

IMMIGRANTS: When did sanctuary become dirty word in America?

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not completed the process.

Ingraham was commanding a single American sloop in the port of Smyrna, Turkey. While visiting Smyrna on business, Koszto had been kidnapped by Austrian agents and taken prisoner aboard an Austrian warship in the harbor.

One of Koszto's friends saw the American flag flying from Ingraham's ship and asked for his help. Ingraham went aboard the Austrian warship and demanded to see the prisoner. When Koszto was brought before him,

Ingraham asked him a single question. "Are you seeking the protection of the American flag?" When Koszto replied yes, Ingraham gave the Austrian captain until 4 p.m. to release his fellow countryman.

Just before 4 p.m., notwithstanding that the Austrian ship was much larger than Ingraham's and that there were three other Austrian warships in the harbor, Ingraham ordered his ship's cannons rolled out and prepared to fire a broadside into the Austrian ship.

Just then, a small boat was

lowered from the Austrian warship and Koszto rowed with all his might to his country's ship. Ever since this incident, the U.S. Navy has honored Ingraham's heroism with a ship named for him.

What has always made this country unique is its ability to take people from every corner of the globe, speaking every language, practicing every religion, and of every creed, color and heritage and turn them into Americans. But it is not that we homogenize people. We do not require that you give

up your heritage to become an American. We relish the fact that we are a hyphenated family, but all having the same last name — American. And we are able to do this because America, like no other country on the planet, was founded on and exists on the shared ideal of freedom.

There are those who will argue that this view is quaint and not sufficiently sophisticated for the complex world in which we live. Some will say that we fight wars today not to free the world but for oil reserves and that we have lost our way and eroded our

own civil liberties.

But the people of the world are a strong rebuttal to these critiques as each day they vote with their feet by the millions, desperately trying to reach our shores. Notwithstanding what our detractors may say about our shortcomings, the last time I checked there were no waiting lines to get into Iran or North Korea.

Today, as we wrestle with how our immigration laws should be reformed, and they most certainly must be reformed, it is essential that America does not cease to be

the beacon of hope and freedom for the Meisners and the Kosztos of the world.

We must never stop being the country that harkens to the rest of the world to "give us your poor and huddled masses longing to be free." We have, from our beginning, been a sanctuary to the rest of the world. It is what makes America great. It is what makes America, in the words of Ronald Reagan, "the last best hope of man on Earth."

King is a frequent contributor to Outlook.

POLICE: Stories offer insights into chief

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way to maintain your dignity and handle yourself in the face of adversity.

"I looked at him and I said, 'Big Daddy, I can wait. Let's not eat here.'"

The shootout

"Police officers make mistakes. It's like a baseball player facing a fastball: You have to make a decision, and sometimes you swing at a ball. But our mistakes have much more serious consequences.

"I remember a date, back in 1980, when I had to make that decision. It was no fun. I almost lost my life. And I had to take somebody else's life. I was in a shootout.

"The incident involved two individuals. I believe they had committed a robbery. And once they committed the robbery, they were getting away. There was a police officer across the street. One took a shot at that police officer. He gave chase. They hit another car, near Tierwester or Scott Street. One suspect decided he didn't want any part of it, so he gave the other, the driver, his gun. So the suspect had two guns.

"He fled on foot down La Salette Street and into an apartment complex. I was probably the fourth or fifth officer on the scene. When I drove up, officers were actively engaged in a shootout. I ran to the back of the apartment complex, and the shooting ceased. I heard one officer say, 'Hey, he's in the back!'

"I didn't know whether he had reached the back of the complex — it's a small complex — before I did. There's a stairway right in the middle of the complex. As I approached the stairwell, I looked to see if anyone was hiding there. I didn't see anyone. So I started to proceed to the corner of the building.

"As I got about six or seven feet from the corner of the building, he came out with guns in both hands. I had no sensation of sound. I couldn't hear a shot. I didn't even hear my gun. But I was so focused on those guns that I saw the cylinders turn. I saw puffs of smoke come out of the barrels.

"I hesitated. Because I didn't hear a sound, I thought the guns were fake, and that I was going to get indicted for killing someone with a

fake gun. I hesitated a matter of milliseconds because I was wondering how I would be judged once I pulled that trigger. I hesitated, and the only reason I'm here talking to you today is because I'm lucky. The only reason I fired was because he made an additional move toward me.

"I didn't remember what happened until months afterwards. All I remember was, I never saw the guy's face. I couldn't go look at him. But he haunts me to this day.

It happened on March 27 at 11 a.m. On my sister's birthday. Now I can remember it like it was yesterday. It was my worst day on the Houston Police Department.

"I did what was right morally, legally and as a Christian. But I knew that once that man died, once he passed, someone was going to have to attend his funeral. Someone loved that individual. Someone was going to have to mourn. And they were only going to know what they saw on television or what they read in the newspaper. They would never, ever hear from me what had happened. And that was the only thing that I regret: That I couldn't sit down with his family personally, myself, and say, 'Look. This is what your son did. This is what your husband did. And this is why I had to do what I did.'

"I'm not the only officer that's had to go through this. I never abused anyone's civil rights. But I was an aggressive street cop. I would pursue you to no end. I've had people resist, had people fight. But I'd never use excessive force. And I'm not the only person at HPD that conducts himself that way. The majority of officers do it that way."

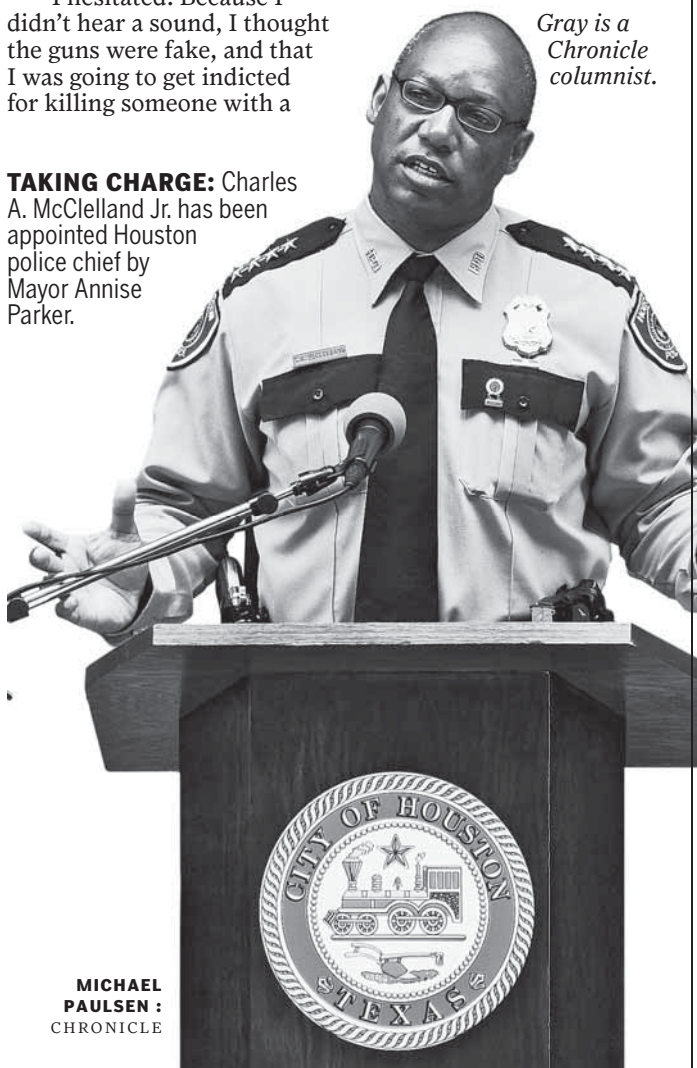
Balance

Those stories say a lot about McClelland. Since he was six, he's valued restraint and hated racism. But he also knows what it's like to chase bad guys, to be full of adrenaline. And he knows that too much restraint can get a cop killed.

Finding the right balance for the entire department won't be easy, and the pitches are coming toward him fast. I'm rooting for him.

Gray is a Chronicle columnist.

TAKING CHARGE: Charles A. McClelland Jr. has been appointed Houston police chief by Mayor Annise Parker.



MICHAEL PAULSEN:
CHRONICLE

MIDDLE EAST TALKS



CHRIS VAN ES

Borders key to peace talks

An agreement could foster progress on reaching solution

By **EDWARD P. DJEREJIAN**

AS U.S. Middle East peace special envoy George Mitchell holds proximity talks between the Israelis and the Palestinians, he will have to immediately address two of the timeliest issues in the conflict: the future borders of Israel and a Palestinian state and Israeli settlements in the West Bank. The settlements — which are illegal under international law — have been described by both Republican and Democratic administrations as an obstacle to peace. The reason is simple: If settlements continue to grow, they can undermine a two-state solution by preventing the establishment of a viable, contiguous state in which Palestinians could live in peace alongside Israel.

An agreement on territory and borders, including settlements, could enable ne-

gotiators to facilitate forward movement on other, even more controversial issues. To be sure, territory and borders cannot be treated in isolation from other final status issues, including Jerusalem, Palestinian refugees and security guarantees, as well as the normalization of relations and economic development.

On the territorial issue, the gaps between the two sides can be bridged. From 2008 to 2010, I chaired an unofficial Israeli-Palestinian workshop to explore what the final borders between Israel and a prospective Palestinian state might look like. The members of the workshop, convened by Rice University's James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, were former high-level civilian and military officials, experts, academics and private sector individuals. The findings of the report, "Getting to the Territorial Endgame of an Israeli-Palestinian Peace Settlement," provide policymak-

ers in Washington, Jerusalem and Ramallah with the results of a bottom-up approach. While the two teams did not reach a consensus, they reduced the gap between their initial positions and established certain common criteria and guidelines for assessing the territorial issues such as Israeli settlements.

Specifically, the report determined that a United States territorial bridging proposal — based on the line of June 4, 1967, with agreed-upon swaps and modifications — could narrow differences to the point where an agreement could be reached. A U.S. proposal for a territorial compromise, of between 3.4 percent to 4.4 percent in the West Bank with appropriate territorial swaps to assure contiguity of a Palestinian state and address Israeli concerns, is both realistic and feasible. The key elements of such a proposal are outlined in the report, as well as the need to prepare the necessary planning tools to achieve a successful outcome.

With a divided Palestinian polity and a center-right coalition governing Israel,

some question whether peace is possible. In the long term, the vital interests of both the Israeli and Palestinian people require a peaceful settlement based on a two-state solution that would secure an independent Palestinian state and a democratic and Jewish Israel. As Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said in an important speech at the S. Daniel Abraham Center for Middle East Peace, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is "the first, second or third item on nearly every agenda of every country I visit." The alternatives to peace — maintaining the status quo or renewed outbreaks of violence — will only destabilize the region and work against United States interests and those of our friends in the region and beyond.

Djerejian, a former ambassador to Syria and to Israel and the founding director of the Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice University, is the author of Danger and Opportunity: An American Ambassador's Journey Through the Middle East.

BURQA: Ban raises questions about motive

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France has wrestled with Muslim religious symbols. In 2004, in an act of republican purity, the French government banned all "conspicuous signs" of religious affiliation from public schools. Though the ruling applied to Christian crosses, Jewish skullcaps and Sikh head turbans, the real target was the foulard, or headscarf. For many French citizens, no other religion stirred the same mixture of fear and unease.

From the start of the affair, the word voile, or veil, was used interchangeably with foulard. The semantic confusion was mostly unwitting, but nonetheless telling. A scarf and veil have as much in common as do, say, "Mexican" and "illegal alien." One is a neutral description, the other a charged metaphor; one covers our head, the other covers our identity.

This is why, in an interview with Al Jazeera, a member of Sarkozy's political party brushed aside the claim that the law victimizes burqa-clad women. "When I meet a woman whose face I can't see but who can see my face," he declared, "I am the victim."

Such victimization has much in common with the claim made on our side of the

Atlantic that illegal immigrants are deliberately causing car accidents. The odds are slim that our French "victim" has, in fact, met such an assailant. Among about 4 million French Muslims, fewer than 2,000 wear the burqa. Yet I do not doubt his sincerity. When image trumps reality, prejudice blurs perception and demagoguery replaces debate, all of us are victims. A few thousand individuals are transformed into a human tidal wave, a multifaceted religion practiced in many different ways becomes a grim monolith and an encounter between two people on a street or in an elevator turns into a clash of civilizations.

Hence the great confusion over the word "Muslim." The French tend to apply this label to everyone who hails from North Africa — whether or not they are, in fact, Muslim. Moreover, as many observers point out, the French often conflate the words "immigrant," "Muslim" and "Arab" — though we know that not all immigrants are Muslims, not all Muslims are Arabs, and not all North Africans are Arab. Such objective knowledge, however, now counts for little. In a political atmosphere where our very identity as a people seems under assault, "veil" and "Arab" become four-letter words for our fears



CLAUDE PARIS: ASSOCIATED PRESS

WHAT TO WEAR: Two women, one wearing a burqa and the niqab, a veil worn by conservative Muslims that exposes only a woman's eyes, walk side by side in downtown Marseilles, France.

and anxieties.

The longer unemployment persists and the economy falters in the West, the deeper these fears will grow. Underneath the differences of culture, language and religion, the question "How can one be Persian or French?" boils down to "What makes us all human beings?" Montesquieu is often accused of orientalism, the artistic or cultural act of turning the lands and people of the Middle and Far East into blank screens on which

the Western world projects its own fears and fantasies. Whether Montesquieu is guilty of this charge is beside the point. All we need do is fast-forward to current events in France — or Arizona — to remind us that no nation and no age have a monopoly on turning others into The Other.

Zaretsky is professor of French history in the University of Houston Honors College and author most recently of "Albert Camus: Elements of a Life."