 26, Mayor Lee evoked Mr. Agnos's earlier statement when he declared that San Francisco would be a sanctuary city "now, tomorrow and forever."

Mr. Lee's statement was also an echo of Gov. Jerry Brown's State of the State address on Jan. 24, in which the governor, a former Jesuit novice, declared that California would "defend everybody—every man, woman and child—who has come here for a better life." And California was already preparing to defend immigrants before the inauguration. In late December 2016, the California senate leader

Kevin de León of Los Angeles, who has revealed that many of his own relatives are undocumented, introduced Senate Bill 54, the California Values Act, which would prevent state law enforcement from performing the functions of Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers and create safe zones to prevent immigration agents from carrying out sweeps of schools, hospitals and courthouses. Mr. de León's bill, which must pass several committees before hitting the senate floor, has been labeled an "urgency bill" and looks likely to pass both houses and be signed by Gov. Brown. It would effectively turn California into a sanctuary state. But none of this can prevent I.C.E. agents from continuing to round up and deport immigrants.

These state and local sanctuary initiatives come at a pivotal moment. On Feb. 5, President Trump told Bill O'Reilly of Fox News that California was "out of control" and that defunding sanctuary cities that "breed crime" would be a "weapon" to use against the state. But researchers from University of California, Riverside, and Hamline College wrote in The Washington Post in October of last year that years of research revealed that a city's sanctuary status has "no statistically meaningful effect on crime."

RAPID RESPONSE

On Jan. 29 St. Agnes hosted a training session for a rapid response network, a team of volunteers who would become legal observers in the event of a raid by I.C.E. on undocumented residents. The meeting was also set up to create accompaniment teams that could offer support to families of deported individuals. Ms. Terry and Father Allender both said they expected and hoped for "maybe 30" people" to show up. Instead, 365 people came—so many that the event had to be moved from a smaller meeting room into the church itself. Demand was so high they immediately began planning a second training just after the issuance of the president's Executive Order 13769, which barred entry to the United States for refugees, immigrants and visa holders from seven Muslim-majority countries. The order led to major protests at multiple American airports, including San Francisco International Airport, and it was clear to the people of St. Agnes that more legal observers might soon be needed.

The church hosted its second training on Feb. 9. Co-sponsored by St. Agnes, the Archdiocese of San Francisco, the community organizing group Faith in Action Bay Area and Pangea Legal Services, a group of immigra-

tion attorneys, the event brought over 100 people into St. Agnes. It was a relentlessly rainy and clammy day, and the Haight's sidewalks were still slick as people began gathering in the church, shedding rain jackets and folding umbrellas. Donal Godfrey, S.J., himself an immigrant from Ireland, called the community to prayer, and then Ms. Terry stood to explain what the evening would entail.

Ms. Terry's own interest in immigrant rights began while she was a master's of divinity student at the Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley. On an immersion trip to Fresno, in California's Central Valley, Ms. Terry and her classmates visited dairy and citrus farms and heard farmers saying that they relied on undocumented laborers to do the field work Americans did not want to do. For Ms. Terry, who grew up in upstate New York and attended the Jesuit-run John Carroll University in Ohio, it was a transformative moment: "seeing the injustice, how we have these undocumented people growing and picking our food, and yet there's this movement to deport those people." Ms. Terry attended the Ignatian Family Teach-In for Justice at the School of the Americas in Georgia several times as an undergraduate and heard about the sanctuary movement of the 1980s, but being in California's Central Valley gave her the first chance to see immigrant life up close. She saw that "folks had Mass in a garage with a priest once a month and couldn't advocate for clean water because they were undocumented." She says this experience deepened her "understanding of theology and how clearly the Gospel dictates how we should live in the world."

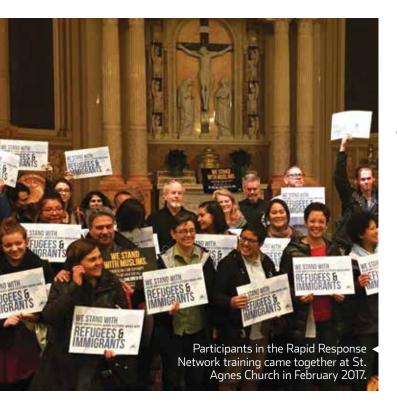
When Ms. Terry spoke to the crowd at St. Agnes, she noted the parish does not have a lot of undocumented parishioners. She emphasized, however, that I.C.E. had carried out four million deportations in the last few years and that this was an opportunity for the people of St. Agnes to ask for forgiveness for not responding to the years of sweeps that had already occurred under President Barack Obama. That same day, she noted, a large sweep had taken place in Los Angeles, and news broke later that evening that hundreds of activists were holding a vigil at the I.C.E. headquarters and later blocked the U.S. Route 101. Ms. Terry introduced Alex, a student at San Francisco State University, and invited him to the ambo to tell the story of his mother's experience with immigration authorities. Alex's mother was detained by I.C.E. when he was 6 years old, and his family was able to hire an attorney and eventually get her released. But, he noted, most families do not have access to lawyers, and he and his brother, a Marine, were

both stereotyped because of their undocumented parents. "This," he told the crowd, "is an immigrant family story."

Lorena Melgarejo, who works with the Archdiocese of San Francisco, had invited Alex to speak and was next to address the audience. Gesturing toward Alex and his family, she said that "sanctuary is real people, not lofty ideals." She asked how many people in the audience knew a person who had been deported; only a couple of hands went up. "See," she said, "we do not know one another." Solidarity with undocumented San Franciscans during raids, Ms. Melgarejo said, is a way of "building the beloved community." San Francisco's network of lawyers and community organizations does not really exist outside of the boundaries of the city, and she hopes that this model will spread, but it will need to be built "from the ground up."

She then broke down the two roles volunteers could play. People volunteering as rapid responders would be asked to arrive when a raid is taking place and to act as legal observers. Accompaniment teams would work with families after someone is detained, providing rides, food, child care and other practical help. They can also hold vigils and perform public actions, and she noted that in March, when Mr. de León's California Values Act bill arrived on the Senate floor, teams of San Franciscans would travel to the state capitol for a "pray in."

The final speakers of the evening were two young attorneys from Pangea Legal Services: Nilu, originally from Iran, whose family had been undocumented for years after multiple members of her family were killed in the 1979 revolution and she and her parents fled to the United States; and Luis, originally from Mexico, most of whose family is still undocumented today. Luis discussed how deportations have impacts "way beyond the deported individual": families and communities are affected as well. He added that the importance of "moral witnesses" in rapid response teams was that it both helps attorneys in court and helps highlight these cases in the media, which can eventually nudge the political side of the debate. Most immigrants, he stated, are unaware of their constitutional rights under the Fourth and Fifth Amendments, and I.C.E. violates those rights every time they pretend to be local law enforcement. The lawyer also said that nearly every time I.C.E. arrives at a home, they are not carrying a warrant, and it is the immigrant's word versus the officer's in court. These sweeps usually occur before dawn, before neighbors or friends can arrive to help out, "Deportation," he emphasized, "happens mostly in the dark."



If California really wants to show the way forward in caring for immigrants, it must begin by listening to those immigrants and understanding their lives.

Nilu added that legal witnesses from rapid response teams should look out for three things: coercion in the form of an I.C.E. officer grabbing someone's I.D. to identify them against their will, consent of the immigrant to let I.C.E. into his or her home, and lies—for example, when I.C.E. arrives pretending to be looking for someone else. The steps for legal witnesses are simple. The immigrant receives a code he or she can send a text message to, and a dispatcher returns their call and walks them through their rights. Rapid response teams speed to the site bringing paper, pens and smartphones. Their role is simply to take notes and make audio or visual recordings.

At this point, the attorneys asked two things of the audience. First, Luis inquired how many people planned to sign up as rapid responders or accompaniment teams. Nearly every person in the church raised their hands. Second, Nilu asked if anyone had questions. Once again, dozens of hands went up. Most of the questions were practical in nature: How close could a person stand to an I.C.E. officer? (Legally, they must stay on the sidewalk.) Should they write down the van's license plate number? (Yes; the detail helps lawyers and the community member.) Do the dispatchers speak languages other than Spanish? (Not yet. But the city is working on getting interpreters and will eventually have 16 languag-

es.) What if an I.C.E. officer grabs or assaults a legal witness? ("The law is fought in the courtroom, not on the street.") An emotional shift had occurred throughout the evening. From Ms. Terry's opening remarks to Alex's personal story to Ms. Melgarejo's call for solidarity to the clear urgency of the situation presented by the two attorneys, people in the church were boiling over with questions, concerns and, above all, a desire to help.

Afterward, Ms. Terry said the church is still discerning what sanctuary will mean beyond offering these trainings. They plan to form an accompaniment team to assist families and to pool their resources to help offer material and legal help. She acknowledged that a parish with many undocumented people in the Mission District or East Oakland could not offer a program like this because "people are living in fear." It is churches like St. Agnes that must step up because they have "the resources and the people who are going to be able to work with folks in our city to make changes and support." Ms. Terry added that it is important for people to understand that there is an I.C.E. raid an average of once a week in San Francisco: "Refugees being resettled is not new. Deportations are not new. Our hearts have been transformed in the process, and now we're prepared to respond to what's been happening all along."

AN URGENT NEED

Maureen Duignan, O.S.F., the executive director of East Bay Sanctuary Covenant, who has worked with immigrants and refugees in the Bay Area since 1984, said that churches like St. Agnes can play an important role in a new sanctuary movement. "As a people of faith," she said, "the individual churches can provide a safe place for the undocumented in their parishes by opening up their churches, giving them a room in their homes, offering them work that may sustain or advocating for work for them." Churches can provide practical help with food, lodging and transportation for families, host a fundraiser for a family, offer a "know your rights" workshop or provide space to qualified agencies that assist immigrants and refugees. The main thing churches need to do, which both Ms. Terry and Sister Duignan emphasize, is to awaken people's hearts to the notion that the undocumented live in fear. With the possibility of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals policy being repealed, Sister Duignan added that undocumented

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students at the University of California, Berkeley, San Francisco State and other local colleges will be in urgent need of assistance as well.

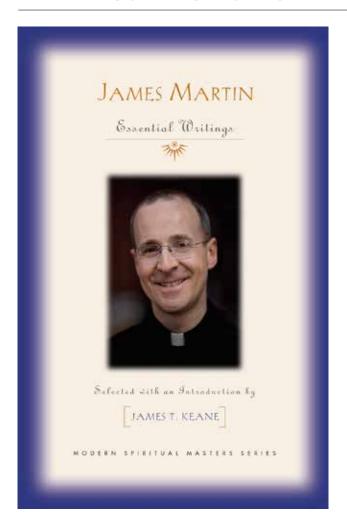
The Archdiocese of San Francisco, according to both Ms. Terry and Father Allender, has been fully supportive of St. Agnes and the training of legal responders and accompaniment teams. In a statement issued on Jan. 27, Archbishop Salvatore Cordileone said the archdiocese would "work arduously" to protect immigrants and that churches need to "create a spirit of welcome and solidarity" with immigrant parishioners. The archbishop also convened a meeting with all the priests and deacons in the archdiocese to talk about providing resources for immigrants.

California has the country's largest percentage of immigrants. Whites, who are projected to be a national minority by 2050, are already the minority in California, and four out of every 10 Californians is Latino or Chicano. And yet, like the rest of the United States, California has a shadow history of prejudice: the Japanese internment, the Chinese Exclusion Act and redlining in most of its cities, which for decades made it impossible for people of color to own a home. For all of its diversity, California's cities are still segregated, and San Francisco is no exception. Its churches are often segregated as well.

If California really wants to show the way forward in terms of caring for immigrants, it must begin by listening to those immigrants and understanding their lives. For churches without large numbers of immigrants, St. Agnes shows a way forward: Parishes with greater resources can connect with parishes that do not have the means to protect and empower their immigrant populations. They can serve as a voice for those who cannot speak up for fear of deportation. And along the way, aside from providing material and legal help, sanctuary programs like St. Agnes's might provide something equally valuable for California's 10 million Catholics: an encounter with their neighbors and a chance to continue building the kingdom of God.

Kaya Oakes teaches writing at the University of California, Berkeley, and is the author of The Nones Are Alright. She lives in her hometown of Oakland, Calif.

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Christianity's Russian Temptation

De-Christianization is a grave threat. Putinism is not the answer.

By Sohrab Ahmari

On a visit to Rio de Janeiro in February, Patriarch Kirill of Moscow invited Catholics and other Christian faithful to join him in the trenches of the culture wars. "We still have some doctrinal disagreements," the Russian Orthodox primate said, according to a report from the Interfax news agency. "But no one is preventing us from fighting, hand-in-hand, to end the persecutions, the ousting of Christian values, the de-Christianization of 21st-century human civilization."

Patriarch Kirill went on to enumerate the ravages of de-Christianization, or this "evil political force disguised as tolerance." In his words, these included people "banned" from wearing crosses at the office and from wishing each other a Merry Christmas; the expansion of same-sex marriage and the "refusal to understand marriage as a sacred union between man and woman"; and abortion and skyrocketing divorce rates.

This was not the first time the patriarch had called for a united ecumenical front against secularization. In a January speech to the Duma, the lower house of the Russian Parliament, he underscored the need for "mutually respectful" dialogue between religious leaders in the common struggle "to protect traditional values." Meeting President Horacio Cartes of Par-

aguay last year, Patriarch Kirill lamented how "Christian values are being marginalized in lives of people in several countries." He warned: "Europe must not lose its Christian roots."

While no doubt sincere, the patriarch's rhetoric is also of a piece with the new Russian ideology, which presents the Kremlin as a last bulwark against the degradation and spiritual poverty of the liberal order. As globalization blurs boundaries (both national and sexual), and as social media and American-style consumerism flatten cultural differences, the thinking goes, Russia and her church stand for sovereignty, authenticity and Christian vigor.

The message from Moscow has resonated with some leading Christian thinkers in the West. Vladimir Putin might be a thug, in their view, but in the rearguard action to preserve faith, family and nationhood against the liberal and "globalist" onslaught, the Russian strongman is no enemy. He deserves at least a sympathetic hearing, they think, and he might even prove to be a useful tactical ally. Call it the Putin Option.

Steve Bannon has considered it. In his 2014 speech on the grounds of the Vatican, the Breitbart News chief, now a White House advisor, said, "We, the Judeo-Christian West, really have to look at what [Putin is] talking about as far



as traditionalism goes—particularly the sense of where it supports the underpinnings of nationalism—and I happen to think that the individual sovereignty of a country is a good thing and a strong thing." Notably, Mr. Bannon also went on to describe Putin's Russia as a "cronyist" and an "imperialist" power that seeks to "expand."

In a 2014 account of efforts to re-Christianize Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the theologian John Burgess sounded similar notes. "The peril in Russia to genuine Christian faith comes not from tsarism or communism but instead from an emerging global culture that reduces human life to material acquisition and consumption," he wrote in First Things. The Orthodox Church's "appeals to the spiritual greatness of the Russian nation may be an essential witness to the Gospel rather than a capitulation" to the Kremlin, he added.

For the author and American Conservative journalist Rod Dreher, the redemptive promise of Putin is a constant theme. In December, Mr. Dreher wrote of meeting two young Catholics in Italy who viewed Mr. Putin favorably, as a "strong leader who embraces his country's Christian religious heritage, and seeks to defend it and its teachings, especially against cultural liberals whose views on sex and gender are destroying the traditional family." Mr. Dreher added: "And you know what? I agreed with them, broadly." He carved out some of his reservations about the Putinist project but then concluded: "One doesn't have to believe that Putin is an angel in order to respect some of what he does, and even to be grateful for it."

No thanks. Even if you, like me, concur in the underlying diagnosis—that the West has become unmoored from its Judeo-Christian foundations, that liberalism has gone too far in eroding traditional authority and moral precepts—the Putin Option is no cure. And it entails hazards that could prove ruinous to the cause of reversing the West's spiritual fortunes.

Putin: No Friend of Religious Liberty

Start with the moral downsides of embracing the Kremlin in the name of morality. Christians should judge Vladimir Putin's professed commitment to faith, family values and traditional notions of nationhood against his corrupt and murderous rule at home and his aggression against Russia's neighbors.

Contrary to Patriarch Kirill's assertions about interfaith solidarity, for example, Russia is increasingly restricting the domestic space for worship, evangelization and other religious activities. Under an "antiterror" law enacted last summer, all missionaries in Russia must be affiliated with "registered organizations," and evangelization outside state-approved religious sites is strictly prohibited. Violators can be fined as much as \$780, and their churches \$15,500.

The law does not exempt the Russian Orthodox Church, but evangelicals, Mormon missionaries and other spiritual seekers who have strayed from Patriarch Kirill's flock will bear its brunt. Underground evangelical house churches are gaining popularity in Russia, as in much of the rest of the region, and some Protestants reject state registration as a matter of ecclesial principle. These pastors now find themselves caught in Putin's antimissionary dragnet.

At least seven people had been charged under the law by September, including an American Baptist preacher who ran a house church. The Mormon Church, meanwhile, has been forced to reassign 65 missionaries away from Russia, and others have been reclassified as community-service volunteers who do not engage in missionary activity. In December, a court in Vladivostok relied on the law to order the destruction of 40 Bibles confiscated from the Salvation Army, on the grounds that the books had not been properly labeled "religious material."

Not even yogis are immune. A Russian computer programmer in October was briefly detained and charged under the law for giving a talk on the philosophy behind yoga at a festival. The complainant had accused the 44-year-old of recruiting "young people into the ranks of this pseudo-Hindu organization."

Mr. Putin's war on missionaries has been accompanied by a broader crackdown on civil liberties, including a new "patriotic stop list" that targets think tanks and other nongovernmental organizations deemed to be subversive "foreign agents," as well as domestic activists who receive funding from such groups. Leading dissidents, such as the anti-graft campaigner Alexei Navalny, are tried on trumped-up charges and barred from running for office. Others tend to die under suspicious circumstances.

When the Islamist regimes in, say, Iran or Turkey behave this way, Christians do not hesitate to denounce the repression, and rightly so. Yet there is a tendency in some conservative Christian quarters to ignore or play down Mr. Putin's assaults on political and religious liberty, or else to use sophistic relativism to excuse him.

Mr. Dreher, for example, protests that the Kremlin should not be held to the same standards as governments founded on "Enlightenment-era" ideals such as the separation of church and state. Mr. Putin, writes the St. John's University legal scholar Mark Movsesian, "is not acting against the wishes of his own people" when he promotes "nationalism, authority, loyalty, and religion" as authentically Russian alternatives to the "Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic" worldview that prevails in Europe and the United States.

Let us grant that Russia is a post-Communist state that is trying to recover its historic Orthodox tradition. There is justice, for example, in the state restoring swiftly to Patriarch Kirill church properties expropriated by the Communists, even if this displeases Russian liberals who would prefer the museums and other assets to remain in public hands. Let us grant, too, that Mr. Putin's rule is popular among broad swaths of Russian society (setting aside the role of censorship, propaganda and fear in this regard).

The question for those who see Moscow as a great protector of faith then becomes whether Putinism is good for Russian Christianity. And a follow-up: Is the rules-based, liberal-democratic order really so irredeemable that Western Christians might look for an alternative in Moscow, warts and all? The answer is no, on both counts. And if past is precedent, K.G.B.-style authoritarianism dressed in Orthodox garb is likely to undermine both church authority and Russia's spiritual welfare in the long term.

A Mere Spiritual Gloss

Recall how, following the decimation wrought by the October Revolution, Stalin sought to revive the Orthodox Church during World War II, and the church helped stir the Russian soul to the nation's defense. Yet after the war, Khrushchev and his successors launched fresh anti-Christian campaigns, intimidating much of the Orthodox leadership into collaboration. Those who insisted on



The path out of the West's current spiritual crisis will not be found in a Christianity that is so bound up with revanchist nationalism.

the church's independence, like the dissident priest Gleb Yakunin (1934-2014), were dispatched to the gulag.

Likewise, what Mr. Putin giveth, Mr. Putin can take away. Kremlin patronage has empowered the church once more since the collapse of Communism, and there is no denying the beauty of its monastic and mystical dimensions or the holiness of its ministers. Most Russians now identify as Orthodox, and the church no doubt provides them with great solace (though, tellingly, no more than 10 percent attend services regularly, according to multiple recent surveys).

But it is equally undeniable that the regime relies on the church's senior leadership to lend a spiritual gloss to its nationalist-authoritarian project. The church has obliged, partly out of ideological fervor and partly because it has no choice. As George Weigel has observed, "The Russian Church leadership has neither the will nor the capacity... to speak truth to Putinesque power; those who try to do so are quickly marginalized or exiled."

Take the question of Ukraine. Patriarch Kirill has endorsed, as a sort of Orthodox crusade, Mr. Putin's stealth invasion of eastern Ukraine and the illegal annexation of Crimea. The president has described Crimea as the Russian equivalent of the "Temple Mount in Jerusalem for Jews and Muslims," where "our ancestors first and forever recognized their nationhood."

As Mr. Weigel has noted, the Russian Orthodox Church is waging theological warfare against the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in parallel with Mr. Putin's military operation. Under Communism, the U.G.C.C. was forcibly incorporated into Orthodoxy, and it did not regain independence until the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. Now Russian Orthodox figures slander Ukrainian Catholics as

"schismatics" and "uniates," and they have sought to sideline the U.G.C.C. in ongoing ecumenical dialogue with the Vatican—so far with little success.

Again, the path out of the West's current spiritual crisis will not be found in a Christianity that is so bound up with revanchist nationalism. Christians concerned about the excesses of liberal transnationalism should be equally alert to the dangers of a Russian imperialism that seeks to subjugate sovereign nations, like Ukraine, whom geographic misfortune has cursed to live in Russia's shadow.

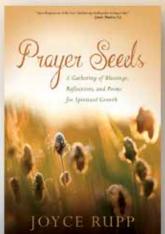
Western Christians should also be wary of a regime that maintains such a tenuous relationship with the truth. Truth is an "essential condition for authentic freedom," as St. Pope John Paul II frequently emphasized. Christians cannot laud the Kremlin's supposedly pro-family stances without also being mired in its empire of falsehoods—about Russia's role in eastern Ukraine and incidents like the shooting down of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 by Kremlin-backed rebels in 2014; about Putin's brutal campaign to destroy the non-Islamic opposition and prop up the Assad regime in Syria; about the massive and systematic graft that greases his system.

Nor is the Russian Orthodox Church's current supremacy guaranteed. Should it fit the Kremlin's purposes tomorrow, does anyone doubt that the regime would repress the church leadership over this or that dispute? Despair over the cultural left's stridency and triumphalism in recent years, on questions like abortion and gay marriage, should not cloud Christian judgment about the fundamental differences between free and unfree societies, between democracy and dictatorship.

For all its flaws, liberal order still affords Christians the chance to persuade fellow citizens, to change their governments, to launch suits before fair and independent tribunals, and to bring the good news and the riches of tradition to the democratic public square. Under Putinism, by contrast, Christianity is at the mercy of the strongman and his ruling clique. The policy outcomes might be "pro-family," for now, but church and conscience are compromised by unaccountable power.

Sohrab Ahmari, an editorial writer for The Wall Street Journal in London, is the author of The New Philistines: How Identity Politics Disfigure the Arts.





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ONFESSING MADDICTION

By John Smith

A priest learns to ask for help

"Forgive me. I have sinned." I've always counted it a privilege to hear these words, to offer forgiveness. But for years, it was tainted with self-recrimination: You're a hypocrite. Indeed, who was I to forgive or offer counsel, when I struggled with sin that I myself refused to confess because I couldn't give it up and wasn't sure I wanted to? Now, I have a confession to make.



It began during seminary, scanning photo galleries of models and actresses that I was attracted to. It seemed harmless, no threat to my celibate commitment. I took that promise seriously. I had no illusions that it would be easy, and it wasn't. This might take the edge off, I thought.

I had no fears about its effects on my everyday life. I maintained proper boundaries in my work. I was especially vigilant when I was aware of my attraction to someone. I stayed away from sexually suggestive comments, and never flirted or acted inappropriately. I was the model of propriety, even as my browsing turned from the scantily clad to the unclothed.

My busyness seemed like a grace. Studies, ministry and social life always took priority over my explorations in the developing world of online pornography. Keeping my commitments, I reasoned, would ensure it remained a harmless diversion. My self-deception continued, unconfronted.

MORE THAN A DISTRACTION

During a stressful summer assignment in an unfamiliar city, it became more frequent. I was overworked. I spent a lot of time alone. I had no friends nearby. Increasingly, my companion became my computer—a means of escape and an endless supply of new and provocative images. My answer to stress. When people asked what I did for fun, I struggled to find an answer. Even the occasional night out with friends ended in the loneliness of my room.

My summer work struggles were chalked up to unreasonable expectations. Ironically, there was some worry that I was watching too much TV. I was convinced that I had handled the work to the best of my ability. Overwork had led to the increase in my pornography use, not vice versa. I told myself I still had my priorities straight.

My next assignments were more balanced. Porn went back to being a distraction. But the increased frequency had carried over, as had my need for novelty. Videos replaced still images as my preferred medium. I quickly found myself immersed in and uncomfortably conversant with the adult film world. But there was no conversing. I was living that life alone, in secret, carefully separated from the real life that I was involved in and loving most hours of most days. One mitigating grace was that my conscience forbade me to involve someone else in my alternative life. I remained just a spectator, pretending, not connecting.

Soon I was a newly ordained priest. Despite my enthusiasm for my new duties and identity, my habit continued. I could blame it again on stress, but I wondered now if it was more problematic, even if it wasn't interfering with my ministry. I wondered if people saw something amiss, especially when I hadn't gotten enough sleep. If they noticed, they no doubt imagined it had more to do with too much enthusiasm from a young priest than with clandestine hours spent on porn. For my part, I was amazed at the ways in which God was able to use me to serve and inspire people in my ministry, even while this breach in our relationship remained. This consciousness of God's mercy helped alleviate the guilt, but also contributed to the illusion that things might still be O.K. God had not abandoned me to pastoral disaster.

When a penitent's sexual temptations came up when hearing confessions, I would offer advice once given to me. Know your limits. Can you watch an R-rated sex scene untroubled? Or is that too much for you? When it comes to porn, when are your defenses down? At night? In your bedroom? Can you have a computer in your room? Or do you need to keep it somewhere else? I could hardly tell them that I was struggling myself and not taking my own advice. I became somewhat jealous of these penitents. They were confessing what I could not. I was aware of my sin. But I was equally aware that I didn't intend to stop.

Guilt and shame were often conspicuously absent, except when the nightmares came. Vivid dreams of getting caught woke me from my slumber. I felt the pain of disappointing those closest to me. Several times these had caused me to stop, at least for a while. After the most devastating of these dreams, I thought maybe I'd reached my limit. It featured one of my dearest friends, one of the greatest supporters of my journey to priesthood. She saw the good things I didn't see in myself. Sometimes her love for me, her enthusiasm about my vocation, was painful. If she only knew the truth. In the dream, I was discovered. She couldn't bring herself to believe it, but I couldn't lie. It's all true, I admitted. I have a problem with porn. I felt more ashamed than I ever had in real life. I had let her believe I was somebody else. The sense of loss was overwhelming. I never wanted to feel that pain for real. As I purged my computer, I thought this might be enough to end this once and for all.

The fact that it didn't finally made me consider the possibility that I was addicted. Though I was still hiding

it well, I started to be more compulsive and less careful. I took fewer precautions—unlocked doors, less secure networks. Deep down, I think, I wanted to get caught. If asked directly if I was looking at porn, I would have told the truth. But I was too scared to take the initiative and confess.

While all this was happening, I had started work on a graduate degree. All I had left was the thesis. The writing was going slowly. Pastoral opportunities were easily distracting. But were they distracting me from writing, or from watching porn? Outside of ministry, both were probably getting equal time. It was suggested that moving somewhere else might help me focus. I agreed, and hoped it would. If I could just get past the thesis, things might get better.

But things only got worse. Sidelined as a "priest in residence," with no regular pastoral duties, I found myself lonely, isolated and disconnected. I had no friends. The other priests were busy and afraid of distracting me from my work. And despite my loneliness, I treated any time spent socially as a trade-off against the writing I was supposed to be doing. This only isolated me further. I slept a lot. I watched too much TV. Viewing porn became a regular part of my day. I enjoyed opportunities to go out and celebrate Mass sometimes. But then it was "back to writing," which I was doing less and less. I'd never experienced depression, but I knew enough to recognize the signs. I started seeing a therapist. It might have helped, except I never mentioned the porn.

ASKING FOR HELP

I hadn't hit "rock bottom," but I was on my way. I tried a prayer exercise that I'd once learned. If I were to die today, I prayed, am I who I would want to be? The answer was an unequivocal no. I realized that even a less isolated environment would not fix the underlying problem. Things were too far off track. I knew fellow priests who had gone to intensive therapy programs, and found one that I thought could help me. Now I just had to find the freedom to ask for help.

My internal struggle continued. Then, one day, the words of a song at Mass moved my heart. Let your gentleness be known. Do not worry. Reach out to God in prayer. The peace of God will be with you. An invitation to transparency. I resolved then to ask for help. I talked to a friend the next day, so as not to lose my nerve. I asked for per-

They were confessing what I could not. I was aware of my sin. But...I didn't intend to stop.

mission to go to the therapy program, mentioning only the depression. But then there were forms to fill out, and there I told the whole story, porn and all. Sharing my secret, I began to feel free.

It was hard enough to tell family and friends that I was depressed and leaving town. I said nothing about the porn. Depression they could accept. I wasn't sure about the rest. Still, one friend I told the whole story to was unfazed. "It's not as shocking as you think," she insisted. She's probably right; but still, I've told only a few people everything.

I started attending 12-step meetings for people with similar addictions. I wasn't sure I fit in. Sometimes, I'm still not sure. I felt that most people there had gone further, and suffered more, than I had. I wasn't sure if I was an addict, but I was deeply moved by the way they confessed their addictions and the effects on their lives, what might cause them to relapse and what they were doing-staying connected with fellow sufferers and supporters-to stay sober and not be controlled by lust. All the conventional wisdom of our sex-obsessed culture, what people were or were not capable of, and what was "normal," was thrown out the window. I discovered a room full of people trying, and many succeeding, at keeping a commitment to remain chaste, as I had promised to.

Did it really matter that I hadn't gone as far as they had? A friend, a longtime recovering alcoholic, told me that she, too, had felt at first that she didn't fit in. She hadn't hit rock bottom either. "But one day I realized," she said, "that no matter how I got there, I was just as screwed up as the rest of them." My fears that others might think my issues insignificant or suspect I was still in denial somehow were pointless. I could only be honest about my own situation, and trust others to help and support me.

THE FIRST STEP FORWARD

It helped when I was asked to do a "first step," a narrative of how my addiction had progressed. It gave me a clear sense of how my life had become unmanageable. Maybe differently than others' lives but unmanageable nonetheless. I was congratulated for my courage, but I felt uncomfortable receiving praise for sharing something I was ashamed of. Another priest said, "It makes me angry to see someone as gifted as you are fall victim to such a great evil." This moved me deeply, both the affirmation of my worth and his characterization of pornography as an evil. I suddenly knew he was right. It is an evil, more than I ever realized.

Recognizing porn as an evil has changed the way I approach it in confession. I no longer think of viewing porn as harmless or inevitable. It can be stopped, by recognizing its power and asking for help. I respond more mercifully than before and from a place of greater strength. Outside

In Memor 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 of the confessional, I've also resolved to help others overcome this evil in their lives. I'm still not certain how to go about this, but I hope this article is a start.

As for my own confession, the chance to return fully to the sacrament was one of the things I most looked forward to. I said as much when I began my treatment. Still, I put it off for a while. I think I wanted more time sober, to be sure of my resolve. But as I let my gentleness be known, especially to myself, and offered my sins to God, I knew the only surety was God's love and mercy. That, I decided, was more than enough.

The week that I revealed my addiction was also when I stopped, I hope for good. Ten months later, through the grace of God and the help of others, and with some surprise, I've experienced no relapse. I have my share of temptations, but the isolation of addiction has now been replaced by circles of support that, thankfully, it would take great effort to free myself from. Sometimes when I am tempted, I make a phone call. Sometimes I just go looking for someone to talk to. I might talk about my temptations (with those who know about my addiction), or I might just talk about anything. That connection with another human being is crucial for me, and not just when it comes to my addiction. Sometimes I have to force myself to make a call, even though I'd rather deal with the struggle on my own. Other times, I imagine myself surrounded by all those to whom I've become accountable. If I relapsed, I would have to tell them.

And, while I know they would be far less disappointed than I would be, I don't want to fail them, or God. I also don't want to go there again. I didn't like who I was. My life isn't perfect now, but it's better. My prayer life and my relationship with God are the best they've been in a long time. I'm surrounded by people who I let care for me as much as I care for them. I'm free. And I can sit on both sides of the confessional feeling less of a fraud, enjoying God's merciful grace for me—the sinner and the addict.

John Smith (a pseudonym) is a priest in active ministry in the United States.

Organizations for those seeking help:

- ► Fight the New Drug: www.fightthenewdrug.org
- Sexaholics Anonymous: www.sa.org

Adoration Economy

Where we pay attention, we lend our power.

In Joan Didion's account of the notorious 1989 Central Park jogger case, she refers in passing to the reaction of Donald J. Trump—then merely a flamboyant real estate developer—to protests against his calls for hastily executing the (wrongly) accused rapists, five black and Latino teenagers. "I don't mind if they picket," Mr. Trump told The New York Times. "I like pickets."

The day after his inauguration, what was likely the largest simultaneous protest in U.S. history took place in cities around the country; one can extrapolate to imagine how little it troubled him.

Politics is not merely a struggle over the command of people. It is a quest to command attention. Good attention, bad attention—the kind matters less than its constancy. The current powers that be have made this more evident than usual. Dissidents might take pause in noticing that, whether one is pro-Trump or anti-Trump—reveling in one of his effervescent rallies or taking a stand in protest—one is still transacting in the attention economy of Mr. Trump. If you are ever-awaiting his next tweet, you're caught in that power.

Christianity is a religion of attention. Attention matters maybe even more than faith, more than works. Attention binds them together. Whom does one notice, the beggar or the pharisee? Which stories does one tell? What verses and scenes do we hold in our hearts? For us, images are not graven if they rightly orient us, if they steer our attention to the God of love. And this religion makes totalizing claims on headspace. As the hymn goes, "How the heavenly anthem drowns all music but its own."

That heavenly anthem has had unusually loud competition from politicians lately. But we still have a choice to put our attention elsewhere, and I am grateful that I'm not alone in trying to choose.

There's no rule at my parish that the candlelit adoration before Tuesday night Mass is for college students, but they are mainly who come—they and a few young nuns in habits. Some sit, some kneel. Some read, some stare at the ceiling. Some look at their glowing phones; they're young enough, I guess, not to consider the devices profane. The choir practices downstairs, their muted sound emanating faintly from behind the Eucharist on the altar. Some listen, some don't. What you do doesn't matter so much as whom you do it with.

One student comes to her pew, and a friend asks how



she is. "Life," she says. "Life is happening."

I do a lot of looking around. The students' distractions, somehow, all seem to point toward the one thing we have in common, the thing that brought us here. I would be more distracted if it weren't for them; for the reminder that each of them represents that we do have a choice in what we adore. As the time of Mass nears, our numbers grow from a few to dozens, and then dozens more. I feel the wood beneath me. I am here.

Seeing matters, too. I take off my glasses and can't see the monstrance, only the glowing candle fires around it, and I have to put them back on. If I were blind, probably the Presence would feel like something else to me. But since I can see, I need to be able to see it—to see Him, the Body, the Criminal.

The novelist Iris Murdoch devoted the last of her philosophical treatises to the moral import of how we learn and choose to pay attention. "The idea of attention or contemplation, of looking carefully at something and holding it before the mind, may be conveyed early on in childhood," she wrote. She imagined a parent pointing certain things out (and not others) to a child: "Look, listen, isn't that pretty, isn't that nice?' Also, 'Don't touch!"

She went on, "This is moral training as well as preparation for a pleasurable life."

This is religious training, too, and preparation for a political life.

Where we pay attention, we lend our power. We cannot simply ignore power away, however; vigilance over authorities requires attention, too. Yet even vigilance, like protest, can be a kind of fealty.

I do not know what you think about the politics of the present—about the president, for instance—any more than I know what the students were doing on their phones at adoration. This is a time of enthusiasms, of all-absorbing demands on our attention. From whatever direction we look, it's an especially hard moment to keep our eyes on the center, on the God of love, the body of the Criminal; but for a decent politics, we must.

Nathan Schneider, a contributing writer for America, is the author of Thank You. Anarchy and God in Proof. Website: nathanschneider.info.



'They Are Not Themselves': The Lives of the English Queens

By Angela Alaimo O'Donnell

The rich are different from you and me.

An apocryphal story credits F. Scott Fitzgerald with these words. Who actually said or wrote them hardly matters—the 99 percent of us who are not rich recognize the sentiment to be true. Waking up in a luxury apartment on the top of Trump Tower each day is surely a different experience from waking up in a five-story walkup in the Bronx. The environment we live in shapes us and makes us who we are.

If the rich are different from you and me, how much more different, then, are royalty? In fact, we have even less in common with kings and queens than we do with the rich. Most of us possess at least some measure of wealth-clothing, shelter, food to sustain us and perhaps resources enough to enjoy some of the small luxuries of life. We are different from the rich not in kind but in degree. When it comes to royalty, however, the lives they lead would seem as strange to us as if they were creatures of another species.

The queen of a country or tribe or hive, for that matter—is singular. There is only one, and no other can play her role. She inherits that role by birth and is molded to it from a very tender age. She is, by definition, different from everyone else. This is all to the good, for the safety and well-being of the nation depends upon her being different and staying different-better than we are, stronger than we are and bigger than we are in the sense that she sacrifices her privacy and free will in order to serve the common good.

Given this age-old model of the good queen, it is strange to see the recent efforts of writers of two television series, "The Crown" and "Victoria," and of a recent play, "texts&beheadings/ElizabethR," to convince viewers of what we know to be untrue: that Queen Elizabeth II, Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth I were like us in various ways-ordinary women, albeit ones who are living in extraordinary circumstances. In each of these dramas, the queen in question possesses qualities and exhibits tendencies that are similar to those evident in the lives of many 21st-century women.

Both Elizabeth II and Victoria were devoted to their fathers and detached from their mothers, insecure in their marriages, given to boredom and pulled apart by their duty to their families and duty to their jobs. Victoria was pretty and shallow, as uninterested in art, music and culture as the average 16-year-old American girl is today. Elizabeth II, a century later, was a nerdy child whose desire to learn was frustrated by the limited education given to little girls (especially royal ones). To the contrary, Elizabeth I seems to represent that rarity (in her own time, at least), a classically educated woman. A brilliant scholar, poet and political strategist, constantly assailed and underestimated by men, she kept her job, her independence and her head by outwitting them and refusing to marry any of them.

In all three of these characterizations, we see the not-so-veiled ways in which these queens are our elder sisters, and, frankly, we are pleased. All three dramas convince us, with varying degrees of success, of this unlikely premise, in part because we want it to be true.

This premise, of course, is not a new one. Four hundred years ago, Shakespeare wrote dozens of plays dramatizing the humanity of royalty. Writing in an era in which people believed in the divine right of kings, Shakespeare's plays reveal the unsavory fact that this does not make them perfect. Far from it. Shakespeare's royals are sinners in the very same ways the rest of us are, only their sins have greater consequence. Hamlet's uncle, King Claudius, is a murderer; his mother, Queen Gertrude, is likely an adulteress; and Hamlet himself is a depressive adolescent with an Oedipal complex and a serial abuser of his girlfriend. King Lear is a greedy, controlling father and his rogue-queen daughters, cut from the same cloth, happily take the old man's wealth when he retires from public life and push him out of the way. These are (unfortunately) familiar family dynamics being played out on the stage. What is unfamiliar to us is that their family dysfunction affects an entire kingdom. If something is rotten in the royal household, before long the whole kingdom begins to stink.

This holds true in these recent renderings of royal life as wellwhich is why Elizabeth I, Elizabeth II and Victoria must set aside their own

In "Victoria" on PBS, the queen, played by Jenna Coleman, near left, is young, rebellious and defiant of tradition.

personal desires and predilections for the good of kingdom and crown. What we find fascinating in our time is that people were, and still are, willing to do this, even in an era wherein self-fulfillment and personal choice are the summum bonum in life. This is the source of drama in these renderings of queenly life-the conflict between the private self and the public selves these women must cultivate and somehow stay true to. To paraphrase a line from King Lear, they are not themselves. They are what the kingdom needs them to be.

"The Crown"

A single image: a young African man falls to his knees and kisses the creamy white shoe of the newly anointed Queen Elizabeth II as she stands on the steps of a house in Africa. She has been travelling through the British Empire, visiting the subjects of the Commonwealth, and her father, the king, has unexpectedly died in her absence. The whole village and her entourage stand at attention as the young African bows in subjection, paying fealty, not to the woman, but to the crown—the crown that, by the way, has oppressed, exploited and killed generations of his people.

It is an awkward moment, to put it mildly, for all of us. The novice queen seems flustered, perhaps embarrassed by this public display of adulation. But she does not withdraw herself from this demonstration. This is the duty of royalty. We, however, members of an audience that has experienced the civil rights movement and Black Lives Matter, cannot help but cringe. Our inevitable, collective sense of the painful irony of this scene seems

not to be at issue. This is not what the show is about—the gulf between the perceived value of the crown and the irrational devotion to it by those harmed by it and the destruction it has wrought upon cultures, peoples and traditions. No, the show is about the brave persistence of a class of human beings that has outlived its purpose, that once represented God-given authority and certainty in a chaotic world but now is a superfluity in a nation governed by politicians, and it is about our nostalgia for the way things used to be.

What troubles me about "The Crown" is that it gets us and that it does not get us. We want to be sympathetic with Elizabeth-just as we want to be sympathetic with Hamlet and Lear-but we don't want to be stupid. Let me put it more gently. Much as we honor history and value tradition, we also criticize those august abstractions; we understand them to be failed and fraught, to be words that justify unspeakable injustice and cruelty, and we want to see drama that acknowledges this ambivalence. I can say with some confidence that this scene acknowledges the attraction to the way we were, but I don't believe it acknowledges the repulsion. I almost stopped watching the series after this moment. Granted, an entire show cannot be contained in one scene, but in well-made art each scene matters. And this one mattered to me.

"Victoria"

While "The Crown" offers an image of Elizabeth II as a dowdy and dutiful, if reluctant, queen, "Victoria" paints a far more romantic portrait of the monarch. Victoria is young,



rebellious, defiant of tradition, and though she often does what is expected of her, she does it on her own terms. She proposes marriage to the man who will become Prince Albert, much to the delight of his family and the disappointment of hers, for the most unroyal of reasons—she has fallen in love with him. Their love scenes are appropriately muted, given the sensibilities of the PBS viewing audience, but Victoria's fondness for sex, and Albert's willingness to provide it, are more than adequately implied. In addition to being a sensitive musician and a passionate lover of science, Albert is deadly handsome (or, rather, the actor who portrays him is), and we become complicit in Victoria's crush.

When she becomes pregnant, Victoria responds with understand-



able reluctance-she fears losing her figure, compromising her relationship with her husband and, perhaps, dying in childbirth. Albert, however, assures her that she will survive, for she is strong, and her strength is what he loves about her. Refusing to be confined by her condition, Victoria goes out to visit peers of the realm in an effort to lobby for Albert, for she has named him regent in the potential circumstance of her death (an unpopular decision with Parliament). In one especially sweet scene, we watch Victoria fall in love with the locomotive-a form of modern technology that Albert has a passion for that, until this moment, Victoria has not understood. Victoria inevitably loves what Albert loves, suggesting that the queen and prince consort are not only spouses

but also friends, thus anticipating the most modern of relationships.

As a longtime student of English literature of the 19th century, to say that I find many of the scenes in "Victoria" unlikely is an understatement. But in fact, the writers seem to be aware of this. In one of the episodes of the series, they deliberately defy viewers' suspension of disbelief with dialogue that incorporates contemporary slang into the stuffy British-speak that Masterpiece Theatre aficionados are accustomed to. At one point, one of the lords of the realm invokes the phrase "Just sayin'," and, moments later, Prince Albert, in conversation with another lord, responds to a statement with surprise, uttering "Snap!" This is simultaneously ridiculous and delicious. The writers tip their hand at last. Attentive viewers have suspected what they are up to, but now we know. The character of Victoria is not Victoria any more than Albert is Albert. Victoria is us.

"texts&beheadings/ElizabethR"

By far the most complicated in this trilogy of queens is the character of Elizabeth I as portrayed in Karin Coonrod's extraordinary play, "texts&beheadings/ElizabethR." This complexity stems, in part, from the fact that there are four queens on the stage simultaneously from beginning to end, each representing an aspect of Elizabeth's character. The show, produced by the New York-based Compagnia de' Colombari theater collective and recently performed in New York City,



is a fascinating meditation on the enigma of Elizabeth, a woman who wielded unprecedented power in a world ruled by men. Unlike the television series, Coonrod's play is not representational drama. Instead, it presents an hour-long series of interlocking monologues consisting mostly of Elizabeth's own words—her letters, poems, prayers and other documents—that cumulatively reveal

the brilliant, cagey, independent, passionate person she likely was.

The show is divided into four movements, each of which showcases a different actress and a different side of Elizabeth. At the heart of each movement is a "game," each of which enacts the trials Elizabeth had to undergo, including a parade of would-be husbands (all of whom she rejects on the grounds that her marriage is

with her kingdom), a recitation of insults hurled by her contemporaries (one of which insists there must be "100,000 devils in her body" for her to act so contrary to women's nature), and culminating in a catalogue of the ceremonial clothing Elizabeth must wear, a heavy but necessary burden that transforms her from an ordinary, vulnerable woman into "Gloriana," the carefully fashioned idol all men

must bend their knees to and obey.

Coonrod's Elizabeth is, by turns, witty, charming and scary-like us in her confidence, her conviction of her own cause and her feminist urgings, yet unlike us in the obstacles she faces. The clang of prison doors and the thud of the chopping block sound periodically in the background, reminding us of the perilous nature of Elizabeth's circumstances. The stakes for her are very high. And yet, perhaps there is a parallel here between ourselves and this formidable creature: the loss of one's job or career looms as a reality for contemporary women who must choose between family and vocation (as Elizabeth did), who labor not to fall on the wrong side of their male superiors, who are often subject to prejudicial treatment and sexual harassment in educational institutions and in the workplace. Perhaps this is, at last, ground that queens and commoners share because they are female. If this is the case, the conclusion of the play is cause for celebration.

If Elizabeth's life can be seen as an elaborate game, she won, famously so. Her victory is in some sense our victory. In the space of an hour, Coonrod's play is able to accomplish most successfully what "The Crown" and "Victoria" strive hard to do, with their multiple episodes and multimillion dollar budgets-convince us that, perhaps, the royals aren't so different from you and me.

Angela Alaimo O'Donnell is a writer, professor and associate director of the Curran Center for American Catholic Studies at Fordham University. Twitter: @AODonnellAngela.

Embracing the Homeless Woman Selling Papers

By m.nicole.r.wildhood

her gloveless hands presenting dusty news her crisp brown eyes rising and quickly plummeting to her graying sneakers with each squeaky swipe of the automatic doors as shoppers exit, heavy bags swinging from their elbows this word in front of that word that you hear yourself say to her

when we believe in things we do not understand

the outsideness of her world to you that you can never know if you feel warmth the way she does, too small for her thin, dull-brown coat, and her body, especially her eyes that it was you who needed the hug

and when we do not quite believe in people, places or things, it is not quite suffering

the creases clawing at the corners of her eyes

the smile she gives you as she tells you about the slow death of her cat, which was outside with her always, and great on a leash without ever being trained

how you reach into and then out of yourself to get that hug

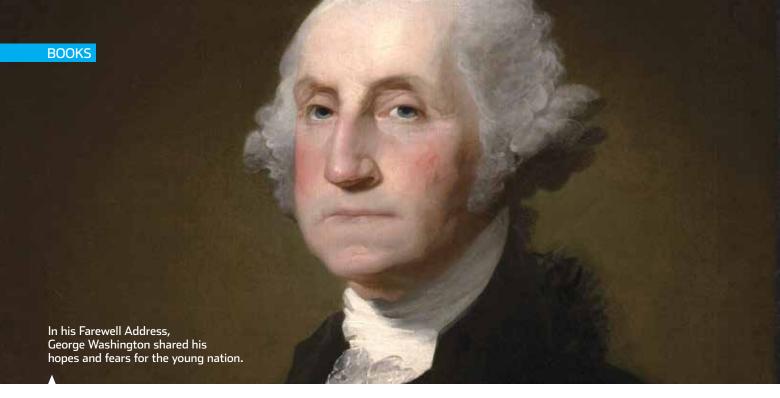
but if we are very certain that a person, place or thing is something else,

then we should use a metaphor—

like hugging that cat-less woman is a very full grocery bag—then again, what is a better metaphor for suffering than itself standing on its own

holding you with its own two gloveless hands

m.nicole.r.wildhood's work has appeared in The Atlantic and The Atticus Review, among other publications. Her chapbook, Long Division, is forthcoming from Finishing Line Press. She writes for Seattle's street newspaper, Real Change.



Timely counsel from America's first commander in chief

By William Lanouette



Washington's Farewell The Founding Father's Warning to Future Generations By John Avlon Simon & Schuster. 368p \$20

Insightful, engaging and suddenly very timely—how's that for a letter written to a newspaper in 1796?

Now known simply as Washington's Farewell Address, this public notice to "Friends and Fellow Citizens" was the way the country's founding president announced that he would not seek a third term. It was also the way he shared his hopes and fears for the young country's perilous future.

George Washington had appeared in person to address the Congress in 1783 when resigning his commission as commander in chief of the Continental Army. But this 1796 farewell was written, not spoken—although it is still read aloud in the U.S. Senate on Washington's birthday. The author of this book, John Avlon, editor in chief of The Daily Beast and a political analyst for CNN, calls it "the most famous American speech you've never read." His perceptive view of American history and his agile prose make a convincing case for why you should read Washington's farewell today.

Voted unanimously by the Electoral College to two terms as president, George Washington personified the new nation. He had wished to serve but one term and began drafting a farewell address in 1792. By then, however, Washington found himself to be a needed conciliator among hostile "factions" within his own cabinet, and it was only the specter of a civil war without his steady leadership that prompted him to stay on.

Washington knew from the start just how fragile the new republic would be. He was president of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, where he dealt first-hand with the conflicts inherent in forging this novel political system. He strove then to reconcile tensions that still persist: between federal and state governments, between urban and rural communities, and between an industrial North and an agrarian South. The only president to be a true independent, before the rise of political parties, Washington still had to endure divisive partisan strife between those later called the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans.

During Washington's second term, Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton was a loyal aide, but Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, the principal drafter of the Constitution, secretly founded The National Gazette as a paper that ceaselessly attacked Washington.

When in 1793 Washington declared U.S. neutrality between the warring French and British, he was denounced for abandoning an ally.

France reacted by sending as its ambassador Edmond-Charles Genet, whose secret mission was to foment a popular revolt against the president. And when in 1795 the Chief Justice of the United States John Jay negotiated a treaty with Britain as a way to buy time for the fledgling nation to recover from war and expand trade, it was attacked for aiding a former enemy. Washington couldn't wait to return to Mount Vernon.

Yet Washington's Farewell became more than his personal view of America's future because by enlisting Madison, Hamilton and Jay-all three authors of The Federalist Papers that had advocated ratifying the Constitution—he drew on diverse perspectives from his fellow founders. Washington asked Madison to try a first draft in 1792, used Hamilton as his principal ghostwriter in 1796 and enlisted Jay to edit the many drafts as they evolved.

Avlon eloquently highlights six themes or "pillars of liberty" celebrated by the address: national unity, political moderation, fiscal discipline, virtue and religion, education, and foreign policy. He calls the address's history and drafting "an autobiography of ideas," and in this telling Washington comes alive as a prophet of today's political ills. Partisanship, he warned, "agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection" and "opens the door to foreign influence and corruption." Washington was a practical advocate of enlightened citizenship, and his "overriding focus was turning the fact of independence into enduring liberty," Avlon explains. "This is not an incidental distinction: While freedom can be a state of nature, liberty requires a degree of self-discipline. It is the essence of self-governance."

A man with little formal schooling himself, Washington valued public education both to endow his fellow citizens with practical skills that would enrich the country and to assure that "public opinion should be enlightened." Washington also advocated religious pluralism and spurned the "horrors of spiritual tyranny and every species of religious persecution." His own strong sense of personal morality and decorum he developed by reading a 17th-century Jesuit guide known as "Rules of Civility & Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation."

While the address is remembered for warning against "entangling alliances," the phrase itself was actually first used by Jefferson at his first inauguration. Washington's counsel is timeless nonetheless and could well apply to the way the United States treats Iran and Russia today, just as it did to France and England in his time: "The nation which indulges towards another a habitual hatred or a habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest."

Through later generations the address was quoted by Jackson to oppose secession and by Lincoln to forestall civil war, although Jefferson Davis also used it to celebrate the Confederacy's "constitutional liberty." Lyndon Johnson cited its call for public education, and Gerald Ford commended its principles of religion and morality. Unfortunately, the address was also badly misconstrued, as in 1939 when the German American Bund rallied in Madison Square Garden, claimed that it justified U.S. neutrality toward Hitler and circulated a pamphlet titled "George Washington: The First Nazi."

Mostly, however, Washington's Farewell Address has survived as civic scripture, memorized by school children and celebrated in government and commercial advertising. In 2015, the sell-out Broadway musical "Hamilton" set key phrases from the address to hip-hop song and verse that celebrated the peaceful transition of power and the bond of citizenship.

Dwight Eisenhower said that as a young man he "idolized" Washington, and as retired general himself he echoed the address's warning against "overgrown military establishments" in 1961, when he delivered his own farewell on national television. Then he condemned the "military-industrial complex" as a threat to "our liberties" and "democratic processes." It is notable that *Three Days in January*, a book by Bret Baier and Catherine Whitney about Ike's farewell, has also recently appeared.

Washington's Farewell complements another fine book about presidential rhetoric, Lincoln at Gettysburg, by Garry Wills. The two volumes focus on different values from the country's anxious founding days. Wills shows how in just 272 words Lincoln drew on the Declaration of Independence to rededicate a fractured nation, while Avlon parses the 6.088 words Washington shared to celebrate the principles and the powers inherent in the Constitution.

Avlon gives us a vivid and engaging review of Washington's decisive role in shaping our history: first as a general when helping to gain American independence, then as a scribe whose farewell guides his fellow citizens on a courageous quest that remains unfinished to this day.

William Lanouette, a writer and public policy analyst, is the author of Genius in the Shadows: A Biography of Leo Szilard, the Man Behind the Bomb.

Grappling with the Gordian knot

Books by the bushel purport to offer insights that will advance the prospects of a peaceful end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Few offer anything fresh or novel. *A Path to Peace* does not number among those few.

It is difficult to understand what prompted the authors to undertake their project. From January 2009 to May 2011, George J. Mitchell, former Democratic senator from Maine, served as President Obama's special envoy for Middle East Peace. Alon Sachar was a member of Mitchell's team. Their efforts to promote the cause of a two-state solution, no doubt well intended, yielded nothing of substance. Now, years after the fact, they weigh in with these belated reflections.

The book breaks into two parts. The first part consists of a potted narrative of the Arab-Israeli conflict dating from the launch of Zionism, while summarizing the role played by the United States since the founding of the state of Israel. For anyone completely unfamiliar with that history, it presents a brief, balanced introduction. To anyone with knowledge of the basic facts, it offers nothing new.

The book's second half focuses on Mitchell's own efforts to untie this ultimate Gordian knot of Middle East diplomacy. In assessing the results of his efforts at peacemaking, he offers a judgment that is severe but apt: Conditions conducive to peace simply do not exist; the opposing parties do not trust one another; internal divisions on each side limit freedom of action. As for Israeli prime minister Benjamin Net-

anyahu, it is not at all clear that he sees the status quo as objectionable.

Mitchell's own best efforts having made no progress, he sees "no prospect of any in the near future." Even so, *A Path to Peace* concludes with its own prescription for "a way forward." You have heard it all before: borders "based on the 1967 lines with land swaps"; a blend of compensation, repatriation and resettlement for Palestinian refugees; secure borders for Israel; Jerusalem as "the capital of both states." Yadda, yadda, yadda.

Andrew J. Bacevich is the author, most recently, of America's War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History.

St. Augustine's love life

St. Augustine famously confessed to a life of lust and sinfulness as a young man, including a longstanding relationship with a woman who was not his wife. He never named the woman, and like so many other women in the early years of the Catholic Church, she simply disappeared from history.

Until now.

Like Anita Diamant's best-selling novel *Red Tent*, Suzanne Wolfe's story of Augustine and his concubine, known only as X, is told from the point of view of a woman—a perspective so unusual in the retelling of history that it's almost startling.

It would have been easy to cast Augustine as the villain and X as the

victim, but Wolfe resists, instead fashioning a convincing story about two people who cannot stay together but who never stop loving each other.

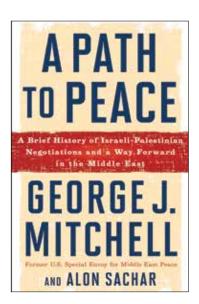
That love is the book's theme is appropriate, given the extent to which Augustine wrote on the subject in his remarkably candid *Confessions*. In the Middle Ages, he was often depicted as the saint of love, holding a large red heart with flames shooting out of it. The painters, of course, are likely to have had a different kind of love in mind, the kind Augustine described when he wrote, "To fall in love with God is the greatest romance, to seek him the greatest adventure; to find him, the greatest human achievement."

Still, we can't let Augustine have the last word. This is a story, after all, about

a woman whose love was not recorded and whose life can only be imagined.

Here is what she has to say: "He is the last to hold my shape in the vessel of his heart and with his passing my story dies as if I had never been, like cities fallen in the desert and returned at last to sand. I am become the merest flicker of a shadow, passing fugitive and brief along the edges of another's life."

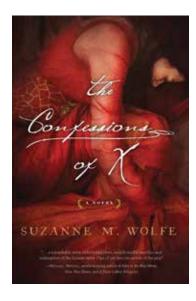
Kristin Gilger is associate dean of the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University.



A Path to Peace

A Brief History of Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations and a Way Forward in the Middle East

By George J. Mitchell and Alon Sachar Simon & Schuster. 272p \$26



The Confessions of X A Novel

By Suzanne M. Wolfe Thomas Nelson. 304p \$11

What Econ 101 gets wrong

James Kwak is a brilliant young law professor, whose newest book is a slim little volume that blows up the major premise of most conservative policy-making-and indeed much of the Democratic policy agenda as well.

Kwak's target is "Econ 101," the introductory course in economics that uniformly presents a world driven entirely by "supply-and-demand" curves. An invisible market dance mediates the adjustments in volumes and prices that infallibly reach an outcome as ideal as can be.

The principles of Econ 101 usually work with easy-to-understand choices, like buying a television or a movie ticket. But when they are used to drive more complex decisions, Kwak shows that they are often found wanting, even wildly inappropriate.

Congress takes almost as holy writ that increasing minimum wages destroys jobs because it raises the price of labor. In fact, that is only sometimes true: nearly as many studies show there are job losses as show there are none, and when there are job losses, they are typically small.

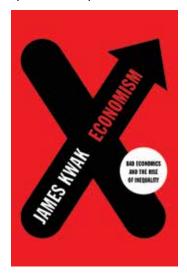
Increasing taxes for the wealthy, according to the author, will curtail the work effort of our most productive citizens and slow economic growth. But the highest average economic growth in the post-war world was in the 1950s and 1960s, when the wealthy paid tax rates of 70 percent or more. The worst period of growth was over the last 15 years, when taxes on the rich were the lowest since the war.

The financial deregulators of the

1990s and 2000s acted on the faith that informed consumers plus innovative finance would improve investor returns. In the real world, when the restraints were removed, the whole industry turned predatory and nearly destroyed the world economy.

The most glaring failure of the Econ 101 model is health care. Virtually every health care program initiative for many years is shot through with "competitive markets" claptrap. Serious diseases come in a bewildering array of forms and deadliness, beyond the grasp of a lay person. Almost all other advanced countries treat health care as a public good, paid for by taxes, and get far better health outcomes at a far lower price than Americans do.

Charles R. Morris's latest book is Rabble of Dead Money, a history of the Great Depression.



Economism

Bad Economics and the Rise of Inequality

By James Kwak Pantheon Books. 256p \$25.95



Searching for George W. Bush in his portraits of soldiers he sent to war

The most renowned artist to have an exhibition this year is the early-career portraitist George W. Bush. "Portraits of Courage" features 66 paintings of wounded veterans whom the former president has come to know through his Military Service Initiative, which helps post-9/11 veterans make the transition to civilian life. Although Bush painted the portraits to call attention to the individual men and women who were injured carrying out his orders, it is his own character that is of most interest to his critics.

As a painter, Bush's technique is to build extremely thick layers of oil paint on the canvas or board. Doing so can lend either reality or surreality to the portraits, as scars are made palpable; facial folds are deepened; and the normally invisible injuries of guilt, depression and post-traumatic stress are inscribed on surfaces.

Lt. Col. David Haines appears as a fleshy, disembodied face that nearly fills the frame and merges with the turquoise background. Haines's eye sockets are deep—because Bush has dug them out and piled lighter shades around them. Thick waves and globs of paint cover his forehead, perhaps signaling an inner struggle.

One of the most affecting pieces, though, is one of the least textured. Petty Officer Chris Goehner, who worked with a medical trauma unit in Iraq, is painted entirely in red. Different tones and values rather than heaps of paint indicate the furrows in his brow and the terrified vulnerability of a man who suffered nightmares for years.

First Sergeant Robert Ferrara, who served a 23-year career in the Army, said in a recent interview in the exhibition gallery that Bush "captured everything about the way I was back then," before Ferrara began to heal from depression and survivor's guilt. Ferrara looks emotionally shattered in his portrait, which is incorporated into a mural featuring dozens of service members in uniform. He stares

into the far distance but seems to shrink from something nearby.

Ferrara never sat for a portrait— Bush works largely from photographs. He got to know the president through veterans' events at Bush's ranch in Crawford, Tex. Ferrara credits those programs with helping him to heal. At the exhibition, his wife Melissa compared him to the painting and said, "Look how far you've come."

At a time when presidential character is a pressing concern, "Portraits of Courage" shows the humility of a democratically elected leader who recognizes that he, too, is a citizen. Bush's commitment to helping wounded veterans succeed in civilian life speaks to his compassion. These are essential virtues for a president. Ferrara described his former commander in chief as "a normal, down-to-earth guy" whom he respects "not only as a president but as a man."

But the humility it takes to reach out to citizen-soldiers is not the same as the intellectual humility needed when considering war or the humble acceptance of responsibility for war's



consequences. Bush has never expressed regret about his costly, ill-informed decision to invade Iraq.

Public expressions of regret and private reconciliations may be different things. This exhibition raises the question of whether a leader can, after leaving the chain of command, become the friend of someone he ordered to go into mortal danger.

It is a question few of us have to confront personally. During Bush's brief remarks about the exhibition, delivered to reporters gathered in the gallery, a malfunctioning public address speaker loudly popped and buzzed. As an aide hustled over to turn the device off. Bush joked to the veterans lined up next to him, "That remind you of anything?"

"Portraits of Courage," paintings by George W. Bush, is on exhibition at the George W. Bush Presidential Center in Dallas, Tex., through Oct.1.

Jonathan Malesic is a writer living in Dallas. He is writing a book about the spiritual costs of the American work ethic.

A brilliant nun with no time for short-sighted men

The poetry and passions of the 17th-century Mexican nun Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz are given new life in "Juana Inés," a Netflix original series now available in the United States. A longtime favorite of the secular literary world for her remarkable range-known as the "first feminist of the new world," she was equally adept writing love poems and plays as she was penning theological essays-Juana Inés remains a complex figure for Catholics. This new series pushes boundaries and forces viewers to consider how intellect, desire and faith intersect.

In the first scene of the show, her aunt and uncle want to send Juana Inés away. "You're young, beautiful and intelligent," they say. "The court is a perfect place for you to find a husband." She scoffs at the idea but not simply to be rebellious. The daughter of a Creole mother and a Spanish father, Juana Inés has struggled to find a personal identity, guided instead by the desire to gain knowledge.

She is precocious, curious and

brilliant beyond her years. The other women at the court are jealous-and so are some priests. Father Antonio Núñez, a stodgy and ambitious Jesuit, is her foil.

Núñez uses the pretense of scandal to drive Juana Inés to a Carmelite convent. That cloister is torturous for her. She leaves but later joins the Hieronymite nuns. Núñez wants to break her spirit; Juana Inés uses the placement to pursue her writing.

Often secular critics view Sor Juana's religious life as merely an intellectual convenience rather than a real vocation. In this simplified view, Juana Inés had to discard the trappings of belief to achieve literary greatness. Instead, Sor Juana found both tension and sustenance in her religious life. She had criticisms of the short-sighted men who sought to quiet her voice, but she looked bevond them to God, whom she saw as the source of her wisdom.

Nick Ripatrazone's newest book is Ember Days, a collection of stories.



Photo: CanalOnce

Not My Will, But Yours

Readings: Mt 21:1-11, Is 50:4-7, Ps 22, Phil 2:6-11, Mt 26:14-27:66

The evangelists crafted characters to draw readers in. Throughout the Gospels, certain individuals or groups draw readers' attention and give them a point of access to the narrative. When readers identify with these characters, they become participants in the action. In this way, the Gospels give Christians of every era the opportunity to encounter Jesus.

In Matthew's passion narrative, the crowds are one of these "points of access." Matthew holds up their fickle behavior as a warning. He knows that an encounter with Christ can bring a burst of excitement as new believers feel Christ's active presence and project onto Christ all sorts of unfulfilled expectations. In a short time, however, these believers realize that grace does not unfold according to human fantasies. Initial excitement becomes confusion, resentment and finally rejection. This perversity of heart colors both Palm Sunday Gospel passages.

Jesus is not a native of Jerusalem, but something about the place affects him deeply. Jerusalem symbolizes all of humanity's passion, dreaming, striving and industrious self-defeat. In the thunder of the crowds he encounters the whole drama of humankind. In the teeming crowds he sees us.

The crowds do not see him. No one recognizes the humble carpenter who heals the sick and preaches forgiveness and generosity. Instead, they project their unfulfilled expectations and desires onto Jesus. Some long for a political liberation, some for a reform of the temple, some for economic rectification. Still others have no clear desire except that things change for the better. Many of these hopes are mutually exclusive.

Jesus satisfies none of these expectations. Matthew sketches Jerusalem's disenchantment in a few quick episodes. Jesus alienates political radicals when he accepts the payment of taxes to Caesar. Likewise, Jesus' action against the Temple was more impulsive than strategic and led to no structural reform. Jesus preaches several parables that are insulting to faithful Jews, and he fills his discourse with unnerving talk about the destruction of the Temple and the end of the world. Within a few days, Jeru-

Not as I will, but as you will.

(Mt 26:39)

PRAYING WITH SCRIPTURE

What expectations have we placed on Jesus? How has he responded?

If we had a faith like his, what fears could we overcome?

salem had lost interest in his message and the crowds were howling for his blood.

Matthew's passion narrative warns us against similar expectations and disillusionment. Not every Christian will reject Christ with the vigor of the Passion Week crowds, but disciples in every age have turned away when Christ failed to fulfill their limited expectations.

When he looked out over the crowds that day in Jerusalem, Jesus saw a humanity worth dying for. Even when they rejected him, his love did not change. He could see beyond their narrow visions of power and prestige, and he knew what they truly needed was the same unshakeable faith in the Father's love that had propelled his own ministry. A demonstration of that love was the one thing that could truly save them, and he bent his will to providing it even though it meant his death.

This is Matthew's lesson for us. Jesus demonstrated faithful divine love even when it meant the cross. When we see beyond our initial disappointment, we find in Christ's act of love a gift that truly saves us. We find we are children of the same God whose love triumphs even over death.

Michael R. Simone, S.J., is an assistant professor of Scripture at Boston College School of Theology and Ministry.





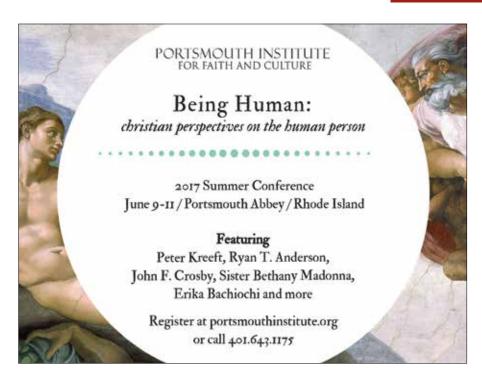
POSITIONS

"Chaplain" position at Canterbury School in New Milford, Conn. The Chaplain will be charged with the pastoral direction of a Catholic boarding school of 325 students, ages 14 to 19. The Chaplain will be expected to reside on campus. For complete job description please contact: Pete Cotier at pcotier@cbury.org.

The University of Notre Dame is actively recruiting lay people and religious to be residence hall Rectors. Rectors are the administrative, community, and pastoral leaders of residence halls. Please visit rector. nd.edu to learn more and apply. Applications due March 24. Contact Liz Detwiler at edetwile@nd.edu for more information.

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Pour Out Light Unshadowed

Readings for Easter Day: Acts 10:34-43, Ps 118, Col 3:1-4 or 1 Cor 5:6-8, Jn 20:1-9

The show "Hoarders" profiles individuals whose obsessive fear of loss causes a compulsive accumulation of unneeded things. In every episode, a mental health professional tries to help the individual break this cycle. For many, hoarding started with a catastrophic childhood loss. Memories of that death darken every succeeding event; a lifetime of reinforcement drives them to cling to anything that might protect them from another loss. They only find relief when they overcome their fear.

One does not need to be a hoarder to feel the chill of death's shadow. It is more comfortable not to acknowledge it, but we know that everything we love and rely on will pass away. Even we ourselves will return to the dust. This admission is like an icy rain that clouds our vision and numbs our hands. It can obscure every joy and steal the warmth from every moment of love.

This fear anchors and feeds our worst decisions. Fear of lost joy makes us grasp at places or things that might make us happy. Fear of losing a loved one upends otherwise happy relationships. From these inchoate fears, the deadly sins unfold: anger, pride, envy, greed, gluttony and lust; sloth comes when we despair over the inevitable do-

When Christ your life appears, then you too will appear with him in glory. (Col 3:4)

PRAYING WITH SCRIPTURE

How has my life been driven by fear of death? What decisions has it affected?

What would change if I stopped fearing death?

minion death has over us. These are truly death's offspring, rising up from our deepest fears and impelling us to our most destructive behaviors.

Christ's resurrection shows us that we no longer have to live this way. In this Easter Gospel, John is oddly specific about the condition of the burial cloths; for him, they are evidence that death has been defeated. Someone who moved or stole the body would have kept it wrapped up. The sight and smell of a putrid body would have caused disgust, and an unsecured corpse would have been a clumsy burden. Realizing this, the two apostles took the discarded winding-sheet and veil as symbols of the resurrection: the man who bore them needed them no longer. They saw and believed, even though they did not understand how it could have possibly been true.

This belief transformed them. During the Easter Vigil, the Gospel reading from Matthew told us how the two Marys left the tomb fearful yet overjoyed. Death might cast its shadow, but the resurrection fills life with light. Christ revealed that death was no longer something to be feared. Jesus says again and again in each resurrection account, "Peace! Do not be afraid!" Death is defeated!

This is the light of Easter. This is the light shared with the newly baptized during the Easter Vigil, and with all of us as we renew our baptismal vows, participating in Jesus' death and resurrection. His death liberated us from sin; his resurrection shows new life, made visible when death's shadow is destroyed, along with the fear of loss, defeat, isolation or despair it brings. We lose nothing when we love our enemies, bless our persecutors, forgive our transgressors and beg others for forgiveness when we must. Because we need not fear loss, we can be generous and welcoming to all. Then suddenly we realize that Jesus revealed the resurrection in every one of his deeds. Just so, in their every act his disciples must share with a death-shadowed world his brilliant and fearless light.

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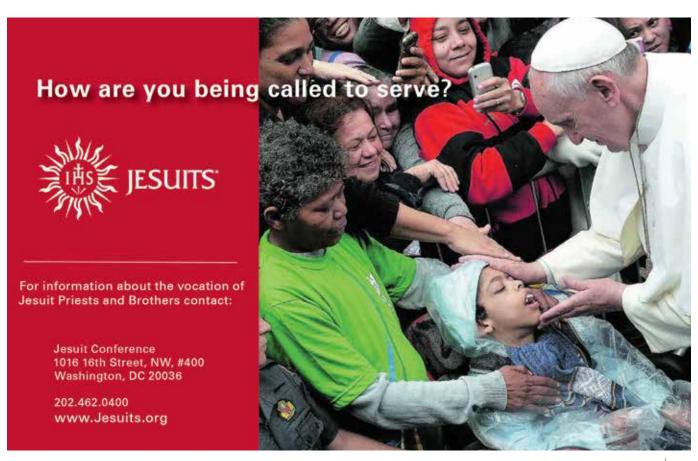
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Francis' Heavy Lift

In a troubling time, the pope stands alone.

By Helen Alvaré



When I reflect on four years of Pope Francis, my brain conjures an image of a man (in a white cassock, of course) straining to push a giant armoire across a cavernous room. Spoiler alert—the armoire is the church.

He is a bit impatient because he thinks its "new spot" will be vastly more desirable. From time to time he is grumpy and barks a comment or two to the people around him who are failing to help. Sometimes he doesn't have a great deal of patience with the people who dispute his trajectory, or who want to know how it will actually work in practice when the armoire reaches its new spot.

Another image comes to mind, too. This one is very much a function of the situation in the United States at this moment. Headlines are screaming; battle lines are hardening; and our heads are swimming. We may be "one nation," but we are most definitely not "indivisible" or "under God." Forty percent of Americans report that they have recently fought with a close friend or relative over politics. And politics is a zero-sum, scorchedearth proposition, seemingly taking the place of religion for a remarkable number of people.

Against this backdrop, Pope Francis seems like the one untroubled man standing on a raised hill in the middle of a crowd reduced to chaos. He is reminding us what we were gathered to

do in the first place. His words are the kind of simple commands that would be taken for naïveté by a slick politician, but that work wonders to focus the minds of genuinely lost souls looking for bedrock. He is reminding us that we were born and are destined to live in radical solidarity with one another, that we are made (to quote Benedict XVI) to give every person around us "that look of love they crave"—that we crave!—that now is no time to worry about form over substance, that Jesus is as good as he looks, and it's time to get back in close touch and to live as if we take him at his word.

The bottom line is good for a Catholic at this time in history in the United States. We are reminded to get back to basics in a way that is desperately needed. Our parish does not need a new half-million dollar organ, but it sure could use more mutual service and a striving by priests and laypeople together to bridge the Gospel to our 21st-century lives. We are reminded that the image of the church that captured us as children can still live in our hearts and guide our steps: the pictures on the covers of our religion books featuring people of every age and race and nation, smiling because they are one in Christ Jesus. Francis has this almost childlike conviction. We can too.

At the same time, the pope's wide, sweeping gestures also contain the

seeds of some frustration. Details matter sometimes. They have to be settled in order for things to move. The armoire won't fit if the chosen space is a few inches too small. The crowd cannot be brought to order if they can't hear the leader's words clearly over the noise. To request details is not to deny the grandeur or the necessity of the sweeping gestures. It is not to be mean to people who want to bask in their beauty. It is rather to realize their import in particular situations. So we need to know things like the full meaning of marital indissolubility or how women really will be incorporated more fully into church leadership. We need both: the beauty to draw us forward, and the transparency and guidance to allow us to deal with the particulars we encounter along the way.

Helen Alvaré is a professor of law at George Mason University, where she teaches law and religion and family law.

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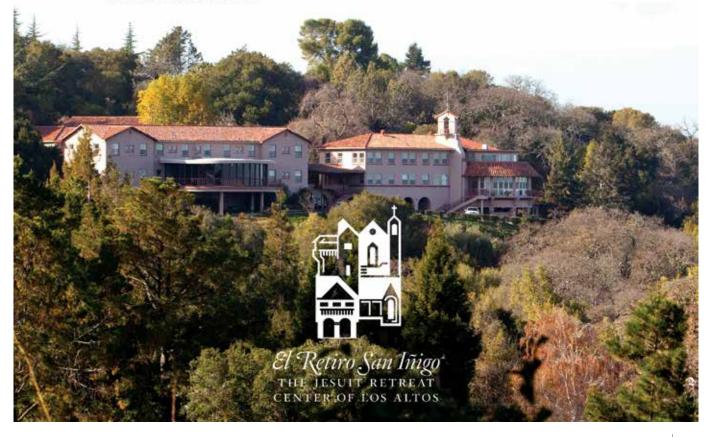
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