

## Panel 2 Discussion

*(Unedited Transcript)*

MR. HARRIS: Thank you. Following up on two points that Monsignor Linder made. One is that you could say that prevailing philosophy now in the government about taxation is that we ought not to tax the rich; we ought to tax the poor, and then they'd have more incentive to be rich.

(Laughter.)

The other thing, a little more seriously, that reminded me of. The Eisenhower Foundation fairly recently sponsored a seminar like this, which among other things, touched on immigration. And we've been very concerned, I'm very concerned, about the demonizing of immigrants that we see a great deal of now.

Not just by people like Pat Buchanan, but for example like academicians like Samuel P. Huntington, mouthing a kind of nativism. Professor Huntington has written that the growing presence of so many Mexicans in the United States constitutes a grave threat, he says, to America's Anglo Protestant way of life.

Father Baroni I think would have spoken out very much against that kind of nativism, and I think we should as well.

Comments? Yes, Bruce Kiernan?

VOICE: Hi, Bruce Kiernan. Monsignor Linder, if anyone deserved the MacArthur award, you did --

(Applause.)

-- and I don't know if people here know that you were the recipient of one of the MacArthur genius awards.

MSGR. LINDER: Well, I don't know if I deserved it. I enjoyed it.

(Laughter.)

VOICE: (Bruce Kiernan) Yes. I wanted to ask, where do you think the leadership for more social activism in the Catholic Church is going to come from in the years ahead? It's certainly not gonna come from much of the hierarchy. We wouldn't confuse Jack Egan with Eddie Egan.0167

MSGR. LINDER: Right.

VOICE: (Bruce Kiernan) But I would like maybe for you to speak to that. It may come from the religious orders. Is it coming from the diocesan seminaries? Do you see men coming out of religious life in the seminaries today who are inspired by what Monsignor Baroni was all about?

MSGR. LINDER: Well, I don't see it coming from the seminaries. For example, at ordination we don't have any priests that want to come to the city. We're presently in

Newark, really staffing our inner-city parishes with Nigerians. I think that's pretty much what's happened, we probably have 13 or 18 who have been brought in, and are now serving in parishes in the archdiocese. So I don't see --

Our seminaries are extremely conservative. I mean, I can't believe how far to the right they are, you know. They're really out of it. And I think they're not relevant, you know, unfortunately. I don't see anything coming, you know, in our universities because they seemed to be -- by us, I can't talk about around the country, and we have an expert on that here -- but you know, I think the issue of control has gotten to be an obsession in the university.

So I don't know. The bottom line is, the unions 0168 have become -- which would have become a natural one for us in the sixties anyway -- have become extremely conservative.

I'm optimistic about most things. I'm not optimistic about that. And the only thing that keeps me going on that is faith that God will intervene in some way, and boy, he'd better come soon.

(Laughter.)

MR. HARRIS: Other comments? Father Byron?

MSGR. BYRON: It's not gonna come from the seminaries. There's an interesting generation divide now in the Catholic clergy where those who were ordained before Vatican II are much more liberal than those who were ordained afterwards. And Dean Hoge out at Catholic University, who does a lot of work on -- he's a Presbyterian sociologist of religion, who specializes on Catholic priesthood, and he gets into what he calls the "priest shortage," and analyzes that and so on. He has a category that he calls "cultic," and the younger clergy are cultic; they like the trappings, the ceremony, and all of that sort of thing, so it's not gonna happen.

It's gonna come from laypeople. There are a lot of good bets right now in the ranks of Catholic higher education but also in the public sector of higher 0169 education, around the so-called "Newman centers," or Catholic centers. There's a great one, for instance, at the University of Michigan right now. I've met some outstanding people who are there.

Monsignor mentioned faith, and those of you who are Christian are familiar with what we call the Paschal mystery, where we go through death to life. And that's a paradigm for the way that we live our lives. You go through defeat to victory; disappointment to satisfaction. Now, the Catholic Church in the United States has been in deep trouble, in case you haven't noticed, over the past couple of years. And I think that's a, you know, a death experience, and we're going to go through that, to a life.

But in the vanguard of leadership, I predict in the upside that, maybe a decade or two, will be women in the church. If you look at Catholic education and Catholic health care, back over the past 50 years, you're gonna see women in leadership that's just extraordinary; in Catholic higher education, in Catholic nursing, and so on.

Sadly, there are not gonna be many of them who will be religious, nuns and so on. But there are some wonderfully intelligent, dedicated, committed young 0170 women, who are going to into careers in you know, the not-for-profit sector, maybe into trade unionism, and so on. I used to teach social responsibilities of business in the Georgetown

Business School, and I would bring in to speak to my students Jerry Shea, who was -- I guess he was John Sweeney's number one assistant at the Service Workers Union -- and then he went over to the federation -- but I would bring Shea in because I would say to these guys, "Now here is a graduate of Boston College.

And you know, "oh, well," and here's a guy who thought that a career in the labor movement would be a good career, you know, and it wasn't that long ago. It may have been 20 or so years ago. And a very articulate guy who could talk to the students, and I'd suggest to them, "Hey, if you're thinking about a career along these lines" -- and they would never give it a thought, you know. They were headed to Wall Street and so on. But when you look at what the story has been on Wall Street, I can see, out of all of this roiling, troubled recent experience, I can see some good things coming. And I really do believe that there are gonna be women in the leadership of that rising, Resurrection side of what we've just been through.

MS. KAPTUR: May I make a comment just 0171briefly? I just wanted to share a personal experience relating to something Monsignor Linder and Father Byron have said. In 1967, as a student at the University of Wisconsin -- the great University of Wisconsin -

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(Laughter.)

I was deciding on what my life would be. And rather than going into medicine, because of the riot I majored in history, and studied urban history in 1966, '67. We went to Newark. As a young person -- and this is where I get back to my point about how we nurture young people and give them real experiences and real places -- remember, I was from Toledo and I'd gone to school in Madison, Wisconsin. To go to Newark, New Jersey and New York, which we did do, this was a life-changing experience. And I thought, "I can help America's communities to rebuild. This is something practical I can do with my life."

But I was in Newark probably when you were in Newark. I never met you then, but I guess I'm going to reemphasize my point about how do we link together younger people, and give them these opportunities, and bring them up in the places where we work and share our lives? That was a sort of accidental in a way. Good professor, good -- there was the time -- we don't 0172really -- people in this room, we don't have mechanisms to do that, yet we each hold power in order to make that happen. I think that could be on practical outcome as these sessions continue. Thank you for listening.

MR. HARRIS: Okay, all right. I cut you off last time. You have a comment? We ended without getting to you a while ago. Yes, another comment or question?

(No response.)

VOICE: (Leila McDowell) I have a question.

MR. HARRIS: Yes, Leila?

VOICE: (Leila McDowell) I have a question -- actually, two quick questions that are somewhat for perhaps two different folks up there. But one question -- and this is a somewhat similar to the question that was already asked. But I was wondering, are their debates going on within the Catholic community over this question of morality?

Because obviously, there are political implications. So, if your definition that is dominant becomes a questions of the abortion, gay marriage, then you find that you're taking a stance antithetical to policies that would redress poverty, that would be against the death penalty. So which -- you know, 0173clearly if we look at the last election cycle, and the Catholic vote there were some changes amongst the Catholic electorate.

And I'm wondering if the political manifestation of these moral questions is a debate and a discourse that seems to be going on within Catholic communities. What is the definition of morality that is going to take precedence? Because when it comes to election time, unfortunately perhaps for some Catholic lay people, there's going to be a choice between those two definitions. What is the dominant question of poverty, the question of death penalty, the question of justice, or the other questions that played a role in the last election cycle?

And then the second question, and then I'll be quiet, was: Celinda, in your polling, I'm curious if when we talk about health care and some of the issues that Americans clearly support -- but of course policymakers don't hear -- do you think that the framing needs to have the kind of moral certitude that the right is able to frame its issues within? We often talk about things programmatically, we don't talk about things in terms of moral certitudes, in terms of right or wrong, in terms of values, that kind of thing. So, I was curious on your thoughts on that, and others as 0174well. Thank you.

MR. HARRIS: All right, let's start with the first question. Father Byron?

MSGR. BYRON: Well, you asked a lot of things and there's a large scenario there. As you were speaking and asking your questions, I was thinking, going back to what was said earlier about dominant values. And dominant values define cultures. You know, cultures are sets of shared meanings and values. You could look at a Wall Street culture, and MTV culture, you could look at, you know, a variety of places. But where you have a set of shared meanings and values, you get a culture.

Now, the task is to get the right values in the right position. For years and years, I've been thinking of Corte (phonetic). Is the dominant value on freedom? And the correlate is going to be social order, law and order and that sort of thing. Is the dominant value on equality? Then the correlate is going to be social justice.

Now, I think what you have seen in recent years in the Catholic community has been a shift -- some people will say a shift to the right, but I think a values shift toward freedom, and away from equality, and thus towards social order and away from social justice. 0175

But there are efforts to get that back. They've been talking about the budget being a moral document. You know, I've often said around universities, the budget is a theological document; that it's long on mystery and short on revelation.

(Laughter.)

And what we are seeing in the Catholic community now is a move, a very decided move, toward more transparency, sometimes kicking and screaming.

I saw the front page of the "Boston Globe" today, it was on one of these racks today, and the lead story is a full disclosure of finances -- Archbishop O'Malley is pictured there, and there's going to be a full disclosure. Well, we're working our way through a really

anguished experience, but you know, Geno talked about "Action follows teaching, by way of experience." And what we've got to acknowledge is that the experience, good or bad, has to be attended to, and then the action has to come. And the action in the Catholic community is much more along the lines now of a move, kicking and screaming on the part of many, toward transparency, toward equality, and with the emphasis on equality, social justice.

MS. KAPTUR: I would like to comment as a lay Roman Catholic, and a female, and share an experience 0176with you. Maybe first I'll share some data.

Globally and in the United States, there are twice as many women religious as male religious, in the civil service of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet the women's orders have tended to run universities, hospitals, schools, and so forth. Within the way that my church operates, the woman who is elected to represent all these religious orders at the Catholic Bishops conference, just in the United States, is allowed to attend an annual meeting, but cannot even speak.

So how can you have dialogue with the majority of those doing the work, if you do not have a mechanism? Now, this is ages old, but I thought I would just -- since we're being broadcast on C-SPAN -- this is just something for people to think about. You know, I think if people do work, and they do God's work, they should be given voice somehow within these structures.

I had an experience last week which I will also share, as a result of the turmoil in Toledo, and what we are trying to do to heal and build forward. The day after what happened, I went to one of the Roman Catholic churches for mass in the neighborhood where the incidents occurred. And after Mass, I turned and I went to walk out, and I realized the bishop, the new bishop of our diocese, was there, a very well-meaning 0177and holy man.

And we engaged in conversation, and he said to me, "Congresswoman, what do you think the business community can do to help these neighborhoods?" And I'm going to write the bishop a letter, and I hope he's watching, because the first thought in my mind is, "What can my denomination do here?" And rather than closing schools, and only closing structures, what does the Roman Rite do about this situation in this community? How do we mobilize the laity? How do we mobilize the private sector, some of whom may be Christian, some of whom maybe not.

But I thought, "You know, I pray for Bishops, because they are appointed." They do not have to stand for election, and that's the rules in my denomination. But it creates a great distance. It's actually a tragedy, it's a human tragedy. And so how would they know? They give their lives to people, but they don't really have the operational responsibility at the local parish level. I mean, they have this disjuncture, and is born of when the church was established in very repressive societies, autocratic regimes, and so it's been handed down from very undemocratic places, to a place like the United States, which is a free republic.

So I just share that because it's so hard for them 0178to understand. In some ways, they can't walk in the shoes, because they've literally not been there. But they want to do good, we have to help them find a way to do that.

MR. HARRIS: All right.

VOICE: (John Kromkowski) You know, it struck me that one of the --

MR. HARRIS: Would you -- hold on for just a second. Now, identify yourself for the --

VOICE: John Kromkowski from Catholic University of America.

It struck me that one of the untold stories as I was listening to this colloquy of the Geno Baroni situation was he was at a group, perhaps somewhat like this one, but predominantly Catholic social actionists. And it so happened that a very conservative observer of Catholic things, and perhaps one of the leading conservative voices, Russell Kirk was there.

And Baroni commented to Russell Kirk, according to Russell Kirk's observation, that all of these activists were really more like church mice, rather than the bigger picture of Catholic power and action that is needed in America. And I wonder if some of these same themes that come out of your answers to your question aren't persistent items of pluralism within the Catholic Church, that in fact, various corps of leadership are around. And that in fact, perhaps every diocese has the possibility of cultivating some new hubs of meaning for action in the future. And that we shouldn't be discouraged by some of the large-scale blockages that I think both Marcy and Father Byron pointed to, in terms of hoping for cycles, or trying to redress larger institutional questions. And I just add that to the mix, for some other observations about this.

MR. HARRIS: Good comment. And now, Celinda, we get to the second question.

MS. LAKE: Well, the answer is yes, with a major exclamation point. And I'm also struck very much by, Father Byron, your note about the shift in values. Because I think that the public dialogue and the political dialogue has seen a similar shift. We did 25 years of trying to move from a dialogue of equality to freedom, and I had never thought of those correlates, but I think with the same consequences. And yet, even freedom is in that list, by the way, and freedom is very, very important to the public, but the public also believes there is no real freedom without equality of opportunity.

And so, the public put equality of opportunity 20 points ahead of individual freedom, as important as both values are.

So I do think we need to seize back deep moral certitude. But I think that rather than having that moral certitude dictated by a few people, or a few leaders, what we need to capture is the moral certitude of the neighborhoods, and bring that voice to the public discourse.

MR. HARRIS: Yes, Dr. Curtis?

MR. CURTIS: This is mainly to Celinda. We know that Geno Baroni didn't adequately take into account the automobile. And I don't know what he'd say about the exurbs today, but they are out there and they often have mega-churches with evangelical television ministers.

What do we do about that? Is there any hope out there? What does your polling data tell us?

MS. LAKE: Well, there's great hope out there, but you know right now, we are completely ceding that terrain, I think. And the reason that the mega-churches are so powerful out there is because -- I was struck by your analogy to Newark. I think we should put the Monsignor and church at the exurban strategy, if we can get him out of Newark. Because you know, if you go to these mega-churches, they are everything from 0181child care centers, to credit card centers, to bookstores, to Starbucks. And it speaks, I think, to the lack of neighborhood institutions in exurbia, and so we've ceded the terrain.

And the second thing I would say is that they have captured new institutions, they have captured mass media. They have also captured the Internet. The mega-churches are very, very heavily involved in the Internet. They have captured radio. They have captured cable television. They have captured satellite shows. They are trying to capture the movie industry.

And so, I was very struck by your commentary that we need -- I mean, it used to be that 68 percent of the public would watch "I Love Lucy Show." Now, you know, the highest episode of "Desperate Housewives" doesn't have 20 percent of the public.

So we need to really update, as progressives. And as people of faith, we need to radically change how we approach mass media, and learn from people like Leila about modern media applications.

But I think it's a vacuum in exurbia. And right now, the mega-churches have taken a bold step to fill it. And we need to be just as aggressive.

MSGR. BYRON: Yeah, I say this not 0182whimsically, but it goes back to something you raised earlier this morning about the narrative. And as you were asking, I was thinking, "Well, what would the narrative be?"

And I think of something like "High Noon." I think out of "a Man for All Seasons." And I think of a producer like Fred Zinneman who would look for someone who had the, you know, authentic, genuine courage of his or her convictions, and he wanted to put that on film.

And I say this not whimsically. Larry O'Rourke has this great book, "Geno," and we had discussed it a couple times, there was interest expressed in putting that into a movie. And there were a lot of the preliminaries that were done, and a budget attached to it, but the investors weren't there.

But I think if you take a person like Geno Baroni, and take the principles that he had, and I've identified a number of them in that little piece that you have, and if you could put that on to film in an attractive way, it would be good competition with a lot of the junk that you see because people would admire someone with the courage of his convictions, but he had convictions that could be articulated and communicated. And somebody might say, "Why don't we try some of that 0183now?"

But that narrative question intrigues me, and I mean, I'll keep thinking about it, I hope others will keep thinking about it, but maybe we've got something right here under our noses.

MR. CURTIS: Father, they didn't take Harrison Ford for "The Da Vinci Code," so maybe he could play Geno.

(Laughter.)

MSGR. BYRON: But you know, I mentioned "A Man for All Seasons." Robert Bolt did that, I think it was around 1960, and he lived in London and a shuttled back and forth from New York.

And he said, "why don't I take somebody like Thomas Moore as, you know, a character, and organize a play around him?"

And I remember the words from the introduction. He said, "Both individually and a socially, it is with us" -- namely, we who live in London, we who live in New York, you know, we urban dwellers -- "it is with us as it is with our cities, an accelerating flight to the periphery, leaving a center that is empty when the hours of business are over."

Now, we've got a lot of empty centers. You know, moral nomads, value-vacant people, and there's a 0184challenge to try to fill that, and to fill it out of a great tradition of humanism, of social justice, and all of that sort of thing. But we've got a real challenge, and the challenge is not just educational. The challenge I think is literary, you know, creative. I think, you know, it's a lost cause to put the emphasis on censorship; you ought to be putting it on creativity. And that's where we're losing the game.

MR. HARRIS: Pablo?

VOICE: (Pablo Eisenberg) I want to get back to a point that I think both Monsignor Linder and Father Byron said about the increasing conservatism of the Catholic hierarchy. The question is, are there really any effective bridges to that hierarchy that in fact could begin to turn them around? There's been a lot of mention of people going into nonprofits, and the orders having hospitals and -- but that's not, sort of, challenging the hierarchy.

In the old days you had Geno Baronis, and you had other priests like Monsignor Linder and others, that were forceful, and in a sense were a check-and-balance. I don't know if there are such things. Is there -- do you see any hope, other than a miracle, to changing that, and pushing the bishops and hierarchy to become more progressive, to turn around and listen to the 0185laity more?

MSGR. BYRON: Well, if you're asking me, yeah. I see hope, but as Chesterton once said, you know, hope is no virtue at all unless things are really hopeless.

(Laughter.)

So sure. Sure, I see hope. But I would say, looking at the seminary system and looking at the formation, if you will, of persons who would I eventually move into positions of leadership; I would draw an analogy with the military culture. That's a promotion culture. And you know, you look at the scandal of Tailhook in the Navy, and everybody was looking at left and right, and people kind of measure, they want to stay in step, don't want to get bad fitness report and all that. All that is in the Roman Catholic system: of progression, of a promotion culture.

And I think -- let me say it this way: ambition I believe is the poison at the bottom of the well. And you can look at that in the military as well. Now, if you can deal with that as a spiritual problem, and incorporate a spirituality of priesthood that ties itself into the Paschal mystery; through the death and resurrection, then you go through defeat to



victory, 0186you can beat that ambition culture. And if you defeat the ambition culture, you've got the ground prepared for the development of good leadership.

MR. HARRIS: First Bruce Kiernan, and then Monsignor Linder.

VOICE: (Bruce Kiernan) I think partially to answer your question, Pablo, I think financial accountability is one way that the bishops are going to be more responsive. And there's a -- as you mentioned, Father, Archbishop O'Malley now has said that he's going to have absolute clarity and full disclosure.

But there's a very strong -- the appointments of bishops in the last 20 years have generally been very conservative people. And many of the bishops, led by I think Archbishop Chaput in Denver, really want to change the culture of the Catholic Bishops conference. They want to change the culture that Joseph Bernadine put into the bishops conference -- you're gonna disagree with me, no? No?

At any rate, so I think that many of the men who are in the hierarchy today are very conservative. The only way that they are gonna might -- that they might change a bit is by financial accountability. I can tell you in the archdiocese of New York, a number of very, very wealthy Catholics have withheld their money, 0187their contributions -- some up to \$10 million -- for the Inner-city Scholarship Fund, because of disagreements with the hierarchy.

MR. HARRIS: All right, Monsignor Linder.

MSGR. LINDER: Yeah, I would just like to underline something Marcy said, and that's I think gonna come from women. And I give you an example.

We have a social investment fund. 90 percent of the money invested in that come from women's religious congregations. Most of the good relationships we have on the higher education or in health are with women religious.

And the nice part is, I'm working on a project to establish two communities of women from Nigeria, religious women from Nigeria in the United States, and we have about 30 of them now, here. And one of the attractions of that is that all of their work in Nigeria is with the low, low income, the very people the government doesn't go near. And it's around AIDS, orphanages, orphans caused by AIDS, hospital clinics, particularly maternity and infant care. All that's all they do, with no government support. So I figured, "Hey, we ought to get them here. They're pretty good."

So I raised that. I think it's a universal thing with women. And that's why I think it's gonna have a 0188greater impact.

MR. HARRIS: Okay. First here, and then back to you.

VOICE: (Peter Yjvagi) Thank you. The dialog care brings to mind a mutual friend of Congressman Kaptur (sic) and myself, who often says that, "God, in her black infinite wisdom, needs to hurry up and pay some additional attention to what is going on."

I think as far as the Catholic Church is concerned, because of the abuse issues, which we've sort of walked around here, the focus has become so much on that within the hierarchy, and how to respond to it, and what to admit, and its financial implications, that

it's no longer focused on the people, and on our parishes and our communities. And that, for the Catholic Church, is a particular struggle.

But what I wanted to sort of ask the question about is, it seems to me that these mega-churches that have been emerging, and their sense of moral certitude, to a great extent challenges us to define neighborhood, and to define community in perhaps different ways than just the geographic concept that we've worked on for so long.

And we have to be able to do that, to take some 0189touch of what Geno was all about, and to understand that and to develop that kind of new language, that new rhetoric, that new understanding of what in today's Internet age, what is a neighborhood, and what is a community, and how do you connect to it?

And finally, as an elected official now, one of the things that disconcerts me more than anything else is that sense of certitude that there is right or wrong, there is no gray area, there's no attempt or an opportunity to come together that I'm seeing in the public dialogue on the political side, as I see it to some extent with the mega-churches, and their sense of certitude.

So how do we began to define that dialogue in a different way, and how do we develop that kind of language?

MR. HARRIS: All right. Representative Kaptur?

MS. KAPTUR: Yes. I just had to put in a plug if I'm allowed to for a group called Network, which Geno helped found. I will place on the public record, I may be totally atypical as a member of Congress because official Catholic hierarchy don't come to see me, because they figure, "She's Catholic, she knows, you know, what we believe in and so forth." But the 0190group that visits me most regularly in my office on Capitol Hill is Network.

And they're a group of both Catholic, lay, and religious women, and maybe others. I don't know who their whole membership is. I receive letters.

Last week they came to see me on the issues of trade and world peace. They wanted to bring me experiences of contacts they have within the nation of Iraq, and not hurt the people who are living in Iraq. So we get real stories told from inside Iraq.

They brought young interns to our office and we engage in a dialogue of how do we get some of the lay, young women that they are bringing in around the country deployed within the Congress, so it isn't so hard as it was for me to learn, you know, what is Congress? You know, my father was never in Congress, my mother was never in Congress. You know, you have to learn how to do these things. And so it isn't such a long stretch for the next group coming up.

Network connects with the reality that I deal with everyday. The general Catholic hierarchy and organizations here in Washington maybe come -- maybe once a year, I don't know, once every five years, they have a breakfast or something. And it's not really specific, it's rather formal.0191

And so I just share that because one of the thoughts I've had relating to Network, and I'd even said to some of their leadership, "How do we groom some of the people in your membership or young people they touch for elective office?" Because one of the things

I've noticed with community development groups around the country and people who are concerned about neighborhoods, for some reason, Senator Harris, they don't from among their members elect people to office.

They don't see that what they've learned in housing and health care, in social development, in education and day care, or whatever; that it's relevant to public life. I went out to a west coast group a few years ago. Women in committee development, most people running community development organizations around the country are women. Why can't we catapult them, so they can sit next to me in the Congress? Why aren't they - what is the problem?

And so, there is also sort of a lack of political -- I don't know what it is -- political awareness, that you can take what you've learned, you can change the nation. You can feed people, you can house people, you can make life better. You can build roads if you want to, my gosh. 0192

But you can improve communities, new water systems -- you can do everything you're talking about, if you can get elected and help people help energize those folks that are out there across America.

For whatever reason, this -- what Geno did. And Geno literally, I mean he went in community -- he found me, through friends, right? He plucked me up and he developed me. He did that to Senator Mikulski. He did that to lots of people. Jim Rosapep (phonetic) I think, who was up in Maryland, I mean lots of people.

So where is that happening now? I didn't want to go. I said, "Politics? I don't want to get involved in that. You know, I'll help other people, but it's a dirty business" -- and some of it is. And so you have to have a thick skin.

And it's changed a lot since I was first elected. You need such big money now, and that's a whole 'nother story, but we need to get people from real places elected. Why can't we? Why can't they run for council, for legislatures? Why can't they run for Congress? I hope somebody's listening to this program, call my office.

(Laughter.)

Call this organization. But we need to groom them. Why aren't they there? They have absolutely the 0193right values, and they have the right experience to serve in public life, but we can't get them.

MR. HARRIS: That's a really good point I think. I teach at the University of New Mexico, have for a long time. And what I find among students is an extremely high level of service activity. You know, they're tutoring people or they're working in a food bank or something. But it's very difficult to get them to make the next step; why is it that there's so many hungry people? Or why is it that people can't read, and so forth. And I think that that's extremely important.

There is a young Indian woman named Kalen Free (phonetic) down in Oklahoma who's just organized in Indian pack, they had their first national meeting the other day. And the idea is to try to get American Indians to run for office. And I do think you're really onto something here, that that would be something really worth trying to do.

Yes, Emmett?

VOICE: (Emmett Folger) Well, I'm from Boston, and some think that we're ground zero in the faith-based movement in certainly some of the black churches. And I've seen some very good things, and there are some communities that can only be served by them.

But I am concerned that community-based agencies, and especially smaller faith-based services coming out of smaller churches are being pitted against each other. It's not like the money grew. The money stayed the same.

And if you divert significant money from the community-based agencies to the faith-based groups, you are in fact disassembling some of the only organizations that are in fact multicultural, and you're giving money to organizations that almost never are. Because a sad commentary about all of our churches -- not only the Catholic Church, mine also -- we tend not to be mixed, you know, tend not to be mixed. We have separate services, you know, for the Vietnamese and for the Spanish. I'll speak about my own. But certainly in the black churches, too.

I also disagree, I don't think that black churches are progressive. You know, I think some are, some aren't, but I think that's a common assumption. We often think there are two sermons, you know, one when outsiders are there, and one when there are no outsiders -- in certain churches.

So, there are benefits definitely, you know, I would say that. But let's be careful that we don't disassemble some of the only moderating structures that we've had in America, in this grand experiment of us getting along with each other. I don't want to import the stuff from Europe, I don't want to import the stuff from Africa, where people are so single-focused about their culture and don't get a chance to work together.

So, this could be being used as a tool, and not in the way that we want it to be used.

MR. HARRIS: All right. Other comments or questions?

MS. KAPTUR: Excuse me, Senator. I just have one -- another real-life experience as a member of Congress. In meeting in my own state with the heads of Catholic hospitals who are talking to us about reimbursement and services to the underserved in America, I said, "You know, have you ever called the President of the United States and asked for a meeting, when you come with your national association?"

Answer: "President of the United States? Meeting with the president at the White House?"

I said, "Everybody else does. You have major stakes: Lutheran hospitals, Presbyterian hospitals, the Catholic hospitals, Jewish hospitals -- I mean, all over the United States. Let's talk about Medicaid in religious terms."

They don't want to do it, they were afraid to do it. Now, I'm trying to push them up the chain, "You know, don't just come to see us in Congress, or bump into you at a fiftieth anniversary celebration or a hundred and fiftieth in your community, but let's go to the seat of power that is going to affect the redistribution of dollars to your hospitals."

I don't think they've ever done it. I might be -- but I can tell you, the people who are members in our state never have. That's a pretty major omission. Have they gone to see the Speaker of the House? Have they gone to see the leader of the Senate? Unlikely, in coalition.

I think we have to use our power and our knowledge. And again, if you're working with people, whether it's daycare, or hospitals, or education, or whatever, and you come at it from a moral values base, maybe you don't see that that political structure relates to you. But when I say the word, "Medicaid," they go, "Yes, yes, we don't want that cut." Or "This is our problem."

I said, "Who knows it? Does the president really know this?" Does the president -- you almost have a moral obligation to share what you know. I can tell you this: In my district, and my district is a very caring district, I know that people have died in nursing homes because there aren't enough nurses there. And that you can go up into some wings on a Sunday and seven nurses are supposed to be on duty and only six are, because they're so burned out from working long days. And this is happening all across America. That's a moral issue, that's a life issue.

So where are those voices at the national level? I don't think that we're hearing them in a focused, effective way.

That's a totally personal opinion, and I hope that some of those in the leadership of those organizations have heard this. Thank you.