# TROUBADOUR

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Eastertide 2005

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### The Power of the Powerless: A Sequel

by Emmett Jarrett, TSSF

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A specter is haunting the American Empire: the specter of *nuestra America*, "our America," drawn from the hopes of people everywhere that the revolutionary promises of 1776, 1863, the 1930's, 1968, might be fulfilled. The American vision of freedom and equality has turned to ashes in the mouths of people around the world who looked to our country as an example. The dream of independence and democracy has turned into the nightmare of Empire for countries who took our Declaration of Independence as a model. But even now, the dream has not quite died, the hope is not yet crushed, the example is rising again from the grave in the ideas and actions of Americans and others whom our corporate media can only sneer at as "protesters."

Who are the "protesters"? What do they protest? Can they in fact change anything? Vaclav Havel said in his essay "The Power of the Powerless,"

... an examination of these questions – an examination of the potential of the "powerless" – can only begin with an examination of the nature of power in the circumstances in which these powerless people operate.

I read Havel's essay during the weeks when Anne and Mark and Laura and I as members of the St. Francis House community, worked with the Mock Terror Attack Task Force of the Southeast Connecticut Peace and Justice Network, prepared to make a public witness against the Homeland Security Department's TOPOFF 3 exercise in New London. As we presented our arguments to local officials and the public that the real purpose of the "mock terror attack" during the week of April 4-8, 2005 was not to train local first responders to meet disasters of whatever kind, but an exercise in state-induced fear to intimidate opposition to government war policies, I felt more and more that Havel's description of "post-totalitarian" Czechoslovakia in October 1978 fit the American Empire under George W. Bush in our time. I write this essay – a sequel to Havel's – for two reasons: first, to draw out the comparison and reflect on the similarities, and second, to claim for those who resist the monolithic power of Empire in our time and place the dignity and strength of earlier revolutionaries, both Americans and others.

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I was first struck by the practice of newspaper reporters, local politicians, and others, to refer to us as "protesters." Our friend Cal Robertson, Vietnam War veteran and twenty-year peace witness in Southeast Connecticut, declines the title. "I am not a protester," he says, "I'm a witness." A protester is against something; a witness speaks for what he believes to be true, and is willing to risk his life for the truth.

"Protester" is a catch-all term for anyone who thinks or acts in nonconformist ways. It is a noble calling. But citizens who attended our Community Forum on March 13 were referred to as "protesters," even though the city's emergency management coordinator was in the audience and spoke to the issues. The Rev. Canon Edward Rodman spoke of the pattern in U. S. history of the use of fear to intimidate dissenters and support war, and Megan Bartlett, a New York City first responder on September 11, 2001, and founder of Ground Zero for Peace, spoke of the need for first responder training not exercises in state-induced terror, but both were labeled "protesters."

At a Quaker meeting conversation about the mock terror attack, a well meaning Friend suggested that we be careful not to appear as 1960's "hippies" in our opposition to the exercise. But who characterizes the witnesses for peace in this way? Who benefits from the depiction of supporters of nonviolent social change as "hippies"? Protest is a legitimate activity, especially when one accepts the assumption of the political system and wishes to oppose a particular policy within that system. But when one wishes to witness to a different way of being that contradicts the political system under which one lives, it's not protest but witness in which one is engaged.

Havel's comments on the use of the term "dissident" for himself and others in the "post-totalitarian" systems of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and finally Russia itself, are useful in this regard. The Communist Party-dominated press referred to him and his friends as "dissidents," meaning renegades or backsliders from the socialist vision. But, he argued, "a 'dissident' is simply a physicist, a sociologist, a worker, a poet, individuals who are doing what they feel they must and, consequently, who find themselves in open conflict with the regime." A wonderful witness joined our number who fits this description completely. Sandra Pike, who works at our local hospital as a respiratory therapist, threw herself into resistance to the mock terror attack because she was

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convinced it was wrong. It was the first act of political resistance of her life. She deserves not dismissal by fellow citizens but admiration and respect for her faith and her courage. She is a witness, like the "dissidents" of Havel's society, not because she is a professional political activist but because of "an existential attitude" of a free human being in the face of repression. Sandra's constant presence in our "Fear Free Zone" in New London's Union Plaza made our witness more powerful than it would have been without her.

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"Who are these so-called dissidents?" Havel asked, and "Can they actually change anything?" We have been dealing with that question all of our lives. Can we really change anything? This is a question about power. Nonviolent activists in the U. S. today are almost as powerless as Havel and his friends in Europe in the 1970's. But what is the nature of power?

Havel defined the system under which he lived – which we in the U. S. called "the Soviet bloc" - as "posttotalitarian." It was not a simple dictatorship, in the classic sense of a small group who take over power in a society and rule by military or police force an unwilling people. The system had been in place for decades, and used the external forms of democratic government and guaranteed human rights. Indeed, the Communist Party rule in these countries claimed to institutionalize "the leading role" of the workers' party in society. He saw also that Western democratic society had strong resemblances to post-totalitarian society. For the post-totalitarian governments that fell in 1989 were "simply another form of the consumer and industrial society, with all its concomitant social, intellectual, and psychological consequences."

This is hard for Americans to realize because we have so many residual forms of democracy in our society. Our imperial ideology is largely invisible, because we truly believe ourselves to be free when in as Czechs and Poles and Russians were in theirs. Like them, for example, we have elections which do not really offer any possibility of change in our system. As Howard Zinn remarked in A People's History of the United States, we learn in our history books that "the supreme act of citizenship is to choose among saviors, by going into a voting booth every four years to choose between two white and well-off Anglo-Saxon males of inoffensive personality and orthodox opinions."

fact we are as deeply ensnared in our system

The first election I participated in was the 1960 contest between John F.
Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. It felt to me, as a young soldier defending the Empire from the shores of Okinawa in the East China Sea, like a real choice. Successive elections have seemed less so. Dorothy Day knew that when there is never a substantive choice to be made, elections are a farce, and never voted. I now believe she was right.

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Havel argues that voting in such elections is cooperating with the system, giving it one's approval and blessing. Believing that such elections can change anything is colluding in an ideology of falsehood and keeping the powerful in power. Ideology, he says, "is a specious way of relating to the world. It offers human beings the illusion of an identity, of dignity, and of morality while making it easier for them to part with them." We spoke in America in the 1950's of "the end of ideology," and the belief that we live without an ideology is the most subtle and effective strategy of our imperial ideology to protect itself. One doesn't revolt against something that isn't there.

A good example of our ideology at work is the widespread belief that the Soviet Union collapsed because of Ronald Reagan's military strategy, when in fact it was the work of people like Havel in Czechoslovakia, Lech Walesa in Poland and others, against incredible odds, that won freedom for their people. Reagan and his



successors – Democrat and Republican alike – claimed that the end of the Soviet empire was the triumph of capitalism, but in fact it was the triumph of working people seeking to live their lives in freedom. It was not capitalism but Polish industrial workers, fighting for a union, which brought down the government. The fact that their struggle was nonviolent makes it all the more tragic that we Americans refuse to believe it. Ideology by its very nature is opposed to the human quest for truth.

It is truth that is at issue for us today, as it was for them in the 1980's. "The principle involved here," Havel writes, "is that the center of power is identical with the center of truth." When the system is a lie, then the man or woman who says "No" in some small way begins to live in the truth, and exposes the system as a lie. Havel uses the story of a greengrocer who refuses to put a political slogan in his shop window. It's not that he doesn't believe the slogan. Nobody believes it, least of all the government that articulates the ideology. But nobody denies it either, and therefore the lie continues. A simple act of resistance calls the whole system into question. The desire to live in human dignity with a modicum of self-respect denies the validity of the dominant ideology. That is why our resistance to the mock terror attack on New London – a small gesture, ignored by most, known only to a few people – was so important. To speak truth to a system that is lying is a dangerous witness.

But what is truth, and who dares to claim to speak the truth? American society in the twenty-first century might have been in Yeats's mind when he said

The best lack all conviction while the worst Are full of passionate intensity.

Post-modern academic thinkers seem to deny the existence of any objective truth. They seize upon the fact that different observers describe different experiences of a thing or feeling or concept, and leap to the conclusion that subjectivity is all. Right-



wing Christians in politics assert a reductionist version of Christianity and seek to impose it on others. Vaclav Havel, speaking of the post-totalitarian system in another book, claims that ours is the first truly atheistic worldview. We cede to systems the truths of life. Our bureaucracies seek a "least common denominator" understanding of human life. We proclaim that we are open to freedom and new understandings of human nature, but we ultimately deny difference by making everything and everyone the same as every other.

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A key element in understanding the similarity of the situation of nonviolent war resisters to that of the "dissidents" in posttotalitarian societies two decades ago is an understanding of the nature of bureaucracy. When Havel speaks of the post-totalitarian system he calls it a bureaucracy. But bureaucracy is as much a part of life in the U. S. as it was in the states of the Soviet bloc. Havel writes of a system "utterly obsessed with the need to bind everything in a single order: life in such a state is thoroughly permeated by a dense network of regulations, proclamations, directives, norms, orders, and rules. (It is not called a bureaucratic system without good reason.)" This description sounds like our experience of U. S. government, especially the burgeoning bureaucracy of the Department of Homeland Security. "With everincreasing consistency, it binds all the expressions and aims of life to the spirit of its own aims: the vested interests of its own smooth, automatic operation."

Alisdair MacIntyre, in his seminal work on moral philosophy, *After Virtue* (1981), spoke of the bifurcation of our social world into organizational structures in which "the ends are taken to be given and are not available for rational scrutiny" and the personal world in which argument about values is central "but in which no rational social resolution of issues is available." MacIntyre specifically compares societies which define themselves in terms of





individual liberty and those which focus on planning and social goods, and notes that both societies are bureaucratic in their organization. He quotes the Russian novelist Solzhenitzyn as saying that "both ways of life are in the long run intolerable."

In the days before the mock terror attack on New London, the Connecticut State Department of Homeland Security became aware that some of us were planning "acts of faith and resistance" to the exercise. They learned this from a paid advertisement in the local newspaper, and contacted a Groton city policeman who had experience with war resistance actions at the U.S. Submarine Base and Electric Boat in Groton. Joanne Sheehan, of the War Resisters League, and I, met with them. They were relieved to learn that we did not intend to block ambulances or throw ourselves in front of fire trucks during the "drill," and we were happy to know that our actions would be understood as protected by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution for free speech. As we talked, it became clear that the police and Homeland Security folks thought in terms of first responder activities: police, fire, emergency medical technicians, etc., and we were thinking in terms of the broader political perspective of the "war on terrorism." We tried to widen the conversation, but were met with the belief that "you can't change the people at the top." After several such frustrating exchanges, I said to the young man in charge of the drill: "But we can change things at the top!" Such is the nature of monolithic bureaucratic systems that it's hard for even intelligent and good-hearted people to believe in the possibility of change.

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One of the ways we sought to educate ourselves and our fellow citizens about the upcoming "mock terror" event was a film series, and one of the films we showed was the PBS series on twentieth century nonviolent social revolutions. The ones I know most about are the Indian liberation from the British Empire under Gandhi, the Civil Rights movement in the United States led by Martin Luther King, Jr., and the South African struggle against apartheid, led by Nelson Mandela with strong support from Christian churches in that country. I looked first at the story of the Polish workers revolt against their Communist Party government led by the Solidarity movement. It was there I discovered Vaclav Havel's essay, "The Power of the Powerless," for the leaders of Solidarity were inspired by that work.

Eastertide 2005

It should come as no surprise that the struggle was nonviolent, not from a theoretical commitment to nonviolence, as with Gandhi and King, but for the practical fact that the Poles had little hope against the Red Army in Russia, which had already intervened in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. But they worked nonviolently to build what Havel called "parallel structures" that ultimately replaced the ideological structures of the state. The workers in the Gdansk shipyard had a "union" - what we in the United States would call a "company union" that served the interests of the Party rather than the workers – so they built a union of their own that was responsive to their needs, and because their union actually represented the workers, they forced the government to recognize their presence.

If I look back to Dorothy
Day and the early Catholic Worker
movement, in a time of labor ferment in the
U. S., I'm reminded of the Industrial
Workers of the World – IWW, the
"Wobblies" – whose strategy was embodied
in their motto: "To build the new society
within the shell of the old." Solidarity
actually did that. I believe that we can do
that in America today.

It's a question of power. Havel called his essay "The Power of the Powerless," and I am writing this essay as "a sequel." What is the nature of power in our world, and what is the power of the powerless for us?

Power seems to be either "power over" others, domination, or the "power of



being," the ability to do what you choose to do in the living of life. It is easier to see the difference in the lives of individuals. The dominance of one person over another seems wrong to us, and the exercise of the ability to create, to work, to relate to others, seems right. The poet Robert Duncan said years ago: "I make poems as other men make love, make war, make states or revolutions: to exercise my faculties at large." The power of the powerless – a social power for those whom the state or system denies power – is like this. Havel says:

Therefore this power does not rely on soldiers of its own, but on the soldiers of the enemy as it were — that is to say, on everyone who is living within the lie and who may be struck at any moment (in theory, at least) by the force of truth (or who, out of an instinctive desire to protect their position, may at least adapt to that force). . . . This power does not participate in any direct struggle for power; rather, it makes its influence felt in the obscure arena of being itself."



In an authoritarian system of "power over others," the individuals and groups who first see the truth of the situation, and then act, in some initially small way, to say "No" to the claims of truth and power by the system, are the "powerless" of whom I speak. When we had 50 people in New London's Union Plaza, reading Martin Luther King, Jr.'s 1967 Riverside Church speech, and the government had 600 reporters in busses going to press conferences, and 1,200 "victims" going into hospitals, not to mention the Homeland Security forces, the police, fire, and EMT personnel, and finally the U.S. military, we were few in number. But we said "No" to the concept of fear as security that the might of the U. S. government was promoting. We lived in that moment the Christian conviction that "there is no fear in love, but perfect love casts out fear" (I John 4:18).

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We had power in that moment – the power of the powerless.

The word "freedom" is used by many today and means many things. We must be clear that "free markets" and "free people" are not the same, and may often be opposed to one another. On the other hand, both state planning and corporate dominance work through bureaucratic structures to deny freedom to individuals and communities. An imperial ideology masks the truth of human freedom and resistance, and gives the impression of a monolithic power that is, if not worthy of human life, irresistible by human beings. Either way, we are trapped by our circumstances. But the circumstances serve the interests of an elite that is as powerful – and as wrong – as the leaders of post-totalitarian society.

An important thing about freedom is that you lose it if you don't exercise it. We are not free if we do not act in freedom. At the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus instructs his disciples to "Enter by the narrow gate; for the gate is wide and the way is easy that leads to destruction, and those who enter by it are many. For the gate is narrow and the way is hard, that leads to life, and those who find it are few" (Matthew 7:13-14). We stand today before the narrow gate. The multitudes are being herded through a wide gate into an intellectual and moral prison of imperial power. The fact that resisters are few is not a disappointment. It is what we know from experience. All revolutions begin with a few people recognizing the lie and beginning in small ways to live the truth in the face of the system.

There are "false prophets" aplenty. The prophets of an individualistic and reductionist Christianity lead many astray. The prophets of doom, who say change is not possible, lead more to resignation and despair. The prisoners of hope see the narrow gate, and invite us to follow them out of the prison into the freedom of the children of God. Jesus said, "Not everyone



who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the (Matthew 7:21).

"What then is to be done?" Vaclav Havel asked that question in 1978, recalling Lenin's question at the time of the Russian Revolution of 1917. We ask the question of ourselves today. What is to be done?

I am often asked the question in another form. Where are the Martin Luther King, Jr's and the Gandhi's of today? Who will lead us to the promised land? Who will be our savior? My answer is: we do not need a savior. We need to trust our experience and begin to live as free men and women today. The Buddhists say, when the pupil is ready, the teacher will appear. I say, when we are ready to say No to the lie and begin to live in freedom, we will produce our own leaders, and walk together into freedom. As Ella Baker said in the Civil Rights movement, "We don't need leadercentered movements; we need movementcentered leaders."

The first thing we have to do is recognize that we are not free, that our imperial American ideology has blinded us to our slavery. Havel wrote:

> The post-totalitarian system is only one aspect – a particularly drastic aspect and thus all the more revealing of its real origins – of this general inability of modern humanity to be the master of its own situation. The automatism of the post-totalitarian system is merely an extreme version of the global automatism of technological civilization. The human failure that it mirrors is only one variant of the general failure of modern humanity.

This is our problem. The Soviet Empire is gone. Why does the American Empire still

Continued on page 7

### kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven"

ALL THE NEWS THAT SHOULD BE FIT TO PRINT

**APRIL**, 2005

TRUTH TELLING:

In this section of the Troubadour we want to focus on the April 4-8 Mock Terror Attack on New London. The Mock Terror Attack Task Force of the Southeast Connecticut Peace and Justice Network sponsored a full page ad in The Day (see next page) as part of our effort to alert and prepare the community. We also prepared 200 press packets. Much of that material and much more was made available on the Internet thanks to the energy and commitment of Network member George Clark at his website www.RIVEREDGERECORD.org.

What became clear even before the week unfolded was that we really were creating a "Fear Free Zone" at Soldiers and Sailors Monument in downtown New London and beyond. Our March 13 Forum with the Rev. Edward Rodman and Megan Bartlett, provided a trenchant and riveting analysis of the use of fear as a means of social control and the ways in which the true heroism of the 9-11 first responders has been manipulated and their health needs ignored. (Copies of Network members Bob and Ronna Stullers' excellent DVD of the event are available.) On Sunday the day before the attack, a number of area clergy preached on the theme of "What is Our Real Security?" to help prepare themselves and their congregations. First Congregational Church made its sanctuary space available for noontime reflection throughout the week.

On Sunday April 3, our Alternative Media Center in front of the Radisson Hotel media center (to which the Department of Homeland Security denied us access) was well-covered (see inside). But Sunday must have been considered a slow news day, because that coverage did not continue during the week with the notable exception of Susan Campbell's excellent Hartford Courant article (see back page of this centerfold section). The dismal lack of investigative reporting (who received the \$16 million allocated for this event?) and the facile announcement of the "success" of the "drill" (New York Times 4/9 and all the area press) points to a deeper problem of staged news events to give a false sense of security through racist innuendo. And for a deeper look at the New York Times coverage which SFH board member Linda Powell Pruitt called "Kafka-esque," be sure to look up the 3/26 -A11 article on teaching police "to think like terrorists" and all of us learning to suspect our neighbors and co-workers who after all could be members of the "Universal Adversary, the make-believe force behind a dozen doomsday scripts that the Department of Homeland Security has compiled..." including the one used here in New London.

When the Task Force first decided to honor April 4 as the 37th Anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King by reading his April 4 Riverside Church Speech known as the Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam (see insert for excerpts), we had no idea how powerful, moving and relevant that reading would be. Fifteen people including SFH board member and former New London mayor Eunice Waller joined in the recitation. Fifty people attended.

The discussion led by Joanne Sheehan of the War Resisters League with the 30 people gathered round Soldiers and Sailors Monument on Tuesday morning to discuss what Gandhi's Constructive Program would look like in our time would have been a chance for any reporter to find a real discussion of the real crises facing us. That exploration will continue.

Please add your own insights and resistance to this ongoing struggle to create "Fear Free Zones."

# **MOCK TERROR ATTACK:**

# WHAT SHOULD WE FEAR?

London, Connectic The City of New London

April 4, 2005. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security, in cooperation with state and local officials, will carry out a mock chemical attack ostensibly to train our first responders to meet disasters linked to our Government's "War on Terror." City officials assure us that no one, including children, will be disturbed, but it is hard to imagine the destruction at Fort Trumbull and the flooding of L&M and other area hospitals with 1,200 "victims" as minor incidents. Department of Homeland Security officials say they want to "gauge the economic psychological, and other after-shocks" of a chemical attack. We will be affected

will be attacked during the week of

We, the undersigned citizens of New London and the State of Connecticut, believe the real purpose of the "mock terror attack" is to intimidate the population and stifle dissent from a policy of foreign wars. Is this exercise really useful to our first responders? This \$16 million dollar exercise ncludes hiring mock journalists who will report back to the Department of Homeland Security and operate a virtual news network reporting on the mock attack. The event is called "TOPOFF" because is an exercise for "top officials," not local emergency personnel. Is it really a "scare tactic" designed both to make us fearful and fool us into thinking the Government can protect us by engaging in war?

April 4 is the 37th anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr. King identified the real forces of evil that threaten our society and the world: racism, militarism, and materialism. Muslims and the people of the Middle East are not our enemies. The true enemy of our America is our refusal to make common cause with people around the world. The danger is not foreign terrorists, but greed and fear and hate.

We must not be misled by mock terror attacks. Dr. King taught us that "the ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy... Our choice today is not between nonviolence and violence. It is

> We call upon our friends and neighbors to refuse to be intimidated We pledge to resist the fear that is being forced upon us by those who would have us trust their power and not believe in ourselves. Join us in acts of faith

For further information, call St. Francis House 860.437.8890, e-mail: stfrancishouse@mindspring.com or visit www.riveredgerecord.org

Paid for by the Mock Terror Attack Task Force of the Southeast Connecticut Peace and Justice Network



TIM MARTIN / The Day

Mary Rioux of Mystic, right, and other members of the Southeastern Connecticut Peace & Justice Network protest the mock terror attack.

## It's like the calm before the storm

By RICK KOSTER

New London - For a community about to undergo a terrorist attack - admittedly a fake and pre-announced one -New London was pretty low-key Sunday afternoon.

Inside the Radisson hotel, journalists arriving to cover the event, which is called TOPOFF 3 and will take place today through Friday in select parts of the city, could go two ways upon check-in. They could aim for the Homeland Security Media Center for credentials, or follow directions on a handwritten placard to "Emily's Birthday Party."

On the sidewalk in front of the hotel, about 30 members of a task force from the Southeastern Connecticut Peace & Justice Network operated an Alternative Media Center and held "honk for peace" signs at generally responsive drivers.

"We want to inform the press coming in that there is another perspective to this event," said Father Emmett Jarrett of St. Frances House on Broad Street, the organizers of the network. "TOPOFF is not primarily designed as training for response in the case of an attack. It's designed to

"We'd like to see money spent on preventive activities," said Network member Anne Scheibner. "This is just more opportunism from the government to frighten the public City manager defends benefits of mock attack on New Lond

Local priest has

questions, doubts

about mock drill

'Some of us are old enough to remember the 'duck and cover' drills from the Cold War. Even then we were told the idea was to train us for a response — but as now the idea was to instill a sense of preconditioned militarism." Father Emmett Jarrett of St. Francis House

### New London is calm before the storm

terests under the guise of military of preconditioned militarism.

TOPOFF 3, which stands for Top Officials 3, is the third in a series of congressionally mandated exercises sponsored by the Department of Homeland Security and is estimated to cost \$16 million

Homeland Security, which sponsors the event, the exercise is designed to strengthen the nation's capacity to prevent, protect against, respond to, and recover from terrorist attacks involving weapons of mass destruction. Along with activities in the Fort Trumbull area and in Ocean tion and prevention (of terrorist at-Beach Park - which TOPOFF officials say will not interfere with the day-to-day routine of New Londoners — other exercises will take place in New Jersey.

"Some of us are old enough to remember the 'duck and cover' drills from the Cold War," Jarrett said. "Even then we were told the idea week's worth of protests.

**Scare Tactic** 

was to train us for a response — but and at the same time protect oil in- as now the idea was to instill a sense

As media members began to ardia Center and stopped by to introduce themselves and ask for litera-

Even Robert Ross, the Connecticut coordinator for TOPOFF 3, came out According to the Department of to greet and exchange pleasantries with Jarrett.

"We'd met with (members of the Network) and are working with them as part of the planning process," Ross said. "They're exercising their freedom of speech. We have different opinions on protectacks), but it's certainly their consti tutional right to be here." The Network also met with New

London police and members of the Department of Homeland Security last week to confirm their presence in front of the Radisson Sunday as part of their overall program for a

Mitchell College student Daniel Fogel was one of the citizenry who just dropped by to see what the network had to say. "I came downtown rive, some noted the Alternative Me- to chill and found all the excitement," Fogel said. "I tend to be pragmatic these days, and I think they're being overly idealistic, but it's nice and I respect them. Somebody's got to do it.

"I just believe nonviolence is the right way to bring about change," Jarrett said. "If you look at the successful movements of social change in the 20th century — Martin Luther King, Jr. in America, Gandhi in India, South Africa, the fall of the Soviet Union — it all happened through nonviolent means.

Activities scheduled today by the Network will take place in a "Fear-Free Zone" at Union Plaza from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. and will include a public reading of King Jr.'s "Beyond Vietnam" speech at 10 a.m. Today marks the anniversary of King's assassination in Memphis in 1968.

Above-left: The Day, Monday, April 4, 2005 - page 1 Left: The Day, Tuesday, March 29, 2005 - full page ad Right: The Day, Letter to the Editor, April 13 Below: Collage of articles, material and



### TRUTH TELLING

#### **Mock-attack opponents** were not destructive

To the Editor of The Day:

In the story about lawmakers at the mock-terror attack on New London, 4th District Rep. Christopher Shays says, "I've heard that there are some people protesting this event, and I can't tell you how destructive their position is, though they have the right to do it" ("Lawmakers say drill is far from needless," April 5).

I'm sorry Rep. Shays did not consult those who opposed the mock attack before characterizing our actions as "destructive." The Patriot Act, for which he voted, is destructive of civil liberties, but the exercise of those liberties is not. The war on Iraq, based on lies about WMDs and false claims of a relationship between Iraq and al-Qaida, for which he voted, is destructive, but peaceful protest of war is not.

The Southeast Connecticut Peace and Justice Network demonstrated peacefully throughout the week to build awareness of nonviolence and the fact that "another way is possible" in foreign policy and domestic well-being and safety.

Our efforts were all open to the public. As the government was busing reporters from briefing to briefing during the mock-terror attack, we were presenting evidence that this exercise was more a scare tactic for citizens than training for first responders. Documentation is on www.riveredgerecord.org.

The next time any official wishes to find fault, I urge that he or she discover the thoughts of the people to be criticized before characterizing them as "destructive." I urge Reps. Shays and Rob Simmons, and Sens. Christopher Dodd and Joseph Lieberman, to vote against expansion of the Patriot Act, against tax cuts for the rich, against bigger military budgets for a failed war policy, and for the welfare of citizens, especially the poor.

**Father Emmett Jarrett** New London

The writer is with Saint Francis

## An Exercise In Fostering Fear And Generating Profiteering



SUSAN CAMPBELL

ell, Gov. M. Jodi Rell, at least, was pleased with the early part of Connecticut's piece of the international TOPOFF3 mock terrorism drill. Earlier, the governor had called the test's being staged in New London a "coup" for the state. Mock disasters bring out-of-towners to fill hotel rooms, and they all have to eat somewhere, right?

But there are a whole lot of problems with such a huge drill. The same tests can be done more effectively on a smaller, more focused scale. The drills heighten fear among the populace, even if the citizenry knows it's only a test. And they cost a lot of money.

In fact, the entire safety industry is a cash cow these days, and it's good — isn't it? — to let it graze in New London. Of the \$16 million we're told this week costs, how much goes to handsomely paid consultants who have grabbed the brass ring in our newly created anti-terrorism industry? Those gleaming SUVs don't come cheap, and some of them are squiring around today's carpetbaggers, war profiteers who play on fear.

But to the games! Odd complaints from people complaining of flu-like symptoms and suffering from mock chemical burns! An early-afternoon explosion that sounds like a firecracker! A Coast Guard helicopter that hovers nearby! And we're off!

Because we need to learn how much our emergency response system will bear. And even though we've found out in every drill—and the real disasters, as well—that our main weakness is communication, we need to learn that again. The terrorists can't win.

When Sandra Pike read about the mock terrorist attack this week in the Fort Trumbull area, the respiratory therapist knew her hospital — Lawrence & Memorial — would be in the thick of it. Billed as the world's largest pretend terrorist attack ever, the mock disaster is being staged in New London (where the culprit is a fake chemical attack) and New Jersey (pretend bioterrorism), with additional exercises in London, Canada and Washington, D.C. For Connecticut's part, an army of firefighters, police officers, event planners, fake television news reporters and pretend victims have descended on the port town under the canopy of the Department of Homeland Security.

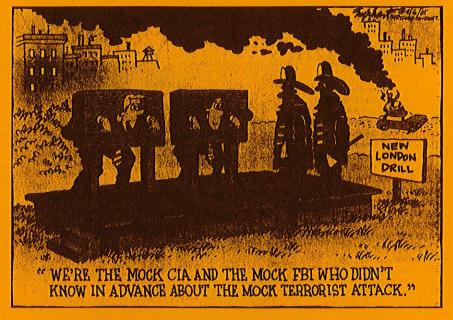
But Pike took Monday off. Instead of treating pretend victims of a chemical attack, the 37-year old stood on a street corner holding a sign that labeled her "Emergency Peace Responder."

"A one-time drill isn't effective," she said. "We drill all the time. Here, everything is all staged."

From Homeland Security's own website: The drill is a "Congressionally mandated exercise designed to strengthen the nation's capacity to prevent, prepare for, respond to, and recover from

The Hartford Courant, April 6, 2005 - Reprinted with permission

#### ENGLEHART'S VIEW



### **Have Fear Of Terror Profiteers**

#### FROM PAGE D1

large-scale terrorist attacks involving weapons of mass destruction." And so we prove once again the adage that generals always fight the last war.

Precisely what will we learn from the drill? How to keep the populace scared and war-ready? Members of the Southeast Connecticut Peace & Justice Network and the C(onnecticut) C(ollege) Left know that keeping everyone on a state of alert does nothing to ensure our safety. It simply keeps us frightened.

When Pike began researching security drills, she found a new community peopled by the likes of the Rev. Emmett Jarrett, an affable Army veteran and Episcopalian priest who quit parish work and threw his lot with the poor and disenfranchised. As a member of the peace and justice network, on Monday he stood shoulder-to-shoulder with Pike, waving to a mostly friendly crowd of passers-by. One veteran just back from Iraq angrily pointed at a group of protesting Connecticut College students. But Todd Vachon

of Colchester counted only three upraised middle fingers in the hour or so he stood at New London's Union Plaza holding his sign, "Real Terrorists Are In the White House." He counted far more waves and peace signs.

That people question such an expensive war game is encouraging. But too many people sit at home, nurturing their cynicism in a bed of fear. Instead, Jarrett suggests this: Talk to your neighbors, and then think about what you can do to change things. Jarrett and others will be out all week, leading prayer vigils, marching and holding signs at Union Plaza, which they call a "Fear Free Zone."

On Monday, as a line of firetrucks, decontamination units and bomb squads waited to enter the Fort Trumbull area, two things were obvious. The only real thing all day was the protesters. And the second thing was this: The only thing we have to fear

Well, you know the rest.

Susan Campbell is at Campbell @courant.com or 860-241-6454.

TRUTH TELLING APRIL 2005

# Excerpts from the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Declaration of Independence From the War in Vietnam"

On Monday April 4, 2005 fifteen readers in downtown New London read Martin Luther King's "Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam." He gave this address 38 years ago in Riverside Church, New York City exactly one year before his assassination. The sobering impact of his words today gives eloquent testimony as to why his voice had to be silenced by the powers and principalities and why our voices must not be:

I come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my conscience leaves me no other choice..... The recent statement of (Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam) are the sentiments of my own heart and I found myself in full accord when I read its opening lines: 'A time comes when silence is betrayal.' That time has come for us in relation to Vietnam.

The truth of these words is beyond a doubt, but the mission to which they call us is a most difficult one. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, (people)\* do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of this dreadful conflict we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty; but we must move on.....

Since I am a preacher by trade, I suppose it is not surprising that I have seven major reasons for bringing Vietnam into the field of my moral vision. There is at the outset the very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I, and others, have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor - both black and white- through the Poverty Program. Then came the build-up in Vietnam, and I watched the program broken and eviscerated as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war, and I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic, destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

Perhaps the more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the young black men who had been crippled by our society and sending then 8000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to set them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts in a poor village, but we realize that they would never live on the same block in Detroit. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor. .... (In response to the questions of angry young men in the ghettos of the North who asked) if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home and I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today - my own government.....

......To me the relationship of (the ministry of Jesus Christ) to the making of peace is so obvious that I some-times marvel at those who ask me why I am speaking against the war. Could it be that they do not know that the good news was meant for all (people) - for communist and capitalist, for their children and ours, for black and white, for revolutionary and conservative? Have they forgotten that my ministry is in obedience to the One who loved His enemies so fully that He died for them? What can I say to the Viet Cong or to Castro or to Mao as a faithful minister of this One? Can I threaten them with death, or must I not share with them my life?

Note: Dr. King used "men" as generic for "people". To facilitate reading today, (people) is used in this excerpt.

As I ponder the madness of Vietnam, my mind goes constantly to the people of that peninsula.... (The people of Vietnam) must see Americans as strange liberators..... The only change seemed to come from America as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept and without popular support.... Now they languish under our bombs and consider us - not their fellow Vietnamese- the real enemy.... They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops.... So far we may have killed a million of them- mostly children....

If we continue, there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam. It will become clear that our minimal expectation is to occupy it as an American colony, and (people) will not refrain from thinking that our maximum hope is to goad China into a war so that we may bomb her nuclear installations.

The world now demands a maturity of America that we may not be able to achieve. It demands that we admit that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam, that we have been detrimental to the life of her people....

..... The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality we will find ourselves organizing clergy- and laymen-concerned committees for the next generation. We will be marching and attending rallies without end unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy.

In 1957 a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution.... The need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counterrevolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala (and other examples from Venezuela and Peru). With such activity in mind, the words of John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. (In 1962) he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable."

Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken - by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investment.

I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. When machines and computers, profit and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism and militarism are incapable of being conquered. A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question the fairness and justice of many of past and present policies. True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar; it is not haphazard and superficial. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring. A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth.... This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, or injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of people normally humane, of sending (people) home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice, and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death. .....

.....Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism......

This address in its entirety is available in pamphlet form from A.J. Muste Institute. (212)533-4335; info@ajmuste.org; www.ajmuste.org

TROUBADOUR Eastertide 2005

have a military budget that squeezes out education, housing, health care for citizens and exports arms to client states? Why are we still working on the militarization of outer space, when no one but North Korea is threatening us with missile attack? What ever happened to the "peace dividend"?

Once we recognize our situation, we must, like the "dissidents" in Eastern Europe a generation ago, begin to build "parallel structures" of society where we can exercise our freedom as people.

Whether we are religious or not, we must recognize the spiritual dimension of our crisis, and honor the traditions that have nourished us in the past: Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and others, including the best of the tradition of secular society informed by the free expression of faith by people who believe in the God of justice and peace.

Those of us who are Christians have a special responsibility. We must claim the mantle of Jesus and the prophets. We must begin to live as they lived, not in a ghetto of faith protected by the armies of our Empire. We must refuse to offer the pinch of incense to Caesar, and be willing to die for our faith rather than kill, to live for Christ rather than "kill a Commie" or a Republican or a terrorist "for Christ."

We must follow Gandhi's example and work together on "constructive programs" for individual and communal well-being. At our "Fear Free Zone" in New London we named a number of such possibilities, including housing, creative work, art and music, alternate forms of transportation (bicycles don't require dependence on oil!), continuing film series, work with returning veterans and families, counter-recruiting in schools, more and more "fear free zones."

Furthermore, we must not try to prescribe the outcomes of our conversations in advance. Joanne Sheehan pointed out in one of our task force meetings that the beginning of resistance to fallout shelters and civil defense drills in New York City in the 1950's was a small group of individuals from the Catholic Worker and the War Resisters League. I couldn't help noticing

that our mock terror attack resistance was rooted in the same configuration: St. Francis House and the War Resisters League. Our conversations around the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in New London's Union Plaza doubled the number of people committed to resistance. These new resisters will bring their own visions and interact with ours to produce a new agenda.

Page 7

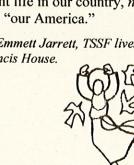
Speaking of the organization of economic life in the "post-democratic" world that would succeed "post-totalitarian" states in Eastern Europe, Vaclav Havel said:

> I believe in the principle of selfmanagement, which is probably the only way of achieving what all the theorists of socialism have dreamed about, that is, the genuine (i.e., informal) participation of workers in economic decision making, leading to a feeling of genuine responsibility for their collective work. The principles of control and discipline ought to be abandoned in favor of self-control and self-discipline.

Students of Gandhi will think immediately of swaraj - the "self-rule" which went far beyond Indian independence from the British Empire, to include each person's responsibility for himself and his neighbors. and each community's responsibility to their own people and other communities.

These virtues will be no easier for us to achieve than they have been for Indians, or South Africans, or Poles, or Czechs, or African-Americans in the United States. But they are the means to nonviolent life in our country, nuestra America, "our America."

The Rev. Emmett Jarrett, TSSF lives and works at St. Francis House.



#### On Homelessness and New London: or, What Makes a Change of Heart?

#### by Laura Burfoot

"The greatest challenge of the day is: how to bring about a revolution of the heart, a revolution which has to start with each one of us?" Dorothy Day

The New London Emergency Homeless Shelter and Hospitality Center opened December 1, 2004 and officially closed March 31, 2005. I had the good fortune of being employed there as a staff person. During the course of 4 months we had over 140 people stay. What a blessing these 4 months have been for me. Lessons on faith, generosity, love, privilege, patience, and judgment rippled and rolled throughout the course of each night I was there.

We must begin with this common understanding: "homeless," according to the 1981 Webster's Third New International Dictionary, is defined as "having no home or permanent place of residence." The only intelligent conclusions we can draw about the nature of homeless people, then, is that they do not have access to a home or residence. That's it. We can assume nothing more. It is a phenomenon of this culture that never ceases to confound me- how it is that we conflate poverty with immorality, with meanness of spirit, with lack of character or good intention, with stupidity. Homeless people are neither bad nor stupid, neither mean, nor immoral. They are humans, like myself, like yourself, complete with grace and flaw. They are economically poor, yes. Many have little access to money. Access to money, however, is not directly related to access to generosity, love, compassion. competence, humor. There is no

relationship, no pie chart to be drawn, no logarithm to graph.

I had a realization one night in speaking with a guest at the shelter. This guest happens to hold a master's degree in electrical engineering from a university in St.Petersburg, Russia. (Remember, we can assume nothing beyond a lack of access to housing). He was inquiring as to why I, a young college graduate, was spending my time at a homeless shelter? I responded something about wanting to be a responsible, seeing (as opposed to blind) member of the community. And as a seeing member, how could I justify doing much else? He asked me what my goals were. My goal, of course, was to be unemployed the following year. My goal, of course, was to ensure that every single person in this community had access to a comfortable, healthy, secure living situation. This said, a homeless shelter is certainly not the solution. It is the means. It is a means by which community is built, camaraderie is felt, peoples' lives are saved. But what is the solution?

As the conversation continued. I spoke about the necessity of building solidarity within the homeless community, of uniting with other concerned residents, putting real pressure on political institutions and officials to address the crisis of homelessness. The result, then, might be the creation of more subsidized housing units. Or, perhaps more importantly, the creation of more accessible qualifications for folks trying to access such housing. It is my understanding that there are currently many open units throughout the city of New London; the problem is that people cannot access them because they do not meet the qualifications (credit, criminal, and renting history are all taken into account). The other obstacle is that many of the units need some work done, but with tightening budgets.

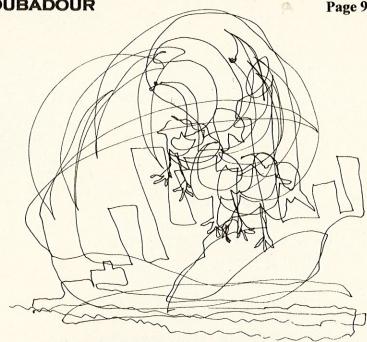
agencies don't have the time or money to allocate to fix them up.

Eastertide 2005

It is absolutely maddening to know that there are many units of affordable housing currently sitting unoccupied. Especially considering that about half if not more of the guests at the shelter have skills at construction, carpentry, painting, roofing, etc. These are skilled people, sleeping in a shelter because the politics of local, state, and national bureaucracies won't allow them to use their skills to fix up these open units. What is going on here? What sort of reality are we living in? And who gets to write the rules? Community organizing, then, is one route by which to achieve the goal of putting pressure on political officials to address the crisis of homelessness.

The second route is to challenge the community itself to address the crisis of homelessness. The goal of this route is none other than to mend the holes in the fabric of our community that have allowed for people to be forced to sleep outside. Why is it that a person, when faced with the prospect of a winter night outside, does not knock on the door of a neighbor or stranger, to ask for assistance? Why does that not happen? Why is this very question considered crazy, insane, soaring off the idealism charts? What has happened to us, that we are so capable, in fact, so competent, at ignoring the needs of our fellow human beings? What does it say about us? And if we are displeased with what it says, how can we change?

As with most contemporary social dilemmas, the problem is not that there is not enough for all, the problem is in the allocation. What would it take for people to open their homes to homeless people? What would have to shift in our consciences, in our imaginations, in the very deepest recesses of our fears and of our hopes, to change this? And how can we begin to do



Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem - how often I have wished to gather you as a hen gathers her chicks but you would not Stoning the prophets is there, too, but what I am conscious of this morning is the cry of compassion From Anne Scheibner's Meditation Drawing Notebook around March 1

that work? How does one do the work of changing people? If, as Dorothy Day wrote, the revolution need be one of the heart, how can we be revolutionaries in that struggle? What does it look like to be a revolutionary of the heart? What does it feel like? How is a person transformed?

Much of my own transformation has occurred through proximity, through access. I now know dozens of homeless people. I know them to be generous and funny, I know them to be brothers and lovers, I know them to be grouchy when sleepy and patient in their listening. I can recognize the light that glows in their eyes when speaking of their children. And the fire in those same eyes when recalling struggles of the past. They have become part of my family. As family, I am no longer able to ignore their experience- their needs, their triumphs, their aspirations, and their defeats.

A good friend of mine, who happens to be 7, offered this the other day: "Laura, we're all family, in God's way." What does he know that we do not? How can we begin to learn?

Laura Burfoot lives and works at St. Francis House.



## TRANSITIONAL HOUSING UNIT READY FOR OCCUPANCY

#### by Mark Auer

"All of us need housing and a supportive community...it is clear to us that we need to distinguish between those of us who come to live with us because they are in crisis situations and in need of housing and those who come to be part of the ministry. The experience and contacts of the people who are part of St. Francis House could be very useful to transitional housing residents. and we feel that it is part of our work here in New London to make one of our eight units explicitly available for this purpose. Preventing homelessness, recidivism and social isolation of the most vulnerable members of the community is clearly in the interest of New London and the wider community." (Anne P. Scheibner, November 11, 2004).

On February 9, 2005, the Frank Loomis Palmer Fund awarded St. Francis House \$21,700.00 for the renovation of the 'one bedroom semidetached basement apartment' at 30 Broad Street. In my nearly four decades of living in Boston, I encountered many basement apartments, almost all of them damp and dank. The newly-finished space at 30 Broad is indeed a 'garden' apartment-the two entrances on opposite sides of the house open out to green spaces-the meditation garden on one side, and the back yard on the other. I've never seen so many windows in a space this size-three of the four walls have new glass-lots of it-it's very bright and sunny all day long.

For two and one half months, two vehicles have occupied the space next to the basketball court: Site Manager Arthur Lerner's black pickup and Board Member Ted Olinciw's beige van. Arthur and Ted,





In keeping with the way that Arthur and Ted operate, the job was finished on time and on budget. There is a small amount of money left from the grant which will be used for plantings and exterior work on the space.

replaced, and a new fence enclosing the

It is a truly amazing transformation.

meditation garden and the back yard erected.

We are now interviewing various social service agencies in the area who seek to provide transitional housing for their clients. We can then concentrate on being friends and neighbors.

Mark Auer lives and works at St. Francis House.



Arthur and Ted rehab the kitchen.



Eastertide 2005

Born by the prayers of our friends.....

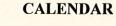
Not high up but into a deeper intensity - pointing to Jesus in our brokenness and in the dance - born on the wings of prayer 
Meditation Drawing by Anne Scheibner 2/26/05

#### ST. FRANCIS HOUSE WISH LIST

Items for new transitional apartment:
Two trundle beds and linens
Small desk and chair
Dining table and chairs
Lamps and mirrors
Coffee table
Kitchen equipment
Wastepaper baskets
Bureau
Small TV with VCR/DVD

#### Help in developing:

- \* Retreat, Sabbatical, Vacation reservations/use for the Hermitage
- \* Seminary interns
- \* New residents
- \* Ideas for "Associates" of St. Francis House
- \* Meditation Garden
- \* New raised beds for gardening



May 13 - Jubilee Ministry Certificate presented to
St. Francis House at 4 p.m.
Open House 3:30 -5:30

Concluding Weeks of Clarification of Thought Series on "Moral Values" and the Gospel

May 13 - Crime and Punishment:
Racism and the Prison-Industrial
Complex, Rev. Ed Rodman,
SFH Board Member, Professor
of Urban Ministry and Pastoral
Theology, Episcopal Divinity
School, Cambridge, Mass.

May 27 - Series Conclusion:

Discipleship and Community:

Moral Values in a Radical

Christian Context

( Note: Recommence in the fall on Friday, Sept. 9)

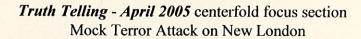


Saturday, June 25 - Come to the
6th Anniversary Celebration of
St. Francis House, 12 noon Cookout,
Music, Resource Fair with our Friends
from the Homeless Coalition,
F.R.E.S.H., Community Gardening,
C.U.R.E., Mock Terror Task Force,
Counterrecruitment Task Force,
Voluntown Peace Trust and the SE CT
Peace and Justice Network
3 p.m. Mass on the Grass -an Interfaith
Celebration

(Rain date: Sunday, June 26)

#### IN THIS ISSUE

Emmett Jarrett, TSSF, "The Power of the Powerless: A Sequel"
Laura Burfoot, "On Homelessness and New London; or What Makes a Change of Heart?"
Mark Auer, "Transitional Housing Unit Ready for Occupancy"
St. Francis House Wish List
Calendar of Events including
Clarification of Thought Schedule
May 13 Jubilee Ministry Celebration
June 25 Anniversary Party
Meditation Drawings by Anne Scheibner





#### A Summer's Song

If St. Francis of Assisi wore a robe of purple hue,
might you dance beneath the starlight 'neath a sky of azure blue?
Would you dilly with the daisies,
the hibiscus of your mind;
and there court a tiger lily
the truth of pollen to define?
If the lilacs were besieged upon
by a humming swarm of bees,
might you find a rock to sit upon
and consort with the trees?

#### Carla Woodruff Witmer

Fr. Emmett met Carla at the New London Homeless Shelter this winter, and she gave him this poem.

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