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The mission of *Sojourners* magazine is to inspire hope and action by articulating the biblical call to racial and social justice, life and peace, and environmental stewardship.

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markets in other settings, admit those same markets do not work well for health care.

Nearly every other nation that possesses resources similar to the U.S. guarantees universal health coverage, which includes improved access to care and financial protection. Those nations have committed to health as a human right. Many have embraced the right in their constitution, and all have signed the U.N.'s International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which recognizes "the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health."

By Ched Myers

Skeptical of the State?

Christians and anarchists are both part of today's activist mix, and should be in conversation.

FROM THE STREETS of Ferguson to Charlottesville and from Occupy to Standing Rock, anarchists represent a prominent part of today's activist mix. How might Christians understand this tradition of political engagement?

In popular culture, anarchism is often trivialized as a cipher for generalized chaos, based on a caricature of hooded black bloc brawlers smashing store windows at protests. On the other hand, some anarchists settle for mere sloganeering, with little analysis or strategy. But simplistic stereotypes fail to recognize that, as social critic Cornel West put it, anarchism represents "a powerful critique of concentration of power in the nation-state."

The label derives from the Greek *anarchos*, meaning "without rulers" (*not*, as some libertarians wrongly assume, without *rules*). Anarchists work for voluntary, nonhierarchical forms of self-organization and against state coercion and oppression.

As a social movement and ideological orientation, political anarchism began coalescing in the wake of the failed social revolutions of 1848 around Europe. Early anarchists critiqued the state as the root of all human oppression, and as the "left of the left" challenged

The U.S. is not yet a party to that treaty. But we are a nation of people deeply respectful of faith traditions, and those traditions are unequivocal in their insistence that health care is a human right. We must reaffirm that commitment now in our congregations, our communities, and in the government that represents us. ■

Sister Simone Campbell, SSS, is executive director of Network. Fran Quigley is director of the Health and Human Rights Clinic at Indiana University McKinney School of Law and coordinator of People of Faith for Access to Medicines.

Marxist assumptions that revolutions could only be accomplished by changing state structures from the top down. Some proposed communal self-rule and "mutual aid" as an alternative to social Darwinism.

The majority of the tradition was (and remains) decidedly atheist—"no gods, no masters." But Pierre-Joseph Proudhon allowed that early Christianity was essentially anarchist until the church sold out to Constantine, while Peter Kropotkin argued the same about popular radical religious movements of the late Middle Ages. Indeed, there have been Christian dissidents who have drawn on the teachings of Jesus to reject the legitimacy of the state, such as Anabaptists during the Reformation.

In the late 19th century, Leo Tolstoy developed anarcho-pacifist convictions by reading the Sermon on the Mount and encouraged alternative communities that rejected the coercive authority of church, state, and private property. Tolstoy's philosophy of nonresistance was later developed

into nonviolent action by Mohandas Gandhi. Catholic Worker co-founder Dorothy Day was also shaped by Tolstoy, as well as by American Jewish anarchist Emma Goldman

Small communities repudiated Caesar's "lordship" and practiced mutual aid.

From the Archives

August 1993

A Solitary Witness

ON AUG. 8, 1943, the night before he was beheaded for refusing to fight for Hitler's army, Franz Jagerstatter sat in a Berlin prison cell, deep in intimate prayer with God. On a table in front of him lay a piece of paper, a promise to serve in the Nazi medical corps. All he had to do was sign his name and the Nazis would let him live.

It was a simple choice. His guards encouraged him to sign the paper. His parish priest and bishop prayed for him to sign it and save himself. His wife and three little girls begged him to give up his one-man stand against imperial violence and sign the document so that one day he could come home.

But no. He had already made his choice. He would not fight. He would not kill. He would not support Hitler's war or anybody's war in any way. And so he sat there, only hours before his execution, motionless, deep in prayer, not crying, not panicking, not overcome with fear. Franz was at peace. He was at one with the God of nonviolence.

Such was the faith of Franz Jagerstatter, executed 50 years ago on Aug. 9, 1943, for refusing to join Hitler's army. His witness ranks him among the 20th century's most noble examples of Christian discipleship. ... Many thought (many still think) that it would have been better if Franz had compromised, at least for the sake of the children. But Franz possessed, like Jesus, a stubborn nonviolence. No compromises, no concessions, no exceptions. ■

John Dear, SJ, worked with the homeless in Washington, D.C., when this article appeared.



and French Catholic agrarian personalist Peter Maurin. For almost a century the Catholic Worker movement has been the most significant proponent of gospel anarcho-pacifism.

A few 20th century Protestant theologians echoed anarchist critiques, most notably Jacques Ellul and Vernard Eller. More recently many young post-evangelicals have embraced various expressions of "Christianarchy" in activism and lifestyle (see for example jesusradicals.com).

The oldest tradition of anarchism, however, pre-dates civilization itself. For 99 percent of our time on the planet, human lifeways were organized in small bands that were bioregionally self-sufficient, cooperative, and essentially egalitarian—until the rise of predatory, hierarchical societies beginning roughly 6,000 years ago (as argued most recently in James C. Scott's *Against the Grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States*).

One of the earliest expressions of

tribalized resistance to state domination in the ancient Near East is found in the Bible. A strong skepticism of centralized power weaves throughout our scriptures, from Jotham's parable of the trees (Judges 9:7-21) parodying hierarchical politics to Samuel's sober warning against kingship models (1 Samuel 8), and from Jesus' rejection of empire to Paul's network of small communities that repudiated Caesar's "lordship" and practiced mutual aid (2 Corinthians 8-9).

Both Christian and anarchist traditions are rooted in a deep past, imagine a visionary future, and embody strategies of social resistance and renewal here and now—striving, as Dorothy Day put it, "to build a new society in the shell of the old." Which is why they ought to be in thoughtful conversation. ■

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By Jean Stokan

'For I Was a Stranger...'

Trump's border cruelty extends to legal immigrants as well.

IN MAY, the Trump administration ended Temporary Protected Status for Hondurans, opening the door for the deportation of nearly 60,000 legal immigrants to the U.S. and threatening the security of their American-born children. The Department of Homeland Security is systematically stripping TPS status from more than 300,000 people, including immigrants from El Salvador (195,000), Haiti (50,000), Nepal, Nicaragua, and Sudan. Decisions on Yemen and Somalia are expected in July.

Temporary Protected Status enables foreign nationals to live and work in the United States while conditions exist in their home countries that prevent safe return, such as armed conflict, natural disaster, or other extreme circumstances. Hondurans were granted TPS following Hurricane Mitch in 1998. Honduras holds the second-highest rate of nationals murdered after their deportation, according to the Immigrant Legal Resource Center.

The "crucified people" from Central

America are "not so much pursuing the American dream as they are fleeing the Central American nightmare," said Jesuit priest Dean Brackley, who spent more than 20 years teaching in San Salvador, in 2011.

In May, six religious and human rights defenders from Honduras came to the U.S. to describe how that Central American nightmare has become far worse. They reported that 300 people per day are fleeing Honduras following the widely contested presidential election in 2017. Their message? If you want to end migration from Honduras, then cut off U.S. support for the security forces in their country. Invest instead in education, health care, and the release of political prisoners and support free and fair elections in Honduras. Doing so might help restore the rule of law in Honduras and reverse the spiral of violence.

U.S. policy there has helped create migrants by the tens of thousands. Since a U.S.-supported military coup in 2009 that deposed the president, drug trafficking and organized crime have skyrocketed. Honduras