

# THE GAZETTE

*"a news-sheet, a periodical publication giving an account of current events"*

West Falmouth Religious Society of Friends

OCTOBER 2020



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## From May Sarton's "Santos: New Mexico" (excerpt)

Return to the most human,  
nothing less will nourish the torn spirit,  
the bewildered heart,  
the angry mind:  
and from the ultimate duress,  
pierced with the breath of anguish,  
speak of love.

Return, return to the deep sources,  
nothing less will teach the stiff hands a new way to serve,  
to carve into our lives the forms of tenderness  
and still that ancient necessary pain preserve.

. . . . .

Return to the most human,  
nothing less will teach the angry spirit,  
the bewildered heart;  
the torn mind,  
to accept the whole of its duress,  
and pierced with anguish...  
at last, act for love.

May Sarton, "Santos: New Mexico" in *Collected Poems, 1930-1993*.  
New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1993, pp. 66-67.

## **Officers**

**Fran Lightsom, clerk**  
*(508-548-9186;*  
*fran.lightsom@gmail.com)*  
**Molly Cornell, recording clerk**  
**Clyde Tyndale, treasurer**

## **Regular Events**

**Adult Discussion Group**  
*Sundays at 9:00 a.m.*

**Peace and Social Order**  
*2<sup>nd</sup> Sunday at 12:00 p.m.*  
*Larry Jordan, convener*

**Growth and Learning**  
*3<sup>rd</sup> Sunday at 12:00 p.m.*  
*Sunny Davidson, convener*

**Empathy Practice (NVC)**  
*Usually 1<sup>st</sup> Saturday 9:30–11:45*  
*Brenda Nolan, convener*

**Restorative Circle Practice**  
*Usually 1<sup>st</sup> Saturday 1:00-3:00*  
*Brenda Nolan, convener*

**Ministry & Counsel**  
*Deborah Bradley, convener*  
*(508-564-4744)*  
*Carolyne Jordan*  
*Sunny Davidson*  
*Larry Jordan*  
*Cynthia Rankin*  
*Abigail Young*

**West Falmouth Meeting for Worship  
with Attention to Business**  
*Usually 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday*  
*(October 25, November 22)*

## **Upcoming Events**



### **New England Yearly Meeting**

**Beacon Hill Friends House – Simple Morning Meditation Practice** – Held via Zoom **Monday through Friday** from 8:00 – 8:30 a.m. The meditation is 15 minutes long, and begins and ends with a brief introduction to the practice. Orientation for newcomers begins at 8:00 a.m. and practice begins at 8:10. Join once or join regularly! The meditation is free and open to the public. See <https://bhfh.org/virtualprograms/simple-morning-meditation-practice-5/>.

**JHYM Retreat** – Junior High Yearly Meeting Weekend Retreat on Zoom for 6<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> Graders in New England Yearly Meeting from 7:00 p.m. **Friday, October 16** through 11:00 a.m. **Sunday, October 18**. Register by October 3<sup>rd</sup> to be sure of receiving a package in the mail for the retreat. See <https://neym.org/events-calendar/2020/10/jhym-retreat-october-2020>.

**Walking with the Bible**-- This monthly series of Bible hours sponsored by Woolman Hill and Beacon Hill Friends House will take place **Sundays, October 4, November 1, and December 6** from 3:45 p.m. to 5:15 p.m. At each session Peter Blood-Patterson will welcome a different Friend as guest leader and we will have a chance to hear what role the Bible plays in each of these Friends' lives. We will hear from Carl Magruder (October 4), Adria Gulizia (November 1) and Colin Saxton (December 6). Following the individual presentations, we will spend some time reflecting on a passage that is rising for our guest leader. Friends are welcome to attend the series or individual sessions. All are welcome regardless of previous experience with the Bible! For further information and to register see <https://donorbox.org/walking-with-the-bible>.

## Sandwich Quarterly Meeting

**Sandwich Quarter** will be meeting on **Saturday, October 24** via Zoom at 10 a.m. Friends should watch for an announcement from Kathy Olsen.

## West Falmouth

**Weekly Sunday Worship** is currently being held via Zoom. We particularly invite Friends from Yarmouth and East Sandwich to join us. An e-mail with the specifics on connecting to this virtual format will be sent a day or so before. The Zoom meeting opens at 9:30 a.m., giving everyone ample time to log in, get questions answered and greet one another. Starting at 9:50, we will enter the space quietly and begin to settle into worship. A designated Greeter will say a few words of welcome at 10 o'clock and again at the rise of worship after an hour has passed. The "meeting room" will remain open for visiting until 11:30 a.m. Scheduled meetings, such as committee meetings, meeting for business and special programs, will begin at approximately 11:30 a.m.

**Weekly Vespers** will be held outdoors **Tuesdays** from 5:00 – 6:00 p.m. as long as the weather permits. Friends will gather on the south side of the Meetinghouse, wearing face masks and bringing their own chairs. The Meetinghouse will be open only for access to the restroom. In case of rain, the gathering will be postponed until the following day.

**Quaker Women** – We are meeting weekly via Zoom on **Thursdays** at 7 p.m.

## Also of Interest

### Here it Began: 2020 Hindsight or Foresight – Virtual Indigenous History Conference

Learn from over 50 speakers about creation histories and traditional life, colonization, historical trauma,



family research, rights, language, food sovereignty, indigenous art, literature, education, and related topics. This virtual event, co-sponsored by Bridgewater State University, Plymouth 400, Inc., and the Wampanoag Advisory Council, is free of charge and offers nine weekend sessions during the months of October and November. Learn more at <https://www.plymouth400inc.org/events-and-programs/signature-events/>. View and download the full conference agenda at

[https://www.bridgew.edu/sites/bridgew/files/media/pdf\\_document/IndigenousHistoryProgram\\_v2.pdf](https://www.bridgew.edu/sites/bridgew/files/media/pdf_document/IndigenousHistoryProgram_v2.pdf)



**Belonging to Each Other – Silent Auction** to help put a roof over those experiencing homelessness – Auction *preview* **October 7 – 9**. *Online bidding* **October 9 – 17**. For further information see flyer attached to this mailing.

**Weekly Taizé service.** Thursday evenings in **October** (1, 8, 15, 22, 29) and **November** (5, 12, 19, 26) at 7:00 p.m. This Zoom service will include recorded chants, spoken prayers and readings, and about twenty minutes of traditional Quaker silent waiting worship. See <https://neym.org/events-calendar/2020/09/weekly-taize-service-online>.



### **News on Gun Violence Prevention and Social Justice** from Nan Garrett-Logan

The Massachusetts Coalition to Prevent Gun Violence has taken an interesting step as it moves into its new life as its own 501(c)(3). The Coalition was initially a loosely-structured group of volunteers working under the umbrella of the Jewish Alliance for Legal and Social Action. As it grew it hired an Executive Director to lead the effort to create by-laws, a Board of directors and, most interestingly, the Community Council. Whereas the Board has legal responsibilities to the Coalition, the Community Council has an advisory function raising the voices of groups working directly with the communities – many of them communities of color – most directly affected by the presence of guns. Regular meetings of the Council will invite their members to share insights on the current situation and offer alternative responses. I am pleased to be identified as the liaison between the Council and the Board. This is an exciting step in the Coalition's work and I'm looking forward to seeing how this new position might evolve!



**Concert Across America** -- Streaming on Facebook **October 7, 8** – 9:30 p.m. Remember several years ago when the WFPM “combined youth and adult choir” came together to record the song “Nothing More”? This year the concert to support Stop Handgun Violence and remember all victims of gun violence has a remarkable lineup of musicians including Wynton Marsalis, Bonnie Raitt, and Jackson Brown. See <https://concertacrossamerica.org>.

This year's **Peace MVP** (Most Valuable Player) Coalition fundraiser will be held on line **October 8**. Chaplain Clementina Chery, Founder and President of the Louis D. Brown Peace Institute, will be honored for her decades-long work to support families affected by homicide, and to interrupt cycles of violence and transform society's response to community violence. Renee Graham, Associate Editor and Columnist for The Boston Globe, will be the featured speaker. Please take a look and consider making a modest donation.

<https://www.eventbrite.com/e/peace-mvp-awards-2020-tickets-94043188709>

## Pendle Hill Events --



**First Monday Lecture: Can Quakers and Others Help Prevent an American Slide into Dictatorship? Hint: Nonviolence Will Be Key! October 5** from 7:00 – 9:00 p.m. Eastern Time (US & Canada) via Zoom. This lecture will feature George Lakey of Central Philadelphia Meeting and is free and open to the public. For further information and to register see <https://pendlehill.org/events/can-quakers-and-others-help-prevent-an-american-slide-into-dictatorship-hint-nonviolence-will-be-key/>.

**Final Two Sessions from “Working Towards Right Relationship with Indigenous Peoples.” October 12 and 26**, from 7:30 -- 9:00 p.m. Co-sponsored by Canadian Friends Service Committee, Decolonizing Quakers, and Friends Peace Teams/Toward Right Relationship with Native Peoples. Note that four of the six sessions have now passed. Register at <https://pendlehill.org/events/working-towards-right-relationship-webinar-series/>.



**Pendle Hill – Daily worship** via Zoom from 8:30 – 9:10 a.m. See <https://pendlehill.org/explore/worship/join-us-online-for-worship-in-the-barn/>.

**400 Years – Truth & Healing for the Next Seven Generations.** An online gathering **Sunday, October 18** at 2:00 p.m. A program of indigenous ceremony, music, interfaith prayers and acts of solidarity on the anniversary of the 1620 landing of the colonists on Native homelands in the northeast. See flyer attached to this mailing. For further information and for study guides to the program see [interfaithamherst.org/400-years](http://interfaithamherst.org/400-years) and [facebook.com/events/online/400-years-truth-and-healing-for-the-next-7-generations/1017099998723516/](https://facebook.com/events/online/400-years-truth-and-healing-for-the-next-7-generations/1017099998723516/).



**Friends Committee on National Legislation Virtual Events – Witness Wednesday Silent Reflection, 5 – 6:00 p.m. EDT** Wednesdays in **October (7, 14, 21, 28)**. Take a moment to reflect in keeping with the Quaker practice of silent worship. Join

in virtually on Zoom or by phone for a period of shared reflection as we seek community in this time of isolation. See <https://act.fcnl.org/event/witness-wednesday-virtual-events/search/>

### **Thursdays with Friends, 4 – 4:30 p.m. EDT:**

**October 1** -- *The State of Native America*. Special guest Kerri Colfer, FCNL Congressional Advocate for Native American Policy, will provide an update on the crisis of missing and murdered Native women and girls and on opportunities to advance policy solutions in what remains of the 116<sup>th</sup> Congressional session. Register at: [https://act.fcnl.org/event/thursdays\\_with\\_friends\\_attend/1823/](https://act.fcnl.org/event/thursdays_with_friends_attend/1823/).

**October 15** -- *Women, Children, and Peace in Afghanistan*. Featuring special guest Shukria Dellawar, FCNL's Legislative Associate for the Prevention of Violent Conflict and Coordinator of the Prevention and Protection Working Group. Register at: [https://act.fcnl.org/event/thursdays\\_with\\_friends\\_attend/1824/](https://act.fcnl.org/event/thursdays_with_friends_attend/1824/).

**November 5** -- *Finding Justice in Police Reform*. Featuring special guest José Santos Woss, FCNL Legislative Manager for Criminal Justice and Election Integrity. Register at: [https://act.fcnl.org/event/thursdays\\_with\\_friends\\_attend/1825](https://act.fcnl.org/event/thursdays_with_friends_attend/1825).

**\*\*\*\*\* Annual Meeting and Quaker Public Policy Institute 2020 -- November 14-17, 2020 \*\*\*\*\***

Be a part of Quaker advocacy that calls us to come together in Fierce Love as we work towards peace and justice. Join FCNL November 14-17, 2020 for the *Annual Meeting and the Quaker Public Policy Institute* online. In order to lobby while Congress is in session, this year's Quaker Public Policy Institute will take place Monday, November 16 - Tuesday, November 17.

Quaker advocacy has never been more important. Be part of it this November! Registration required. For further information and to register, see <https://www.fcnl.org/updates/annual-meeting-and-quaker-public-policy-institute-2020-27>.



**American Friends Service Committee --**

Some recent Blog posts on AFSC's website:

***DIY: How to make a cloth mask to help keep everyone safe.*** Mary Zerkel writes on interdependence, one of



the many lessons of this pandemic. What's best for our neighbor is best for us as well—our health is bound together. See <https://www.afsc.org/blogs/news-and-commentary/diy-how-to-make-cloth-mask-to-help-keep-everyone-safe>.

***Immigrant Rights and Inclusive Communities -- 5 Things You Should Know About the Court Decision on TPS*** (Temporary Protective Status) -- Peniel Ibe of AFSC's Office of Public Policy and Advocacy writes that Congressional action is needed today to protect hundreds of thousands of TPS holders from deportation. See <https://www.afsc.org/blogs/news-and-commentary/5-things-you-should-know-about-court-decision-tps>.

***International Peacebuilding --***

Michael Merryman-Lotze of AFSC's Palestine-Israel Program on *Reckoning with the "war on terror," building a more just and peaceful path forward*. See <https://www.afsc.org/blogs/news-and-commentary/reckoning-war-terror>.

***Building Economic Justice, Creating Inclusive Communities --***

*Honoring A. Philip Randolph, a leader in the March on Washington*

Rick Wilson of AFSC's West Virginia Economic Justice Project writes on A. Philip Randolph, an underappreciated hero of the labor movement and of the African American struggle for freedom, justice,

and equality. See <https://www.afsc.org/blogs/news-and-commentary/honoring-philip-randolph-leader-march-washington>.

***Immigrant Rights, Ending Mass Incarceration and Inclusive Communities –***

Lucy Duncan, Director of Friends Relations of AFSC writes on *Highlights: "From Attica to Abolition" Webinar*. In one of the highlights Tyrone Larkins, an original organizer of the Attica uprising, remembers what it was like on the first day of the uprising, 49 years ago. Watch the webinar highlights and access the related learning resource toolkit at <https://www.afsc.org/blogs/news-and-commentary/highlights-attica-to-abolition-webinar>. To read further about the Attica uprising see historian Heather Ann Thompson’s Pulitzer Prize-winning *Blood in the Water: The Attica Prison Uprising of 1971 and Its Legacy* (Pantheon Books, 2016).

***Black Lives Matter and Creating Inclusive Communities –*** Vonn New writes, “Racism is a white person problem, not a Black person problem. We as white people need to be talking to each other about it. So with that in mind, I feel led to share my personal guidelines and am open to any feedback.” See <https://www.afsc.org/blogs/acting-in-faith/note-to-self-white-people-taking-part-blacklivesmatter-protests>.



**Vote by Mail: Falmouth Voters:** If you wish to vote by mail in the **November 3 Election** your application for a mail-in ballot must be received by the Town Clerk by **October 28**. To download a Vote by Mail application, see <http://www.falmouthmass.us/DocumentCenter/View/7412/Vote-By-Mail-Application>. If you do not have access to a printer, a hand-written letter with your signature is acceptable as a Vote by Mail application.

**Completed Vote by Mail applications** may be:

- Hand delivered* to the drop box at Town Hall;
- Mailed* to the Town Clerk's Office: 59 Town Hall Square, Falmouth, MA 02540;
- Emailed* to [TownClerk@falmouthma.gov](mailto:TownClerk@falmouthma.gov); or
- Faxed* to 508-457-2511.



**Completed Ballots** may be:

- Mailed* using the postage pre-paid (white) envelope received with the ballot; or
- Hand delivered* to the "Town Hall Drop Box," the grey mail box on the left of the walkway to the main entrance to Town Hall.

Once your ballot has been returned to Town Hall, **your vote is final and you cannot take your ballot back or vote again.**

**Ballot must be received by 8 pm on Election Day.**

If you decide not to mail your ballot back, or your ballot doesn't reach Town Hall by Election Day, you can still vote in person at your polling place.

You can track your ballot at <http://www.TrackMyBallotMA.com>.

**In-Person Early Voting:** Early in-person voting will be held at the old Senior Center, 300 Dillingham Avenue, Falmouth, MA 02540 on the following dates:

- Saturday Oct 17: 8 am to 1 pm**
- Sunday Oct 18: 12 noon to 5 pm**

- Monday Oct 19 -- Friday Oct 23: 8 am to 4:30 pm**
- Saturday Oct 24: 8 am to 1 pm**
- Sunday Oct 25: 12 noon to 5 pm**
- Monday Oct 26 -- thru Friday Oct 30: 8 am to 4:30 pm**



**In-Person Voting on Election Day: Tuesday, November 3, 2020 from 7:00 a.m. -- 8:00 p.m.**

For a list of polling locations and for information on planned safety precautions see <http://www.falmouthmass.us/662/Next-Election>. *Ed. Note:* Extensive safety precautions are planned. Masks, although strongly encouraged, are apparently not being required.

## **News of Friends**

### **Friends Gather in Tribute to Jim Gould**

Following a beautiful outdoors Meeting for Worship at East Sandwich Meeting on Sunday, September 27, Friends gathered to say goodbye to Jim Gould who will be leaving Cape Cod in mid-November. Friends were clearly saddened to be saying goodbye to Jim, but their love, admiration and gratitude for him were

also in clear evidence. Friends may remember the fascinating in-depth interview that West Falmouth's Alta Mae Stevens did with Jim in 2002. That interview will be reprinted in the November issue of the Gazette and we hope to include as well a special feature in which Alta Mae, the original editor and founder of the Gazette, and Jim will reconnect to update the earlier interview.



## Readers Write

### **Who Am I?**

Great Spirit, Dear Lord Jesus. Who Am I?  
I'm red and round like a ball  
I live under vines and leaves.  
On Mother Earth, on the Land of the Wampanoag.  
I share my color with frogs and bugs.  
Great Spirit, Dear Lord Jesus, Who AM I?  
As the raindrops fall, I roll around.  
I have air in my pockets full of wisdom,  
I thank Great Spirit, Dear Lord Jesus.  
As the sun shines, I glisten with faith, hope and love.  
I am red and round like a ball.  
I share my color with you as I pray.  
Last I knew I slept in your bog.  
Over peat moss and sand.  
On the Land of the Wampanoag.  
Who am I?  
Now I'm cooking slow on your stove.  
In the kitchens of Wampanoag and Quakers.  
You put me in your pies and breads.  
Thank You Great Spirit, Dear Lord Jesus.  
Sasawumun, the Cranberry is my name.  
My thin trailing vines will soon rest.  
Your bog will never be the same in the Land of the Wampanoag.  
Who am I? I'm red, I share my color with you.  
Thank you, Great Spirit, Dear Lord Jesus.

*Joan Tavares Avant, M.Ed.*

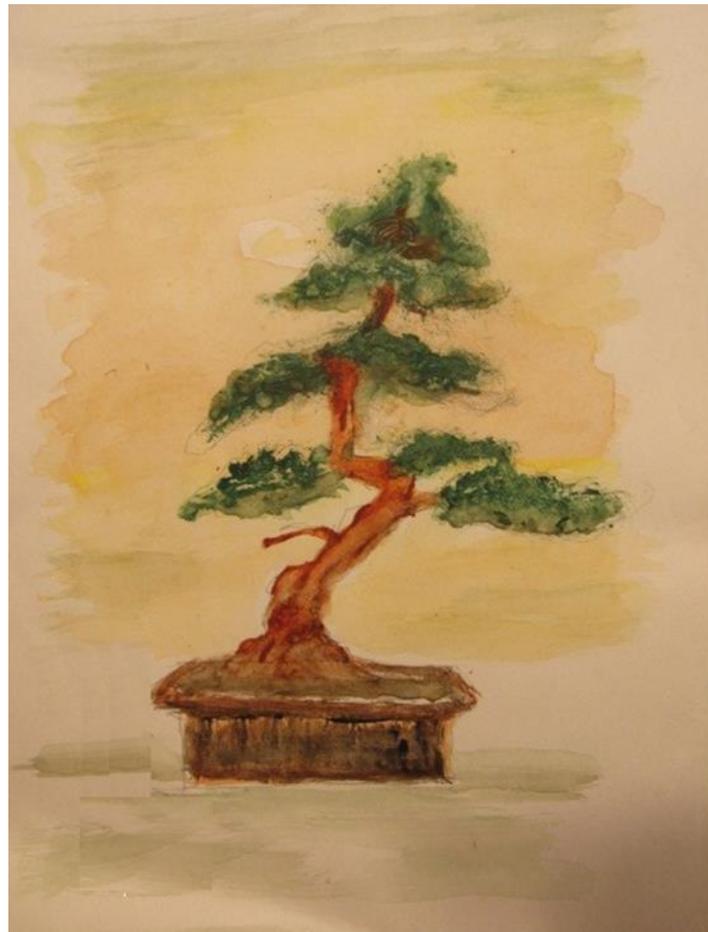
*Mashpee Wampanoag Deer Clan Mother*



## Haiku

Zoom into the bloom.  
Hummingbird, guerilla bird,  
Lightning dinner out.

*Rita O'Donnell*



*Bonsai, watercolor by Sunny Davidson*

## Vigil in Dire Times

Bill Holcombe

East Sandwich Preparative Meeting

Back in late July I began to hear reports of chicanery at the Postal Service at the highest levels which



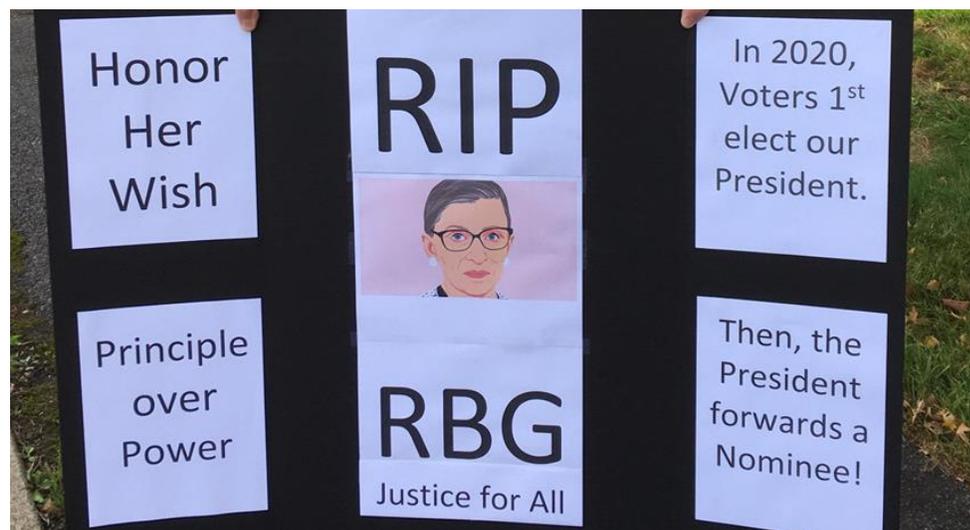
threatened to influence our upcoming elections. I felt the need to do something. So, I called upon some friends in the community and some Quakers from East Sandwich Meeting to join me at the local Post Office to support our postal workers and the U.S. Postal Service in the hopes of securing a fair election for all.

That was two months ago. A small group ranging from two or three to nine or ten hardy folks has shown up every morning Monday through Friday outside the main Sandwich Post Office from 9:00 to 10:00 a.m. Reactions to us vary. Most are positive

and supportive. Though our original intent was putatively to stay neutral, as things have heated up our signs have been supplemented by more anti-Administration messages.

Unlike a one-time demonstration, I intended this to be a "Vigil" where we come out every day up to and perhaps through the upcoming election.

Since I write this near the deadline for October, I hope to update you with more details in the next issue.



## **STONEWALK**

### **Introduction**

The journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step, Lao Tzu declared. For Alan Burt, each step on the journey of the Global Pandemics Stone declares the anguish of COVID deaths. To date, two hundred thousand loved ones here in America and one million throughout the world drew their last breath due to the coronavirus, each person a singular expression of a loving God.

Memorials to COVID-19 casualties will be created throughout the world, and they will have one thing in common: they will not move. Yet, the pandemics stone Alan writes about below was created specifically to be moved, so as to move hearts on the long and difficult road of bereavement.

What follows is Alan's description of the first steps on this Stonewalk journey. Unlike previous Stonewalks\* since 1999 that commemorated victims of violence and civilian casualties in war, this journey focuses on lives lost due to COVID and all past pandemics. Pandemics have swept throughout the world claiming millions upon millions of lives and shaping human history in their wake, as only wars have.

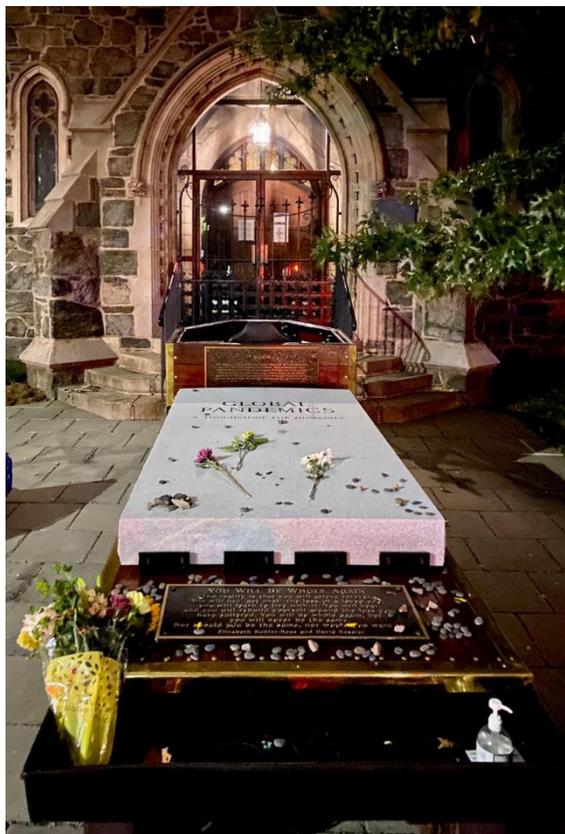
Alan, as scribe, accompanied by Carolyn Hall and other Quakers, joined this Sisyphean journey through a willingness to shoulder the grieving weight of the stone on the path to becoming whole again. Alan recognizes, as do others, that this touchstone uniquely puts one's grief in a global context. To the touch, the stone's hard, cold, coarse surface is braille for the human suffering it embodies. It speaks in the silence of our grief and serves as a prayer for health and healing during these difficult times.

### ***The Call of the Stone***

Initially, I was interested in hearing about Lewis Randa's plan to cut yet another stone for yet another Stonewalk. As I listened to him talk about his intention, my interest sharpened. Lewis was talking about a memorial stone to address all the lives that have been lost and that will be lost to Global Pandemics. The words, "how interesting" came to my lips, yet this was just the beginning, still only my initial response.

*Lewis Randa*

*East Sandwich Preparative Meeting*



The Global Pandemics Stone will be part of the National Week of Mourning at the Swedenborg Chapel and other places of worship in Cambridge through October 11.

*Alan Burt*

*East Sandwich Preparative Meeting*

A number of weeks went by and I would hear about the progress of the stone, where it was, when it was going to be cut, where it would go next and so on. In the meantime, Lewis would post pictures of the caisson he was working on which would carry the 2,000-pound stone. Then the day arrived when the stone had been cut and was ready to be picked up. Lewis asked for some assistance in getting the caisson to the stone, and Carolyn Hall and I arrived at Lewis's house the next day to help.

Although I had seen pictures of the stone, I found myself awestruck as I stood before it, as I approached it, and touched it. The once bland, weathered plywood base of the caisson was now covered over by beautifully stained, narrow wooden planks with intricately cut and stained trim boards along the sides and edges. There were now side mirrors, new hardware, compartments, a small but sophisticated sound system, along with other interesting and beautiful features, all of which transformed the once buckboard-type wagon into something more.

Immediately, I was drawn into the image of the horse-drawn caisson carrying the casket of President John Kennedy. At the time, I was a boy who had never seen such a sight and, yet, I somehow knew that the carriage itself symbolized the enormity of the loss. And the slow movement of the caisson seemed to further intensify this shared loss.

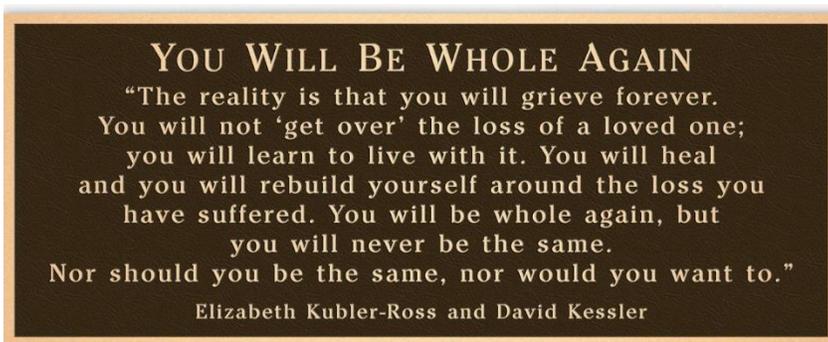
Then the flatbed truck arrived and the caisson was loaded up and driven off to where the stone awaited us. My sense of the stone "waiting for us" pulled me into a trancelike state as I sat in the back of Lewis's car. Although I could hear the conversation between Lewis and Carolyn about their shared peace and justice work, I was also somehow listening to the stone, which was somehow "calling to me."

When we reached our destination, I wondered what was going to happen next. I saw the large crane, which was attached to straps surrounding the 2,000-pound stone. The stone seemed so much larger than I anticipated. I felt so small in comparison.

I was then jolted with the awareness that the size of this stone, with its carved message, "Global Pandemics, Touchstone for Humanity," reflected its global message of mourning and belonging.

And it was then that I more fully realized the significance of this stone. It suggests how important all our lives are on this planet, and that each loss, each death, from this pandemic and all pandemics, needs to be mourned and memorialized. Each and every one of them needs to be mourned and memorialized.

And I further thought to myself that this stone, unlike other memorial stones, may never actually reach a final destination. Perhaps instead, this stone needs to be pulled slowly by people from all nations as a symbolic way of demonstrating the importance of every life and that in a most profound way we all do "belong to each other." As I finish writing this journal, I am feeling blessed to be a part of this never-ending stonewalk. And already, I feel a loving connection to those I will meet along the way. This is, after all, "The Call of the Stone."

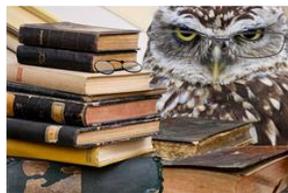


The bronze plaque is below the stone on the caisson.

\*See <https://www.peaceabbey.org/stonewalk-intl-requiem-memorial-walk/>. See also Randa, L. "Why Stonewalk Gettysburg? Sacred Stone – Sacred Land." *The Gazette*, West Falmouth Religious Society of Friends, February 2020, pp. 11-12.

For more information on the Global Pandemics Stonewalk Project please see <https://www.peaceabbey.org/>.

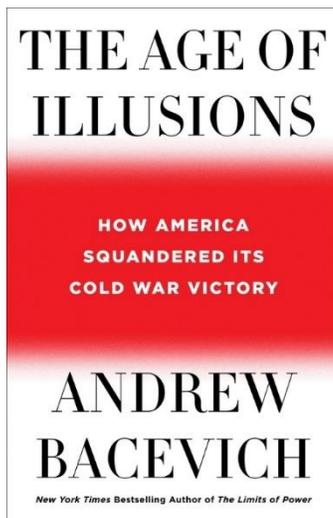
## What We're Reading



Len Kreidermacher reviews:

### ***The Age of Illusions: How America Squandered Its Cold War Victory***

By Andrew Bacevich.



Andrew Bacevich was born in Illinois in 1947, thirteen months after Donald Trump was born in New York. Bacevich graduated from West Point and served twenty-three years in the army before retiring as a Colonel. He graduated from Princeton with a Ph.D. in history. Professor emeritus at Boston University and President and cofounder of the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft, Bacevich has published eleven books on modern American History specializing in Military and Political History. He has also written numerous articles for popular magazines.

Bacevich divides his analysis into four areas:

- 1) globalized neoliberalism;
- 2) global leadership;
- 3) social freedom; and
- 4) presidential supremacy.

The purpose of *globalized neoliberalism* was to create wealth through unconstrained corporate capitalism. This resulted in moving manufacturing overseas with an attendant loss of manufacturing jobs, reduction in the size of the middle class, and high salaried CEOs. From 1965 to 2016, CEO salaries increased from a ratio of 20:1 over workers' salaries to 271:1.

*Global leadership* meant keeping order throughout the world. We had a very large military to contain the Soviet Union and with the end of the cold war it could be shifted to other places to maintain order based on the U.S. definition of order. This has led to "Forever Wars" primarily in the Greater Middle East.

*Social freedom* emphasized autonomy with traditional moral prohibitions declared obsolete. This involved significant changes to the culture throughout the world to be in sync with the U.S. culture defined as creating or exporting democracy. In the U.S. there exist a variety of opinions on what moral rules should be allowed in the areas of race, religion, gender, sexuality, and other social topics in our culture. Stability includes injustice. Moving from injustice to justice will involve chaos. The author cites past occurrences when major disruptions resulted in significant changes. One example is that it took the Civil War to end slavery.

Starting on page 146, the author lists twenty-five areas in which social freedom and social concerns were in tension in the U.S. in 2016. An example: More than 23,000 Americans were being killed in firearms-related incidents annually.

The issue of *presidential supremacy* is taking on increasing importance. Although the constitution established three coequal branches of the government, in recent years the executive branch has been allowed to gain more power in a variety of ways: “just do it,” deceit, and legislative bumbling and incompetence.

The U.S. leadership includes Washington, Wall Street, and large contributors to politicians. Although Bacevich considers himself a conservative, he voted for Obama twice because he considered him the most likely candidate to end the forever wars. In 2016, Bacevich joined the ranks who voted “other or none.” Trump decided to join the Republican primaries. The other candidates were either lightweights or members of the Washington insiders. The exception was the Ohio governor who lacked name recognition. Trump had name recognition because of his vulgar TV personality. Many voters voted for Trump because he was an outsider and made outlandish promises and many probably liked his vulgar TV personality. Hillary Clinton was considered a member of the U.S. leadership who created the mess that was causing voters hardship. Trump’s slogan “Make America Great Again” with an emphasis on “Again” was very appealing to voters who perceived themselves as less well off.

Bacevich anticipates that climate change may be the disruption that leads to much needed improvements in the four areas of his analysis. However, he published the book before the pandemic. I think that the pandemic may have a bigger impact worldwide especially in the developed countries than is being predicted and hopefully will lead to much needed change.

Bacevich, A. *The Age of Illusions; How America Squandered Its Cold War Victory*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Books, 2020.

*John Davidson reviews:*

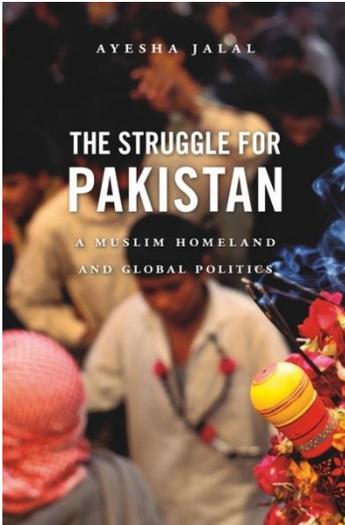
***The Struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics***

by Ayesha Jalal

***The Hidden History of Burma: Race, Capitalism, and the Crisis of Democracy in the 21st Century***

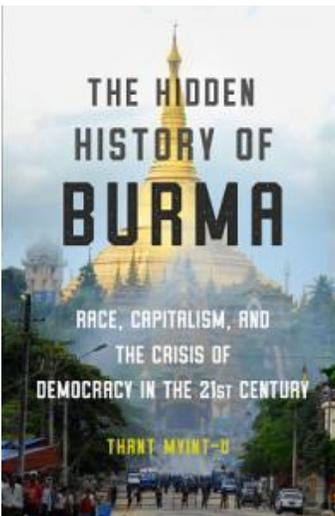
by Thant Myint-U.

*The Struggle for Pakistan* is a well-researched study and analysis of that country’s history over the last century by a well-known historian who is both American and Pakistani. After reviewing the various periods of military rule and semi-democratic leadership since 1947, she concludes that the prognosis is not altogether hopeless in consideration of the threats and challenges facing the country, as no military ruler has survived for more than eleven years. She writes, “the primary lesson to emerge from Pakistan’s history is that democratic transitions after a period of military rule are inherently messy and reversible” (p.391), but the ability to prevent a military coup does not imply civilian supremacy. In her view, “In contrast to the past, when the judicial arms of the state typically toed the line of the executive, whether military or civilian, Pakistan now has an assertive and independent-minded judiciary that has shown signs of activism that were



unthinkable in the earlier decade” (p.392). However, many of the judges are very conservative, and the failure of the judiciary to declare unconstitutional the various laws on blasphemy which are a great danger to religious minorities shows the limits of their powers. Various extremist groups and terrorist organizations continue to intimidate the advocates of free speech because they have the backing of the military.

Ayesha Jalal writes, “There is growing recognition by Pakistanis that the military in alliance with select elites and religio-political groupings has been using Islam to achieve its security goals rather than any virtuous religious purpose” (p.392). But it is one thing for the intellectuals to privately criticize the military, and quite another for the media to have the freedom of speech right to attack the military-backed terrorist organizations in print. I am in agreement with her argument that although it has eluded Pakistan for over six decades, democracy is coming to be recognized by a cross section of society in all the different provinces as the one remaining salve for the extreme stresses caused by aborted political processes and military authoritarianism. Since Jalal wrote her book several years ago, it has become clearer that the military can manipulate the political and legal systems of the country without a coup just by intimidating the leading judges and politicians. The country is at best a hybrid regime or a partially-free society, not a true democracy.



In contrast to Ayesha Jalal, Thant Myint-U reviews the history of Myanmar or Burma and reaches pessimistic conclusions about the prospects for democracy in his recent book *The Hidden History of Burma: Race, Capitalism, and the Crisis of Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. The author is the grandson of U Thant and has several decades of experience in the struggle for democracy. I am in agreement with the author’s conclusion that democracy in Burma is just a façade which was used to convince the foreigners to expend aid money, and the underlying reality of the country is one of military dictatorship. Thant Myint-U carefully explains the way in which the military has made no concessions in its pursuit of expulsion or genocide against the Rohingyas, and has completely dominated the economy, allowing State Counselor Aung Sang Sui Kyi and her democracy movement only the opportunity to make empty speeches.

In conclusion, I would recommend both of these books to interested readers. It does not matter that the struggle for democracy frequently encounters setbacks in a world of corruption, poverty of a third of the population (for example in Pakistan), and crony capitalism often used as a tool to dominate politics. The important point is that the struggle continues in countries around the world.

Jalal, A. *The Struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2017.

Myint-U, T. *The Hidden History of Burma: Race, Capitalism, and the Crisis of Democracy in the 21st Century*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019.



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