Dr. Robert Bowman: I'm Dr. Robert Bowman, a board member of the Chico, CSU Chico Peace Institute and also a newly elected member of the ACLU board and we're sponsoring these 3 wonderful events. This is the last of the 3 featuring veteran intelligence analyst Ray McGovern. On behalf of our sponsors I welcome you all and thank you for coming tonight. We also like to thank the CSU Chico Department of Philosophy and the Chico ACLU for providing generous grants that have made this series of events possible. A little word about the Peace Institute if you haven't come to our events before, we are committed to present events on a wide variety of subjects which inform members of the campus and local community about critical issues related to peace and justice issues that affect us all. We often present subjects and guest speakers who present viewpoints and issues that are rarely presented by the mainstream media or discussed in any depth in order to stimulate critical thinking and courage respectful dialogue between our guest speakers and panelists and members of the audience. Because many of the issues discussed are controversial and emotionally charged, we urge those who wish to share their views to support their positions with verifiable information and refrain from the use of negative labels against that sort of thing. In other words, we hope that you will be peaceful which is our modus operandi. The Peace Institute does not take a position on the topics or views presented our goal is to create a safe environment where we can discuss these issues in depth, learn from each other, grow in our understanding of challenging issues and work together to find solutions that will lead to a more peaceful just world that works for all of us. So tonight's final event is entitled Morality versus Pragmatism in US Foreign Policy. Ray will be joined by father Mike Newman, retired Catholic priest who ran the Newman Center for many years. William Stewart, retired professor emeritus from CSU, Chico Department of Political Science who has been on many of our events and we always benefit from extensive knowledge. And then another person that I have a great deal of respect for is the Rev. Ted Sandberg, a pastor of the First Baptist Church. He has hosted many, many important events at the church that affect the entire community and we appreciate that so much. Ali Sosotor was supposed to be here and I don't know where he is so hopefully, he is okay. And I will serve as moderator.

Just a few words about Ray. He holds an MA in Russian Studies from Fordham University, a certificate in theological studies from Georgetown University, and is a graduate of Harvard Business School's Advanced Management Program. After serving two years in the U.S. Army, Mr. McGovern became an intelligence analyst for the CIA serving for 27 years from the years 1963 to 1990. His CIA career began under Pres. John F. Kennedy and lasted until the presidency of George Herbert Walker Bush. Ray McGovern chaired the National Intelligence Estimates and prepared the President's daily brief and in the mid-80s was the senior analyst conducting early morning briefings one-on-one with the vice president, the secretaries of state and defense, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the assistant for the president on national security. One of his specialties was the analysis of Soviet policy in Vietnam during that conflict, but after his retirement Mr. McGovern became a founding member of a group called Veteran
Intelligence Professionals for Sanity, VIPS in short and they were instrumental in warning or trying to warn the public about the faulty intelligence in the run-up to the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and more recently has questioned US intelligence regarding the Ukraine. At his retirement in 1990 McGovern received the CIA’s intelligence commendation medal he later returned medal in protest of the CIA torture and rendition program. I invite you to read some of his articles in Consortium news.com and also I urge you to check out his website www.RayMcGovern.com. I'll never forget the first time I heard Ray speak, I was driving from Hilo to Kona, where my son was living at the time. This was 2003 and I turned on as I often do All Things Considered, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and I heard this veteran intelligence analyst state that while he didn't know about George W. Bush, he was convinced the people around George Bush presented clear and present danger to our democracy. This got my attention and I have followed his work ever since and have gotten to know him. He is a wonderful, wonderful person very knowledgeable and a great human being is a great pleasure that I introduce Ray McGovern to you all.

Ray McGovern: Please just raise your hand and I'll speak louder. Welcome to all, but especially for those who are gluttons for punishment, the ones I saw here last night and came back for more. It's really nice. And I have to say, Bob, thanks for mentioning the appearance on All Things Considered, that was very early. That was my only appearance on All Things Considered. [Laughter] Which reminds me to mention because I always try to mention, sometimes it doesn't fit in, but right off the bat, the most, well I've been around 51 years in Washington. I've seen a lot of change. Most important change by far is the fact that we no longer have a free media and that is big. The fourth estate is dead, it's controlled by the same corporations that profit on these wars. The good news of course is there is a fifth estate. You know what the fifth estate is right? I don't know where the ether is but I do know that is comes down into my computer and if I know where to look I could become very well-informed and much more quickly than ever before. When I come down in my pajamas in the morning and watch Amy Goodmen as she broadcasts live, an hour later after she finishes, I have reviewed by e-mail and I'm at the same point at the 10 o'clock as it used to be at 4:30p quitting time at CIA headquarters. So in other words I'm ready to write at 11 not ready to be interviewed 12 and this speed is amazing. So I just want to set that stage, this is a slightly different kind of the lecture that I usually get church groups and others. I address my own experience as a faith person. I was brought up Catholic I worship now in an ecumenical Christian community but we have very much interfaith. And am delighted to have such a distinguished panel here and I'm looking forward to the discussion.

Hi Ali, you appeared. All right. [Applause ] My only regret is that since it's Friday our Jewish clergy would not be able to join us. But I imagine there are some people of Jewish heritage out here and I do intend to wrap in my favorite Rabbi, Abraham Heschel into the discussion so perhaps we can, we can compensate for that.
Now when I started speaking out very strongly against torture and I thought it might be appropriate to share that the fellow I try to follow, a fellow, Jesus of Nazareth was tortured to death you know and so I felt certain, you know, like extra ump to point out the evils of torture. And it made this beautiful explanation there in Berkeley and the fellow I was staying with in the Berkeley Hills, a very wealthy gentleman, who is an atheist, he said Ray it's all very nice that you talk about your Judeo-Christian heritage but when it comes to torture Ray you you don't have to do that we know that atheists, agnostics, humanist whatever we know that human beings don't do those things to other human beings. It's very, very clear and so it's nice you can mention it if you like but please realize, [chuckle] that the rest of us know it's evil though and I was really kind of a “yeah, right” that make sense so I still mention it but put it in a different kind of context. And speaking of humanists, my favorite one is Kurt Vonnegut. and you know he was a humanist, I guess, agnostic and when someone asked him Kurt, what do you think of Jesus of Nazareth? He said. “Well you know I don't know if he was God or not but enough you know if want the Sermon on the Mount I think I'd just as soon be a cockroach.” Think about that. So the Sermon on the Mount that kind of approach is big for me. It's what Jesus was all about. You like to take the liberty of the of starting out with a passage from the first book, of the first Gospel, Christian gospel ever written Mark’s gospel, First chapter. It has some teaching points that I was blissfully unaware of until a very well educated and well spoken theologian named Joan Chrysostomsister showed me how to look at this.

Now if this doesn't fall apart we'll be in good shape. Mark, okay now those of you who might just relax maybe you want close your eyes or put your feet on the ground and put yourself in the picture. There are two scenes, one is at Lake Galilee so you might be able to feel the sand between your toes, you know. And a second one is in this cold stone floor in the Temple, or not the Temple, but the synagogue in Kapornon [phonetic]. Jesus walked by Lake Galilee he saw two fishermen, Simon brothers Andrew catching fish in the lake with a net. Jesus said to them, come with me and I’ll teach you how to catch men and women. At once they left their nets and went with him. They went a little farther on and saw two brothers James and John, sons of Zebedee, they were in their boat getting their nets ready. As soon as Jesus just saw them he call them so they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired hands and went with Jesus. They came to the town of Kapornon. And on the next Sabbath day Jesus when in to the synagogue and began to teach. Now the people who heard him were amazed. He wasn’t like the teachers of the law instead he taught with authority. Just then, just then a man with an evil spirit and him comes into the synagogue and screamed “What do you want with us Jesus of Nazareth? Are you here to destroy us? I know you are you. You are God’s holy messenger. Jesus commanded the spirit, “be quiet and come out of the man”. The evil spirit shook the man hard gave a loud scream and came out of him. The people were all so amazed that they started to say to one another… Who is this? What is this? Some kind of new teaching? This man has authority to give orders to evil spirits and they obey him. And so the news about Jesus spread quickly everywhere in the region of Galilee.
Those of you who have your eyes closed, you can now open and come back to be with us. Now what's the lesson here? The lesson as I learned it from this exegesis was that there are two scenes here, right? And seldom are they read together but they belong together that's where the evangelist put them together, okay? The first scene is what it's on a lake right? What is Jesus doing? He is recruiting. He is a college recruiter. He is going around getting people to be in this class. You know, discipleship 101 is what's called. And he is trying to get them interested in by some alchemy they get interested and they start following Jesus and scene you see him in the what? Synagogue. Right, okay? And he, Jesus is our roll, He is teaching with authority and just then [inaudible] would you believe it, just then in comes this guy with the evil spirit and he starts shouting, yelling disrupting the whole procedures. Now, what your pastor do at that point? What would Jesus's options? Well let's say it happened at your church. What would be your pastor's options? Anyone? What would be among the options for him to handle a situation? Call the cops. Alright, what else? Ask the intruder how he feels? Invite him to sit down. Move away from the word evil. Okay, anybody else? Laught, okay. I well I'm assuming that the guy doesn't stop, you know, and so in most parishes I've been in the pastor would say, now usher would you show this gentleman down where the coffee is way, way down in the basement, you know or something like sir I have office hours on Wednesdays from 4 to 6 could you come back then, alright. But what did he do and why was he doing it? He was confronted by a person wrapped in evil, right? And the lesson for these disciples was, when evil intrudes you confront it right on the spot. Okay? You drive out evil if you can confront it. Now, I can see Him saying to his recruits, now look, registration is still open if you, if you want to switch to a class like to Hebrew Scriptures as something like that, that's fine you can still do it won't go on your record. But if you want to do Discipleship 101, please realize right off the bat confrontation of evil, no true discipleship. Now, for me that means a lot, you know? It really means a lot. I want to be a faithful servant or a faithful follower of Jesus, it means when I see evil I can't slip away. I learned in moral theology of Fordham, taught by Jesuits, I remember the Jesuit came in and said alright this is pretty easy, moral theology. All it means just get it here, you know, you do good and you avoid evil. We all thought hey that sounds really good but he was only half right according to Jesus. You do good for sure but do you avoid evil? Do you step away from evil? That is not what Jesus is saying these two passages. You confront evil, okay? And that was big for me, because I wasn't tempted like love other people, maybe some people even this room that dance away from evil and you are not suppose to do that specially when people are lying, especially when people are lying to get you into wars of aggression especially when the results of these policies are so antithetical to what Jesus and what Mohammed and what Yahweh all felt about and taught. That was justice. Now I learned certain brand of theology when I was in the 60s when I was in college and I have to tell you I've forgotten all that a good thing. I but I went back in the 80s and learn from Jesuits back from Central America, back from New Orleans and these people had their they had a sense of what Jesus really stood for and then I learned we took six courses in this certificate program and they all have to do it justice Hebrew Scriptures, Christian Scriptures, spirituality, ethics, ecclesiology, spirituality. Six courses and on all six courses one thread that
Philosophy

Morality vs. Pragmatism in US Foreign Policy

ran through that was that Yahweh of the Hebrew Scriptures and Christian and Christ of the new are only really interested one thing and that was that we do justice. I learned that the pre-Aramaic word for justice denotes showing mercy to the poor. That was the word for justice. Okay? Sethcaa [phonetic] okay showing mercy this is not the connotation this is denotation notation of the early Aramaic word for justice. So when I teach my course, and I'll just take a second for this, I say well this course is called A Biblical Justice: Is It an Un-American Activity? And I don't want to tell the answer just yet we have eight weeks to go. I but, but I do this, what the American symbol for justice? What is it? You have this blindfolded what? Blindfolded woman, right? And what is she holding? Scales, right? And why she blindfolded? Right so she is impartial, she unbiased and unprejudiced. The biblical concept of justice is biased and prejudiced to the core in favor of the hatred for poor called the unwahed in Hebrew Scriptures. Biased and prejudiced to the core. Now think about that folks and let's take a look at some public policy now and see how that might match up or might diverge from this, this brand of justice. It will come back if I hit this?

Okay now for those of you who are too young to remember even before we attacked Iraq we would doing sanctions against Iraq. And it became quite well known in UN circles that over 500,000 Iraqi children below the age of five have perished because of the sanctions and one of the highest level officials of the UN quit because that. He could not abide this injustice. And so Madeleine Albright who is the Secretary of State at the time, was later asked, what you think about this and this? This is very short and if you fall asleep you are going to miss the whole thing and it's on the exam. Okay?

Video: A half a million children have died, I mean that is more children than died at Hiroshima. And you know, is the price worth it. I think this is a very hard choice but we think the price is worth it.

If we could get the lights please. So the price is worth it. That is hard. Madeleine Albright talked to Neil Divinity school couple years later and the she explained that you know it's really, really difficult to follow Christ and be involved in public affairs. And let's face it it is, ya know. But you don't really have to, I mean, she, you'll see, she drew a dichotomy and said well yeah sure foreign affairs it can't be bothered by the Sermon on the Mount that would be simple, that would be stupid, okay? Here's the…. I typed this out so that it might be seen better people in the back can you see it's okay? This was when George Bush was allowed to go to the pulpit couple days after 9/11 and he rallied the American people behind vengeance is mine said George W. Bush. And we had in the war. Well Madeleine Albright she talked later and asked she was asked what would have happened if the President had said or she said, "resist not evil whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the of the other also" Now Albright said “Now I suspect most of us would think preposterous prescription at the time of national crisis” Come on you know. She went on to speak of the dilemma we each face we each face we when try to reconcile religious beliefs with professional duties. And she comes clearly one side professional abilities. Now Dick Cheney had famously written this greeting card- I didn’t get one I was on his list. But the was quite
an amazing greeting card. It was in 2003 and what he said was “if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his” remember now God is a he, okay? Let's not have any of this we all know that God is a he and that is part of the problem folks that's a big part of the problem, okay? We all know that if the sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice it is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? Empire. This was his Christmas card, okay? Now Stanley Howerwatz, some of you know him and he was a really terrific Duke Divinity teacher and he commented on Albright’s speech because it appeared in the Yale Magazine and Howereatz went to Yale Divinity School. So as you know much of what Albright said was designed to underwrite the assumption we can’t follow Jesus and pursue the limited justice possible in foreign affairs. Power loss bemoans the fact that it never occurs to her that her life should have been tested by a church to see if she could be called as a Christian to positions of power that might put her soul in jeopardy. So tested by a church or [inaudible] church, or let's say a faith community, let's say mosque let’s say a synagogue. And by a faithful rendering of the Bible. My view is that the key to theology is its relationship with the political world in which we, we now live in that theological education needs to read the signs of the times just like Jesus said and you know I dance and it was a song and I didn't dance I've played a funeral dirge and you didn't know enough to morn.

So, now I have a community back in Washington that actually pays me to do the things that I do. And one time I gave an address to the National Press Club. And one of them sent an email to me saying your talk and its faith underpinnings constitute one more reason why you need to keep doing this work at and through our faith community. We all need helps to stay alert.

So, what I'm saying here is simply that Madeleine Albright had it all figured out and I think she came down one side of that. Most people do a president who is pretty well-educated by Rev. Wright now takes it upon himself to have a list of people to kill every Tuesday morning and send the drones over to kill them because they're suspected bad guys. In that list has included Americans, folks, despite the Fifth Amendment, despite the Fifth Commandment or the six or whatever “Thou shall not kill” should be in your, your faith tradition.

Now, let's say a quick word about the sanctions. I most people say sanctions, sanctions. Most people don't realize that a half a million young people under five years old died from this the sanctions against Iraq.

Somehow disappeared or maybe I can get this. If someone could get the lights. It is only 2 minutes long.

Video: Nuclear bombs. The massive explosion resulting when the energy in the atom is release by splitting it. Used by the USA against Japan during WWII. Two hundred thousand men, women and children dead. The ultimate weapon of mass destruction or is it. Sanctions.
The economic isolation of country imposed by enforcing blockades on trade with it. Used by the USA against Iraq during the 1990s. One million dead. No explosions. No bombs. No [inaudible]. Five times as fatal. "Interviewer: We have heard a half million children have died. I mean that is more children than died in Hiroshima. And, and you know is the price worth it?" Madeleine Albright, "We think the price is worth it." Unknown person, "When you put on sanctions against a country it is an act of war." Another person, “Look, as I said before we prevent the most toughest most crippling sanctions ever” Another person, “it is absolutely the right thing to do to have crippling sanctions. I’d put them in place earlier but it's good that we have them. I would tighten those sanctions.”


Ray McGovern: That video was given to me by couple of young people who actually created. I checked it out with people who know a lot more about sanctions than I do. Is accurate. Sanctions, crippling sanctions. Aren’t we real proud of the advocating crippling sanctions? Who we crippling? Well if we are the sole indispensable country in the world, we can do these things before because that means all the other countries are by definition, dispensable, right. Now maybe I'll tell just a little story that kind of illustrates how, how my experience has got me a little down on our institutional churches. In the midst of all this there is a Catholic Bishop named Tom Gumbullton who had been to Iraq many, many times like 13 times. Had cradled these little children in his arms knowing that the next time he came they would be dead. Now single-handedly he is one of the good bishops left from John XXIII the Good Pope. You know put in good bishops, progressive ones, and so he got the rest of bishops to condemn sanctions against Iraq as unconscionable. That that's the biggest word that any bishops can use, unconscionable, right? Okay, now, that was such a big deal that I, was the I was the codirector of the servant leadership school in our community, so I invited Tom Gumbleton to come to Washington to tell people about his experience, his success in persuading the rest of his bishops who usually don't say such things as to say the sanctions were unconscionable. And so he told his story and he and he was very humbled guy are just delighted that the rest of my bishops go along at 256 of them and then one of the Protestant ladies in our in our community said well now Bishop Gumbleton, tell me how did the White House react to your your unanimous statement? And I said to myself [laughing] Tom Gumbleton he is going to tell it like it is and this is going to be embarrassing. But it was so Tom gets up and says is well madam the White House looks on us as said 254 possible votes. Now there are 70 million of us Catholics in this country and if we bishops had gone back to our parishes and said to our pastors you will preach this from the pulpits and the White House might think we're being serious and they might sort of take heed. But right now they know that's not happening, this is not happen, it's nice to have these flowery statements but they regard us as only 254 possible votes. That's depressing because they're all kinds of good statements including…but I’ll tell you just one other small thing. I out in Dallas, Dallas, Texas and I had great gig the Presbyterian Church on Sunday evening and then at a special meeting of a Lutheran Church right near
where George W. Bush it just resettled to on Monday. So on Sunday I have felt really good because the Presbyterians had just come out with a very gutsy statement about torture, okay? And was by their, they don’t have a Pope or anything, but they have a Stated Clerk. Some of you the Presbyterians, okay? The Stated Clerk speaks for the church before conferences and whatever. So the Stated Clerk, had come up with this great, great statement against torture. And so rather than being critical of people, I started out by saying to this community and I’m really delighted to be here with you Presbyterians, because you as an institution have spoken out against torture whereas none of the other churches have really... it’s almost as though they don’t know what’s going on. And they all looked at me like this and I said I mean the statement of your Stated Clerk. And they still looked like this and I should’ve done this but I turned the pastor and I said surely you don’t know about the Stated Clerk do you? No he didn’t know about it. So it is not just the Catholics. And one other thing while I was in Dallas I thought hey Lutherans, they should be able to relate Martin, to Martin Luther. So I won’t show it here but Martin Luther has this terrific quote where he says, he talks about being where the battle rages. He says you know it’s sort alike what Jesus is saying here confronting evil. He says you need to be where the battle rages. For those who like to go off on the flanks and watch the battle or maybe lead the battle from way way behind. Well their not followers of Jesus and you really have to be were the battle rages. Be immersed in the battle. And so here I am with these Lutherans and I’m saying now I can really relate that you have a new neighbor George W. Bush and I’m just wondering at what you are you going to do when you see him in the Safeway? And they looked at me like I had three heads. And I said well you know his involvement the approving torture and all those things. And one little women says well he kept us safe. I said he kept us safe? Then we had a conversation that went downhill from there and you know so what's the point? The point I’m making is that I’m terribly disappointed because the Christian churches, at least ones I know, have been very, very similar to the churches in Germany during the 1930s. Who could not find their voice. I’m talking about both Catholic and Lutheran in Germany. And when Hitler came in, many of you probably don’t know this, but one of the first things he did was he made sure that there was a pastor in every one of those parishes whether was Catholic or Lutheran. Now why he suppose he did that, anybody? Because he saw the churches as a strong support for his regime and unfortunately not, not always but in most cases, that was the case. So we want to avoid that now and I want to stop talking but see if I can just check my notes and see if there is anything to add.

Yeah, I just wanted to may be maybe finish with a… I guess I’ll finish with a kind of what I think is sort of a caution. And it comes from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He was really big on exposing evil. A matter fact that you know that masterpiece of American literature called the letter from the Birmingham City Jail. It is truly a masterpiece. I've memorized some. There is this one paragraph that really stuck out and it goes like this...like a boil, they cannot be cured as long as it's covered up but must be opened with all its puss flowing ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light so to injustice and deceit must be exposed with
all the tension that its exposure creates. To the air of human conscience and the light of national opinion before it can be cured. Then he went on to say there is such a thing as too late.

And one of the best, and I'll close with this, one of the best examples of this comes from the German experience some of you know about Dietrich Bonhoeffer who is the Lutheran minister that did decide to follow Jesus, did decide to confront evil triteness set up confessing church and of course he was wrapped up for other reasons actually and hanged. Now there was another fellow named, named Albrecht Haushofer. Has anyone heard, besides your Doug, I know you have heard this. Anybody heard about Albrecht Haushofer? Good! I'm going to tell you. He was a [inaudible] geologist at University Berlin and he had tenure. Some of us know what tenure is. And the way that tenure was he kept his mouth shut. So this cushy job and all of a sudden he saw his Jewish neighbors and others being carted off Auschwitz. And he had a conscience and he said this really can't be. If I'm a follower of Jesus I got a confront evil, and man is evil. And so he started to gather a following around him. Opposed Hitler was wrapped up before the Allies came in put the separate Berlin jail. Where they didn't hang you, they shot you. Now the Germans are very meticulous of course and that they wouldn't shoot you or hang you until you have signed a confession. So Househoffer said that is for the birds. No confession from me. So they shot him anyway as the Allies approached. As they picked him off the ground, out of his pocket fell a little setle. Anybody speak German here? You know a little setle, a little piece of paper and on it was written his confession.

The title was "Guilt". It is very short and I'll read it to you. [This section is read in German and English]

Yeah I’m guilty but it's not what you think. Ray: It is written in the form of a sonnet, isn't it?
I should have more, more sharply called evil, evil
I put off my judgment far too long.
I did warn
But not enough and not clear enough
And today I recognize what I was guilty of.

I think there is a tendency to be nice. There is a tendency not to harm relations with people who don't see things the way we do. There is a tendency not to take risks because people might laugh at you. There is a tendency not to embark in any worthwhile action unless you’re assured of success so know body will laugh at you. That is by the board's folks. There is such a time is too late. We've got to take risks. We've got to do the good because, because it's good. And results, yeah, results are not unimportant but results are secondary here. We don't know what kind of seeds we're sewing for the future. I don't know how many grandchildren or children you have. We have five children and nine grandchildren and I really care what's going to happen in this country. Not only these foreign things that we are talking about but the
kinds of internal things we talked about last night. So I'm going to stop here, but I would ask you to sort of be sensitive to some of the things that I mentioned and perhaps some of the comments that will come forward will, will issue in relation to those. So thank you very much for your attention. [Applause] [inaudible]

Ali Sarsour: You talk about different churches and stuff and religions and I've been here for 40 years. And I've listened to a lot of liberals coming through this University. So I invented the church of the liberals they attack Bush they attack everybody and the discrimination in Iraq. And I happened to talk to some of them at one time or another and I said I find you courageous attacking these establishments and doing all these things. But when it comes to Israel you are chicken-shit. You're not saying anything. We had a group that came to talk about September 11 and their theory that that's not what happened its the government. And they were talking about the plane that can take the bin Laden group when we couldn't have an airplane go anywhere. So the next morning Bob invited us for breakfast and I was sitting next one of those guys who were anti-American, tie the government and I said you mention that airplane that the bin Laden people that he said that the only airplane that went out of this country. And I said well I heard rumors, and I don't know if it is true, there was another plane that took Mossad, the Israeli intelligent people, out of Cleveland. But nobody mentioned that and in the last three days you mentioned about all conspirators. You never mentioned anything. He thought for a second and said well if I mention it lose 60% of my contribution. So when, when, when the Liberal Church of United States keeps saying we anti we have half a million people who killed in Iraq and two months ago we have destruction in Gaza. And the liberal establishment. What? So it seems to be that easy when it's easy we are there attacking It was easy to attack Bush and effective. It's not easy to attack what the Israelis are doing. They have been doing occupation for the last 40 years.

Ray McGovern: That point very well taken. And when I use the reasons I saw behind the Iraq war it was oil. "O" for oil. It's an acronym folks. "I" for Israel and "L" for logistics. The permanent basis that we wanted in Iraq and nobody seem to be very upset by the oil or the logistics but I got all kinds of criticism for being guess what, anti-Semitic. By mentioning Israel. You're absolutely right and what happened in Gaza was an affront to humanity the last couple of months, but this is progress. Now how many saw Amy Goodman today? Okay. Do you remember the Dean or was the President of Union Theological Seminary a very attractive woman named Dr. Celine Jones? [chuckles] I know this is great progress. She was talking about that community and many other communities very much joining in BDS. Boycott, divestment and sanctions. Now this is sanctions not against people but against the products that produced in the West Bank. So when when she saw that not only this problem was a church problem, a faith problem. She said this is a matter of faith. Also the environment is a matter of faith. And that’s why, Amy Goodman had them because tomorrow in New York there is a really, really big demonstration in favor of confronting and confronting the evil of all global warming. So finally the churches are kind of
lining up. The Presbyterians are about to do that, the United Church of Christ are already done. That is divestment boycott and sanctions. So progress is being made. I wish I could brag as much about my Catholic Church but they’re a little slow in these things and no statement has been forthcoming from any Catholic Church. Now Bob, I don’t want to would usurp your prerogative as the as the moderator here but you want me to just call on people?

Bob: Ali would you like to continue?

Ali Sarsour: One more thing. now there's a guy in Illinois who was accepted at the University of Illinois at tenure and then decided not to offer him the job because he spoke in favor of the Palestinians. and it's the same thing it's there is people yelling and screaming that is not right. But yet it is the same thing as you know, its most of the liberal establishment is chicken-shit. They are not saying anything. And I know that kind of generalization not all the liberals are chicken shit. But few of them are speaking up but we don't have that moment that people talking about well the Iraqs and Vietnam and all that. It just seems like we and the Palestinian exception or accepted or exemption from all these attacks.

Ray McGovern: You didn't mention the chaplain at Yale. Episcopalian chaplain who wrote a three sentence letter to the New York Times which took issue with another letter and said look, you're not thinking about the occupied territories, you not thinking about the indignities visited upon the Palestinians. So why don't you mentioned that? What happened to him? He is out of there! He is removed. The chief chaplain, Episcopalian chaplain of Yale. Now Yale says we didn't do it. The Episcopalian diocese did it. And he says give me a break, this is why I have been removed. You're right. It's very, very palpable. My point is that it's been that way for long time. I see it breaking now partly because of the monstrous behavior of Israel with respect to Gaza. And I don't think there is any defense to that.

[Inaudible comments]

Father Mike: I don't know if I need this or not? Since the gentleman mentioned something about the Pope, I figured I should say just a word too. He is right. Pope Benedict and the princes have come out of environment. But I guess what I would like to focus on something you said. Is too late? Is too late? Is it too late? I say what are we doing with what the future is. We can attack these issues after another but are we getting to the root of the issue. And you had something to say on Wednesday night about mosquito, the mosquito problem. Well we are lucky in California we don’t have many mosquitoes but having spent time at the same time that you were in Washington. It was awful. So what do you do, keep doing de-fogging. You keep doing this and doing that. Swatting them and putting a mosquito lotion on then all of this other stuff. But what about that pond there that's generating the next mosquitoes? Shouldn't we clean that up? Because that would take care of the issue at hand. I think what we have
done, I believe we’ve to get at the root of this. We’ve got to get to the why are all these things happening. Why are people treating each other the way they’re treating them? Where is the respect and dignity for each other. And when I was in Catholic school many, many, many years ago, the nuns taught us we are all temples of the Holy Spirit. We are all basically temples of God. Of Ala. Of whoever. But we are special. We are important. We are God’s people. No matter what their color is. What our creed. We’ve lost that respect. We don’t respect one another. We are constantly fighting about something and we have to go back. You know we talk about family life and I know the Catholic Church comes on strong about abortion. I’m against abortion. But what are we doing to go back to stop it, rather than pass a law? Pass all the laws we want. Its what’s here that is important. It’s what is in our heart. We oughta change hearts, and changes one at a time rather than going out and making big pronouncements and big laws. And one other thing like to say is, I don’t think sometimes we get past the institution, whether the church, whether the University, whether it’s the government. We don’t get past the institution. We have to get past the institution to the next level. And Cardinal Avery Dulles very well said, and I’m sure you’ve met him to, said there are three as far as the church is concerned for three stages. And one is the institution. The institution is messy, it's imperfect, it screwed up, because it is human. But we are prophets and we are servants. We seem to forget that any corporation or any organization you belong to when you get bogged down in the institution, you’ve lost it. So I..[Microphone noise]

[Inaudible comment]

Robert Bowman: This is a freewheeling thing. I have failed as a moderator, immensely. Would you like to comment on any of this or would like to do your presentation?

Dr. William Stewart: Both

Dr. Robert Bowman: Good.

Dr. William Stewart: [Inaudible]

Audience member: That mic is not doing anything.

Dr. William Stewart: Can you hear me without it? Oh, that's for the video.

[Jumble of voices]

Dr. William Stewart: This thing working now? Okay. Bob told me it was about pragmatism vs. morality. And this fits in very well with what I've been doing for the last 40, 50 years. Both.
Philosophy

Morality vs. Pragmatism in US Foreign Policy

[inaudible, microphone adjustments] Bob told me it was about pragmatism versus morality, and this fits in very well with what I've been doing the last forty-fifty years. Morality I believe comes from fundamentally the family. It's what we learn very early. Life is fairly complex, we have lots of different roles in it; each of those roles carries habits, paradigms, truths, which tell us what we're doing and how we function. Our emotions tend to put us in roles, but we all have mixed emotions about anything so generally we have a choice of roles. So how do we know what's good and bad? We learned it very early in the family, and it's what you don't do, in any role. In a family, if a sister has a toy you want, you do not pick up a brick and hit her in the head and take the toy. You don't even pick up the brick and hit her in the kneecap and take the toy. You do not do permanent harm, you do not kill. You are permitted to scream loudly every now and then, and that's kind of acceptable except they usually tell you really shouldn't carry it on too far. But you learn your morals when you're a child, and they are fundamentally emotional. You feel that you shouldn't do these things. One of the objectives—I was in the Marine Corps, '61-'62—and one of the objectives then was to get you disciplined, to do what you were told when you were told to do it, and save all the 'Well I don't think we should do that, Sergeant' for later, and actually you didn't even say that very often. I was a lance corporal there, that's enlisted, and I was always glad I was enlisted because when you mention the word oligarchy and put it in with the officer corps, I don't know any enlisted man who doesn't immediately understand what an oligarchy is. We'll come back to that in a bit.

Morality, I believe, is learned in the family, is primary emotional, it's what you shouldn't do, sometimes it's what you should do. I often tell my students that don't have kids--some of them are very manly men—others are, you know, different kind of people, but if I gave any one of them an infant they would not drop it. That's kind of a positive thing. You don't do that to kids. The question of morality then, in many ways depends upon who is in your family. Anarchists, Corporatists, Indian tribes here in North America, the Amish today, a lot of villages in Mexico, a tremendous number of people all over the world, the whole world is their family. They are self-sufficient and that's a huge thing, and all they ask is to be left alone. With globalization it's getting harder and harder to do that. An oligarchical family is a family which has morality for its members, but everyone outside the family is simply there to be exploited for the benefit of the family. It is wrong to say George W. Bush or even George Herbert Walker Bush are immoral people. They are very moral people. But I believe both of them limit their morals to their own family. Everyone outside is simply there to be used for the benefit of the family. If you're feeling a little ugly you could say exploited for the benefit of the family. When Madeleine Albright said all 500,000 children dead through sanctions, well, that's okay, because we achieved our foreign-policy objectives. It was essentially taking an oligarchical point of view. They don't matter. They're not in the family. When [inaudible] points out that many Americans automatically take the side of Israel it's because they feel that they are us, and the Palestinians are them. What happens to them? Well that may be lamentable but it's really not important. What happens to us is important. So this matter of morality depends on who you think is in your family.
Generally speaking, Christianity, certainly as Christ taught it, includes everybody in the family. The story of the good Samaritan, to the Jews of his day, that fellow was not us, he was one of them. And Christ says 'Okay, okay, hey, look at this! He did good things. He acted the way he should act. He was a moral person, and he counts. He's in the family. A lot of people say they have this feeling that everybody in the world is a member of their family, but then they don't act like it, because nationalism is essentially appeal to the family and nationalism says we're all one big family here, and therefore you do have a duty not to kill people but you have a higher duty to protect your own family, and that's us. 9/11 9/11 terrorism terrorism means the family is in danger and we must protect it. And the leaders know how to do that. You and I don't, we don't have that position, we don't have the CIA telling us what's going on in the world. We don't know, but they know. So we must accept! We not only must accept, should accept, what they are planning to do but we should support them because to do otherwise would be to betray the family, which on this level is called treason. Bradley Manning, perhaps I should say ne Bradley, now Chelsea, is in jail, and he's going to be there for another what, 29 years, 28 years, something like that—for what? For committing truth! For saying 'This is what we are doing over there!' So in many ways whether you're moral or not depends on how you define family.

So now let me shift, go back to some personal history, which--personal and academic history—of the Marine Corps. I was guarding the National Security Agency, lance corporal in 1962 and at one point we're all sitting up on our racks, with all our gear hanging on us, because we were going to be sent to the Congo because Patrice Lumumba had come up with the completely treasonable idea that the mineral wealth of the Congo should be used for the benefit of the Congolese; and I believe the covert ops branch of one of the 17 or 18 different groups in D.C., very possibly the CIA, killed him. So we didn't have to go. But it made me think. I'd been raised Presbyterian, so I guess this does have something to do with religious faith. And I didn't know if I believed it then, I don't now, I'm an atheist, but I really took some time and I thought about it, and I said, you know, if you believe anything Christ said at, you shouldn't go around the world killing people. I could not see any way at all in how sending the Marines to the Congo was defending the American family, the American nation. So I got out of the Marine Corps and they were very kind to me. It took them two months to figure out what to do because I hadn't said I wouldn't serve. I hadn't said anything except I'm not going to kill anybody; and they didn't want me to kill all those people at the NSA anyway, so this was really not too terrible... But it took them a while, and the Ward Officer in charge of old barracks, who was one of the best men I've ever known, he finally gave me an honorable discharge, pointed out that in no case had, uh, was there anything in the papers that said I was a conscience objector they didn't want to cause me any problems, but, and he was very sorry about this, if I changed my mind they wouldn't let me back in the Marine Corps. And I thought that was kind of him, really. By the way, perhaps this is relevant. I hadn't told anyone about this. At one point they actually sent me down to the head chaplain of the entire Navy, an admiral, and I was talking with him in his office—Pentagon office, big deal—he had scar tissue over one side of his face, been caught with a
flamethrower in Saipan—and he had a kid about my age, I was twenty-two or—three, I had graduated from college, all this stuff, lance corporal in the Marine Corps, and we talked about three or four hours about this stuff, and he, too, was one of the best men that I have known, and he said he didn't have—the head chaplain in the Navy—didn't know what the hell to do about this sort of stuff. Well, neither did I, but I said I wasn't going to kill anybody.

All right, so I went in the Peace Corps, in Venezuela where I found the place was infested with spooks and FBI agents, I was teaching in the university, English as a second language, and they'd come by, the FBI'd come by every month, just, if you would believe it in tropical eastern Venezuela in a black suit with a white shirt and black tie and black shoes and sometimes white socks, and they would ask me about all the other Americans there. We were talking about the surveillance state, well a little earlier. You know no e-mail, any of that stuff, but they wanted to know about all the other America because they were the FBI and they were looking for treason. And so naturally—I didn't tell them anything—and I wasn't particularly political then, either, but I knew better than that! Once a month the CIA agent would come by. He had on an aloha shirt, dark glasses, khaki pants, that kind of thing, and he would ask me about all my students! Now my students were almost completely Marxist-Leninists. Now I had two political scientists, I was an English Lit./Philosophy major, and I had two courses in politics. Neither one talked at all about Marx. They just said it really doesn't really matter if anybody votes because the Republicans and Democrats are still very very good people—this is in the Eisenhower age—so it really doesn't matter which one gets in, it's OK. International Relations, I can't remember a damn thing about it, from that course. Which is how much they talked of anything that really mattered. So I wasn't terribly up about politics and my students very patiently and kindly explained what Marx was about and what Lenin was about, and I wasn't about to tell the CIA person anything about any of them because they might be dragged off by the [?], what would you call it, the covert ops branch of the Venezuelan government, which worked very closely with the CIA, and murdered or tortured or just dragged out and beaten up. Or they'd never receive a visa to get into the United States, at the very least, if I mentioned their names. Well, this had an impact on me and I began to think about things, and I began to look at Venezuela. Now, since 1962 and here's where the professional part comes in, because later on, '72, 10 years later I got a doctorate in political science, started teaching, but I thought about these things. Since 1962 there have been almost continual wars of one sort or another. Every president seems to feel he must have his war. Makes you wonder, doesn't it. Will Hillary think she's got to have her war? Bill Clinton did. But in every single war if you do that political science-y thing and look at who benefits, it is an oligarchical elite. We have a nice little shorthand for that now, we call it the 1%. It's actually less than 1%, and they benefit. They benefit directly. How many of you know Dick Cheney has lots of money in Haliburton, and Haliburton got all the contracts to wash the Army's dishes. They don't wash their own any more, they don't pull KP. And they provide the food, so they directly benefit from it. The arms manufacturers, of course they want wars, why not? It uses up the equipment so they'll have to buy more. It works. So if you
look at the immediate benefit of wars in that 1%, they benefit. But what are the wars about? Oil? Congo? Rare metals? You look at every single one of those wars, they never benefited the 99% of the American people. Not at all. But they greatly benefited the 1%. Nowadays I can talk to my students about the oligarchical elites in the United States, and probably maybe half of them start nodding their heads. I did that 30 years ago, and they looked at me, said ‘We aren’t that, we’re a democracy!’ Think about that for just a moment, and then I’ll stop, let the other fellah get started. ‘We’re a democracy!’

Last night Ray was on about the Bill of Rights, and Madison, and Mason, and how he lived in Virginia not far from where they [inaudible], and Virginia’s a nice place. I worked for a year in Virginia, in Fauquier County which is just down the road from you, in a reaction agency. They were a bunch of slaveowners. It was slaveowners who wrote the Bill of Rights because the House of Burgesses in Virginia had previously had a Bill of Rights. What the hell are slaveowners doing writing a Bill of Rights? Because they knew what they had done, were doing, and would continue to do to their slaves, and they didn’t want anyone doing it to them. That was the beginning of our democracy, and it has had its ups and downs. You can argue that well yeah, yeah, sure the Bill of Rights basically only applied to white males who had a lot of property, at first, and then it’s gradually been extended, and now we all have the benefit of the Bill of Rights, except of course we don’t! Because they don’t follow it! I had a cousin who was a communist. He sent The Daily Worker to us starting when I was 10 years old. That would have been 1948. The FBI investigated my family every year after that, and they never talked to us. It used to annoy my dad, who was a very staunch Republican. They’d go around asking all our neighbors what the commies next door did. I was sure they read our mail. I grew up with that. The surveillance state, I can’t get too emotional about it now because I’ve been living with it since I was 10. It was all illegal then, it’s illegal now, they always did it, they do it. Why don’t the people in DC—well, let’s change the question, do anything about it obviously, but why didn’t they do anything about J. Edgar Hoover, who was grossly unconstitutional and illegal, in the way he ran the FBI? And the answer’s simple: he had the goods on almost all of them. He’d blackmail those people. He said, ‘You vote against me, you vote against the FBI, and you’ll not only not win another election, they may run you out of town for being a horrible person, because I’ve got the goods on all you bastards. Ray was on the radio talking about the surveillance state, why should you oppose it? Because people use that stuff.

Rev Ted Sandberg: So Bob asked me to talk about Ray’s lecture, pragmatism versus morality. And it’s really hard to prepare something when I didn’t know what Ray was going to say. So I’m winging this to some extent but I’ve been thinking about it since Bob asked me, like two months, I mean two weeks ago. It would’ve been nice two months ago but two weeks ago or week and a half ago, it finally dawned on me that that what we need to be talking about is not pragmatism versus morality but patriotism versus morality. And I think that’s more the issue for at least the people that I have ministered to and with in the 35+ years of I’ve been doing this. Is not a matter of well, we’re going do what we think is the work. It’s we’ll do anything to defend our country. And all we have to do is talk national security and you’ve got
us on board no matter what we may believe is right or wrong. So I think first, first is patriotism versus morality, second is inertia versus morality. We may know we may know what is right, we may feel what is right, but we don't think that you people in Washington or most people in Washington or those people in Sacramento are really do anything if we put all our energy into it. And so were not to put all of our energy into it because first of all we don't know what's going on Ukraine. And you told us what is going on but why should we believe you? You are CIA. I've always heard that CIA you can't trust CIA. So that's the second, the second problem. Patriotism versus morality. Inertia versus reality. And the third problem that I, that I see enters into we're overwhelmed with problems. Ali referred to the Israeli-Palestinian. I am a member of the FOR Fellowship of Reconciliation group and we spend lots of time talking about the conflict there, the war there. And basically what I come down on is it is too far away for me I have to focus on what I can do here. And so I think a lot of, and I think a lot of people do that so I very active in and the homeless issues in the Chico area. Even that's a complex issue but at least it's something that I can do. And I can't, it's hard to say okay go visit your Senator. I would feel that there's a chance of making progress with our senators. With our US rep from this district not so much. So yes with the City Council some of them I know them and so we can do that. But the whole idea of yes I believe, I believe that waterboarding is torture. And pre-talked about it and preached a sermon a couple of weeks ago or a month ago or six weeks ago crossless Christianity. We don't want to pick up our cross we just want to have all the good stuff that God promises us without, without saying I'll go pick up my cross and follow as well. The problem and somebody else referred to it, the problem of the whole church is that were made up of people. If we were not made up of people, that sinned all the time, it would be lot better. So those are some...and the other thing is and when I went through CPE many years ago they told me not to be defensive. And I get defensive anyway, when, when people start talking about the church. Because the church really has done lots and lots of good things.

Then I went through the whole abolitionist movement. Split my denomination, the Baptists. Split Presbyterians. Split the Methodists because of the morality fight in whose morality was going to take place. Walter Rousen Bush with the Social Gospel in New York City. You referred Martin Luther King Jr. he comes right out of Baptist traditions my roots. William Sloane Coffin Junior was antiwar leader, one of the leaders, at the time was a chaplain at Yale University. My own Baptist Peace Fellowship is part of the Climate March in New York City. Tomorrow there's Habitat for Humanity. Sojourners magazine does lots of good stuff and speaks out lots. We don't seem to be very good at getting the message across to your media. Or my media. Or the media this kind of ignores us when we when we talk about this kind of stuff. And I don't know what to do about that. We had Glenn Stassen here are couple of years ago. A great guy and a good leader. Again in speaking out for peace and love and the Sermon on the Mount, great stuff. An in defense of the church a lot of the Catholics along with Lutherans were quiet. But they did write the Barman Declaration though there was that the part not only VonHoffer but Bart and others that spoke out in against that, so if you want to respond, welcome.
Dr. Robert Bowman: Let's take this and then we'll move on.

Audience Member: I wanted to [inaudible] statement. I agree with the notion of the family because it's used as the [inaudible]. You mentioned there are all kinds of families, socioeconomic families, there are racial groupings that are families, there are religious families. I would add one thing about the family in terms of the [inaudible] whichever it is. And that is the famous statement made by many many people but reiterated after 9/11 by George W. Bush “whatever it takes” and [inaudible] places it in a moral framework because as you say it's about the morality of preserving, advancing [inaudible]. Now the notion that Father Newman mentioned about institutions, the church as an institution is absolutely correct. And their families, and they have the same emphasis, the same incentives to protect themselves. They are political animals. And there morality resides within their political influence, like [inaudible]. The one advantage that churchgoing people have, church leadership have is the ultimate that as a political institution that very often too often. We saw in Germany. We saw the churches in terms of their leftist [inaudible] challenge Jim Crow with a few exceptions and eventually those people, as you mentioned, you know they took a great risk. They took a great risk in terms of their political position within the churches. But they also took a greater risk which the tool the churches have. That no other institution has. And it's very powerful institution to get people to do with they want them to do, including shut up. And don't confront people and that is [inaudible]. Do you want to go to heaven or not? Because if our leadership tells you away to go to heaven [inaudible]. The people as you mention Von Hoffers in Gremany and elsewhere in China and the church people who went down to Mississippi in 1963. The challenge not only the political decision within their churches, they challenged the notion that your doing this is going against the morality which is established which is a political morality and therefore you're putting at risk what happens to you afterwards according to faith and [inaudible]. So there are a lot of reasons why church and religious folk don't do anything. In terms of the question of morality or to what Jesus. I'll stop there. [Inaudible] the George Carlin issue. George Carlin great statement [inaudible] like story. The founding fathers were slaveowners who wanted to be free.

Dr. Rober Bowman: Thank you.

Audience Member: I wanted to speak of the personal experience I had. [Inaudible] Eastern view [Inaudible]. Back in the 60s I had this experience of oneness with the universe [Inaudible] everything has a spirit. God is in everything [Inaudible] and in that experience is just like you were saying we are family. Everyone is our family. And in this journey [Inaudible] and identifying more more with the oneness of the whole. And so the root problem is powered notification with the ego and the separateness and the personality. All this structure [Inaudible] structure [Inaudible] is connecting us to transcendence experience. We have a whole branch of psychology called transpersonal psychology that incorporates
this experience. We have technology that generates this experience. In fact in the 50s there was a man that was very high up in the OSS I wanted to have clinics all over the world where people could come to the clinic and experience this transpersonal kind of experience. And this is an experience everyone can have because the technology can generate it. In my experiences [Inaudible] expressed it. We have to do this one person at a time. We are so limited by our media and everything it is discouraging and all that. I Also want to say our science also confirms this idea, this experience [Inaudible] confirms this idea. The idea that there are concepts of time. We experience time because we see ourselves as separate from everything else. So these kind of Eastern ideas of oneness is [Inaudible]. Anyway I think that's where the group problem is with our eco-[Inaudible] us and them rather than seeing everyone as brother and sister. Learning to love everyone you see [Inaudible]

Dr. Rober Bowman: Thank you.

Dr. William Stewart: [Inaudible] Try to break down all the other corporate groups in society because it is difficult to exploit a whole corporate group. It is much easier to exploit individuals. The slave owners deliberately broke up the families of the slaves. They went to sell the children down the river. They do whatever they could do to break up families because they wanted their slaves individualized. Not a corporate group where you have brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts, grandparents, the whole bunch. In your lifetime and mine we have seen this emphasis on individualism. The whole economic system is supposed to work with individual competition for money. And if you don't have money it's your own damn fault. No question. Did this ever apply to the wealthy oligarchy families and you will find that it did not. See [inaudible] writing in the 30s, see William Donhoff, G. William Donhoff probably wrote about the American oligarchy and they have very tight families. And they don't individualized people. But they do want all the rest of us to be individualized. Now one of the big reasons that it has gotten worst these days, oh the last 60 years, in the 1950s for the first time we had a prosperous working-class. How come? Because they were unionized. Because so many had been in the Army and they had the G.I. Bill. Not just getting a degree but for learning a trade. All kinds of things. But fundamentally it was the unions. So what's been happening since 1980 when Reagan was elected? You remember the first thing he did? Broke the air traffic controller's union completely. Break the unions. Break down this feeling of corporate solidarity. How many folks are in unions these days in the United States, you know? It is less than 10 percent, I think, outside of public workers. And what is the general view of people who work for the State of California? Or the state university system? They are a bunch of freeloaders. They have good pensions, that's not right. I work hard, I don't have a pension. They shouldn't have a pension. All that kind of stuff. So you are quite right. But it's been going on for a lot longer than your lifetime or mine. It's normal oligarchical behavior to try to break apart the other corporate groups.
Audience member: Just a couple of things that I noted. Marshall Rosenberg, the father of nonviolent communication said, we are all in a gang. Everyone's in a gang but whatever your gang is. And the other thing, this goes to the family. And of course the Sicilian family is different than my family, or the church family. So this gentleman's right basically, because the basis of it is the human condition when we feel separate and alone. And so therefore we are weak and therefore we gang together. We enter gangs together. So if you [inaudible] that aspect and you look around the room, this is the white privileged gang, for the most part. And of course Ali understands that because of how the Palestinians are not treated the same as white Europeans gang, right? So we have all these gangs. The other big part of the problem, the way I see it, is if you're familiar with Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Where if you can't satisfy each needs, then you need to exist at this level. And of course all of us here are on a much higher tier the most of the world. Most of the world is just trying to survive, feed their children, go to bed not hungry at night. So this is a huge problem [inaudible]. If you're not looking at the poor. The poor that have been rejected from society there is a basis for the reality of the morality. How much are we going for them? How much are we going to for anybody who has less? Look at the homeless all over America, it is really sad.

[Inaudible]

Dr. Robert Bowman: I think Father Mike has a comment.

Father Mike: I'd like to give three short vignettes. First we need a sense the humor. I think you mentioned this Wednesday night or some time. We need a sense of humor. That doesn't mean we trivialize things. But there is this story about a Rabbi who was the Wailing Wall, he is praying. And somebody comes by and says how long have you been doing this? He says I've been doing this for 40 years, praying here. He says, What are you pray for? Well I'm praying for peace, I'm praying for acceptance, I'm praying for love, I'm praying for freedom, I'm praying for all these things. And the person said well, you been praying all these years, how does that make you feel? Like I'm talking to a wall. You know, really and the second one is. The Rabbi says or the Old Testament Scriptures say, an eye for and eye and a tooth for a tooth and Rabbi says that means there are a lot of toothless and blind people around. The last one is personal. I'm a descendent direct descendent of Alvin W. Barkley who was Vice President under Turman and I've been doing a lot of research on him. And you get chance Google his last words. Here is a politician who was at the top of almost and then didn't do anything – came home and he ran for office in his own Kentucky legislature. And he sat in the back row. And people asked him how come you did that? He said I'd rather be a servant in the House of the Lord than a seat with the mighty. Washington and Lee University that talk, those were his last words because immediately he collapsed and died. You can look up and verify it.

Ali Sarsour: We are the same Catholic and Muslim.
Father Mike: And we are neighbors.

Ali Sarsour: We are family and I subscribe to that. I’ve lived in Chico now for 40 years, 40+ years and some people think I’m part of this family. But the first day I came to Chico in 1970 as a foreign student. And we had host families. And I went to my host family and I got my gear and there was a cottage in the back. I just set it down and there was a knock on the door. And a woman, Mrs. Hall, came in and said Ali come here, come here. So we went and watched TV in the Palestinians overseas had just hijacked an aero plane. And they parked it in the Jordanian desert. Half an hour later I was doing something she called me again. The hijacked another airplane. To make the story short, there were four or five airplanes in the Jordanian desert. And every time she called me to watch. And she kept asking me, Ali what are they going to do with these airplanes? As if I was an expert on the topic. And I had to come up with something. And so finally I said, you know what, I think the to take all the passengers off the plane and send them to Oman the capital and blow up airplanes. Will two hours later, that stupid Palestinian did exactly that, what I said.

[Audience Laughter]

Ali Sarsour: Which is good that they didn't kill anybody. But it gave me credibility in Chico because she got on the phone, she called everybody she knows in Chico and said Ali knew what the Palestinians were going to do. And she invited everybody, she had a big back yard for barbecue that weekend to talk to this expert who knows what the Palestinians are doing. And I had everyone get to know me. So, in 1973 I was living at 420 Hazel. Paying $40 a month including utilities. We were very poor. And I walked from home to the school and there are two guys standing in front of my house. There were eight of us in that house. And they said are you Ali? I said sure. Can we talk to you? And I thought I have no idea. I thought they were salesmen. Turns out they are two guys from the FBI. [Inaudible] And I said come on in. We had a couch in that house. If you lived in these houses and you sat in it, it was very difficult to get up. And they were asking me questions, and you know, if someone had asked me to contribute money. Do you think anyone in their bright mind will come ask me for money when I'm living in this house. They said, well you know, do you believe in violence. Well you know if somebody hit me I'll hit back. They gave me their card and if you heard of anything call us. And I said sure. About a year later, and many of you know I go to many different churches every Sunday, especially when there's no football game. A friend of mine from Trinity United Methodist called me and said they're discussing the Middle East on nine o'clock in the morning on Sunday. For a Christian, you have to suffering get up early on Sunday. For Muslim we don't have to do that. And he wanted me to get there at eight in the morning, but he was a good friend so I said okay. We went there and we talked about the Palestinian, and the Middle East. Oh come back next week. So I did at the end of it this woman came up to me and said, thank you for being here. And I said
fine. And she said my husband knows you. And I said who's your husband? She pointed to a person. I still don't remember. Oh he's FBI agent.

[Audience laughter]

Ali Sarsour: They wanted me to come back for the third week. And I said hell no I'm not coming back. So you jump a little bit. You see I'm the token Muslim/Arab/Palestinian here whenever there a debate or something. I have to get me because nobody else is Muslim. So, September 11 and some church group invited me. It's like when you contribute money to an organization then all the organizations have your name. And everybody wants to invite you. All of a sudden I get invitations, cause none of my Muslim friends want to talk. So I ended up in Chico, Paradise, Red Bluff, Oroville, Paradise wherever you go, that is where I'm going and you get the same question most of the time. What do you think Osama bin Laden is going to do next? As if I have direct connection to Osama bin Laden. In the first two days, I avoided the issue. And on the third day I got the answer. And I think it was the Congregational Church. God bless the churches, it's not church anymore I think it sold. And the question came out, someone raised their hand and said Ali, what you think Osama bin Laden is going to do next? Which I support my friend here. He talked about having a sense of humor to deal with the situation. And I said well, I really don't know but if you give me your phone number I'll call him tonight and get him to call you.

[Audience laughter]

Ali Sarsour: What he is going to do? And yet the thing is I can do that. It's funny and tonight I was going to make a joke but I realized it's not a good idea. But the thing is it is true the family I start feeling I am a member of this community. And I can go and I can tell jokes and make fun of everything. And I think I can tell my friends here we are talking about the Palestinians and Israelis situation. I can hear not too many people know Palestinians or anything. But everybody knows about the Jews and Israelis and all of that. There's a lot of support. It was so bad that people didn't know about us. I remember the second woman I saw some time in the park she told me she liked me. She's going to fix me with a blind date that she knows. That she did and I went to my date's [inaudible]. I don't remember where. She was telling me how much she knows about Pakistan. And I was wondering why she was talking about Pakistan. Well apparently the second woman said I was from Pakistan. So that family thing is important as Palestinian, as Muslim. We do have less resistance than we had 40 years ago. People are more aware. And I was telling somebody we had on the ballot a Palestinian and Israeli election we probably win that election in Chico. He took me seriously that I wanted to put it on the ballot in 2016. I said no we have a problem with that. The idea is really is where the family extends, where does it stop. But I think it's more than the family, I think also in addition to the family we need to stop talking about the Israelis. Yes our family is important but we are is an American and a lot of people are curious overseas. Is Americans in general
are not politically aware of what's going on. We really don't know. When we have a hostage crisis in Iran one time we have a big problem at the University here. And the fraternity and all that we were trying to make some [inaudible] talk about things. And I think we achieved a lot in Chico and that is we start talking about the Middle East and other areas. But also the thing that's most important that's happening is again as a result of Vietnam. What happened in Vietnam and all the other things the credibility of the news media went way down. You don't really believe the New York Times, CBS and NBC. Now we have Internet. We have the alternatives to these guys who are the establishment. And yet we can do more. We can, I mean, somebody mentioned about the Ukraine, you know it's, whoever heard of them? Not much but lots of things are coming. If we want to. And I think sometimes when I tell everybody we are preaching to the choir because you all are I saw you in many places and we talk in general all the time. And so I'm not trying to preach to you but I think that most mistake we do, is we keep speaking to the choir. We don't go outside our comfort zone. We need to do that. And I think that is very important. And I don't know how to do it. I mean I know how to do it. I go to a different church every Sunday. And to the synagogue well I used to but I don't anymore. Cause 10 years ago the Rabbi was my friend, I really like him but not anymore. He's gone, he's fired. But anyway [inaudible loud noise]

Ray McGoven: I like to share a little bit in a more intimate and in a wider sense. I learn in my family mostly from my grandchildren now. And when little Clare was four years old it was the time when I could get on Lehrer, you know, the news hour. McNeil Lehrer beginning. So I was on this one time and my wife had time to call Kathleen in Oakland to say dad's going to be on why don't you watch him because… so Clare four years old all and they sat to watch me on Lehrer. And when it's all over Clare ran up to Kathleen she said Mommy, mommy that was grandpa. Kathleen said yeah, "Mommy that means the other people a real too."

[Audience Laughter]

Now that's cute isn't it? Think what that means. If you don't know somebody in the picture the other people aren't real too. We used to have pictures from Vietnam. We don't get them anymore. They learned from Vietnam how you prevent us from learning what's going on. And now they have journalists and photographers for the most part in bed with the Army and in bed with the government. So you don't see the pictures and I want to see if I can show you just one that will, that will hopefully show you the kind of thing we're missing. This is a little girl five years old whose parents were just shot up by Marines. When they came into the house on one of these midnight raids.
Now who's being brutalized there? Certainly the little girl, right? How about the guy whose leg that belongs to? How is he going to avoid posttraumatic stress syndrome? We don't see those kind of pictures. It's the only one I could find of that kind. And the other thing I just want to say here is that the that was Clare and her little brother's name is Ronin and that I had proctored an exam at Ronin's nursery school three-year-old. It wasn't really an exam. I helped out one day. Okay and I went up to the teacher later and I said these guys are really cute they're really just fun to be with at least for an hour or two but what do you hope to teach these kids? I mean they are three or four years old. Oh that simple Mr. McGovern come sit down at this table. So I sit down at the table, right? And she says how many toys you see on the table? I said four. She said how many chairs you see round the table? Seven. That's what we teach them. I said I don't understand. She said we teach them that they have to share. Four toys on the table 7 seats around the table. Seven people you have to share. And I'm thinkin' wow, that's what George Bush and Dick Cheney and so many others, these oligarchies, they never went to this nursery school. That's for sure.

Now that is in a microcosm way. I want to show you one more thing here and it will show you what it is in macro terms here. If we condemn the lights here. That would probably be good.
Okay this is right after the war, okay? For me the war was WWII. And here we have the first policy planning paper of the brand-new policy planning staff in the State Department we emerged a superpower. We were the only ones that were relatively undamaged after World War II. And so we had to figure out how we are going to act as a superpower and this was the result. We’ve get 50% of the world’s wealth, only 6.3% of the population. So what's the job here? The job is to maintain this position of disparity. Now to do that we had to dispensed with all the sentimentality and daydreaming things we need not deceive ourselves that we can afford luxury altruism. What's another word for altruism in this context? Justice. We should cease to talk about vague and unreal objectives like human rights, the raising of living standards, and democratization. The day is not far off when we will have to deal in straight power concepts. That was George Kennan, he was head of the policy planning staff of the State Department. In other words our family has 50% of the world wealth and our family is just kind of a small family on in this neighborhood and so do have to do? Well we have to put up our defenses less others who have less try to get what we have. To me I think that in microcosm is what Bill’s been talking about. The family here and I hate to say that this has been the policy. We’re talking about the world's wealth. What's that mean? OIL! Right OIL. Is that why we went to Iraq? Yeah! That was the main reason we went into Iraq. If Iraq didn't have any oil we wouldn't have gone anywhere near there. So this is kind of the evil as I see it that we face. Its greed. It is an unwillingness to share, as Ronin was taught nursery school. And were still it's an unwillingness to recognize the other as a brother, as a sister. And people who don't look like us, man that is a piece of cake. Towelheads. Sand jockeys. That is what our troops are told. To describe these Iraqis and Afghans. Just like goops and slopes in Vietnam. So you demonize these folks, you marginalize them. You say they are less than human because they, they aren't worth their share. They are not worth the four toys on the table. There are just too many people. We have to horde these things. I think that goes across, across the Judeo Christian tradition of the Jubilee for example. Where every 50 years the people had to give back what they had gotten, even legally and start with a plain surface there,
because human nature being what it is smarter or cleverer people could gain more than others, and it had to be flattened back down, because everyone should have a chance to share. So there were no homeless before Ronald Reagan. Anybody know that? There was no such term as the homeless. There were people who had psychiatric problems. There was a place they could go. There were no people in the street. And it has to do with greed, it has to do with lots of things and in my view those things are evil, pure and simple. They need to be confronted particularly by those who feel strongly about this being part of our ethos.

[inaudible]

[Applause]