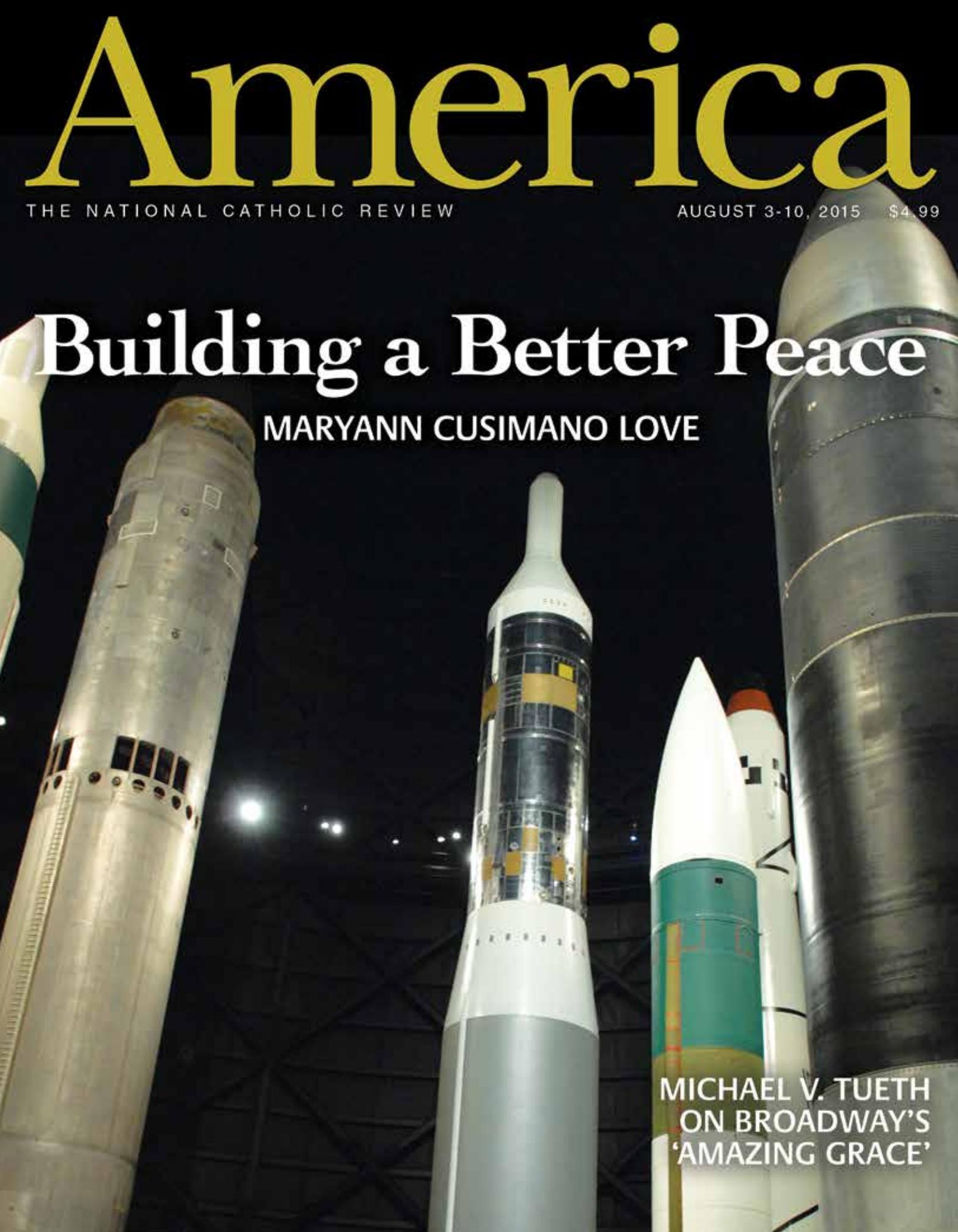


America



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Building a Better Peace

MARYANN CUSIMANO LOVE

MICHAEL V. TUETH
ON BROADWAY'S
'AMAZING GRACE'

There is a certain type of sentence often spoken in our ecclesial discourse, whose subject is “the bishops,” as in “The bishops should do X” or “The bishops think Y.” Many Catholics make this sort of statement. It’s perfectly reasonable, of course, considering the essential role that the episcopate plays in the life of the church.

Yet statements that refer to “the bishops” often belie a diverse and complex reality. In the last few years, I have traveled extensively throughout this country, and I’ve met a lot of bishops. I’ve learned that our perceptions don’t always align with their realities. I’ve learned, for example, that “the bishops” do not exist, if by that phrase one means a single, monolithic community of men who think and act the same way. To be sure, they are all devoted to the church and to its teachings on faith and morals. Apart from what is essential, however, they have widely different opinions about contestable or prudential matters and different pastoral and political sensibilities. It is inaccurate, for example, to assume that “the bishops” all vote the same way when they enter the voting booth.

Yet there are also several perceptions of the American bishops that are flat out wrong, even uncharitable, and we should challenge them. One canard is that the bishops are all careerists. The vast majority of them, including every one I have met, are not self-interested schemers. Are they disinterested in their advancement? Of course not; none of us are. But is ambition the driving force of their lives? Absolutely not. They are by and large faithful and devoted sons of the church.

Another misperception is that the bishops live like princes. Indeed, some of them have inherited a lot of stuff and they are thinking of downsizing in the spirit of Pope Francis. It will

make good practical sense for some of them and perhaps not for others. These decisions are not always straightforward. But judging by what people often say, you’d think that “the bishops” are the only ones who need to be thinking this way. Shouldn’t we all be thinking this way? Does a Jesuit community really need 12 cars for a community of 20 men? Do you need that house in the Hamptons, or that third car in the driveway, or a five bedroom house to raise two children? Maybe, maybe not. But focusing on “the bishops” conveniently distracts us from asking similarly tough questions about our own lives.

It is also often said that “the bishops” are imperious or somehow lacking humility. My experience is that they struggle with humility no more or less than the rest of us. In my own life, moreover, when I accuse someone of lacking humility it is almost always an indication of my own deficiency in this virtue. Another misperception is that “they” don’t listen. By and large, I think they do. It’s important to remember, however, that listening is not the same as agreeing. Do the rest of us, moreover, listen to them?

“But what about Bishop So-and-So and what he did,” someone might ask. Of course there are exceptions to the rule. I’m not talking about the exception to the rule, however, but the fact that too many of us unfairly believe that the exception is the rule. Being a bishop in 2015 is a thankless and almost impossible job. We are lucky that most of the bishops in this country are devoted, intelligent and hardworking. It is also the case that they have given their lives to us in service. You don’t have to agree with everything the bishops say and do in order to see that they deserve our gratitude and prayers, as well as our best efforts to truly listen to them before we insist on being heard.

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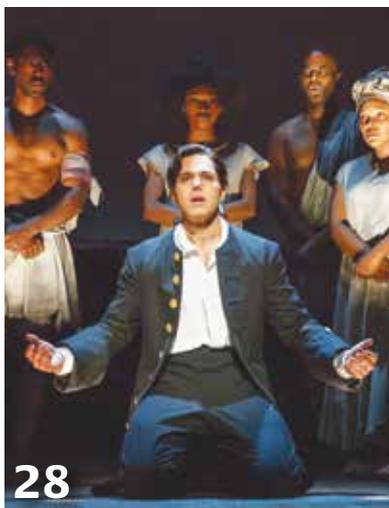
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ON THE WEB

Meghan J. Clark, right, offers a video reflection on the biblical roots of Catholic social teaching. Plus, **Paul B. Moses** talks about the rivalry between Irish and Italians in New York on "America This Week." Full digital highlights on page 36 and at americamagazine.org/webfeatures.



Community 2.0

The community at Reddit, a collection of online forums that is one of the most heavily trafficked Internet sites, has been roiled by controversy and a user revolt against the site's management. After a respected employee was fired, the community moderators of one of the site's most popular forums took it offline in protest, explaining they "all had the rug ripped out from under us and feel betrayed." Many other Reddit communities joined the protest. Reddit's management began doing damage control with a series of apologies; but these proved insufficient, and its chief executive officer, Ellen Pao, resigned on July 10. In *The Washington Post* on July 16, Ms. Pao described the events leading to her ouster as "one of the largest trolling attacks in history."

Outside Reddit itself, some celebrated the protest as a triumph of online democracy and community over the corporate overlords, while others viewed it as confirmation that the Reddit community culture is adolescent at best or abusive and misogynistic at worst.

Forging a community of discourse is hard, and for an online community, these difficulties are magnified by the distance and pseudonymity the Internet provides. Yet this observation must not be taken as an excuse to reject or denounce online community, still less as an opportunity to absolve ourselves of the hard work of pursuing better community. As Pope Francis recognized in his 2014 World Communications Day message, "While these drawbacks are real, they do not justify rejecting social media; rather, they remind us that communication is ultimately a human rather than technological achievement." Ms. Pao, reflecting on the messages of support she had received in the midst of the attacks, said that she was "rooting for the humans over the trolls" because "the power of humanity to overcome hate" gave her hope. Put another way: the fix for crises like that of the online community at Reddit is not for them to be less online but for them to be more of a community.

Latinos Rising

Recent data released by the U.S. Census Bureau confirms a change many demographers have been predicting for years: Latinos now outnumber non-Hispanic whites in California. According to census data, there are 14.99 million Latinos living in California, compared with 14.92 million non-Hispanic whites. This shift makes California the largest U.S. state with a majority that identifies as "non-white" and the fifth state overall. Hawaii, the District of Columbia, New Mexico and Texas have also experienced this shift. This demographic move is particularly striking in California because the Latino population is relatively

young: the median age is 29, compared with a median age of 45 for non-Hispanic white citizens in the state.

However, according to data released last year by the Pew Research Center, the number of Hispanics and/or Latinos identifying as white is also growing, a factor that might affect future census numbers. According to Pew, in 2000, 35 million Americans identified as Hispanic, Latino or Spanish on census surveys. By 2010, an estimated one million of these Americans had changed their self-identification to "white."

Regardless of future shifts in these census numbers, this change is particularly meaningful for the Catholic Church in the United States. Despite a decline in the number of U.S. citizens who identify as Catholics, more than 50 percent of Latinos in the United States self-identify as Catholics. As more self-identified Latinos begin to populate the United States, the church will be afforded an opportunity to see many more Catholics in the pews.

Our Sustainable Future

The international development goals drafted by the United Nations at the dawn of the 21st century were considered ambitious at the time, perhaps even naïve. Among the eight Millennium Development Goals were these three: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, halt and reverse the spread of H.I.V. and AIDS, and ensure universal primary education—all by the year 2015. Now, as the expiration date of the campaign approaches, the United Nations has released a final report on the global community's fight against poverty, inequality and disease.

The achievements of the past 15 years, though not entirely attributable to the M.D.G., are significant. The number of people living on less than \$1.25 per day has been reduced by more than a billion, and the number of people without access to safe drinking water has been cut in half. Some projects fell short of their goals but have shown notable progress: child and maternal mortality were cut roughly in half, and millions more girls are now in school. Critics say the U.N.'s numbers-driven approach at times incentivized short-term development gains, but the simplicity of the M.D.G. undoubtedly focused resources and attention in an unprecedented demonstration of global solidarity.

In September world leaders will seek to build on this momentum by launching a sustainable development agenda for 2030. As the name suggests, this new set of goals will place greater emphasis on the social and environmental aspects of development and will push all nations—not just those in the developing world—to pursue inclusive and responsible economic growth.

Economy for the People

During a press conference on his recent plane ride from Paraguay to Rome, Pope Francis admitted he has “a great allergy to economic things.” This is perhaps a surprising statement from a leader who has not hesitated to describe the dangers of unbridled capitalism and called inequality “the root of social evil.” And although some have taken this statement as proof that Francis is out of his league in economic discussions, his outsider status may in fact allow him to approach economic questions in new ways and to breathe new life into the global dialogue. His timely urging of human-centric solutions to current fiscal crises proves his contributions to the conversation are worthy of reflection and engagement.

Francis appropriately places the economy in the context of both the market and morality—but he is not the first to do so. Adam Smith, best known as the father of modern economics, was also a moral philosopher and, in addition to *The Wealth of Nations*, published *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. For Smith, the “self interest” that guided a laissez-faire system was not rooted in greed or avarice but was informed by basic human values of empathy and morality. Today, too often, that connection is lost.

In his recent address to the World Meeting of Popular Movements in Bolivia, Pope Francis spoke not of the “invisible hand” but of the “invisible thread” that connects the many forms of exclusion in our world, a “system [that] has imposed the mentality of profit at any price.” It is a system that is “intolerable,” Francis said. And while capitalism has many benefits, even its most fervent advocates admit that it, like all economic systems, is imperfect. The vast numbers of people in poverty within capitalist societies prove this. Yet too often, any critique of capitalism is read as a condemnation.

As Francis stated, “Let us begin by acknowledging that change is needed.” His urging is a welcome opportunity for dialogue and discussion, and a chance to move beyond ideology. Creative solutions are required, as are true humility and a willingness to listen. Francis said that he plans to read criticisms of his economic theory before he visits the United States, and he welcomed the suggestion by one reporter that he speak more often about the struggles of the middle class.

This struggle has become especially evident in the context of the Greek economic crisis. As Christians and as people of good will, we are called to be aware not just of policies but of the people they affect. Yet as Greek citizens line up at banks and the Greek middle class shrinks, some

European leaders have held hardline stances against the possibility of debt forgiveness. Such actions encourage a world in which the expected returns of the banks are given more weight than the expectations of the individuals actually living in the midst of economic chaos. As European nations debate a solution, they would do well to consider Francis’ statement that “the first task is to put the economy at the service of peoples.”

The European Union can succeed only if the member countries are united not simply by a currency but by a willingness to make sacrifices for the common good. “It would be too simple to say that the fault is only on one side,” Francis said of the Greek crisis. Any true solution must begin with humility on all sides. German leaders, who have urged the strongest austerity measures for Greece, must remember that their own economy benefited greatly from substantial debt forgiveness after World War II. And, following Francis’ example of humble leadership, Greek leaders should be willing to admit their own mistakes in the lead-up to the crisis. “No government can act independently of a common responsibility,” Francis said. “If we truly desire positive change, we have to humbly accept our interdependence.”

Current economic conversations should urge the global community to ask: How does a nation build up an economy that builds up its people? Francis, while promising more attention to the middle class, has nonetheless insisted on attention to those who are at the margins, whether struggling individuals or nations, who cannot and should not be forgotten. His journey to South America was a testament to this belief, as evidenced by his visits to Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay—three of the region’s poorest nations—and to the marginalized people within these nations: prisoners, indigenous peoples and those who live in slums.

He also pointed to the example of Latin American countries that have “pooled forces in order to ensure respect for the sovereignty of their own countries and the entire region,” which the European Union would do well to note. Western nations should recognize the valuable lessons that might be gained from greater dialogue with the global South. The reality of our “global interdependence calls for global answers to local problems,” Francis said. Together, let us work toward a world in which not only the wealth of nations but the people of all nations may grow and thrive.



REPLY ALL

Troubled Stars

Re “Mother and Sister Earth” (Editorial, 7/6): A Sufi teaching instructs: “To pluck a flower is to trouble a star.” Pope Francis’ encyclical, “*Laudato Si*,” presents a very comprehensive view of the human impact on earth’s community. The looming environmental disaster (the root meaning of the word *disaster* is “ill-starred”) shows that we view the world of nature as a collection of objects that we can use for our consumer purposes rather than a communion of subjects that are interconnected and interdependent for life. *Oikos* is the Greek word for household, from which we get the word *ecology*. Planet Earth, our home, is the only planet coded for millions of diverse life forms. The encyclical proposes the question: Why would we continue destroying this beautiful home we live in with millions of other species that provide for us a wide spectrum of beauty and life? Should we not review our consumerist lifestyles instead?

RICH BRODERICK
Online Comment

Best Worst Case

Re “Encyclical From Pope Francis Welcomed as Global Call to Arms,” by Gerard O’Connell (Signs of the Times, 7/6): I beg a calm moment to shift the focus away from “human-caused” or “climate cycle” points of contention toward what faith asks of us in order to be in community with each other: an understanding of resources, interdependencies and the benefits of sustainable living.

In a popular cartoon printed eight years ago, a climate summit attendee asks, “What if it’s a big hoax and we create a better world for nothing?” Behind him a bulletin board lists the benefits of a more sustainable future: “Energy Independence; Preserve Rainforests; Sustainability; Green Jobs; Livable Cities; Renewables; Clean Water, Air;

Healthy Children” and so on. You can view this question as one driven by scientific evidence or you can view it as a question of social and environmental ethics, void of climate change data. “Whatsoever you do to the least of my brothers, you do to me” and the Golden Rule ought to lead to a similar place of understanding that there is no real separateness.

JACQUELINE O’BRIEN
Online Comment

A Missing Voice

I was disappointed in “Return to Havana,” by Margot Patterson (6/22); not a single leader of the Catholic Church was quoted. In virtually every country of the world, the church is a leader “on the ground,” with a unique and immediate viewpoint. I wonder if Ms. Patterson didn’t like what she heard from church leaders, if their words didn’t jibe with her editorial view, or if she didn’t have access to them, which in itself would have been a story. I just find it odd to neglect such an obvious source of material. I will likely never get to Havana; so I, like so many others, rely on stories like this to fill in the blanks. We will pray for the church in Cuba, as in so many others places around the world.

MIKE ACHESON
Port Angeles, Wash.

Homeboy Help

Re “L.A. Wage Wars” (Current Comment, 6/22): Homeboy Industries is a remarkable ministry, and I am hopeful that the training component, along with the other benefits trainees receive, will justify a temporary relaxation of the wage ordinance. This would certainly add an incentive for workers to finish training. Those who access Homeboy face great difficulties, and there can hardly be any benefit to adding another 60 unemployed and unemployable young people to the street. My anxiety about Homeboy was relieved by the laugh that I got about exempting union-

based employment because wages might be lowered through collective bargaining. Too clever by half—to encourage unionization as a way to circumvent wage minimums.

Those concerned might do worse than not only to read Homeboy founder Father Boyle’s book, *Tattoos on the Heart*, but also to visit Homeboy’s online store and purchase some of its goods.

MARY KEANE
Online Comment

Holy Land Encounter

I read with interest “In Jesus’ Footsteps” (6/8), the account by James Martin, S.J., of the recent pilgrimage to the Holy Land sponsored by America Media. I traveled there last month as part of a Living Stones Pilgrimage planned by the Holy Land Christian Ecumenical Foundation.

In 2009 the Christian churches of Palestine issued a call for Christians from around the world “to come and see” how Palestinians are living under occupation. It was a powerful experience both to see the holy places where Jesus lived and walked and at the same time to see the huge separation wall, go through checkpoints, smell tear gas at a refugee camp in Bethlehem near where Jesus was born and hear the stories from both Christian and Muslim Palestinians about the precarious lives they live and how they are nonviolently resisting the occupation.

We also heard from Israelis about how they are working for justice for Palestinians. I, too, will never read the Scriptures in quite the same way. I, too, met Jesus in a new way in encountering my brothers and sisters in the land of the Holy One.

MIMI DARRAGH
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Following the ‘Nones’

I very much appreciated “The Gospel According to the ‘Nones,’” by Elizabeth Drescher (6/8). It reminded me of the early teaching of Jesus: uncomplicated,

f STATUS UPDATE

Following the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges* on June 26, Daniel P. Horan, O.F.M., asked, "How Should Christians Respond to the Court's Decision on Marriage?" (*In All Things*, 6/26). Readers respond.

I think Pope Francis is quite clear on the issue: Accept gay people of good conscience and treat them with love; no to the redefinition of marriage and the new secularist ideology sweeping the West. You can accept gay people

and their relationships but be against redefining marriage. Children have rights to a mother and a father, in my book.

HELEN TEDCASTLE

Rather than focus on what Jesus said about homosexuality (which was nothing, by the way) and obsess about how certain people are leading their lives, why not focus instead on actually helping out the most oppressed in our society and around

the world? As a country, we have wasted too much time and money pondering whether same-sex marriage is right or wrong. Think about how many people in the world we could have helped by now if we devoted as much energy to their causes, instead of worrying about whether two men can have a wedding registry at Macy's. So, to answer Father Horan's question: Move on. Help those in need. Be Christ-like.

DAVE GONZALEZ

with emphasis on the good news of God's love and mercy for all. I think we learn from the edges and the marginalized of society where the "church" needs to go. Those who break out of the established church organization can often point the way past our insular collective preoccupation with doctrines, laws and moral rectitude to the core of Jesus' message as Gospel stories relate it.

I also know many former Catholics, all seniors, who are disillusioned by the church and the sexual abuse committed and covered up for decades by the hierarchy. Unfortunately, the Catholic bishops have never regained the trust they lost in that debacle of moral leadership. True church and spiritual reform comes from the bottom and the sides. My hope is that the "nones" can be seen as pointing the way for those of us who want to meet their needs as well as our own in some form of "future church."

ELAINE BERNINGER
Cleveland, Ohio

Beyond Belief

As a very old professional scientist and a convert to the church, ever thankful for the gifts of faith and reason, I am very moved by "A Voyage of Belief," by Robert E. Lauder (5/25), and I will be reading John Haught as a result. The operative word at the end of the piece

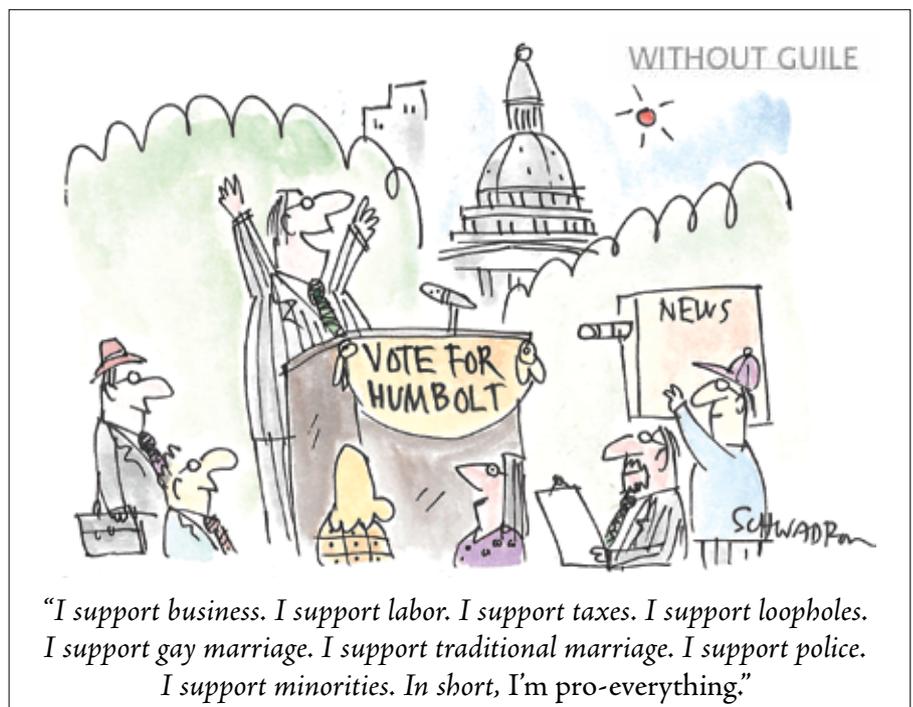
is "discovery." My entire career has been about just this, and as it continues I am ever aware of how little I know. I, a tiny and very limited creature, am loved by an eternal Creator in an infinite universe.

It is a concept beyond my grasp, but the journey of discovery has been

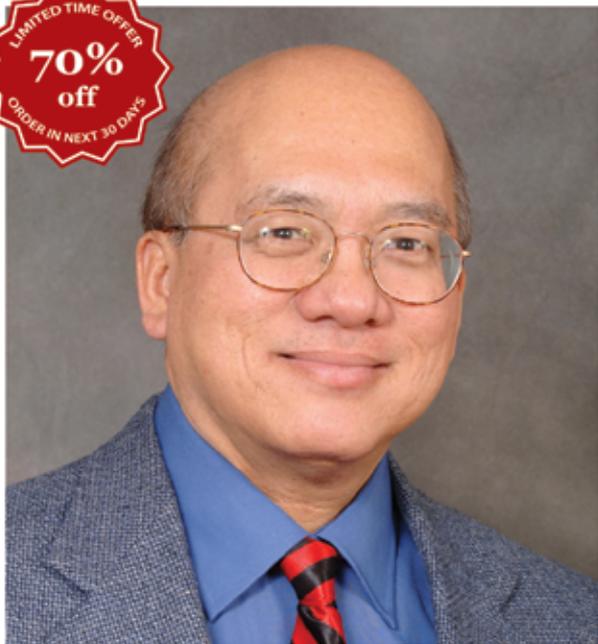
rich and beautiful beyond belief, and at age 85, I am ready and, thankfully, eager for the "rest of the story." I give thanks for the divine and human wisdom of the Jesuit order and this magazine.

ALFRED JAMES III
Bel Aire, Kan.

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Professor Peter Phan, Georgetown University

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* A scholar who was educated throughout the world and is fluent in several languages, Prof. Phan speaks with a multinational accent.

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SIGNS OF THE TIMES

MIDDLE EAST

A Year After a Punishing Conflict, Gaza Struggles to Rebuild



RIDE AMONG THE RUINS. In Khan Younis, rubble is all that remains of houses destroyed during the 2014 Israeli campaign against Hamas in Gaza.

One year after war with Israel turned daily life in Gaza into a nightmare, a Catholic priest there said the situation in the besieged Palestinian territory has deteriorated even further. “Compared with a year ago, we’re worse off. Although a truce stopped the war, the blockade of Gaza by Israel has grown more intense. This has direct consequences for the population,” said the Rev. Jorge Hernández, pastor of the Catholic parish of Holy Family in Gaza City.

The priest said the war also served as a recruiting tool for Hamas, the Islamic party that has controlled Gaza since 2007. “The war generated new activism throughout Gaza. The number of people willing to fight has multiplied, whether on behalf of Hamas or Islamic Jihad or the Salafists, and now even with the Islamic State. Despite that, the great majority of the people of Gaza are not aligned with one party or another. They just want to live a normal life,” Father Hernández, an Argentine missionary of the Institute of the Incarnate Word, explained.

The 50-day war cost the lives of more than 2,250 Palestinians, 65 percent of whom were civilians, according to a report in June from a U.N. investigation. The report said “the scale of the devastation was unprecedented.” It said the Israeli military launched more than 6,000 airstrikes, 14,500 tank shells and 45,000 artillery shells into Gaza between July 7 and Aug. 26, 2014.

The war also “caused immense distress and disruption to the lives of Israeli civil-

ians,” the United Nations said, reporting that nearly 4,900 rockets and more than 1,700 mortars were fired by Palestinian armed groups during that period. Sixty-six Israeli soldiers were killed, along with six civilians.

Fawzi Abu Jame’a had finally finished building his family’s dream home just eight months before the beginning of the conflict. Jame’a’s house soon fell under a barrage of bombs, mortars and weaponized bulldozers that pushed through the rubble ahead of advancing Israeli ground troops.

But now he is back home. Sort of. His house remains a pile of rubble on which he still owes almost \$2,000. But in a vacant space beside it, he has moved into a house built by Catholic Relief Services, the international relief and development arm of the U.S. Catholic bishops.

C.R.S. is building hundreds of what it calls “transitional houses” throughout Gaza, where more than 10,000 houses were completely destroyed in last year’s conflict. They are designed to last at least five years, after which residents hope they will be able to move into a more permanent dwelling. “It’s an excellent house, and with a window it’s not too hot. I feel fortunate, as a lot of people here still have nothing,” said Jame’a, who has already added a patio, kitchen cupboards and several other improvements.

Deya Al Baba, a C.R.S. shelter specialist, said getting victims of war out of crowded shelters and into decent housing is a critical contribution to helping Gaza begin to recover.

“Palestinians in Gaza consider their house as their paradise. They spend most of their lives building a new

house to provide adequate and dignified space for their children,” he said. “There are no green spaces to let their children play outside, so the house becomes a place for the children to play,

learn, cook, eat, watch television, all the normal things of life. So when they lose their homes, they are heartbroken and depressed. Their home is their life, their dream.”

ABORTION

Planned Parenthood Video Provokes Calls for Investigation

Recriminations continued to accumulate after the release of a gruesome conversation about fetal remains, recorded by a hidden camera, went viral on the Internet, provoking a national uproar about Planned Parenthood procedures.

Produced by the Center for Medical Progress, the video captures Dr. Deborah Nucatola, senior director of medical services for the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, discussing ways abortion procedures can be altered to preserve fetal body parts requested for use in research. The video was shot at a business lunch in the Los Angeles area on July 25, 2014. As many Americans tried to wrap their heads around the idea of the existence of a robust trade in fetal organs and tissue derived from abortions, calls for congressional investigations were heard in Washington. A number of governors launched reviews of Planned Parenthood policies and procedures in their states to determine if local treatment of fetal remains was in keeping with federal law.

The state of American journalism— is it co-opted and cowed by liberal supporters of Planned Parenthood or drawn into too hasty conclusions from edited and out-of-context video?—also became part of the national dialogue. Meanwhile, reactions to the story by the American public split predictably across pro-life and pro-choice battle-

ments.

As millions watched the video of Nucatola’s blasé discourse on abortion and organ recovery on YouTube in varying degrees of shock, Planned Parenthood’s president, Cecile



Richards, initially remained defiant, denying any wrongdoing and challenging the integrity of the investigative team that released the edited video. But Nucatola’s bland recounting of abortion procedures in between sips of wine and bites of lunch salad had disturbed many viewers. In a statement posted on YouTube on July 16, Richards soon took a different tack. She apologized for Nucatola’s “tone and statements,” but emphasized that “the allegation that Planned Parenthood profits in any way from tissue donation is not true.”

As head of Planned Parenthood’s Medical Services Department, Nucatola has overseen medical prac-

tice at the federation’s locations since 2009. She also trains new Planned Parenthood abortion doctors and performs abortions herself at Planned Parenthood in Los Angeles on women who are up to 24 weeks pregnant, according to the Center for Medical Progress.

Surreptitiously videoed by C.M.P. investigators, she explained to two investigators posing as officers of a biotech firm how she adapted her procedure during an abortion with the aim of keeping fetal organs intact. “We’ve been very good at getting heart, lung, liver,” said Nucatola, “because we know that, so I’m not gonna crush that part, I’m gonna basically crush below, I’m gonna crush above, and I’m gonna see if I can get it all intact.”

“This public revelation about Planned Parenthood’s trafficking in human body parts obtained as a byproduct of abortion is long overdue,” said Vicki Evans, respect life coordinator for the Archdiocese of San Francisco. An undercover investigation of a Planned Parenthood affiliate in 2000 resulted in similar findings, Evans said. Congressional hearings to investigate trafficking in fetal organs and tissue by private companies were held, but nothing was done, she said.

According to a New York Times report on the controversy, companies that acquire fetal tissue and organs from Planned Parenthood can command high prices, “given the demand among researchers.”

During the recorded interview, Nucatola mentions one of those companies, StemExpress, a five-year-old business in Placerville, Calif. An archived Internet page suggests StemExpress pitches partnerships to abortion clinics as a way to generate revenue. “By partnering with StemExpress,” the compa-

ny appeals to clinic directors, “not only are you offering a way for your clients to participate in the unique opportunity to facilitate life-saving research, but you will also be contributing to the fiscal growth of your own clinic.”

Rising Latinos

More than half of young Catholic families participating in a recent survey identified themselves as Latino or Hispanic, a finding the president of Holy Cross Family Ministries said will require new ways of ministering in the U.S. Catholic Church. Overall, 54 percent of young couples in the 25- to 45-year-old age range said they were Latino or Hispanic. That compares with the overall adult Latino/Hispanic Catholic population of 32 percent. “People may speak English, but culturally they’re Latino. That’s a big piece of information,” Willy Raymond, a Holy Cross priest, said of the findings in a national study his organization commissioned. “It means we have to be more assertive in looking at the ways we can be of service to these families.” The report, “The Catholic Family: 21st-Century Challenges in the United States,” also found that 68 percent of parents have not enrolled their children in a Catholic school, a parish school, a religion program or a youth ministry program affiliated with a Catholic parish. “The number that is not exposing their children to catechesis is shocking to me,” Father Raymond said.

Renewed Push to End Death Penalty

In a message commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Catholic Campaign to End the Use of the Death Penalty on July 16, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops renewed its opposition to capital punishment. “Our faith

NEWS BRIEFS

The mining industry, especially in the world’s poorest countries, must **make a “radical change”** to respect the rights of local communities and protect the environment, Pope Francis said on July 17. + Bishops across Mexico expressed incredulity after the escape of the drug kingpin Joaquín Guzmán, known as El Chapo, on July 11—many charging the escape demonstrated the **complicity of public officials** with drug cartels and the depth of corruption in the country. + As West Africa’s **Ebola crisis subsides**, the Vatican’s nuncio to the United Nations, Archbishop Bernardito Auza, called on world leaders on July 10 to make “action-oriented commitments” toward “getting to zero and staying at zero” on future Ebola outbreaks. + On July 12, Tony Boutros, a Melkite priest—taken with his Muslim driver—became the **eighth cleric abducted** in recent weeks as violence worsens in Syria and Iraq. + An outpouring of sympathy and prayer **washed over Tennessee** after two shooting incidents on July 16 that left five Marines and the shooter dead. + A U.S. court of appeals found on July 14 that the **Little Sisters of the Poor** and other religious entities are not substantially burdened by procedures established by the federal government that allow them to escape a requirement to provide contraceptive coverage in health insurance.



Prayers for Tennessee

tradition offers a unique perspective on crime and punishment, one grounded in mercy and healing, not punishment for its own sake,” wrote Cardinal Seán P. O’Malley, O.F.M.Cap., of Boston, chair of the bishops’ Committee on Pro-Life Activities, and Archbishop Thomas G. Wenski of Miami, chair of the Committee on Domestic Justice and Human Development. “No matter how heinous the crime, if society can protect itself without ending a human life, it should do so. Today, we have this capability.”

Iran Deal Welcomed

The Holy See welcomed Iran’s historic nuclear deal and expressed hopes that other breakthroughs may be on the horizon. Under the new deal, decades-long sanctions would be lifted in exchange for an agreement by Iran to restrict its nuclear program to peaceful

purposes. Federico Lombardi, S.J., the Vatican spokesman, said on July 14 that “the agreement on the Iranian nuclear program is viewed in a positive light by the Holy See,” adding “continued efforts and commitment on the part of all involved will be necessary in order for it to bear fruit.” The chairman of the U.S. bishops’ Committee on International Justice and Peace also welcomed the agreement in a letter to members of the U.S. Congress. Bishop Oscar Cantú of Las Cruces, N.M., encouraged U.S. lawmakers to “support these efforts to build bridges that foster peace and greater understanding.” He added, “We hope that the full implementation of the agreement will gradually foster an environment in which all parties build mutual confidence and trust so that progress will be made toward greater stability and dialogue in the region.”

From CNS, RNS and other sources.

DISPATCH | MIAMI

Reviving Haiti, a Tough Job for a New Cardinal

The last time a Roman Catholic priest got involved in Haitian politics, things did not turn out so well.

That was the tragic saga of Haiti's former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the erratic cleric who came to power twice, in 1991 and 2001, only to be ousted by coups and protests. The world is hoping Cardinal Chibly Langlois will turn out to be a better story. And so far, so good.

Langlois (pronounced "Long-lwah") has no interest in being president, but if Haiti holds successful parliamentary elections in August, the cardinal could be credited with helping to get the Western Hemisphere's poorest and most politically chaotic nation back on democratic track.

"We are at a crossroads," Langlois said recently. "The country has been experiencing a long and delicate political phase."

That's a polite characterization of Haiti's civic situation since an earthquake devastated the nation in 2010. In 2011, former carnival singer Michel Martelly was elected president. His own corrupt and authoritarian bent, coupled with the epic dysfunction of his opposition, has led to relentless gridlock and often violent street demonstrations.

The worst crisis involved Martelly's apparent refusal to carry out elections for Haiti's Senate and Chamber of Deputies, which should have been held shortly after he came to power. Cardinal Langlois stepped forward last year to break the stalemate, and his

"inter-Haitian dialogues" did result in an agreement, the El Rancho accord, to hold the elections in the fall of 2014.

But El Rancho got derailed, largely because the opposition decided the new electoral law Martelly put forward was an unconstitutional ploy to give his party an edge. So Haiti's Congress expired in January, and it has been dissolved ever since, leaving Martelly to rule by decree.



Cardinal Langlois may be a sorely needed calming influence.

Still, the church dialogues laid just enough groundwork to compel Martelly, in March of this year, to set a date for the parliamentary elections—Aug. 9—and the presidential contest, scheduled for Oct. 25. (Martelly by law may not run for re-election.)

But as the August balloting approaches, it's worth assessing how Langlois has performed in his first, and probably not his last, outing as Haiti's go-to social mediator. The broader question is: Is he proving equal to the heavy cachet Pope Francis thrust on him in January 2014, when he tapped the relatively young (then 55) bishop to be the first cardinal in Haiti's history?

Langlois—a prelate not from the capital, Port-au-Prince, but from the comparatively small diocese of Les Cayes—certainly brings a welcome humility to the role. He grew up poor near the port town of Jacmel, and his common touch helped raise his profile

as Haitians struggled to survive after the 2010 quake.

But while the new cardinal may be a sorely needed calming influence in Haiti, analysts say that might also be a liability—that Langlois may be too soft-spoken to referee effectively the Haitian rough-and-tumble ahead and that seeing El Rancho through to its original schedule, for example, required a firmer episcopal hand than he gave it.

Either way, church leaders inside Haitian-American communities like Miami's say Langlois prefers to lead by example. That's evidenced, they add, by his unprecedented outreach to the Haitian diaspora.

The consensus in most diplomatic circles is that Haiti won't see real rebuilding until it lets the country's expatriates play a more active role. Toward that end, after his appointment as cardinal last year, Langlois visited the Haitian enclaves in a number of U.S. cities, including Miami.

But Langlois's most pressing issue abroad is the humanitarian crisis next door in the Dominican Republic. The government there is poised to deport hundreds of thousands of Haitian-Dominicans under a controversial new immigration law that strips them of their Dominican citizenship—a measure Langlois recently called "inhuman."

Back home, Langlois is also dealing with a rash of bandit assaults on church property—including robberies and attacks against nuns, some of whom were raped. The cardinal has called for an improved rule of law.

But that requires renewed political order—which may very well require the further mediation of Haiti's first cardinal.

TIM PADGETT

TIM PADGETT, *Latin America editor for NPR affiliate WLRN, is America's Miami correspondent.*

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Pontifex Economicus

The subtitle of Pope Francis' stunning new encyclical, "Laudato Si', On Care for Our Common Home," belies the preference of some that a pontiff not venture into economic matters—Jeb Bush, for instance. Etymologically, after all, economics is the discipline of managing a home; the encyclical's heading therefore presents it as an economics for the world we hold in common. But what kind of economics is it?

As the document's most uncomfortable critics have pointed out, the pope has little faith in the capacity of the market mechanisms of global capitalism to smooth out our reckless abuse of creation on their own. He is less than sanguine also about the capacity of national governments to do the job, especially since many are in the thrall of the same multinational corporations that profit from doing the damage. With neither capitalism alone nor the strong arm of states to turn to, it is no surprise that critics—Catholic ones most venomously—have accused him of economic naïveté and incoherence.

There is, however, a different sort of economics that helps us see the sense in what Francis proposes—the economics of the commons. This is a tradition that includes the "all things in common" described in the New Testament Book of Acts and the primacy of the common good over private property, upheld from Augustine to modern social teaching. People throughout history have practiced the art of "commoning" to steward goods that states and markets are not equipped to handle. The late Elinor

Ostrom won a Nobel Prize in economics for her research on how longstanding communities govern resources like fisheries and forests, and today the commons of information is undergoing a revival through practices like open-source software. Communities manage their commons in many different ways, using many of the same tools we use to manage our households—like relationship, custom, listening, ritual and love. Act like a greedy homo economicus at the dinner table, and don't expect to be offered dessert.

The Italian economist Stefano Zamagni, a member of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, has participated in the development of Catholic economic teaching before and during the present papacy. "From an economic point of view, the environment is a common good," he told me. "It is not a private good or a public good, which means that we cannot cope with the problem of the environment using market mechanisms per se, or government intervention." The ideas of Elinor Ostrom and other scholars of the commons have figured prominently in the academy's proceedings. The Belgian open-source advocate Michel Bauwens and the founder of Wikipedia, Jimmy Wales, have been invited speakers.

The kinds of remedies Francis proposes for our ecological sins often fit the logic of commoning. He calls for cooperative kinds of business that share wealth rather than accumulating it. He calls for prayer, for repentance and for dialogue—the kinds of things we do when something goes

wrong in our household.

Especially controversial are the passages where Francis proposes "systems of governance for the whole range of so-called 'global commons.'" Some have understood this as some kind of overreaching world government. But Zamagni insists that it is no such thing. Like the World Trade Organization, for instance, this might be something like the very agencies that capitalism relies on, though far more accountable than the W.T.O. to the world's poorest, who are often the first to hear and suffer from the planet's groanings.

We can respect markets without needing to affirm their omnipotence.

Commoning is not a replacement for markets or states. Zamagni stresses that the consumerist capitalism that dismays Francis is not synonymous with markets as such. "The pope is not against the market economy," he says; the problem is an idolatry that imagines markets can solve our moral crises for us. We can respect the usefulness of markets without needing to affirm their omnipotence.

This is the first third world encyclical—drafted by an African cardinal, Peter Turkson, and completed by a South American pope. Like Catholic social teaching in general, it declines to bow before the competing altars of Cold War economics. The commoning it calls for is the wisdom of the ancients, still hidden in plain sight among the "informal economies" at global capitalism's margins. This is the art, at once, of keeping a loving home and of sharing a precious planet.

NATHAN SCHNEIDER is the author of *Thank You, Anarchy and God in Proof*. Website: TheRowBoat.com; Twitter: @nathanairplane.

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CHAS PHOTO/CHAZ WUTH

Building a Better Peace

BY MARYANN CUSIMANO LOVE

NUKES NO MORE. Participants talk at the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons' Civil Society Forum in Vienna on Dec. 6.

The Roman historian Tacitus, writing near the time of Jesus, described how the Pax Romana was experienced by people, like the Celts and Jews, who had been conquered by the Romans: “They make a desolation and call it ‘peace,’” he wrote, quoting Calgacus, a besieged Caledonian chieftain.

As Christians, this is not the sort of peace we seek. Jesus of Nazareth made it clear that he was not in favor of a desolate peace, a negative peace—peace based on the sword, military threats and power. Jesus lived in a war zone under foreign military occupation in a period of civil war and violent insurgency against the foreign occupiers and the

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domestic leaders who cooperated with the occupying forces. He and his family were refugees, according to the definition of the 1951 Convention on Refugees; they fled genocide, as described in the 1948 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Yet he lived his life practicing and preaching peace-building, people-building, relationship-building and reconciliation.

For the church, a tradition of just peace has been hiding in plain sight. It is not a new development, although it has become more recognized and embraced in recent decades. It was given to us by Jesus. Jesus dialogued with enemies and with poor and marginalized persons, raising them up and healing impoverished, war-traumatized peoples, driving out their demons. Jesus not only had a declaratory policy urging peace-building, he lived peace-building and commissioned us to follow him.

Just peace in the area of nuclear weapons means moving away from a peace based on desolation and mutually assured destruction, and instead moving to a peace based on right relationships and mutually assured reductions of nuclear weapons. Pope Francis recently revised the Holy See's position on nuclear deterrence, strengthening the church's historic commitment to nuclear disarmament. The church underscores the desolation that would be caused by any nuclear detonation, accidental or intentional, through the Holy See's engagement in the international meetings on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons.

The Way the War Ends

Our task today is to find ways to build a better, more resilient peace. What kind of peace do we seek? Just peace criteria include participatory process, right relationships, restoration, reconciliation and sustainability. Wars end, but they do not always end with the positive peace of right relationships we are called to build as Christians. Sometimes wars end in that desolation we call peace. More than a quarter of a century after the fall of the Berlin Wall, we should remember that the Cold War ended in a cold peace that persists today, contributing to the problems we now face with nuclear weapons.

The Cold War ended with a settlement of the Second World War and the status of what had been a divided Germany. There was diplomatic engagement between the United States and Russia on a host of issues, from econom-

ic accords to cooperation in space, including the historic Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program that removed and safeguarded thousands of nuclear weapons and materials.

But there was no reconciliation between the United States and Russia or between Russia and the newly independent states of Europe. There was no "truth and reconciliation commission" for the Cold War, no public apologies for crimes or acknowledgement of harms done during decades of conflict, no systems to reintegrate former foes through symbolic politics that built a wider and deeper public support for peace with Russia.

After more than 45 years of movies, stories and politicians vilifying the Russians, there were no "Sesame Street" characters or action movie franchises building public support for the idea of "the Good Russian, Our Friend." The Cold War did not end in World War III and foreign occupying forces, thank God. But because it did not end with a military battle, too many of our Cold War nuclear weapons and alert force postures and cultures of suspicion remained in place.

In just peace terms, a standard tool of peace-builders is Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration/Reconciliation, called D.D.R.—that is, the building of "right relationships." For the United States and Russia, there was no D.D.R. process. We had some disarmament, without demobilization and without enough building of deeper relationships. To achieve deeper disarmament we need to build deeper relationships. To build deeper relationships, we need more people-building relationships. That means not just state government activities but exchanges between church and civil society, dialogue and engagement to broaden the work of reintegration and reconciliation.

Some practical work lies ahead. The church and most state parties to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty recommend deeper cuts to nuclear arsenals. On disarmament, U.S. and Russian interests coincide in preventing proliferation and reducing the costs of maintaining nuclear weapons by having much smaller arsenals.

Greater demobilization is also needed. The United States, Russia and other countries must better safeguard and secure their remaining nuclear weapons by removing them from a hair-trigger alert status. The past strategy of maintaining a

Pope Francis urges dialogue, dialogue, dialogue—within society, among states, with other faiths, with reason and science—to build a people of peace through reconciliation.

dispersed and mobile nuclear arsenal, aimed at nuclear deterrence, should cease.

But further disarmament and demobilization will elude us until we address the “R” in D.D.R., building stronger right relationships. Disarmament can strengthen relationships of trust through regular inspections and information sharing that promotes transparency and accountability regarding nuclear weapons and materials. New and continued cooperative activities in counterproliferation and nuclear safety, reaffirming existing commitments, adhering to current nuclear agreements and sharing information on the costs of nuclear arsenals and potential cost savings can also help build better relationships.

The United States and Russia have a track record of cooperation on nuclear issues, from the Megatons to Megawatts program, which converted highly enriched uranium to usable energy, to the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism. The United States has abided by the terms of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty for decades, protecting public health and saving money. Ratifying the test ban treaty would deepen the commitment not to use nuclear weapons and help build trust.

Other Paths to Peace

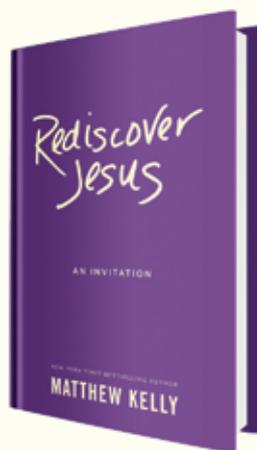
There are other ways to build relationships beyond bilateral approaches, particularly at a time when bilateral relations

are strained. Non-state venues and multilateral processes should be pursued. The nuclear security summits, the Proliferation Security Initiative, partnerships to prevent proliferation and the Global Threat Reduction Initiative (which removed highly enriched uranium and plutonium from 18 countries, more than enough for 100 bombs) are important models.

Relationships are also deepened by working together, multilaterally and with nongovernmental organizations, in responding to foreign disasters and emergencies. Whether responding to tsunamis or terrorist attacks, multilateral response and cooperation builds trust and capacity. That may prove helpful if radiological dispersal devices (so-called dirty bombs) or nuclear weapons actually are detonated, whether by accident or by terrorists.

Unfortunately, this is a real concern. Islamic State militants stole over 80 pounds of non-weapons grade uranium from Mosul University in Iraq in June 2014, and weapons experts report that the Islamic State has used chlorine gas attacks in Iraq. While the group has the ability to make and use weapons of mass disruption more than weapons of mass destruction, its capacity to disperse fear and destabilize politics is considerable. We cannot wait until bilateral relations improve to further the nuclear safety and security, disarmament, N.P.T. and non-nuclear use agendas.

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gave up their nuclear weapons programs, like South Africa and Argentina, would ground multilateral conversations in the connection between nuclear reduction and freeing greater resources for economic development. Increasing multilateral capacity-sharing, cooperation and coordination, including cooperation of militaries, N.G.O.'s and religious actors, should be pursued also in humanitarian assistance, disaster relief and public health. Building those muscles of multilateral cooperation are important ways to build relationships and track records of cooperation that may help thaw frozen relations that can have spillover effects in the nuclear arena.

In international relations we talk about boomerang politics and forum shopping—when politics is blocked in one venue, you pursue alternate forums. Widening the net of relationship-building and the issues that we use to encourage cooperation can keep momentum moving while bilateral disarmament talks are stalled.

Pope Francis points a way forward. In “The Joy of the Gospel” he lays out his peace plan. In sum, he urges dialogue, dialogue, dialogue—within society, among states, with other faiths, with reason and science—to build a people of peace through reconciliation. Peace-building is people-building, Pope Francis tells us, and every person is called to be a peacemaker. Inequality and exclusion breed violence, so development is a path to peace.

What can the church bring to that dialogue? Religious actors bring three “I’s” to world politics: institutions, ideas and imagination. The church has rich institutions to foster dialogue, reconciliation and right relationships through its

justice and peace commissions, Catholic universities and N.G.O.’s, the pontifical academies and the Holy See’s diplomatic corps. When action is stalled at the governmental level, the church can continue dialogue using this vast array of global institutions.

Resurrection Politics

Perhaps more important is what the church brings in ideas and imagination. There have been many times in recent history that the church has been told an issue was dead on arrival, that there was no political will or capacity to address it. But religious actors, in partnership with civil society and interested states, have instead successfully practiced resurrection politics, raising up issues as diverse as debt relief (the “Jubilee campaign”) and assistance to countries ravaged by H.I.V./AIDS, human trafficking and land mines in ways that helped the poor. They can do it again in the arena of nuclear weapons and global economic development.

Why? In an information age, ideas matter, and old, pre-state actors like the church have powerful ideas that have contemporary application. We know that norms are most entrenched when no one talks about them, when they are so accepted that they are unnoticed. When norms are debated and discussed, the normative train has already left the station. The old norm is under siege and new space is being opened for new ideas to be considered. During the Cold War, particularly in its early years, policymakers debated using nuclear weapons. The “taken for granted” ideas became the need to retain nuclear weapons for nuclear deterrence.

Now policymakers do not debate using nuclear weapons. That norm of non-use has gained strength and must be continued. U.S. leaders as dissimilar as President Reagan and President Obama have further declared a desire to rid the world of nuclear weapons. This is a discussion religious actors must help sustain. We cannot keep silent or fall prey to cynicism and despair, masked as “realism,” which are profoundly at odds with our Christian DNA of hope.

When the U.S. Catholic bishops in 1983 published “The Challenge of Peace,” urging nuclear disarmament, it was criticized as idealistic, utopian and naïve. But in a few short years, many of the bishops’ recommendations came to pass. Today the church must remain part of the nuclear dialogue, contributing a religious imagination that allows us to envision a world that includes our enemies.

The question “What kind of peace do we seek?” presupposes agency, that we can seek a positive peace based on right relationships with the world’s poor, future generations and past enemies. We must not “make a desolation and call it peace.” The power of religious actors to bring positive change is often underestimated in a world of sovereign states, but we must not underestimate ourselves. **A**



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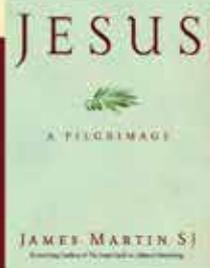
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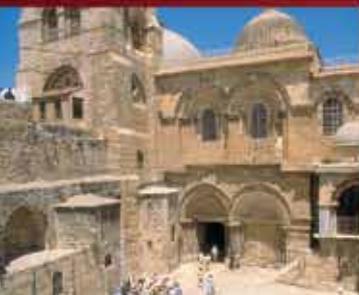
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Spires or Tombs?

The editors on Hiroshima and Nagasaki

NAGASAKI 1945.
PHOTO: SHUTTERSTOCK.COM/EVERETT HISTORICAL

Though he try fiendishly and implacably, it is not given to man to destroy mankind. It was God Who brought the human race into being; it is His Providence, and not man's passion for tearing down, that will bring mankind's earthly sojourn to an end.

But man can embark on a course of destruction; he can harness the forces of nature by the keenness of his God-given intelligence and the skill of his God-given hands, and he can unloose those forces not for the beneficent ends that God wills, but for the purpose of ruin, destruction and chaos.

In the stark history of war, ruin has been winning the race against protection; offense has been outstripping defense; now, against the fleets of Superforts, the incendiary bombs, the speed of jet planes, there is little adequate defense. For a time defense may gather its forces, may consolidate and ward off the growing attack for a short respite, but the fury of the attack mounts, and defense, security, safety, retreat into a further dwindling pocket.

What defense can there be, then, against the awful forces that have now been unleashed with the utter terror of the atomic bomb? In the nightmare world that opens up on our vision, is it too much to envisage mankind underground? With our sun-lamps, our air-conditioning, our synthetic foods, it is certainly not too fantastic to see the future world, some generations hence, not walking free in God's sunshine and

air, but burrowing deeper into buried cities. In place of cathedral spires and church towers reaching to the heavens, the most familiar architecture man knows may be the catacombs and warrens of his subterranean shelters.

Whatever the Martian changes that may overtake our physical life as a result of this astounding discovery, in the moral sphere there can be no doubt that the atomic bomb brings us face to face and inescapably to a realization that here is spelled out for us either the end of all wars or a nightmare future. The secrets of the bomb, no matter how well guarded, no matter how determined America, Britain and Canada are that they be shared only by the "peace-loving" nations—those secrets will out. The bomb will be the common weapon of nations at some not-too-remote time. When that time comes, if war shall not have been rendered simply unthinkable, every nation in the world will but cower under the threat that any enemy to get in the first blow will have a head start in the race to annihilation.

It is supremely deplorable that this marvelous discovery has come at a period in the world's history when nations are least capable of using it constructively. It has come when national morals are at a dangerously low ebb; when the noble principles of such documents as the Atlantic Charter yield all too easily to national self-interest.

In the face of this, we, as Catholic Americans, are forced into taking a vigorous, vocal stand: either we have to bend all our energies, intellectual, moral, civic, to making the United Nations' Charter work, and work on the high

levels of Justice and charity, or we have to resign ourselves and our children to wars that are inconceivably horrible.

There is no doubt where the choice must and will fall. But to make the choice means at the same time to make a dedication and a consecration. It means a personal dedication to deepening our own holiness; it means an organizational dedication to renewing our work for the peace of Christ in the reign of Christ; it means a broadening influence of Catholic thought in politics and government.

The moral issues raised by the discovery and use of the atomic bomb are numerous and extremely grave—so grave, indeed, that moral theologians will hesitate to give a forthright decision as to whether or not its use as a weapon of war can be justified for any reason or on any grounds. For here the reasons which to some seemed to justify the use of ordinary bombs do not hold. The range of its destruction cannot be confined to anything that might be called an authentic military target. Its long-range consequences, moreover, are fraught with such frightful menace for all human existence on this planet, that a literally tremendous weight of responsibility rested upon those who decided that it should be used. They seem to be aware of their responsibility, and that they have in their hands a power that sooner or later will pass from their exclusive control and become common property. It is our earnest prayer that the evil which will come from the atomic bomb may not outweigh the good which our war leaders, rightly or wrongly, hoped to achieve by its use. **A**

This editorial first appeared in the Aug. 18, 1945, issue of America.

Today's Slaves

The church's response to the human trafficking crisis

BY NICHOLAS SAWICKI

The Vatican's gardens are lush. Palm trees create a canopy unique to that part of the world, marble buildings punctuate the landscape, often at unexpected turns, and it is not unusual to see members of the papal staff or cardinals scurrying about, either hurrying off to a meeting or pacing in deep reflection amid the quiet surroundings. Of the many buildings housed within the gardens, one can find the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, which, constructed in the 16th century as a papal retreat and serving today as an international center of academic pursuits, seems an unlikely place for this story to begin. Yet the Academy serves not only as a center for academic learning, but also as the home of the Global Freedom Network, established by Pope Francis just a year ago to solidify the ecumenical fight against modern-day slavery. The

network also offers greater insight into the unique ways the pope is seeking to fight these destructive forces in the world today.

Human trafficking can happen anywhere. There is no sector of our economy, no faction of our world that is wholly untouched. According to the most recent report released in December 2014 by the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime, trafficking has been identified in 124 countries and affects individuals of 152 nationalities. Over 510 different trafficking flows have been identified, showing the deeply intricate networks that cross the globe and making clear the need for a greater international response. The more detailed statistics are even more harrowing: 49 percent of victims are adult women; 33 percent are children (a 5 percent increase since the last U.N.O.D.C. report in 2012); 18 percent are men. The types of exploitation are also quite varied: 53 percent of victims are forced into sexual exploitation, 40 percent into forced labor (e.g. mining, logging, fishing,

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PHOTO: REUTERS/DAMIR SAGOLJ

PEOPLE AS PROPERTY. A policeman makes his way through an abandoned human trafficking camp in northern Malaysia, May 2015.

etc.), 7 percent into a variety of other exploitations (e.g. child soldiers), and 0.3 percent are the victims of organ harvesting. Ultimately, some estimates as to how many people are affected by trafficking run as high as 35 million.

What may be more worrying is the lack of a structured response by many different government organizations. In 2000, 166 members of the United Nations acted as parties to the “Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially of Women and Children,” which sought to bring the global community into line against human trafficking. Specifically, the protocol officially defined “human trafficking,” established the understanding that victims were not to be treated as criminals and sought to encourage legislation that would offer harsher penalties on traffickers. However, the U.N.O.D.C. report notes that while 90 percent of countries have legislation on the books that criminalizes human trafficking, many governments are reporting fewer than 10 trafficking convictions a year. Fifteen percent of countries included in the report did not report a single trafficking-related conviction between 2010 and 2012. This lack of convictions may be a result of gross ignorance, extreme complicity or an inability to prosecute. One of the primary challenges is one of the most obvious ones to fix: Traffickers will continue to traffic victims so long as they go unprosecuted, and to remedy this governments need to enforce their own laws more stringently.

The Economy of Trafficking

The economic yields from trafficking are enormous. The International Labor Organization estimates that it generates US\$150 billion per year. The U.N.O.D.C. cites examples of this profitability. East Asian sex slaves in Australia could bring in between \$55-60,000 annually per victim for the traffickers; in Canada, authorities estimated that a slave could bring traffickers \$180,000 profit within the first eight months. Other estimates show that sex workers in the Philippines would, on average, bring in \$10-20 per sexual service performed for their traffickers, and may perform upwards of 20 “services” a day.

But there is political will for change. The U.S. Department of State annually produces a “Trafficking in Persons Report” in accordance with a Congressional mandate. In this report, the State Department tracks the work and progress of each nation throughout the world and their ability to comply with antitrafficking legislation. Those that fall into the Tier III category are liable to have sanctions placed against them. Other nations also continue to advance in the fight against trafficking. The British House of Lords recently passed the Modern Slavery Bill, a seminal piece of legislation that is one of the most comprehensive actions taken by a modern government

in the fight against human trafficking. The bill will create an antislavery commissioner within the British government, seek to better protect the victims of human trafficking and extend preventive measures against slavery.

According to the TIP Report, a number of other countries have made great strides against trafficking: Haiti has finally outlawed slavery, Chad has officially begun intervening to prevent children from being forced into militias, and Switzerland has closed a legal loophole that allowed for child prostitution. Progress is, undoubtedly but slowly, being made.

Pope Francis Breaks the Mold

And then there is Pope Francis. It has often been noted that Francis has broken the mold. It is no hyperbole to say that he is probably the best politician (although he would likely cringe at the label) on the world scene today. He is both capable of standing his ground while launching multipronged attacks on multiple contentious issues and of actually managing to get positive results. Nothing better highlights the pope’s ability to do so than his work on human trafficking.

“It is not unique in itself,” said Archbishop Bernardito Auza, papal nuncio and permanent observer of the Holy See at the United Nations, when asked if an organization like the Global Freedom Network, with such a specific focus, had ever been established by a pope prior to Francis. The nuncio noted that there are a number of papal institutions specifically designated for individual causes, including H.I.V./AIDS and the rights of indigenous peoples. “However,” he continued, “it is unique in that it is not distinctly Catholic...having three major co-founders: that is, the Walk Free Foundation from Australia with Mr. [Andrew] Forrest; and then there are the archbishop of Canterbury and the president/rector of Al-Azhar, which is the prime Sunni institution in the world.”

The nuncio also noted the breadth of the effort to deal with human trafficking and what it really emphasizes for the pope, saying that “it directly touches the dignity of the human person, which is a significant point of emphasis for Pope Francis.” Then there is the pope’s concern for the poor and impoverished, who are disproportionately afflicted by human trafficking, often for materialistic gains. The victims “are the most vulnerable, not only as categories, like women, but also as economic groups,” said Archbishop Auza, adding: “It seems that there are so many people who are willing to sell other people or to facilitate the selling of other people, etc., because, the most basic theological, philosophical and moral reasons behind this are that the value of the human person is not considered. The person is seen merely as merchandise...as an immediate economic gain.” He also noted that a number

Over 510 different trafficking flows have been identified across the globe.

of trafficking victims often sell themselves in hopes of better opportunities abroad, emphasizing that “the overall key to stopping trafficking is to try and stop the burgeoning and increasing economic gap between countries.” He added that it is necessary that “we as a church, and we as individuals” across all religions and nations address “not only the issue of human trafficking, but its underlying causes” as well.

Interreligious Activism

The Global Freedom Network, under the influence of Pope Francis and the mandates agreed upon by the world’s major religious leaders, seeks to do just that: eliminate the underlying networks and endemic issues that lead to human trafficking. According to Bishop Marcelo Sánchez Sorondo, emeritus chair of the G.F.N. board, the first year was a success, with more to come. On Dec. 2, 2014, the G.F.N. was able to coordinate a joint event in which a number of religious leaders were able to come together and sign a “Joint Declaration of Religious Leaders Against Modern Slavery.” Bishop Sorondo described the G.F.N. as unique, “because this is perhaps the first time that religious leaders have come together, adding to their interreligious dialogue, to make a common statement that the other is like you...that you must love your neighbor as yourself.” When asked how engaging religious leaders translates into political action, Bishop Sorondo affirmed that “religions are the soul of culture and the religious leaders we invited are very active in their communities. We think that they can act as role models and have an influence on society and on political leaders.” But there is more than just good will behind the G.F.N. There is practicality. In order to achieve its goal of eliminating human trafficking by 2020, Bishop Sorondo outlines six necessary steps:

1. **Mobilizing faith-based communities.** Engaging with existing faith networks to raise awareness, create opportunities for joint action and mobilize faith-based communities on specific issues;
2. **Supply-chain proofing.** The G.F.N. will work with companies, governments and faith-based communities to promote ethical purchasing arrangements;
3. **Care for the victims and survivors of forced labor, prostitution and organ trafficking.** The G.F.N. will work with all religions to identify existing services and facilities to better support survivors;
4. **Law reforms and enforcement.** The G.F.N. will lobby for improved legislation, enforcement of laws and increased prosecution rates as well as the introduction of

new and enhanced international legislation;

5. **Education and awareness.** The G.F.N. will promote enhanced campaigns to raise awareness that concentrate specifically on prevention, different forms of exploitation and at-risk and vulnerable cohorts and communities;
6. **Funding.** Given the vast sums generated by these modern crimes against humanity, the G.F.N. must secure sizeable funds in order to carry out its task. It will, therefore, seek resources from private donors and national and international organizations.

The Global Freedom Network is a vibrant community of dedicated professionals seeking to end human trafficking. In a note found after his death addressed to the Boy Scouts of the World, the founder of the scout movement, Lord Robert Baden-Powell, offered this simple yet powerful piece of advice: “Leave the world a little bit better than the way you found it.” In many ways, this is the second motto of Francis’ papacy. His methods for making the world a better place will be among his greatest hallmarks. Just within the issue of human trafficking, he is leading a fight that not only confronts a grave social sin but brings in religious, political and business leaders to help. He has engaged in interreligious dialogue, called for complete and total respect for the dignity of the human person, sought to eliminate poverty, insisted on respect for the rights of women and children and demanded an end to the corruption and complicity of governments around the world, all on a single issue. Pope Francis’ legacy will not necessarily be what he accomplished, but rather how he accomplished it and whom he engaged with along the way to make the world “a little bit better.” A



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Francis of the Poor

I have been on all the foreign trips Francis has made since becoming pope, but his visit in July to Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay revealed new dimensions of the man and the impact of his ministry.

"We love people, not concepts or ideas," he declared during a Mass in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. The people know this, especially those who are poor, and millions turned out in each country to cheer him.

One of them was Neysa Rojas, 35, a Bolivian woman who works in a restaurant and struggles on a monthly wage equivalent to \$360 to care for her sister's two daughters, ages 11 and 13, and send them to school. She came to Francis' Mass to receive his blessing because, she said: "He prays for the poor, he prays for me. He thinks of us who are poor, he is close to us." Like so many others in these lands she calls him "Amigo de los pobres" ("Friend of the poor").

Half a century ago Paul VI said people today listen more to witnesses than to teachers, and if they listen to teachers, it's because they are witnesses. This is so true of Francis. He attracts people to Jesus by how he is and what he does, and they listen.

At the World Youth Day in Rio, I asked many young people from different countries what they liked most about Francis. They responded unanimously, "his humility, his simplicity and his love for the poor." On every foreign trip since then, including this recent one, I asked that same question,

and always received the same answer as at Rio.

Those traits stood out when Francis, visiting the Santa Cruz-Palmasola prison, told its 4,000 inmates: "The man standing before you is a man who has experienced forgiveness. A man who was, and is, saved from his many sins. That is who I am. I don't have much more to give you or to offer you, but I want to share with you what I do have and what I love. It is Jesus Christ, the mercy of the Father."

Throughout the visit, the Jesuit pope's homilies were masterpieces, well worth reading, especially the one at Mass in Guayaquil, Ecuador, where, speaking about the family and the coming synod on that topic in October, he asked people to pray "so that Christ can take even what might seem to us impure...scandalizing or threatening us, and turn it...into a miracle. The family today needs this miracle."

During his visit, Francis proclaimed "the church's best kept secret," its social doctrine. This is of utmost relevance in Latin America. In his speeches Francis applied it incisively to the socio-economic and political situations in Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay, advocating, among other things, inclusiveness and dialogue.

He is not only proclaiming the church's social teaching; he is also developing it, as he did in his encyclical "Laudato Si'." The presidents and bishops of all three countries praised him for this text, which is so relevant to the lives of their people.

Since becoming pope, Francis has

given special attention to the grassroots movements and organizations across the world. He sees them as "sowers of change." Last year, at his request, the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace organized the first World Meeting of Popular Movements, and he spoke at it.

He was given a hero's welcome when he addressed the second World Meeting of Popular Movements, at Santa Cruz. There, in the most important talk of his entire visit, frequently interrupted by applause, Francis applied the church's social doctrine to these movements, called for structural changes in the world's economy and global mobilization to protect "our common home." He encouraged

local churches worldwide to work with these movements.

Then, in a highly significant passage, he asked for forgiveness from the native peoples of America. He acknowledged "with regret" that "many grave sins were committed against the native peoples of America in the name of God" and said, "I humbly ask forgiveness, not only for the offenses of the church itself, but also for crimes committed against the native peoples during the so-called conquest of America."

Throughout his exhilarating visit to Latin America, which involved a heavy workload, very high altitudes and changing temperatures, Francis showed remarkable stamina and demonstrated that he is in extraordinarily good health. That is good news for the church.

He attracts people to Jesus by how he is and what he does.

GERARD O'CONNELL

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Living Like Snape

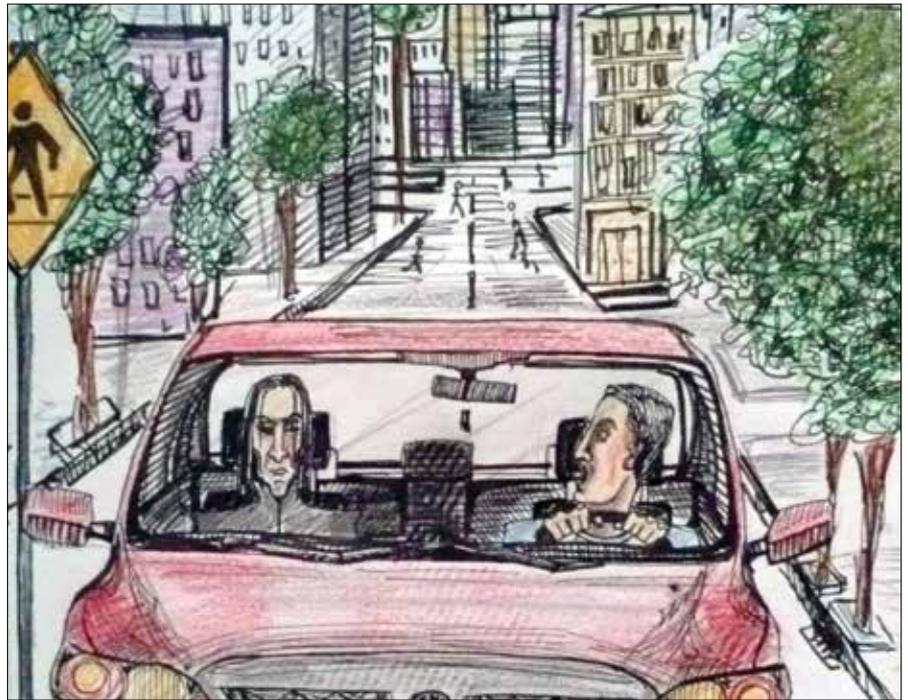
Lessons From Hogwarts

BY ROBERT McCARTHY

In a spurt of procrastination, I eagerly reread the entire Harry Potter series during Easter break in my senior year of high school as a way of postponing studying for my last set of finals. When I was younger, after finishing J. K. Rowling's latest book, I would often run around my house shouting spells from the world of witchcraft and wizardry—*Stupefy!* *Wingardium Leviosa!*—entertaining myself for hours with fantasy-filled magic. I vaguely understood that there were some Christian themes in the books but glossed over them for the most part. Studiously rereading these books as a senior, however, proved to be markedly fruitful for my faith life in more ways than I imagined.

Driving home from church on a Sunday morning, I stopped at a red light only a block away from home. Waiting for green, I allowed my mind to wander, albeit briefly. Having just recently finished the seventh book in the Harry Potter series—and in an Ignatian contemplative mood—I wondered which character I could most closely relate to.

At first, I was hoping I could see myself in Harry, a character always ready to sacrifice himself for the good of others. But despite my earnest hopes, I concluded that most people want to be Harry Potter, and the fact that I aspired to such heroic heights would probably disqualify me. Seeing that I would make no progress just



choosing one character from hundreds, I decided to work backwards and first eliminate who I would *not* be. I emphatically said to myself: “No! I am definitely not Severus Snape!”

For those who have not read the novels, a brief and not wholly sufficient explanation of Severus Snape is necessary. Pardon the spoilers. When readers first meet Professor Snape, it is common to have serious misgivings about him. Yet for some reason, Albus Dumbledore, the well-respected headmaster of Harry's school and leader of the fight against Voldemort (the power-thirsty, loveless and altogether evil villain), trusts Severus Snape.

Snape had a checkered past. Always interested in the dark arts, Snape joined Voldemort and his evil band of Death Eaters. Ultimately, Snape re-

alized the evil of his ways; and when Voldemort killed Lily Potter, Snape's true love and Harry's mom, Snape rejoined the good side forever. But this last development isn't immediately clear to the other characters in the series, who frequently speculate about the motivation behind Snape's bad temper, strictness and secrecy.

While I was originally repulsed at the thought of being Snape, after time I began to realize that there are indeed some areas in which Snape and I overlap. And I began to realize that perhaps, in some way, we all resemble Severus Snape—and that is not such a bad thing.

First, love brought Snape to conversion. Snape's love for Lily Potter and his grief over her untimely death helped him see the real evil of the forc-

es with which he had been associated. Snape's love for Lily was stronger than his own desire for power. Without love, none of us can ever truly be converted.

Second, all of us are on a path. Some paths are more direct; others are a bit crooked. Some people ignore the path; others embrace it. Yet for all of us, the path is meant to lead to a conversion of heart.

In this respect, not only do Snape and I have more in common than I originally imagined, I think in some respects he outshines me. While I am on a path of conversion, I stumble. I retreat. I leave the path for a while. I stop following God's road signs and do what I want. Once Snape set out on his path of conversion, he let nothing stop him. Having seen the horrible effects of evil first hand, Snape changed his life forever. He truly converted in order to join what is good. He never went back.

While Snape fully converted, he

definitely was neither the warmest nor the most charming character in Harry Potter. Many of the other characters question his conversion because of his constant dour demeanor and dubious past. The beauty of Snape's character, however, is that he does not allow other characters' doubts to dictate who he is. He teaches us that one big part of conversion is letting go of what other people think of us—who we are now or who we once were.

While I was considering Snape's conversion—and perhaps even over-analyzing it—I thought of the sacrament of reconciliation, a sacrament that both comforts and eludes me. While reconciliation goes by many names—penance, confession or (for many people) “that one”—all of which are acceptable, I go to great lengths to refer to it as reconciliation. While this may seem trite or extreme, the simple name reconciliation reminds me most of God's presence. Many names work for this monumental sacrament,

but for me this term, which stresses the restoration of unity, serves best. I love this reconciliation, this pull back to God, this communion with the only entity that could possibly give us strength to grow out of ourselves.

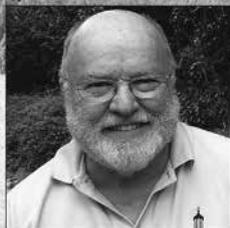
My view of reconciliation has evolved throughout my life as I have grown from a clueless penitent in second grade to a curious onlooker in middle school to a deeply moved teen in high school. While I always begin to breathe a little more deeply on my way into the confessional, I always breathe a whole heck of a lot easier on the way out. Part of what makes reconciliation so great for me is my friends who are willing to accompany me and who give me strength to ask for forgiveness and remind me it is worth it, as well as the compassionate priests I have encountered and the simple realization that it is not how much we sin but how sincerely we seek forgiveness that matters most.

In many ways this is why I admire Snape—not because of the path he walked but because of his ability to switch paths. I sometimes rave about how much I love change and how good I am at getting rid of all that keeps me back. Yes, I love the concept of change, but in its concrete form, I often balk. (Guess how many articles of clothing sneak their way back into my drawer after I deem them ready to be given away.) Snape didn't balk. So I admire this man who, technically, does not exist but who still exemplifies this beautiful concept of conversion for the world in which I exist.

I will wake up tomorrow, and before too long I will likely sin. But Snape's example reminds me to pick myself up. Not out of a sense of obligation but out of love—because love of God and neighbor is the most powerful force in the world. Love proved able to change Snape, and whether we see ourselves in Harry—or his friend Hermione or even his nemesis Draco Malfoy—it changes us too. **A**

“Transformed people transform people. Francis and Clare were quite simply transformed people—who still continue to deeply change us today. Pope Francis shows us that the Franciscan vision is possible at every level and in every age.”—Richard Rohr

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An Elusive Integral Ecology

At the conceptual heart of the encyclical “Laudato Si” lies the term *integral ecology*. Widely used in contemporary environmentalist circles, the term’s meaning is often hazy. Conceptual clarification could indicate the distinctive version of integral ecology the pope is defending.

Some scientists conceive integral ecology as a multidisciplinary study of environmental entities. A salt lake, for example, could be studied simultaneously from geological, biological and economic perspectives. Some economists use the phrase to insist that environmental issues cannot be divorced from questions of production and consumption. Some philosophers defend integral ecology as a new form of naturalism: that human activity is wholly inscribed within material nature.

The term also has a distinctive Catholic echo. In “Populorum Progressio” (1967), Pope Paul VI championed *integral development*. This kind of development would promote the economic progress of humanity, but it would do so within a broader framework of the moral and religious maturation of the human person. In the 1940s Jacques Maritain expounded the theory of *integral humanism*. This type of Christian politics would join the secular humanist in promoting civic democracy, but it would insist on the religious source and ultimate destiny of the human person.

With the exception of the naturalist, these various conceptions of integral ecology clearly influence Francis’ ver-

sion. “Laudato Si” is particularly close to those approaches to ecology that insist that environmental and economic problems are inseparable. “We are faced not with two separate crises, one environmental and the other social, but rather with one complex crisis which is both social and environmental” (No. 139). The cause of environmental degradation and economic oppression is the same: a willfulness fueled by moral relativism.

Despite the similarities, the brand of integral ecology promoted by Francis sharply diverges from that promoted by many prominent environmentalists. “Laudato Si” repeatedly condemns those who tout population control as a tool to address the environmental crisis. “To blame population growth instead of extreme and selective consumerism on the part of some is one way of refusing to face the issue” (No. 50). It censures the economic imperialism of the affluent who pressure the poor to accept sterilization and contraception.

In its treatment of animals, “Laudato Si” emphasizes that they are more than means to be used toward human ends. But it underscores the decisive difference between the human and the animal. “Our capacity to reason, to develop arguments, to be inventive, to interpret reality and to create art...are signs of a uniqueness which transcends the sphere of physics and biology” (No. 81). Animal rights activists will find little consolation here. Human life, with its attendant rights, lies on another plane.

Faithful to his predecessors, Francis

extends the concept of ecology to human relations outside the economic sphere. Sexuality receives close attention. Reverence for the human body demands respect for gendered difference. “Valuing one’s own body in its femininity or its masculinity is necessary if I am going to be able to recognize myself in an encounter with someone who is different” (No. 155). This defense of sexual alterity echoes Francis’ longstanding critique of attempted same-sex marriage and of technological efforts to alter gender. Like the cosmos, the human body possesses an internal logic demanding reverence rather than inviting manipulation or attempted abolition.

Francis extends the concept of ecology to human relations.

Like other heralds of integral humanism, Francis insists upon the recognition of God as creator in order to grasp the proper status of the material cosmos. Whereas some environmentalists treat the cosmos itself as divine, “Laudato Si” sharply differentiates God as creator from the cosmos, a creature. “Judaean-Christian thought demythologized nature. While continuing to admire its grandeur...it no longer saw nature as divine” (No. 78). Idolatry and pantheism are illusory.

The brand of integral ecology promoted by Francis confirms the church as an ally of environmentalists in combating the earth’s exploitation. But in its exaltation of the Creator God and its defense of the transcendent human person, Francis confirms the church as a sharp internal critic of several articles of faith in the dominant environmentalist creed.

JOHN J. CONLEY

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A WRETCH LIKE ME. Josh Young, center, with the cast of "Amazing Grace"



BOOKS & CULTURE

THEATER | MICHAEL V. TUETH

HOW SWEET THE SOUND

The story behind a beloved hymn

In June President Barack Obama concluded his eulogy at the memorial service for the victims of the shootings in a Charleston, N.C., church by singing the first verse of the beloved hymn "Amazing Grace." The choir and indeed the entire congregation—and perhaps even the millions watching the service on television—joined the president in singing a hymn that has special meaning for the African-American church. It was a remarkable moment.

The hymn is commonly associated with the many other spirituals that emerged from the hundreds of years of slavery in the Americas and elsewhere.

It may come as a surprise, therefore, to find out that "Amazing Grace" was composed in 1772 by a former English slave trader, John Newton, who after renouncing his past activity became a major advocate for the end of the African slave trade in England.

In what seems like more than coincidence, a musical version of Newton's life story opened on Broadway on July 16. I saw the production during its preview period, so my observations should be understood as tentative. However, the play has been in development for a year or more, so we can presume that it was close to the final product.

The character of John Newton is played by a relative newcomer, Josh Young, who has already established himself as a star playing Judas in the 2011 revival of "Jesus Christ Superstar," for which he was nominated for a Tony Award, as well as in leading roles at the Stratford Festival and in productions of "South Pacific," "Evita," "Les Misérables" and others. At the very beginning of the production, Young startles the audience with an almost operatic rendition of the opening number, "Truly Alive." Erin Mackey, who plays Newton's childhood sweetheart, Mary Catlett, has enjoyed an extensive career on Broadway and in regional theater, as well as in film and television. Her lyric soprano certainly matches Young's voice, and much of the play's narrative follows her character's involvement in the abolitionist movement in England.

They are joined by the amazing performances of Tony-winner Chuck Cooper as Newton's slave and close friend, Thomas, and Laiona Michelle as Catlett's slave, Nanna. They both bring down the house with their passionate solos. Harriet D. Foy reveals her dancing and singing skills as Princess Peyai, the domineering African duchess who sells her own people to the traders. Cooper's soulful delivery of a song of triumph when he is emancipated is one of the highlights of the play.

The 2006 film, also titled "Amazing Grace," which starred Albert Finney, focused much more on Newton's post-conversion career as one of the leaders of the abolitionist party in Parliament, as he lived to witness, in the last year of his life, the passage of the law that ended the slave trade in England. The current musical concentrates instead on Newton's early life, first, at the age of 11, accompanying his father on six voyages, then later signing on with a merchant ship, then being pressed into service in the Royal Navy and eventually transferring to a slave ship bound for West Africa—all before he was 25 years old.

His life continued to be filled with difficulties. These years included a flogging of 92 lashes for attempting to desert the navy, which nearly drove him to suicide, and his abandonment by the slave ship's crew in West Africa, where he himself became a slave to the sadistic Princess Peyai. He survived a shipwreck in which he nearly drowned, and finally he experienced a religious conversion during a severe storm at sea. The play

gives the impression that his realization that he "once was lost but now is found" ended his involvement in the slave trade, but he actually continued in the vicious business, as did many devout Christian businessmen, for another six years.

In the program notes the authors

in the abolitionist movement as she is portrayed in the play, or even if Newton had such a difficult relationship with his father. Perhaps a reading of Newton's autobiography, *Out of the Depths*, would clear up these matters.

It seems that the playwrights, Christopher Smith and Arthur Giron, have resorted to some familiar tropes to enhance the story: a young man's grief over the death of his mother when he was 7 years old, his ongoing struggle with his tyrannical father, the faithful love of his sweetheart that redeems him, his scheming aristocratic rival for Mary's affections, the servants who function as wisdom figures for the protagonist, the banishing of the villain and so on.

While Newton's story is remarkable, it is the play's music that disappoints. Almost every number resembles an anthem, with titles such as "We are Determined," "No Negotiations," "Never," "Sing on High," "Tell Me Why," "A Chance for Me" and so on. Many a history-based musical has that type of number in the show. "Les Misérables" comes to mind with songs like "Can You Hear the People Sing?" and "One Day More." But it also includes some tender ballads and even a comic number. So have similar musicals in recent years—"Titanic," "Ragtime," "The Scottsboro

Boys" and "Assassins" come to mind. But this musical's score does not have that sort of range. And most of the songs are not very melodic.

The program states that this is the "first work of professional writing" by Christopher Smith, who is listed as



Erin Mackey and Josh Young in "Amazing Grace"

and the director admit that in their account they "have created some characters and amalgamated some events" in the play's account of Newton's life. So it is difficult to tell whether Thomas actually rescued Newton from drowning or whether Catlett was as active

the “concept creator, composer, lyricist and co-author of the book.” So perhaps it is unfair to compare him to Sondheim or other award-winning composers. Yet one cannot help but wish for better work from this newcomer.

When the entire cast joins in singing the title song, one is reminded of the beauty and power of a simple mel-

ody and a poetic lyric. It is a powerful way to end the show, and when at curtain call the cast invites the audience to join in singing the hymn, it is an invitation impossible to refuse. Would that the rest of the score could measure up to that standard.

MICHAEL V. TUETH, S.J., is *emeritus professor of communication and media studies at Fordham University in New York.*

many states outweighs the influence of teachers’ unions. The overcrowding of prisons, the abandonment of any pretense of rehabilitation and the privatization of jails and prisons has eroded the conditions of confinement to levels of shameful inhumanity.

There are many directions in which the finger of blame can be pointed, but Gottschalk reserves her greatest scorn for neoliberalism, which she defines thus:

[A]n ideology and package of policies that deify low taxes, macroeconomic stabilization (through low inflation and low public debt), financial and trade deregulation, privatization of public assets and services, and the retrenchment of the welfare state.... Neoliberalism has long rested on...denigrating the role of government to solve economic and social problems.

In defining her goal of razing the carceral state, however, Gottschalk invites dystopian despair at the same time that she warns us to guard against it. The reality is that successful decarceration on her terms will cost massive amounts of money and require public acceptance of higher crime rates. The best we can hope for is incremental change over the course of decades.

Criminal justice reform is not a sport for the short-winded. In dismissing each of the halting steps we are currently taking to reduce our prison and jail populations, she says we need to resist the belief that tackling the root causes of crime will solve the problem, and that evidence-based research about “what works” will yield an agenda that is “highly constrained and politically vulnerable.” Ultimately she urges a return to the goals of rehabilitation that drove the penal reform of the last century.

In 1884, John Peter Altgeld, who as governor of Illinois later ordained his political demise by pardoning the Haymarket “anarchists,” published a re-

marginalized groups, including immigrants, poor whites and those charged with sex offenses, she convincingly demonstrates:

For those seeking to dismantle the carceral state, the key challenge is not to determine what specific sentencing and other reforms would slash the number of people in jail and prison. The real challenge is figuring out how to create a political environment that is more receptive to such reforms and how to make the far-reaching consequences of the carceral state into a leading political and public policy issue.

Frankly, I prefer the “prison state” of her subtitle to the “carceral state” of her text, but apparently she likes the alliteration with cancer, e.g. “The Metastasizing Carceral State.” In many respects, the growth of our prison populations has resembled a cancerous spread, and Gottschalk carefully documents how deeply the prison mentality has imbedded itself in all our governing institutions, public services and public benefits. In many states, restrictions on where convicted sex offenders can live has left homelessness as their only alternative. The political clout of unions of correctional officers and police in

BOOKS | GERALD F. UELMEN

THE GHOSTS OF OLD REFORMS

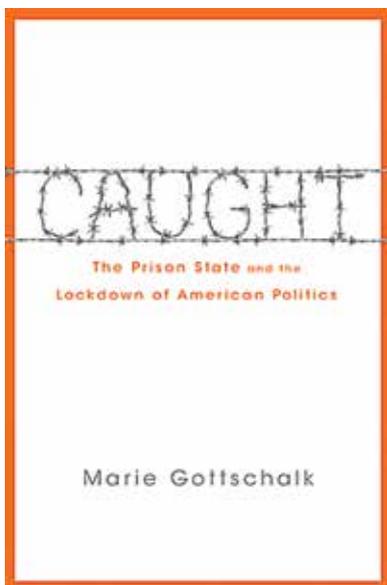
CAUGHT

The Prison State and the Lockdown of American Politics

By Marie Gottschalk
Princeton University Press. 496p \$35

After toiling in the trenches of the American criminal justice system for half a century, I had long abandoned any illusions that criminal justice policy is the product of rational analysis. But I saw faint glimmers of hope in recent measures ameliorating harsh drug laws. President Obama’s Fair Sentencing Act reduced the ratio between crack and powder cocaine for purposes of federal mandatory minimum sentences from the ridiculous 100 to 1 down to the preposterous 18 to 1. The momentum of the push to decriminalize marijuana suggested that drug hype may have declining influence. A 2014 California initiative (Proposition 47) eliminated prosecutorial and judicial discretion to treat many nonviolent drug offenses as felonies. While Marie Gottschalk concedes that the war on drugs is a major culprit in the mass incarceration of black youth and women, she quickly disabuses us of the notion that winding down that war will dramatically reduce our prison and jail populations. Noting that the carceral state, as she calls it, has extended its reach to other

markable little volume titled *Our Penal Machinery and Its Victims*. Identifying the same flaws in the prison state of a century ago that Marie Gottschalk identifies in today's, his solution was indeterminate sentencing, which would motivate prisoners to "reform" in order to shorten their sentences. A century later, California was among the states that abandoned indeterminate sentencing, finding it was fundamentally flawed in its confidence that the risks of recidivism could be assessed based on a prisoner's behavior while confined. But Altgeld's reforms have been resurrected in California, and in response to a U.S. Supreme Court ruling in 2011 that the conditions of confinement in



California were unconstitutional, Gov. Jerry Brown presided over a massive "realignment" to move prisoners out of the state prisons and into county jails for shorter terms.

Gottschalk dismisses moves like this as a game of "Whack-a-Mole." She notes that California has approved applications from 21 counties to build more than 10,000 new jail beds at a cost of \$1.2 billion, and that counties have eschewed using the billions of new state dollars allocated for realignment to invest in mental health and substance abuse treatment and other social services for the offenders diverted out of the state prison system.

Her criticism is fully justified, to

the extent that any incremental reform will fall short of her ultimate goal. But shouldn't we applaud a step in the right direction and urge others to take the same step, then turn our attention to the next step of improving social services? Public confidence in incremental reforms must be carefully nurtured. Gottschalk suggests that politicians and policy-makers mistakenly see the public as inherently punitive. The failure of our efforts to end a dysfunctional death penalty in California suggests just the opposite.

The public fear of crime so successfully orchestrated by the neoliberals to support construction of the prison state is still a potent force, and as Marie Gottschalk herself concludes, "For all the talk about a new bipartisan era that leans toward less punishment, not more, the ghosts of the law-and-order era have not been vanquished."

GERALD F. UELMEN is a professor of law at Santa Clara University School of Law in California.

Ars Poetica, the Art Institute of Chicago

In this fine light the figurations
 rise and die
 like Attention and the sense
 and sensuous condition of paint
 and music God knows Degas
 knew the waltz of signs,
 the rhythms of cyan,
 the chant of the white lead, the Venetian
 red of The Rape,
 and the horses at Longchamps
 with their gorgeous rumps
 posing for the painter on the greensward.

And here is my bound speech
 constant out of chiaroscuro's tomb,
 enrobed in sulfur orpiment
 crossing over
 the cock-crow ochre over
 paroquet and toucan colors
 azure lines of Nazareth
 Lover
 Beloved
 Love Itself
 O, Jerusalem!

BARBARA BURGESS

Barbara Burgess, of Chicago, is a former associate editor at Ivan R. Dee, Publisher. This poem is one of three runners-up in the 2015 Foley poetry contest.

CHRISTIANITY'S CONTRIBUTION

INVENTING THE INDIVIDUAL The Origins of Western Liberalism

By Larry Siedentop
Belknap Press. 448p \$35

American ideals of social equality are taken from Greco-Roman political philosophy. Christian other-worldliness caused the fall of the Roman Empire. The form of government favored by the medieval ecclesiastical elite was theocracy. Western individualism originates in the Renaissance.

Each of these claims could be easily imagined as an un-footnoted assertion in a freshman essay or a self-evident starting point in an earnestly historicizing op-ed piece. They are axioms in the popular history of the West. They are also all wrong.

In contrast, Larry Siedentop's *The Invention of Individualism* relies on a

better history of each underlying topic with the aim of correcting an even bigger whopper. Siedentop's subject is the development of Western liberalism. By his reckoning, the most formative stage of its development, so quickly situated in ordinary conversation in Antiquity and the Enlightenment, was the Middle Ages. As he artfully but also piquantly puts it, Western liberalism is the natural, even if not the legitimate, child of medieval Christianity. The book is his thoughtful and enjoyable attempt to prove that.

Siedentop, a retired fellow of Keble College, Oxford, and an accomplished historian of 19th-century European political philosophy, argues his case by moving his readers through a series of watersheds. The most important five are these: first, a Greco-Roman notion of justice founded on natural inequality was dislodged by one founded on a

Christian notion of moral equality in the writings of St. Paul. St. Augustine pushed this point deeper into the heart of the Christianizing Roman world with his emphasis on the weakness of the human will and the equal subjection of all persons to divine power (contra Pelagius).

A second watershed Siedentop locates with the Carolingians. He argues that the ninth-century emperor Charlemagne's attempts to form a "Christian people" and his ideals of Christian lordship and "care for souls" laid the groundwork for a later development that grounded rights and responsibilities on a notion of human dignity. The monasticism inspired by the Carolingians, as a place where individual conscience was cultivated, embodied these values best of all and served as a laboratory for their further development.

Third, Siedentop turns to the high medieval popes. Their claims for sovereignty made two key contributions to the West's incipient liberalism: one,

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Catholic Channel SiriusXM 129



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on news and events

The Jesuit Post

TJP

Essays, Blogs, Multi-Media
for young adult Catholics

they forged the idea of the equal subjection of the individual to the sovereign, and by the same token ensured limits on the exercise of subjection over the individual. Moreover, the debates over the extent of papal sovereignty established limits on ecclesiastical authority over against secular authority. Theocracy, whether royal or papal, was avoided in principle and in fact.

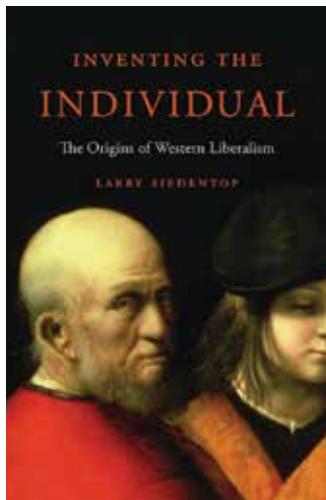
The fourth watershed is associated with the 14th-century English Franciscan and scholastic philosopher William of Ockham. William's contribution to the "invention of individualism," by Siedentop's lights, is complex. William represents a Franciscan tradition of scholasticism that was skeptical of the Aristotelian project championed by the Dominicans, and thus of reason uncomplemented by the individual's will. In William's concomitant defense of conscientious mistakes Siedentop identifies "the birth of liberal secularism." A further distinction between "mere" and "rightful" power introduced the language of rights into discussions of government and property and so paved the way for a distinction between the state and civil society.

The final watershed is more an anti-watershed as Siedentop "dispenses with the Renaissance" and the axiom that Western individualism was inspired by the humanists.

The attempt to eject an older, malformed, triumphalist history that lionizes antiquity and the Enlightenment as the sources of Western liberalism and civil society and that casts a pall over the intervening years as a dark and totalitarian age is not so new. In any event, Siedentop does not make the claim of novelty for his work, which he describes as synthesizing. *Inventing the*

Individual draws upon much well-established scholarship and is the fruit of Siedentop's own careful reflection. He could not rely on more eminent medievalists than Brian Tierney, Harold Berman and Peter Brown, whom he explicitly thanks.

His reliance on Fustel de Coulanges, a mid-19th-century historian of the early Middle Ages, and François Guizot, a 19th-century French statesman and *érudit*, who late in life wrote on contemporaneous Europe's recent political and revolutionary history, is somewhat more eccentric. Otherwise, his historical grappling with the rise of the individual and of civil society will bring to mind the work of Alisdair McIntyre, Charles Taylor and Jürgen Habermas, even as he arrives at different conclusions. Along these lines, revisionist appreciations of the old periodization have also begun to emerge, Jonathan Israel's magisterial trilogy on the Enlightenment being the most unpromising.



LISA A. BAGLIONE

THE POWER OF MUSIC

LENINGRAD Siege and Symphony

By Brian Moynahan
Atlantic Monthly Press. 542p \$30

Brian Moynahan, a former foreign correspondent for *The Sunday Times* (in London) and the author of numerous books, including three on the Soviet Union, has written a fine study of the city of Leningrad's terrible trials from 1934 to 1942 at the hands of two tyrants, Adolph Hitler and Josef Stalin.

Siedentop concludes with a reflection on what he calls a "civil war" in the West over the role of Christianity in the development of Western values. He identifies a kind of European secularist who fails to appreciate the intimately Christian origins of the secular in Western society. One can identify a resonance, even if unintended, of Pope John Paul II's challenge in "Ecclesia in Europa" that Europe "gives the impression of 'silent apostasy' on the part of people who have all that they need and who live as if God does not exist."

Siedentop writes of course, not as a religious evangelist, but as a historian of ideas. There is, nonetheless, something proselytizing about *Inventing the Individual*. The reconciliation he calls for between extremes in the secularist and the religious camps over the historical origins of Western liberalism he hopes to catalyze a more persuasive expression of liberalism with worldwide effect. Whether and how this goal is achieved depends, of course, on much more than Siedentop's single contribution to the project, however literately and enjoyably he has written it.

DAVID J. COLLINS, S.J., is an associate professor of history at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

As the subtitle suggests, the bulk of the text is focused on the period between the German siege of the city, which began on Sept., 8, 1941, and the defiant performance of native son Dmitri Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, known as the Leningrad Symphony, 11 months later. Leningraders, Soviets and their allies perceived that event to be an enormous victory at a time when there were few to celebrate, and by the beginning of 1943 the Red Army broke the German

stranglehold. It ultimately liberated the city a year later.

For Shostakovich, Hitler was not the only source of Leningrad's suffering. In fact, this book tells the tale of the Terror as Leningrad experienced it, with its enormous toll on the city's arts community, intellectuals, military officials and ordinary people. For the author and the composer, the symphony reflects the triumph of the human spirit over 20th-century European totalitarianism.

The book begins and ends with the triumphant story of the playing of the symphony in August 1942, when the population of Leningrad was about a third of its prewar size of 2.4 million. While about 100,000 people went to serve in the military and another almost 800,000 (like Shostakovich himself) were evacuated, the rest died from the effects of the siege or from the regime's continuing efforts to root out "enemies."

Because this book is as much about Stalin's violence against Leningrad as Hitler's, the tale begins in late 1934 with the death of Sergei Mironovich Kirov, the city's Communist Party leader. While Moynahan suggests (and many historians agree) that his death was at the Great Leader's behest, Kirov's murder allowed Stalin to unleash terrible violence against the Party and military elite. The carnage against lower-level officials was equally horrific, encouraging Hitler's decision to invade and leaving the military unready to face the Nazi challenge.

Moynahan makes much of the toll on ordinary people, particularly musicians and dancers. The author's focus on Shostakovich and his associates helps him make the case that the Leningrad Symphony was as much the composer's statement about the horrors of Hitler's blockade as about Stalin's inhuman hunting of the people of the composer's beloved city. Many of Shostakovich's friends were executed, and Stalin so disliked his opera "Lady

Macbeth" that Pravda's review "ended," according to Moynahan, "in cold and clear menace. The composer was 'playing a game' that 'may end very badly,'" the publication warned. Shostakovich might have been evacuated from Leningrad in October 1941, but he knew he wasn't safe.

At the beginning of the siege, Moynahan starts writing a kind of diary of the suffering and of the symphony, with each chapter's name corresponding to the month he covers, except for the penultimate chapter, which is named "Sinfonia No. 7" to indicate that the playing of the Leningrad in the city of the same name in August 1942 was all-important.

By the time readers reach that chapter, they know well the city's story of mass starvation, deadly cold, aerial attacks, continued repression, inept political and military leadership, murder and cannibalism. At times, Moynahan's attention to the minutiae can be frustrating. Must we read about another ordinary individual and her terrible end? But by individualizing the stories, the horror becomes clearer. The slow emaciation of people in frigid weather and the tallies of death and destruction take on more meaning because we hear so many different specifics.

Reading this book in the United States in late 2014 provided a poignant counterpoint to Leningrad's story. Moynahan's details of pitiful food rations contrasted with visions of laden American holiday tables and the recognition that food insecurity here frequently presents itself as obesity. Moreover, the horrors of recent U.S. wars have been borne by a very small percentage of us. While Party bigwigs in Leningrad were far better fed, they were also more likely to be targeted

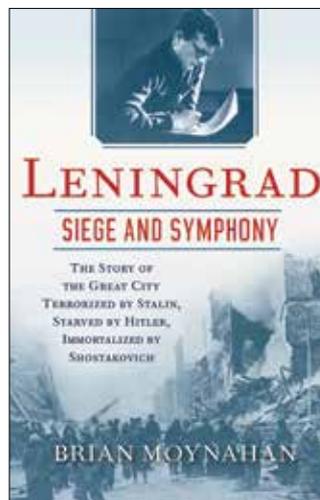
for repression, and citizens endured the siege and terror together at truly staggering costs. Discussing N.K.V.D. "interviews" and their ability to obtain "useful" information and confessions,

Moynahan writes as if no one could believe that prisoners' testimonies were anything more than attempts to stop the torture, while in the contemporary United States a significant proportion of the elite defend the utility of "enhanced interrogation." Finally, that a musical performance could have a galvanizing effect worldwide and turn the tide in a war is important

to consider in an era when arts education is a low priority, particularly in underfunded urban districts.

If the strength of this book is in its details, the author would have been well served to streamline the information, as there is unnecessary repetition in places. A clearer narrative arc and more discussion of Shostakovich's creative process would also have been welcomed. Because Shostakovich was outside of the city, Moynahan shifted his focus away from the composer, but if the siege and the symphony are equally important (as the subtitle suggests), the music deserves more emphasis. Yes, the first and penultimate chapters are stirring, especially with their discussions of just how infirm these heroic musicians were, but they would have been even more effective with a clearer presentation of the composer's musical intentions and the analysis of experts.

Moynahan provides reports from contemporaneous American and British critics who were less than impressed with the symphony, but do these judgments hold today? Is the symphony both a musical triumph and a victory of the human spirit because of the amazing efforts of the composer



who felt his life was threatened and the many ordinary musicians (and some professionals) who were all so compromised by months of starvation?

Perhaps Moynahan believed that the music's quality was irrelevant given the monumental accomplishment of playing it during the siege. Moreover, Shostakovich outlived Stalin and is today recognized as a premier Soviet composer, while native sons of Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), President Putin's city, dominate contemporary Russia. Thus symphony, composer and city have prevailed, although this new elite has brought new troubles upon the city's citizens. Still, Moynahan's story is one to remember for its emphasis on the willingness of people to sacrifice for each other and for the ways in which art inspires and helps humans overcome the worst brutalities. It gives hope, even today.

LISA A. BAGLIONE is a professor of political science at St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia.

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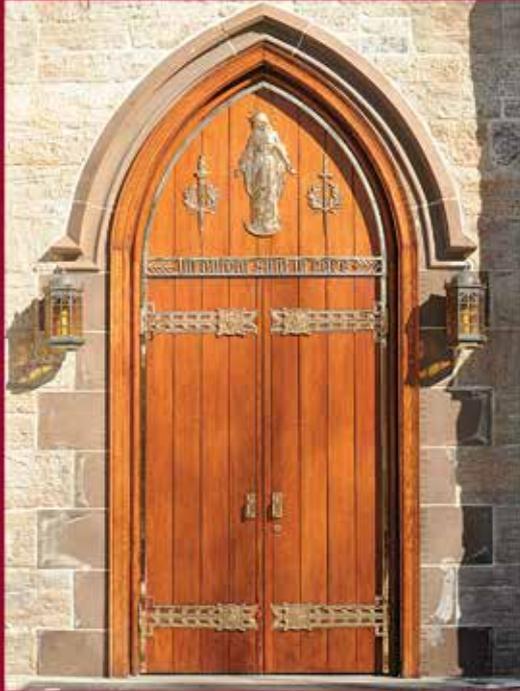
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A Sense of God

NINETEENTH SUNDAY IN ORDINARY TIME (B), AUG. 9, 2015

Readings: 1 Kgs 19:4–8; Ps 34:2–9; Eph 4:30–5:2; Jn 6:41–51

“O taste and see that the Lord is good” (Ps 34:8)

As infants, prior to the coming of speech, we communicate with sounds, gestures and facial expressions. Long before we can speak to our mothers, fathers or older siblings, we fall in love with them. It is a tactile love, based upon the senses of touch, hearing, smelling and seeing. What if this is how we fall in love with God?

These sorts of tactile images abound in Scripture, in which the physical senses are used to describe our relationship with God. Theologians refer to these descriptions as “spiritual senses.” Spiritual senses are not always used in the Bible as a metaphor, they argue, but analogically as a way to describe how we discern the presence of God, actual spiritual senses by which we communicate and enter into relationship with God.

In the modern period Augustin-Francois Poulain, S.J., in *The Graces of Interior Prayer*, stated that “the words to see God, to hear and to touch him are not mere metaphors. They express something more: some close analogy” (p. 90). Poulain would argue that there are passages in the Bible where the senses that touch, taste, hear, smell and see God are not merely metaphors, but actually describe a sensory relationship with God, albeit spiritual. So, when the psalmist asks us to “taste and see that the Lord is good,” there is a spiritual sense to which the image refers

that is not exhausted by a metaphor that evokes a remembrance of a wonderful meal or even physical participation in the eucharistic feast.

But the connection between the physical senses and the spiritual senses is always present, for the physical senses are the means by which we become sensitive to spiritual realities and grounded in the reality of God’s presence. The story of Elijah in the First Book of Kings brings to bear these physical and spiritual senses, for Elijah is running from physical danger, a threat to his life by Jezebel, to Mount Horeb, the place where Moses experienced the theophany, the presence of God. It is there that Elijah will experience God’s presence in the silence, hear God’s voice and speak with him.

Before arriving at Mount Horeb, though, Elijah “asked that he might die,” because of the threats on his life and the belief that he had failed at his task. Instead, as Elijah was sleeping an angel “touched him and said to him, ‘Get up and eat.’” Twice the angel did this before Elijah ate the cake and the water supplied for him by God’s messenger. It was only after this physical sustenance that Elijah traveled 40 days and 40 nights to receive the revelation of God, to experience the presence of the divine.

These mystical experiences might seem merely a product of ancient imag-

ination or to be linked to holy figures of the past, but it seems that the key to encountering God in our own lives is to be able to look beyond the physical realities, essential not only to our bodies but to our growth as spiritual beings, and to feel God’s presence. To become awakened to the reality of the spiritual senses in our lives is to discern God among us.

In the Letter to the Ephesians, the author asks that we “be imitators of God, as beloved children, and live in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God.” This is the only place in all of the New Testament where we are asked to imitate God; this is



PRAYING WITH SCRIPTURE

What spiritual sense describes most fully how you enter into relationship with God?

ART: TAD A. DUNNE

probably due to the focus in Ephesians on God as father. Children in antiquity were to form themselves in the image of their father. This, of course, had its practical realities; but more significantly, imitation had spiritual dimensions. How are we to imitate God unless we have come to know God intimately, as a child knows his or her parents?

Imitation of God is grounded in love of the Father who gave his Son for us as “a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God,” and as “the bread that came down from heaven.” But to smell the fragrant offering and to taste the heavenly bread propels us to senses beyond the physical. These senses offer up for us a world in which we are able to “taste and see that the Lord is good.”

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Food of Wisdom

TWENTIETH SUNDAY IN ORDINARY TIME (B), AUG. 16, 2015

Readings: Prv 9:1–6; Ps 34:2–7; Eph 5:15–20; Jn 6:51–58

“Come, eat of my bread and drink of the wine I have mixed” (Prv 9:5)

You are what you eat. There is some truth to this in the physical sense, as the bloated Western diet can lead us to heart disease and obesity, while more nutritious and moderate eating can lead to better health and more energy. Yet every physical food, in moderation, can be transformed into necessary fuel for the body.

But it is certainly true that in the spiritual sense, we are what we eat. What you eat is what you get. If you want wisdom, you need to partake of wisdom; for foolishness, unlike junk food, cannot be transformed into an essential component of the spiritual self. Even more, when you taste wisdom, there is no limit to the amount you can eat. It fills you up but always leaves you wanting more.

Proverbs bids us to eat of the spiritual food of wisdom. In vivid and evocative language, promising that “she has slaughtered her animals, she has mixed her wine, she has also set her table,” Wisdom says, “Come, eat of my bread and drink of the wine I have mixed.”

There is a metaphoric sense to eating and drinking in wisdom, for as with physical food, we come to know the best food by growing it, cooking it and tasting it. The more we try certain foods or types of wine, the more we know what is best. It is a matter of developing our palates, becoming sensitive to the food we eat, refining our tastes and discerning what is most healthy and nutritious.

There is no difference with the spiritual sense of food. To eat of wisdom is to “walk in the way of insight,” says Proverbs, while foolishness is “immaturity.” Wisdom is a spiritual food, and you need to become a gourmand. You need to know how to source it, to find the best purveyors, to find the hidden gems.

The call in the Letter to the Ephesians that we live “not as unwise people but as wise” is a call, therefore, to be discerning in the spiritual food we eat. We are told to “not be foolish, but understand what the will of the Lord is.” This is the process of a discerning palate, as eating at the table of wisdom is a process of insight and habituation, as is any growth in virtue. When we recognize that true spiritual food is what allows us to grow in wisdom, it becomes the only food we want to eat. The Alexandrian theologian Origen said that the spiritual sense of taste “feeds on living bread that has come down from heaven and gives life to the world” (*De Principiis* I.1.9). Participating in this meal is the height of wisdom.

Here we eat the meal that embodies wisdom itself, but only if our spiritual senses are attuned to the reality of this food. The dispute that Jesus’ teaching engenders in the Gospel of John, when some ask, “How can this man give us his flesh to eat?” is a good question when based on the physical senses. Christ’s flesh is truly being consumed, but it is spiritual wisdom

that opens our eyes to the reality of the meal that goes beyond the physical elements. “My flesh is true food and my blood is true drink,” but only for those who have the ability to see that it is the spiritual food designed to bring us to eternal life.

If one does not discern the spiritual reality behind the claim “unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you,” it will simply be misunderstood as a physical impossibility or foolishness.

And it is only by eating at the table of wisdom in all its forms that deeper spiritual realities come to be under-

PRAYING WITH SCRIPTURE

On a daily basis, how are you eating and drinking in wisdom?

stood. We need to taste and see all that wisdom offers us, for only when we have been trained and had our palates refined can we understand what it means to eat from the table of wisdom. Wisdom lays out a table for each of us every day, in the course of our work, with our families at home and even at play and at leisure. We need to be able to pick and choose from the table of wisdom, for the more we taste of it, the more discerning we become, until the only food we desire is wisdom itself, embodied in the body and blood of Christ at the eucharistic table.

JOHN W. MARTENS



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