

A Statement of Conscience: Not in Our Name

Not in Our Name (www.nion.org)

Let it not be said that people in the United States did nothing when their government declared a war without limit and instituted stark new measures of repression.

The signers of this statement call on the people of the US to resist the policies and overall political direction that have emerged since September 11, 2001, and which pose grave dangers to the people of the world.

We believe that peoples and nations have the right to determine their own destiny, free from military coercion by great powers. We believe that all persons detained or prosecuted by the United States government should have the same rights of due process. We believe that questioning, criticism, and dissent must be valued and protected. We understand that such rights and values are always contested and must be fought for.

We believe that people of conscience must take responsibility for what their own governments do -- we must first of all oppose the injustice that is done in our own name. Thus we call on all Americans to RESIST the war and repression that has been loosed on the world by the Bush administration. It is unjust, immoral, and illegitimate. We choose to make common cause with the people of the world.

We too watched with shock the horrific events of September 11, 2001. We too mourned the thousands of innocent dead and shook our heads at the terrible scenes of carnage -- even as we recalled similar scenes in Baghdad, Panama City, and, a generation ago, Vietnam. We too joined the anguished questioning of millions of Americans who asked why such a thing could happen.

But the mourning had barely begun, when the highest leaders of the land unleashed a spirit of revenge. They put out a simplistic script of "good vs. evil" that was taken up by a pliant and intimidated media. They told us that asking why these terrible events had happened verged on treason. There was to be no debate. There were by definition no valid political or moral questions. The only possible answer was to be war abroad and repression at home.

I

n our name, the Bush administration, with near unanimity from Congress, not only attacked Afghanistan but arrogated to itself and its allies the right to rain down military force anywhere and anytime. The brutal repercussions have been felt from the Philippines to Palestine, where Israeli tanks and bulldozers have left a terrible trail of death and destruction. The government now openly

prepares to wage all-out war on Iraq -- a country which has no connection to the horror of September 11. What kind of world will this become if the US government has a blank check to drop commandos, assassins, and bombs wherever it wants?

In our name, within the US, the government has created two classes of people: those to whom the basic rights of the US legal system are at least promised, and those who now seem to have no rights at all. The government rounded up over 1,000 immigrants and detained them in secret and indefinitely. Hundreds have been deported and hundreds of others still languish today in prison. This smacks of the infamous concentration camps for Japanese-Americans in World War 2. For the first time in decades, immigration procedures single out certain nationalities for unequal treatment.

In our name, the government has brought down a pall of repression over society. The President's spokesperson warns people to "watch what they say." Dissident artists, intellectuals, and professors find their views distorted, attacked, and suppressed. The so-called Patriot Act -- along with a host of similar measures on the state level -- gives police sweeping new powers of search and seizure, supervised if at all by secret proceedings before secret courts.

In our name, the executive has steadily usurped the roles and functions of the other branches of government. Military tribunals with lax rules of evidence and no right to appeal to the regular courts are put in place by executive order. Groups are declared "terrorist" at the stroke of a presidential pen.

We must take the highest officers of the land seriously when they talk of a war that will last a generation and when they speak of a new domestic order. We are confronting a new openly imperial policy towards the world and a domestic policy that manufactures and manipulates fear to curtail rights.

There is a deadly trajectory to the events of the past months that must be seen for what it is and resisted. Too many times in history people have waited until it was too late to resist.

President Bush has declared: "you're either with us or against us." Here is our answer: We refuse to allow you to speak for all the American people. We will not give up our right to question. We will not hand over our consciences in return for a hollow promise of safety. We say NOT IN OUR NAME. We refuse to be party to these wars and we repudiate any inference that they are being waged in our name or for our welfare. We extend a hand to those around the world suffering from these policies; we will show our solidarity in word and deed.

We who sign this statement call on all Americans to join together to rise to this challenge. We applaud and support the questioning and protest now going on, even as we recognize the need for much, much more to actually stop this juggernaut. We draw inspiration from the Israeli reservists who, at great personal risk, declare “there IS a limit” and refuse to serve in the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

We also draw on the many examples of resistance and conscience from the past of the United States: from those who fought slavery with rebellions and the underground railroad, to those who defied the Vietnam war by refusing orders, resisting the draft, and standing in solidarity with resisters.

Let us not allow the watching world today to despair of our silence and our failure to act. Instead, let the world hear our pledge: we will resist the machinery of war and repression and rally others to do everything possible to stop it.

The over 55,000 signers include...

James Abourezk, former US Senator
Rudolfo Acuna, author of Occupied America
Dr. Patch Adams
Michael Albert
Jace Alexander
Robert Altman
Aris Anagnos
Laurie Anderson
Ida Applebroog
John Ashbery
Edward Asner
Jon Robin Baitz
Thomas Balanoff, president, Local 1, SEIU
Russell Banks
John Perry Barlow, co-founder, Electronic Frontier Foundation
Rev. Willie T. Barrow, Operation Push
Sue Bauman, Mayor of Madison, WI
Rosalyn Baxandall
Joel Beinen, Professor of Middle East History, Stanford
Medea Benjamin
Phyllis Bennis, Institute for Policy Studies, New Internationalism Project
Jessica Blank & Erik Jensen, playwrights, The Exonerated
William Blum, author of Rogue State
Wayne C. Booth, professor emeritus, Chicago
Fr. Bob Bossie, SCJ, and the staff of 8th Day Center for Justice

Lawrence Brent Brilliant, M.D.
Oscar Brown, Jr.
Margaret Burroughs, founder, DuSable Museum
Judith Bulter
Leslie Cagan, chair, Interim Pacifica Foundation Board
Kisha Imani Cameron
Rosemary Carroll
Sen. Gilberto Cedillo, California state legislature
Kathlenn & Henry Chalfant
Celia Chang, chairperson, Wen Ho Lee Defense Fund Steering Committee
Linda Chapman, New York Theater Workshop
Rep. Maralyn Chase, Washington state legislature
Bell & Paul Chevigny
Mel Chin
Noam Chomsky
Ann Christopherson, president, American Booksellers Assn.
Jill Ciment
Ramsey Clark
Jill Clayburgh
Marilyn Clement, Exec. Sec. for Economic Justice, United Methodist Women's
Division
Ben Cohen, cofounder, Ben and Jerry's
David Cole, professor of law, Georgetown University
Steve Coleman
Robbie Conal
Stephanie Coontz, historian, Evergreen State College
Paula Cooper
Carlos Cortez, "Koyokuikatal"
Kia Corthron, playwright, Breath, Boom
Petah Coyne
Robert Creeley
Kimberly Crenshaw, professor of law, Columbia and UCLA
Culture Clash
John Cusack
Damen & Naomi, Musicians for Peace
Kevin Danaher, Global Exchange
Barbara Dane
Rev. Herbert Daughtry
Angela Davis
Ossie Davis
Zack de la Rocha
Sheila DeBretteville, director of studies in graphic design, Yale
Mos Def
Tony Del Plato, chef/co-owner, Moosewood Restaurant
Richard Delgado, U. of Colorado Boulder School of Law
Rev. Gregory R. Dell, Broadway United Methodist Church of Chicago

Rosalyn Deutsche
Ani Di Franco
Diane DiPrima
Mark Di Suvero
Carl Dix, Revolutionary Communist Party
Bernadine Dohrn, director, Children & Family Justice Center
Julie Dorf, International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission
Carol Downer, board of directors, Chico Feminist Women's Health Center
Roma Downey
Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, professor, California State University, Hayward
Sandy Duncan
Bill Dyson, Connecticut state legislature
Michael Eric Dyson
Steve Earle
Barbara Ehrenreich
Deborah Eisenberg
Nora Eisenberg, author of The War at Home
Hector Elizondo
Daniel Ellsberg
Brian Eno
Eve Ensler
Reva Enteen, National Lawyers Guild, San Francisco
Martín Espada
Michelle Esrick
Leo Estrada, UCLA professor, Urban Planning
Robert Falls
Nina Felshin, author of But Is It Art? The Spirit of Art as Activism
James R. Fennerty, pres., National Lawyers Guild, Chicago
Frances D. Fergusson
Lawrence Ferlinghetti, City Lights Bookstore
Fifty-three Maryknoll priests and brothers
Norman G. Finkelstein, author of The Holocaust Industry
Laura Flanders
Jane Fonda
Henry Foner, former pres., Fur & Leather Workers Union
Richard Foreman
Thomas C. Fox, publisher, National Catholic Reporter
Elizabeth Frank
Mary Frank
H. Bruce Franklin, professor of American Studies, Rutgers in Newark
Michael Franti
Glen E. Friedman
Bill Frisell
Frank Galati
Peter Gerety
Terry Gilliam

Milton Glaser
Charles Glass
Jeremy Matthew Glick, co-editor of *Another World Is Possible*
Corey Glover
Danny Glover
Danny Goldberg
Leon Golub
Juan Gómez Quiñones, historian, UCLA
Vivian Gornick
Jorie Graham
Robert Greenwald
André Gregory
John Guare
José Guerrero, director Taller Mestizarte
Guerrilla Girls
Allan Gurganus
Richard Haas
Jessica Hagedorn
Sondra Hale, professor, anthropology and women's studies, UCLA
Ann Hamilton
Suheir Hammad
Nathalie Handal
Daniel Handler (aka Lemony Snicket)
Michael Hardt, author of *Empire*
Christine B. Harrington, professor of politics, NYU
Lyle Ashton Harris
David Harvey, professor of anthropology, CUNY
Stanley Hauerwas
Tom Hayden
Hazel Hernder, author of *Beyond Globalization*
Edward S. Herman, Wharton School, U. of Pennsylvania
Susannah Heschel, professor, Dartmouth
David Himmelstein, Harvard School of Medicine
Fred Hirsch, vice pres., Plumbers and Fitters Local 393
bell hooks
Walter Hopps
Doug Ireland, contributing editor, *In These Times*
Rakaa Iriscience, *Dilated Peoples*
Alfredo Jaar
Abdeen Jabara, attorney, past pres., American Arab Anti-Discrimination
Committee
Rev. Jesse Jackson
Ken Jacobs
Mumia Abu-Jamal
Fredric Jameson, chair, literature program, Duke
Jim Jarmusch

Chalmers Johnson, author of *Blowback*
Virgil C. Johnson, chair, theater department, Northwestern
B.J. Jones, artistic dir., Northlight Theatre
Bill T. Jones
J.P. Jones
Sarah Jones
Melanie Joseph, artistic dir., Foundry Theater
Louise J. Kaplan
Casey Kasem
Evelyn Fox Keller, history of science, MIT
Robin D.G. Kelly, history and Africana studies, NYU
As`ad AbuKhalil, Professor, Cal State Univ, Stanislaus
Martin Luther King III, pres., Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Barbara Kingsolver
Arthur Kinoy, board co-chair, Center for Constitutional Rights
Bob Kinsey, Peace & Justice Taskforce, Rocky Mountain Conf., UCC
Sally Kirkland
C. Clark Kissinger, Refuse & Resist!
Sen. Adam Klein, Washington state legislature
Yuri Kochiyama
Michael Konopacki
Rev. Earl Kooperkamp, pastor, St. Mary's Episcopal Church
Annisette & Thomas Koppel, Savage Rose
Barbara Kopple
David Korten, author of *When Corporations Rule the World*
Ron Kovic
Max, Joyce, and Nikolas Kozloff
Barbara Kruger
Tony Kushner
Rev. Peter Laarman, senior minister, Judson Memorial Church
Mike Ladd
James Lafferty, exec. dir., National Lawyers Guild/L.A.
Ray Laforest, Haiti Support Network
Beth K. Lamont
Lisa & Pilar Law
Jesse Lemisch, prof. of history emeritus, John Jay College of Justice, CUNY
Harriet Lerner
Rabbi Michael Lerner, editor, *TIKKUN* magazine
Phil Lesh, Grateful Dead
Michael Letwin, co-convenor, NYC Labor Against the War
Richard Lewontin, professor emeritus of biology, Harvard
Lucy R. Lippard
James Longley
José Lopez, dir. Puerto Rican Cultural Center, Chicago
Raymond Lotta, author of *America in Decline*
Barbara Lubin, Middle East Childrens Alliance

Janet L. Abu-Lughod, professor of political and social science, New School

Staughton Lynd

Reynaldo Macia, dir., Cesar Chavez Center, UCLA

Jeff Mackler, Socialist Action

Jack Macrae

Arturo Madrid, professor of humanities, Trinity

Dave Marsh

Rabbi Robert Marx

Maryknoll Sisters, Western USA

Malachy McCourt

Rep. Jim McDermott

Aaron McGruder

Richard J. McIver, Seattle city council

Cynthia McKinney, former US representative

David McReynolds

Chuck Mee

Susan Meiselas

Richard Mellor, vice pres., AFSCME Local 444

W.S. Merwin

Arnold Mesches

Jay A. Miller

Paul D. Miller, DJ Spooky aka The Subliminal Kid

Susan Minot

Mary Miss

Edgar Mitchell, astronaut

Anuradha Mittal, co-dir., Institute for Food and Development Policy/Food First

Malaquias Montoya

Tom Morello

Robin Morgan

Robert Morris

Viggo Mortensen

Min. Benjamín Muhammed, Hip-Hop Summit Action Network

Graham Nash

Jill Nelson, prof. City College of NY

Robert Nichols

Linda Nochlin, professor of modern art, NYU Institute of Fine Arts

Kate Noonan

Odetta

Claes Oldenburg

Pauline Oliveros

Yoko Ono

Rev. E. Randall Osburn, exec. v.p., Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Ozomatli

Grace Paley

Michael Parenti

Ron OJ Parsons
Rosalind Pecheskey, professor of political science, Hunter College
Jeremy Pikser, screenwriter, Bulworth
Justice R. Eugene Pincham, ret., Illinois Appellate Court
Frances Fox Piven
Sylvia Plachy
Assemblyman Mark Pocan, Wisconsin state legislature
Katha Pollitt
James Stewart Polshek
Harold Prince
Jerry Quickley
John T. Racanelli, Presiding Justice (Ret), California Court of Appeal
Peter Rachleff, professor of history, Macalester College
Bonnie Raitt
Margaret Randall
Marcus Raskin
Michael Ratner, pres., Center for Constitutional Rights
Amy Ray, *Indigo Girls*
Rev. George Regas, Interfaith Communities United for Justice and Peace
Reno
Graeme Revell
Adrienne Rich
Judy F. Richardson, associate producer, *Eyes on the Prize*
David Riker, filmmaker, *La Ciudad*
Boots Riley, *The Coup*
Faith Ringgold
Sen. Fred Risser, Wisconsin state legislature
Kate Robin
Avital Ronell
Jonathan Rosenbaum, author of *Movie Wars*
Edgar Rosenblum
Naomi & Walter Rosenblum
James Rosenquist
Martha Rosler
Judith Rossner
Matthew Rothschild, editor of *The Progressive*
Ed Sadlowski
Bernard & Jane Nicholl Sahlins
Edward Said
Angelica Salas, director, Campaign for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles
David Salle
Angela Sanbrano, exec. dir., Central American Resource Center
Luc Sante
Rep. Sharon Tomiko Santos, Washington state legislature
Andy Sapora, Flying Karamozov Brothers

Susan Sarandon
Saskia Sassen, professor of sociology, Chicago
John Sayles
James Schamus, producer-writer, Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon
Jonathan Schell, fellow of the Nation Institute
Paul Schell, former mayor of Seattle
Carolee Schneemann
Juliet Schor, Professor of Sociology, Boston College
Annabella Sciorra
Pete and Toshi Seeger
Mark Selden
Peter Selz
Peter A. Serkin
Frank Serpico
Richard Serra
Betty Shamieh
Alexander Sharp, exec. dir., Protestants for the Common Good
Rev. Al Sharpton
Wallace Shawn
Charlotte Sheedy
Martin Sheen
Ron Shelton
Alex Shoumatoff
Robert J. Siegel, pres., Seattle National Lawyers Guild
Russell Simmons
Zachary Sklar
Chuck Smith, artistic associate, Goodman Theatre
Kiki Smith
Joan Snyder
Paul Soglin, former mayor of Madison, WI
Miles Solay, NION Project
Norman Solomon
Scott Spenser
Nancy Spero
Art Spiegelman
S. Peg Spindler, dir., Sojourner Truth House, Gary, IN
Starhawk
Jean Stefancic, U. of Colorado Boulder School of Law
Bob Stein
Jack Steinberger, Nobel Laureate
Gloria Steinem
Pat Steir
Oliver Stone
Mark Strand
William & Rose Styron
Steve Swallow

Tony Taccone
Ron Takaki, professor of ethnic studies, Berkeley
Jonathan Tasini, pres., National Writers Union, NYC
Michael Taussig, professor of anthropology, Columbia
Studs Terkel
Andy Thayer, Chicago Anti-Bashing Network
Marisa Tomei
Tuck & Patti
Marcia Tucker, founding dir. emerita, New Museum of Contemporary Art, NY
Lief Utne
Nina Utne
Kinan Valdez, El Teatro Campesino
Coosje van Bruggen
Marcia E. Vetrocq, senior editor, Art in America
Gore Vidal
Anton Vodvarka, Lt., FDNY (ret.)
Kurt Vonnegut
Alice Walker
Rebecca Walker
Naomi Wallace
Immanuel Wallerstein, professor of sociologist, Yale
Rob Warden, Center on Wrongful Convictions, Northwestern
Wavy Gravy
Rev. George Webber, pres. emeritus, NY Theological Seminary
Leonard Weinglass
Cora Weiss, pres., Hague Appeal for Peace
Cornel West
Celia Weston
Haskell Wexler
John Edgar Wideman
C.K. Williams
Saul Williams
Victoria Williams
Standish E. Willis, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers
S. Brian Willson
Martha Wilson, Franklin Furnace
Bob Wing, WarTimes
Krzysztof Wodiczko
Alice Woldt, Church Council of Greater Seattle
Steffie Woolhandler, Harvard School of Medicine
Jeffrey Wright
Dennis Zacek, artistic director, Victory Gardens Theater
Zephyr
Mary Zimmerman
Howard Zinn

*Organizations for identification only (partial list as used in New York Times,
1/27/03)*

*For more complete listing of signers, or to add your name to the statement, see:
www.nion.us*

The Statement of Conscience website: www.nion.us