

# Testimony

## A Pamphlet from Pax Christi San Antonio

Anticipating February 18, 2018

Pax Christi San Antonio does not solicit donations; however, anyone wishing to join should make a donation to Pax Christi U.S.A. (link at the end of the newsletter) and notify Maria Tobin, [matob@aol.com](mailto:matob@aol.com), to receive email messages sent to members. Pax Christi International was founded in 1945 with the encouragement of Bishop Pierre Marie Théas of Montauban, France, by Marthe Dortel Claudot, as a Christian lay organization dedicated to preventing a repetition of the savagery of the twentieth century's world wars.

Please do not respond to this newsletter's address; but send comments on the newsletter to [J6anthonyblasi@yahoo.com](mailto:J6anthonyblasi@yahoo.com).

### Editorial

After the calendar, the *Third Reading* commentary is based on the gospel reading for the First Sunday in Lent. Tom Keene's poem is *Says Jesus*. See <http://www.tomkeeneandthemuse.com/index.php> for more of Tom's poems. Last January 20<sup>th</sup>, at a fund raiser for children in war-torn and blockaded Gaza, Luke M. Peterson, Ph.D., made a gripping address, *Gaza to Gary: The Crisis of the Modern Age*. He has generously allowed us to publish the text, which follows the poem.

We are making a small experiment with the calendar section, organizing events by city.

### Calendar

#### In Austin

**Tuesday February 13**, 4:30pm-6:00pm. Bob Hilliard and Steve Showen, on the case they argued before the U.S. Supreme Court that set the precedent that Mexican nationals killed by U.S. agents in Mexico can obtain judicial review in U.S. courts. Jones Global Events Center, St. Edward's University, 3001 S. Congress, Austin.

**Monday February 26**, 12:00pm-1:00pm. "Failed Christianity," on refusing shelter to refugees. Hosted by the Center for Ethics & Leadership. Fleck Hall, Room 305, St. Edward's University, 3001 S. Congress, Austin.

#### In Dallas

**Monday February 12**, 12:00pm-1:30pm. Anthony J. Colangelo, "The Duty to Disobey Illegal Nuclear Strike Orders." Room 106, Florence Hall, Dedman School of Law, Southern Methodist University.

**Tuesday February 27**, 2:00pm-7:00pm, Faithful Citizenship: Religious Perspectives on Voter responsibility. Bruce Marshall, Steve Long, Robert Abzug, and Mohamed Lazzouni. Great Hall, Elizabeth Perkins Prothro Bldg., Southern Methodist University. Make reservation by Feb. 26 at [whooin.com/YRQ-FP6-JTG6/RSVP](http://whooin.com/YRQ-FP6-JTG6/RSVP)

### **In Houston**

**Thursday February 22**, 6:00pm. Elisa Massimino, president of Human Rights First, presents the Houston Trinity Distinguished Alumni Chapter lecture. United Way Community Resource Center, 50 Waugh Drive, Houston. Space limited; register online <https://www.eventbrite.com/e/trinity-university-houston-distinguished-alumni-lecture-by-human-rights-first-ceo-elisa-massimino-82-tickets-42124392191?aff=es2>.

**Saturday March 24**, 8:45am-evening. Pax Christi Texas State Conference: Paul K. Chappell of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, “Warrior Strategies for Waging Peace in a Time of Nuclear Weapons.” Dominican Center for Spirituality, 6501 Almeda, Houston, Texas 77021. Doors open 8:00am. Program: 8:45am-3:45pm, closing liturgy 4:00pm. Suggested donation \$40 individual, \$50 couple/family. Mail registration check to Pax Christi Texas, 3901 Mattie St., Austin, TX 78723, by March 1. Some single rooms with shared bath available at the Center, \$40 per night; breakfast included. Contact Sr. Adrian Dover 713-440-3708.

### **In Seguin**

**Tuesday February 17**, 7:30pm, Diane Guerrero, on her memoir, *In the Country We Love: My Family Divided*. Award-winning actress recounts her experiences after her parents were deported. Jackson Auditorium, Weston Center, Texas Lutheran University, 1000 W. Court St., Seguin.

### **In San Antonio**

**Tuesday February 13**, 4:30pm-6:30pm, “Working Together, Building Digitally Inclusive Communities.” Jordana Barton, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas; Clarissa Ramon, Google; Emily Royall, *Rivad Report*; William “Cruz” Shaw, City Council District 2. Wheatley Community School, 415 Gabriel.

**Wednesday February 14**, 6:30pm-7:30pm, Texas Coalition Against the Death Penalty meeting. Alumni Room, St. Mary’s University Law Library.

**Friday February 23**, 8:30am-4:30pm, 2018 Immigration Symposium. National and regional legal experts, and Congressman Joaquin Castro. \$30 (student), \$70 (non-attorneys and government employees), \$110 (attorneys), free (St. Mary’s University law school faculty); breakfast and lunch included. Register at [www.scholarlawreview.org/symposium](http://www.scholarlawreview.org/symposium). Norris Conference Center, 618 N.W. Loop 410 #207.

**Wednesday February 28**, 1:00pm-2:45pm, David Swanson (RootsAction.org), “War is Never Just.” Mabee Library Auditorium, University of the Incarnate Word, 4301 Broadway.

**Wednesday March 21**, 7:00pm-9:00pm, Salman Hameed, Ph.D., “The Crescent in the Scientific Age: Muslim Perceptions of Science and Religion.” University Center, Conference Room A, St. Mary’s University, One Camino Santa Maria.

**Tuesday April 10**, 7:00pm-9:00pm, Lauren Turek, “Religion, Race, and the Civil Rights Movement.” SoL Center, University Presbyterian Church, 300 Bushnell (park off Shook).

**Saturday April 14**, 9:00am-12:00pm, Rev. Dr. Mitzi J. Smith, “Womanism, Biblical Interpretation, and Social (In)Justice.” Whitley Center, Oblate School of theology, 285 Oblate Drive, \$40. For information: Thelma at 210-341-1366, ext. 230.

### **Third Reading (Mark 1:12-15)**

“And straightway the spirit casts him out into the wilderness. And he was in the desert forty days, being tempted by Satan, and he was with wild beasts, and messengers cared for him.” It is tempting to take this as a historical account; however, even the text has no witness for what it narrates. And if there had been a witness, one would be hard put to it to say what the spirit casting Jesus out into the wilderness looked like. An ancient writer such as Mark did not have an elaborate conceptual or verbal apparatus for describing subjective or interior processes; he told stories instead.

*The spirit casts Jesus out:* Today, we would say Jesus felt alienated from his world. It all seemed wrong to him.

*Into the wilderness:* Mark is describing Jesus as getting away from everything that is taken for granted. Jesus was enabling himself to rethink everything.

*He was in the desert forty days:* This is an allusion to the Hebrews wandering in the Sinai Desert for forty years. It was a liminal state between slavery in the realm of the Pharaoh and a new society yet to be established, implying that the society Jesus knew was also a form of slavery and that he was about to commit himself to a new set of rights and wrongs.

*He was tempted by Satan:* No one is emotionally free of the world one has lived in; there is always the temptation to go back to accepting that world.

*And he was with wild beasts, and messengers cared for him:* This is an allusion, that the later evangelist Matthew would note—“For he will give his angels (messengers) charge of you to guard you in all you ways. On their hands they will bear you up, lest you dash your foot against a stone. You will tread on the lion and the adder...” (Psalm 91:11-13). Jesus was in the process of finding the courage in prayer to confront and challenge the world to which he would return.

So when Jesus re-entered that world, he repeated the message for which John the Baptizer was arrested: “The age has been fulfilled.” “The kingdom of God has drawn near; convert and trust in the good news.” There is some other kingdom, and that is the good news.

## Poem

*Says Jesus*

See my face.  
Touch my skin.  
Smell my sweat.  
Hear my songs.

Cut through the fogs of separation  
into clarity of our oneness,  
so, when you grasp the human in me,  
you may discover the divine in yourselves.

Tom Keene  
January 25, 2018

## Gaza to Gary: The Crisis of the Modern Age

Luke M. Peterson

My sincere thanks go out to all of those who contributed to the organization of this tremendous event. Further and if possible even more sincere thanks are owed to those responsible for my presence here this evening, namely Dr. Judith Norman of Trinity University, Moureen Kaki of the University of Texas at San Antonio, and to my very dear friend, Dr. Harry Gunkel. *Alf shukran*. It is both a pleasure and an honor to be speaking to you all here this evening.

In this past teaching semester, the Fall Semester of 2017, in my various teaching posts at three universities in the Greater Pittsburgh Area (about which, more later) I can readily identify three undergraduate students, enrolled in the campus Reserve Officer Training Corps program with expectations of becoming an officer in one branch or another of the U.S. military, and who desperately tried to avoid that course of action as an entry point for beginning a professional career. Though unique as individuals, through casual conversation, they told me pieces of their life story that bear striking similarity from one student to the next.

"I don't want to join the military, Dr. P" a common version of this story would go. "I am opposed to U.S. policies, to American military domination around the globe," these students would say, "but I could not find any other legitimate way to fund my education. Nor could I bear the tens of thousands of dollars in debt that this education would otherwise cost me. So I am trading a commitment to the U.S. Armed Forces in order to become educated in hopes of doing something else, something much more pacific than carrying a gun in some far off foreign land, later in my life."

The unspoken caveat embedded within these stories was almost always a version of "that is, if I survive my deployment overseas."

I would have all within earshot, and more broadly, all who care remotely about the future of this country or about the world in which it is situated, to think long and hard about what these students and their reluctant entry into the military say about our society in the early decades of the twenty-first century. To my mind, the conclusions to draw are obvious: we have created social, educational, and political institutions so dedicated to militarism, so dependent upon funding from, contribution to, and cooperation with the military and intelligence communities, that we have lost reasonable distance between civilian society and the war-making class. Education, investment, foreign policy, social organization, even our games and pastimes are all firmly situated within a discourse of military power and within a culture of violence and domination arguably more pervasive than in any society ever before, past or present. And we so incessantly and unthinkingly trumpet our own greatness, our own righteousness, and our own mighty authority in the world of policy and foreign interventions that we have, collectively, almost totally abandoned critical thought or rational debate about our impact upon the wider world, or even the morality of our actions in that world, or indeed, our place within it.

It is appropriate, I think, that I level this critique here, in my home town, a city that bore all the colors, all the characteristics, all the signs, symbols, and signifiers of the righteousness of Americana throughout my childhood in northeastern San Antonio. We would agree, I think, that it is a city that bears these distinctions still, a city with deep, possibly irrevocable ties to the U.S. military, and a city that has long given some of its most capable citizens in the cause of aiding and abetting the U.S. military in its various missions around the globe. Indeed, having lived abroad, including stints in the Middle East and Europe, for a significant portion of my life since leaving San Antonio, it is evident to me that the symbolism of the Wild West and the popular imagining of the Law of the Gun still shape a significant majority of global views about San Antonio, and about Texas more broadly, in societies and cultures far removed from Central Texas.

Nowhere is this more so than in Norway, incidentally, where a slang term meaning “unwise, poorly informed, reckless, and dangerous” has recently entered Norwegian vernacular. That term? “Texas.” So when Norwegian teenagers say to each other “Last weekend, we were really Texas” (using the English pronunciation of the word “Texas”), what they are saying is that they were all far too impulsive, given over to braggadocio, foolhardy, too immature, and possibly even too violent for their own good. A humorous linguistic development to be sure, but one, I think, that reveals deeper truths about what it means to be from San Antonio, to be from Texas, and in my estimation to be in and of the United States of America in the as yet early moments of this nascent and developing century.

Indeed, I would argue that this deeply embedded militarism and nearly universally uncritical praise of American military endeavors the world over connects to an overriding political and economic theory of global governance and economic organization within contemporary society that I have been writing, speaking, and thinking about for some time. That theory, concisely known as neoliberalism, describes an expansive and growing economic and political monolith heavily reliant upon war and occupation for use in the extraction of natural, manufactured, and human resources in virtually from all arenas of human endeavor—military, civil, political, and social—in order to maximize political control, maximize foreign resource acquisition, and in order to

achieve mass-territorial and biological securitization in accordance with relentless ambitions of unprecedentedly large, contemporary “mega-states.”

A number of authors and critics have locked on to this creeping, globally exploitative trend and have begun to describe neoliberalism as the single most compelling and pervasive political phenomenon of the contemporary age. Jan Nederveen Pieterse has called neoliberalism a “universalistic ... economic regime [where] (free markets are the sole effective system) ... [and where] the United States [is given] the exclusive and combined roles of prosecutor, judge, and executioner” throughout the world (2004: 121). He goes on to connect neoliberalism and the neo-imperial oeuvre being conducted by American policy makers and American military and intelligence officials since the middle of the last century, saying:

The core of empire is the national security state and the military-industrial complex; neoliberalism is about business, financial operations and marketing (including marketing neoliberalism itself) ... Neoliberal empire is a marriage of convenience with neoliberalism indicated by inconsistent use of neoliberal policies, and an attempt to merge the America whose business is business with the America whose business is war. (2004: 123)

According to these parameters along with those definitions provided by other leading scholars in this arena, in every instance where we hear political leaders proclaiming the importance of legislation, taxation, or policy on the basis of our “national security,” we should begin to look for profit-motive and payment details in order to see through political rhetoric and answer the simplest and most meaningful question political organization has ever provided us: “*qui bono?*” We should begin to follow the trillion-dollar trails of money when issues of “national security” are asserted, and we should question robustly, if not doubt automatically, the leaders of the military-corporate state when they speak of the importance of their international policy priorities. Ultimately we should be deeply suspicious of the moral compass that comes into play in our local and national capitals in order to justify the blatantly and obviously hypocritical international alliance system for which so much military expenditure, so much blood and treasure, has been so callously spent.

It is through these lenses of critical doubt and active questioning of the pro-state, pro-corporate narrative through which we should view the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict and its incorporation within the aggressive, global profiteering system known as neoliberalism. For although this more than half-century of military and civil domination of the Palestinian populace by the Israeli occupation is most often described using the discourse of conflictual nationalism, global forces of corporate domination and military domination have likewise become flexible enough to monetize the Palestinian fight for self-determination and to profit from extended Israeli domination of that people so much so as to create nuanced, new dimensions within this political conflict suitable for the profit-motive and corporate domination inherent in twenty-first century neoliberal policies.

Among these driving profit motives are newly created markets which seek to exploit subject Palestinians by virtue of capitalizing upon their status as occupied people. U.S. and European companies including SodaStream, Veolia, and Caterpillar

have set up shop in occupied Palestinian Territories, taking an active part in occupation in order to take advantage of expenditure allowances provided by the Israeli government so that their profit margins are expanded to unprecedented levels. In a particularly macabre twist, these companies can further extend their own profits by taking advantage of cheap, Palestinian labor employed in construction projects where low-paid Palestinians are tasked with building and extending internationally illegal Israeli settlements or perhaps worse yet, the Separation Wall. The severe and prolonged rate of unemployment in Palestinian society combined with a lack of stable investment into education or infrastructure within Palestinian society has been described by one Harvard economist as “economic de-development,” a result of total Israeli military and civilian occupation of all Palestinian cultural areas. This process has remade Palestine into fertile ground for incorporation into the profit model dictated by the neoliberal ideal: occupy, destroy, and rebuild with contracts doled out exclusively to private concerns.

It must be emphasized that strictly speaking, there is little to no illegality here. Despite all of the faith vested by the international community in such supra-state structures as the EU and the UN, the state remains the ultimate sovereign entity two decades into the twenty-first century, afforded rights and privileges of action not bestowed upon non-state actors. As such, the State of Israel, as its own ultimate sovereign, does not officially recognize their own occupation of Palestine, nor indeed, has it ever officially recognized that there even is such a people as Palestinians (contrast this obtuse position with either de facto or official Palestinian recognition of the State of Israel in 1976, 1988, and 1993). So, if there is no Palestine, as this double-blind logic would state, there can be no occupation. Israel, in its own eyes, is simply developing land and connecting business interests with a pool of available laborers to ensure the maximum of pro-state, pro-corporate profit. Put another way, this is the fruition of unrestricted, international free-market activity. It is robust and scarcely regulated free-market capitalism: the righteous and undeniably legitimate invisible hand of the market.

In the scenario described here, like many, many others being enacted at present according to the tenets of global neoliberalism, the so-called “market” simply reveals itself to be an extension of the military, political, and diplomatic institutions present within the operational mega-state. These institutions work in tandem, often with the very same overseers trading positions of power among themselves, in order to design, extend, exploit, and then justify various forms of profit-making activity no matter the human, social, or environmental consequences.

Returning to Nederveen Pieterse for a more graphic illustration of the level of this unholy military-political-economic marriage:

A vivid example of neoliberal empire was the plan for a futures market in political instability in the Middle East. It was set up at a Pentagon web site on the principle of using market signals as a source of information on political trends; a mutually advantageous combination of online betting and intelligence gathering, for isn't the market the best source of information? Revoked within days under pressure of Congress, it illustrated the novel possibilities of neoliberal empire and war as business. (2004:126)

For Israel, the implications of these relationships are profound. The actual, legitimate security threats posed by children playing football on a beach, old women sitting on their

veranda, or by a 16-year-old girl defending her own home while standing on her own driveway are plainly non-existent. Rather it is the *assertion* that these individuals, that this girl is a security threat, that is critical. These assertions are critical precisely because they are the only existential justifications left to a state that has built itself to be a military and technocratic giant upon the backs of a supplicant population of test subjects tormented with newer, more adaptable, and ever deadlier military and intelligence technologies.

What becomes of the hyper-militarized, conscription state once it confesses that all of these alleged threats are so many fictions contrived to create and extend markets for military and espionage technologies? What becomes of the hyper-militarized state if it confesses that all of the many wars that *it* has enacted were wars of its own making in order to provide manufacturers, analysts, and technicians a justification for their own existence? Or closer to home, what of the robust, self-justifying, hyper-militarized state that confesses to its people that the Forever War is a phantom, a bloody and unfathomably costly exercise enacted in order to provide meaning to its own mightiness, to provide succor to its baying nationalists, and most importantly, to create and expand markets for its hungry military industrialists, ready and waiting to demonstrate their newest piece of murderous technology?

Of course Gaza, too, is subject territory, bound by the Israeli war machine and by the oppressive rise of neoliberal strategy in the modern era. It is poor, having been denuded and de-developed by years of Israeli settler colonialism and deliberately uneven resource exploitation. It is isolated, even from its co-nationalists and co-religionists, by several hundred kilometres of stark, impenetrable space. It is hungry, being denied even the lowest limit of per capita caloric intake by an occupying power that pretends magnanimity in their slow starvation of an entire people month by month, year by year. It is traumatized; its children experience Post Traumatic Stress Disorder subsequent to regular Israeli bombardment of their homes and villages at a rate of 70%, more by some estimates. It is the ultimate liminal space, neither state nor sovereign, neither occupied nor bound (according to their occupier) but continuing on in a confined trajectory year after year, on into perpetuity.

We are all here to recognize Gaza, to open our minds and to listen to Gaza. To allow Gaza its narrative, its voice, and its freedom of operation as fully articulated human beings unfortunate enough to be caught in the net of occupation and war for seventy years, three entire generations. We are here to walk on the path of justice on behalf of Gaza and on behalf of all Palestine.

I am here for those reasons as well. But more than that, I am here to diagnose the oppression of Gaza and the long suffering of its children as part of a larger, aggressive, power-hungry, and profit-driven global phenomenon, one that can be, and indeed, should be opposed on the streets of San Antonio as much as on the streets of Rafah or in the village of Nabi Saleh. For it may seem contradictory at first to connect the ongoing occupation of Palestine with the opioid crisis in the Midwest. It may seem incongruous to connect the Tory government's sabotage of the National Health Service in Britain with the surging stock prices of Dow, Raytheon, Bechtel, and Haliburton. It may seem tangential to diagnose the water crisis in Flint, Michigan, as something connected to the militarization of American police forces and their indiscriminate use of violence against minority communities.



But all of these phenomena, all of these social, political, economic, and moral transgressions are, in fact, cousins to one another encouraged, lauded, championed, and pressed forward by the unrepentantly avaricious free market which seeks to ensure the “privatisation of all things” inherent in the growing, international neoliberal system.

My own life and career is also an informative case study in the encroachment of market principles into all aspects of human endeavor. During the course of completing my PhD program, the 2008 housing crisis hit domestic markets the world over, the result of the popping of an entirely preventable housing bubble generated by wealthy mortgage speculators who, as market parameters dictated, became wealthier still in the aftermath of the crisis. As a result U.S., Canadian, and slightly more slowly, European universities began to suffer from a reduction in public funds to be distributed to educational programs from Berkeley to Bamf and most points in between. In the decade since the 2008 housing crisis as many as 40% of full-time or tenure-track professorships have been eliminated throughout the United States and Canada. Taking the humanities singly, that number rises to more than 60 % of full-time professorships cut between 2008 and 2012. I began my PhD at Cambridge in the United Kingdom in 2007. Upon graduating in 2012, a PhD in the Humanities had never been less marketable nor less valuable according to the unquestioned tenets of the neoliberal free market. The widely advertised reduction of federal funding of American universities was coupled with steadily rising tuition costs amongst growing student bodies in both public and private universities throughout the country. At the same time university presidents, chancellors, deans, vice-chancellors, and most university administrators have seen a staggering rise in their salaries which are, by most measure up over 30% in the last ten years. This unprecedented spike in the salaries of top-level university administrators and bureaucrats at the expense of the economic stability of university educators like me has scarcely received comment popularly.

For my part, after a couple of (rare) years in full-time, humanities academic employment, I soon found myself hustling for work in higher education, forced to accept adjunct jobs for startlingly low pay and with absolutely no guarantee of job security from semester to semester. In the winter and spring, I teach. In the summer months, as of this writing, I have no income. Like other adjuncts in this boat alongside me—and there are many of us—I take what limited work I can get from May to August, tutoring, working online, teaching English, or otherwise. As a family, we try to live in as lean a manner as possible in the summer. My trip to the pub is postponed indefinitely, my wife’s jeans can last another few weeks, my son’s football boots will have to keep going, and my daughter’s rain coat will just have to fit.

And yes, I am, quite obviously, as controversial as I am credentialed. And perhaps I don’t interview well for those full-time, tenured positions for which I have been shortlisted. Or perhaps, as one colleague recently implied, I am simply too bitter, too jaded to continue to pursue academic employment, and I should find some other line of work to inhabit which would cause me less consternation.

But I don’t think any of these explanations fully explain why I am (still), years after completing a PhD, an Adjunct Professor. And certainly none of these things explain why Flint residents still risk their lives when they open their taps, or why pharmaceutical companies make tens of millions on drugs in this country that are given away in states

with robust national health systems, or why private contractors are able to negotiate minimum occupancy deals with state governments across the American South in their construction of for-profit prisons now filled to the brim with young, largely minority men and women from low socio-economic backgrounds.

All of this is accomplished by slavish devotion to the market, a market that informs the decision-making capacity of university departments today as much as it informs decisions made by defense contractors and big pharma. It informs who inhabits the highest offices of the land and what states are given favorable status in trade negotiations with utter disregard for their atrocious human rights record. All of this is accomplished by widespread and uncritical embrace of the increasing privatization of all things, the blanket acceptance of the contemporary neoliberal ideal.

Nevertheless, by every quantifiable measure, I am a privileged person in a privileged society. By every single one of those same measures, all of the more than a million and a half residents of Gaza are not. And while they might seem very far away to us sitting here among this finery, above everything, what I want you to take away from this address is that they are not. Gaza is not far away, nor are the mechanisms of her imprisonment distant or in any way unknowable. They are here, among us all. They are readily comprehensible to those holding student debt, to those serving a prison sentence for petty drug possession, to those struggling to pay for life-saving prescription medication in a private health care system.

And if we recognize these policies as part and parcel of the same insidious market phenomenon, then we must also acknowledge that by opposing one aspect of the neoliberal ideal, we can oppose them all. By standing up for First Nations water protectors at Standing Rock, we sing the song of Mahmoud Darwish and the Palestinian paradise he cherished until his final breath; by demonstrating against the terrifically unjust sentences punishing poor and marginalized communities throughout private prisons in the American South, we open our hearts to the Bakr family now missing four children who committed no other crime than playing football on the beach while Israel bombarded their homeland; if we deny this fatted presidential administration and its sycophantic cronies ever more crumbs from the table of public well-being here at home, then we stand with Ahed Tamimi riding the wave of her unstoppable bravery as she denied the invasiveness of the occupier on the driveway of her own home.

And if we follow suit and tap into the reserves of our own deep wells of courage, then we truly will be living in the example of the late, great Doctor whose title I am unworthy to share: we will indeed bring about “justice roll[ing] down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.”

Thank you.

Reference: Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. (2004). Neoliberal Empire. *Theory, Culture, and Society*, 21(3), 119—140. doi: 10.1177/0263276404043623.

## Links

Pax Christi International  
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Pax Christi U.S.A.  
<http://www.paxchristiusa.org>

Pax Christi Texas  
<http://www.paxchristitexas.org>

Pax Christi San Antonio  
<http://www.paxchristisa.org>

Marianist Social Justice Collaborative  
[www.msjc.net](http://www.msjc.net)

Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word, International JPIC Committee  
<http://saccvi.blogspot.com/>

San Antonio Peace Center  
<http://www.sanantoniopeace.center>

Interfaith Radio, (*Interfaith Voices*)  
<http://www.interfaithradio.org/>

Texas Catholic Campaign to End the Death Penalty  
[www.txccedp.org](http://www.txccedp.org)