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NAIROBI REPORT
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THE WITNESS

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The American Journey—Part II

by Edward Joseph Holland

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters

The article on hunger in your October issue was of particular interest to me since I am a professional. Because of my experience in the processing of milk and other foods I was, in 1941, called to Washington charged with the responsibility of directing a campaign to increase the annual U.S. production of cheese, powdered and evaporated milk by over a billion pounds for our Armed Services and our allies, including their civilian populations.

I strongly disagree with many of the statements and implications regarding the attitudes of major U.S. companies in the grain and food businesses. Regarding the report of pushing "the infant milk and baby food formula to replace the breast feeding of infants," in my experience it was not to replace, but rather to supplement the scant milk available from half-starved mothers, and UNICEF was certainly the main source of supply and encouragement.

Mr. Gillett has written an interesting plea which I hope will produce the results he hopes for.

Howard P. Faust *Beaulieu-Sur-Mer, France*

On behalf of the Order of St. Helena I wish to thank you for our complimentary subscription to THE WITNESS. I am sure that there will be articles in it that will touch on the concerns of some of our sisters.

Sister Winifred, OSH *Valis Gate, NY*

I like very much the November issue of THE WITNESS finding it less strident and, therefore, more convincing of a point of view than sometimes has been the case. I am an expert at stridency as you know, and urge that, in my experience it's usually a mark of uncertainty. I guess I agree with what Massey Sheperd, Jr., said in his letter.

James Littrell *Buffalo, NY*

END TIME

Marigolds like candelabra quiver nonchalant as dead rain
Falls upward from fields the sheep have crunched
And I, incurious and middle-aged, recall
How making love was once the way
Time ending opened fully
In the irregular
Eschaton
Regularity later
Topsy-turvied exactly as
Her dime store paperweight, when
Shaken up, became snow sheep quivered in
And in a crunching of time the pewter candelabra
Became no grandmother, a nonchalance of marigolds dying.

Anthony Towne

Within this issue we present you, our reader, with Part II of Edward Joseph Holland's perceptive monograph on the American Journey entitled "Look at Yourself, America!" When the series of four is completed you may write THE WITNESS for extra copies for use with group discussions.

THE WITNESS Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; E. Lawrence Carter, Robert Eckersley, Antoinette Swanger, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White, Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates: $9.00 per year; $1.00 per copy. *The Witness* is published monthly by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Board of Directors: Bishops Morris Arnold, Robert DeWitt, Lloyd Gressle, John Hines, John Krumm, Brooke Mosley and Dr. Joseph Fletcher.

Editorial

Politics and the Church

In this presidential election year, that quadrennial convulsion will dominate the news. And rightly so. For the moment, let us set aside such questions as the essential ideological similarity of the two major parties and the relative unimportance of personalities when compared with the power of entrenched institutions. The fact remains that a President—and many other officials—will be named by the electorate this year. Foreign capitals will be busy assessing the front runners, and making alternate strategies so they can position themselves properly for any outcome. Advertising and public relations campaigns will be devised and funded, "deals" will be made to secure endorsements. Coalitions and alliances will be sought. Such are the marks of political process in a democracy.

Similarly the Episcopal Church is democratic. It should not be surprising, therefore, that many of the same political processes are at work in the life of the Church. The election of the present Presiding Bishop was the result of a carefully-planned political process. No less political are the activities of the Society for the Preservation of the Book of Common Prayer and the efforts of those opposed to and favoring the ordination of women. Only the naive will be surprised or shocked at this. But still there are cries that "the Church should be different," and that "the Church should be above politics".

Behind these cries is the correct assumption that the Church has a sovereign purpose and that politics—"the art of the possible"—is subservient to that purpose. The purpose of the Church was not arrived at democratically. It was and is a given. But politics is involved in determining how the Church will approximate that purpose in any particular place and time.

Pope John XXIII was clear about this. Vatican II was a carefully-planned piece of politics. Its aim was to stretch the Church by making the best possible response to the divine imperative. Although he has not yet been canonized, we nevertheless refer to this political Pope as saintly. A politician, "saintly"? Yes, because he was using politics—the art of the possible—to mold the Church into a more responsive instrument of God's will.

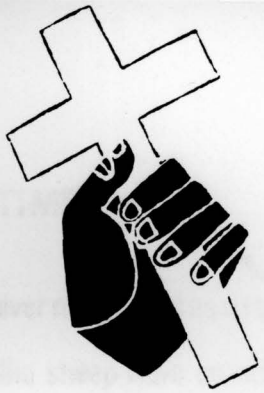
Many a bishop with a smaller see than the Bishop of Rome's has interpreted his situation and role quite differently. As seen by many bishops, politics is not a useful tool to be put to sacred service, but an insurmountable reason for taking no initiative. Granted the dangerous drift toward oppression in many forms, they say, the political climate in the Church simply prevents my doing anything. The faltering Equal Rights Amendment, high unemployment (especially of Blacks), the economic imperialism of large corporations—these, they say, are unfortunate facts. Even dangerous. Perhaps disastrous. "But you don't understand my situation," they protest. "I have to be sensitive to the political realities."

A bishop has to be a politician. It is an inescapable function of the office. The test, therefore, is not whether he is a politician, but whether he is using politics to stretch the Church toward obedience. Whether he is crowding the limits of the possible. Whether he is leading—with as much of coalition behind him as he can muster. In order to accomplish what? In order to see to it that a predominantly middle-class, white, male-dominated Church may start to stand free of its classism, racism and sexism, and be true to its calling to be the people of God.

Robert L. DeWitt

An Interview with James H. Cone
by Theo Witvliet (Radio Holland) and Hugh C. White

Black is Different



QUESTION: What does black theology mean in the U.S.A., 1975?

CONE: In order to understand how black theology seeks to speak in 1975, one must first understand a little bit about the history of black people in the United States of America. It's a history of slavery up until about 1865, and after 1865 it's a history in which black people have been systematically discriminated against and oppressed within this country. Let me just give you an example in the city of Detroit. The city is made up of more than 50 per cent black and yet 40 per cent or more of the population in this city who are black are unemployed. And they are highly concentrated in ghettos which gives them a small place to live.

Consequently, my question as a black theologian and also as a black person is, "What has the gospel to do with people who are dehumanized and oppressed because they are people of color?" It means to me that when the gospel takes seriously the human situation, then it has to ask the question, "What is it that makes people whole?" And salvation means wholeness. It means granting people the power to be who they are.

So black theology merely tries to say to the people as they struggle for freedom that in that struggle I'll be struggling with you to make sure that your humanity is protected.

QUESTION: What is the central theme of your new book, *God of the Oppressed*?

CONE: *God of the Oppressed* seeks to show that language which arises out of a political-social context, as my language of the gospel does, is not accidental; that is, language itself is social and political. Anybody who speaks says a word from a certain context. People in power can cover up the context in which they speak. They can make you think they are speaking in a universal language. Actually they represent the status quo which has become universal in the consciousness of people, the oppressed and also themselves. What I try to say in this book is that my language is social and political but so is everybody else's language.

Ideology is not decided at the point of whether or not we speak from a certain context, but ideology is decided as we try to recognize the context from which we speak and whether we are open to the possibility that there are other contexts which may also be valid. But not only that, the perspective of the Bible has its own social-historical context. There, if theological language is to be Christian, it must be a language that arises from the struggle of people who are weak and poor, who are trying to find liberation. This is so because of the exodus, the cross and the resurrection of Jesus.

My point in the book is that ideological language, false speech in relation to the Christian gospel, is speech that sounds like Christianity but actually is not Christian doctrine because it is not the language of the poor and the weak.

QUESTION: That raises the question: If you have a black theology, do you also have a Puerto Rican theology, etc? Don't you make it too easy to say, well, that's your particular theology, it has nothing to say to us because we are in a different situation?

CONE: No, I don't think it's that easy to allude to that because, while language begins in a particular context, human beings are social creatures. That is, my humanity is not simply limited to my own family context. My humanity in terms of whether or not it's authentic, in terms of my struggle, is whether or not it reaches out to other people. Now, I cannot reach out to other people

unless I have a base from which to reach. My point is that because I speak from my particular black context, I don't see why anyone should get turned off by that.

Why do people get turned off with a certain kind of particular language—like black—and not get turned off with Marxist language which is also particular? Language, by nature, is particular—there is no other way to talk. If my way of trying to be human conflicts with your way of trying to be human, then what we need to do is sit down and talk about this.

QUESTION: Hugo Assman thinks it is a shame that theologies, like black theology, are defensive. They react, he says, to a situation of oppression; they exist almost by virtue of that situation. What is your reaction?

CONE: Yes, I think so. All theologies of liberation, Latin American liberation theology, for example, is on the defensive in relation to Europe. They get very uptight when Europe begins to speak of universal theology, and you should hear the oppression that comes out in the literature. They are as much on the defensive as black theologians are. I think oppressed people have to holler when they're hurt. Only those who are not hurting don't get on the defensive because they have nothing to be on the defensive about.

QUESTION: What contribution can the thought of Marx, the method of Marx, make to black theology in North America? What contribution has Marx got to make to black theology?

CONE: I think the contribution Marx has to make, or shall I say Latin American liberation theologians and social scientists who take seriously Marx's methodology, is to help black people be more aware of the contradictions which exist in our communities and in this society in terms of class. That can be sharpened.

What I resent when I make that admission is that somebody substitute the class contradiction so as to forget about the color contradiction, particularly if he is not a person of color. I just will not tolerate that insensitivity, because if you believe that the struggle is in the hands of the people, then you have to let the people into the struggle at the point that they can. My resistance is to the Marxist people who have it already set up how the struggle ought to go without listening or joining the struggles of those people in Detroit, in Los Angeles and otherwise. They already know what they ought to be doing. I resent that, because they are doing to black people the same thing that white people are doing—they know what's best in those ghettos over there.

But to speak more directly to your question, I do perceive that what Latin American theologians who are Marxists can help us at is to help us recognize the contradiction of class in our own community and in this society, and also the relationship between the richer nations and the poorer nations as a primary contradiction. I think we can teach Latin American theologians who are influenced by Marx the contradiction of color in their own society. There are more black people in Latin America than in the United States of America. Thirty per cent of the people in Brazil are black people. My question to them is, "Why is it that there are no black theologians from Latin America in your group? Why is it that there are no black theologians, period, in Latin America writing about the theology of liberation? Why is that?" It is not an accident. They have been systematically excluded.

QUESTION: In the City of Detroit several groups have appeared in the last few years, black and white groups, that have joined together on the issue of integration of the schools and quality education in the city. These groups have been formed as they have gotten involved in Marxist thought. It is the first time in years that a joining together of whites and blacks with some solidarity in this city has occurred. How would you account for this?

CONE: I don't know much of that phenomenon in its own particular instance, but I can speak of it in a general sense. I think it is an example of what is the possibility when you have people that struggle together. They break down barriers that separate them. But you can't break them down before you join the struggle. I sense people wanting to break down the barriers of color, class, etc. before they join the struggle together. They're talking struggle, they are not joining struggle. And the only reason you get what you're talking about is because you've got people, black and white, who see something concrete that they both want

done and they go and they get it done. They begin to understand how their own lives are being made human in the process. But you can't talk that into people's heads, it has to happen in history, in struggle.

Black people have had a bad experience with Marxism in the United States. Therefore, when I talk about Marxist ideology and class, in my own community, I just don't mention Marx. I don't mention communism. I just talk about the real of it. I talk about why some people are poor and some are not; and I talk about how they are made that way, it's not accidental. And I begin to have to explain the structures that make that happen. I think one has to be sensitive that there is a lot of Marxist ideology being operated in the community of the people without making Marx into a savior. I think that is very important to keep in mind. I would never call myself a Marxist, although in reality that's what I'm known for, that's what I want to be. In my gut that's what I think needs to happen, but you have to be realistic that there are certain symbols that turn people off not because of *who* they are but because of who represented them. There are some communities that I go into where I will not mention Jesus Christ. They are the Black Nationalists. They are the people who have seen Christ in such a negative representation, they think you're talking about white people. You follow me? It's the same kind of thing.

QUESTION: Do you think that this is a time to do some study of Marx?

CONE: I think it's a time to do some study of Marx, but let me make this point very strongly. I think the resources for the struggle for liberation must come out of the people, the community, the culture and the history of the people who are victims. I do not believe that you can import a methodology of liberation from the outside, because the people didn't create it. What you have to be careful about is that you really show a disrespect for oppressed people's history when you do not believe that they have the resources in this history to liberate themselves.

QUESTION: How does this history of the oppressed people relate to the story of the Bible?

CONE: When black people were in slavery, they had very little historical resources for their liberation. They believed that there was a god that was working in this history to liberate them, and it was that knowledge and that hope that enabled them to keep doing the little things they could do, the little struggles they could make, to make those struggles worthwhile. Only people who share the consciousness of the enlightenment period, which believed that human beings could do everything, actually can be calculated into employing their own resources. But oppressed people, while they have to use their resources, can never be exclusively depended upon.

I see this not only present in my history. I think you should read the autobiography or some of the stories of Martin Luther King. Several significant points happened when King had his back against the wall and he thought that that particular struggle was lost, and all of a sudden something happened from out of the blue, don't know why it happened—the point is it came as a moment of grace that made him recognize that struggle is worthwhile.

One example is the first time he led the boycott in Montgomery. They were boycotting the buses, using cars, taking people to work. Well, it got hot and it went on for more than a year and that was a long time. Then suddenly it was declared illegal and they were going to put anybody in jail who took anybody to work. King didn't know how he could take that, how he was going to get the people to work. They walked into court that morning and they didn't know what to do. They knew they were going to lose. And all of a sudden, for some strange reason at that very moment, the court declared segregated busing to be illegal. Now, King didn't do that, the people in Montgomery didn't do that, but somebody shouted, God done visited Washington today, or something like that. That's what I mean.

Now, it's not only that incident. There are several incidents like that in which black people have their backs against the wall. They have done everything they can do and it seems like all is for nothing, and then all of a sudden something breaks that gives the people the hope and openness to see that their struggle is not in vain. I would not want to lose that connection in my history and in my struggle.

QUESTION: What did you want to come out of the Detroit conference?

CONE: Two things that ought to be considered seriously; one, is some kind of contact or conference that would bring together black people and other oppressed minorities in this country—Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, black people, Chicanos—all of the minorities, just them, without white suppression. That's the first.

Two, I'd like to see representatives from this group in North America, U.S.A. hold a conference in Latin America. Because Latin America is an abstraction to me. They want us to say something, they want us to feel, so they have a feel for what it's like over here. So I need contact over there. I feel a need for that so we can talk; oppressed minorities over here talking with Latin Americans in their struggle for liberation over there, so we can see what it's like. I think that would help to understand more the contradiction of class.

Also, I want to see people of color. I'd like the conference held in Brazil or somewhere like that where there are people of color to see how that's working. So when I bring up color, they can't dodge it. After two such dialogues we would be ready to talk to American whites and Europeans. With that kind of preparation we would have a kind of knowledge of each other. When I meet Latin Americans for the first time, basically in a conference context, there are white people out there all of whom I respect and I know, been working with—I know all the theology professors and church folk. They just talk liberation until they're blue in the face. I know what they do, nothing, they're working against the struggle. There are one or two exceptions here and there, but they're clearly exceptions, and I don't know what they're going to decide to do next week. You follow what I'm saying? So that kind of suspicion is there.

QUESTION: Our time is up. Is there a last thought you would like to share with us?

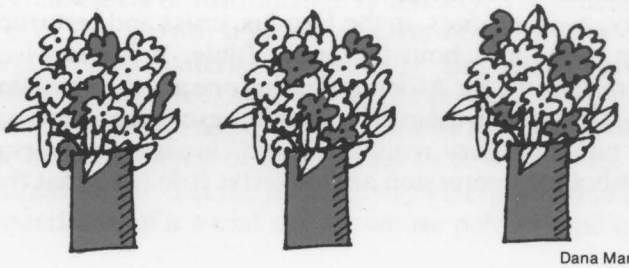
CONE: One experience vivid in my mind is when I spent a month in Asia—Japan and Korea. I was invited there during the month of May and June (1975) by the Korean Christian Church in Japan, which is a very small church, but they wanted me to come because I had been talking about black theology, the theology of the victim. And they being Koreans in Japan having a similar history but shorter in which they were enslaved by Japanese, they wanted to know how I began to think this way and what it was about. We held four retreats and I was there for a month.

Now what I'm saying is that those people were not trying to join the black struggle in the United States. What they were trying to see was the kind of connections they could make between their own political struggle and their Christian faith. And by looking at another context they might begin to see how they could do that. But not only that; eventually, the kind of missionaries we ought to have going to Japan for Koreans or Koreans in Korea, ought to be other oppressed missionaries. Missionaries don't know anything about black people, they know all about white people. No black church has missionaries over there.

Also, one has to recognize the sharp difference between oppressed people identifying the gospel with their struggle and oppressors with military power. In Nazi Germany you had the state identifying the gospel and Jesus with their military power and struggle. That's what the German people did. That's a different thing from God—being present with the Jews that were victimized. That's a different reality.

I don't think it would be wise, for example, for African nations to begin to talk about "God is with us," and fighting each other. One has to be careful about how one does that. One way in which you judge it is that the victim is speaking, and you have to remember that that is never permanent. Theological statements, that is, the prophetic word, comes at times and then goes. You can see that in the ministry of Jeremiah. It changes from period to period. At one time Sarah becomes the wrath of Yahweh's anger and at another time it's a totally different thing. So I think people have to be sensitive, but the clue in biblical prophesy and biblical history is that God is with the victim. When the victim becomes the oppressor and begins to use that favor as a means of oppressing the poor, then God takes the side against the situation.

James Cone is professor of Theology at Union Theological Seminary in New York City.



Dana Martin

Response to Cone
The Offense of Black Theology

by Mary Adebonojo

It is clear from the preceding interview with Dr. Cone that Black Theology is certain to be an offense to many people. It will be offensive, first, because it is addressed to and emerges from and in the name of a particular people, and because it makes certain claims concerning the relationship between God and that people. To many it will seem that Black Theology is fragmenting a universal faith and starting a disastrous and heretical trend toward the proliferation of ethnic and national theologies. Some undoubtedly think that we shall next have Puerto Rican and Korean theologies.

In truth, Cone's Black Theology brings to the fore an age-old problem for Christian faith called "the scandal of particularity". Yet, many twentieth century Christians have not had to face this problem squarely before. Two thousand years removed from the manger and the cross, the particulars of our faith are no longer offensive to us. It is not a scandal to us that God chose the *Jews* as His people, that Jesus touched leperous flesh, that He died a condemned criminal by a method more likely to give rise to nausea than to pious devotion. When Black Theology claims that God is involved in the struggle for freedom alongside black, sweaty bodies, crowned with thick lips and kinky hair, it confronts twentieth century Americans vividly and inescapably with an incarnational confrontation. And it does so just as the Christian faith has always done, through its offensive particulars.

At the same time Black Theology forces recognition of the concrete realities on which true Christ faith is always built, it reveals the symbolic and universal dimension which makes Christianity a faith accessible to all peoples. Cone makes clear that God is identified with black peoples in the Americas today because they are poor and oppressed. The God of the oppressed continually identified Himself with such people not only, as Cone cites, in the Exodus, cross and resurrection, but throughout the entire Bible. It is not wise, Cone tells us, for Africans fighting one another to claim that God is with them. Thus, while describing a particular contemporary reality, "black" is also a universal symbol for oppression and poverty. It follows that the intimate relation between God and the oppressed blacks is thereby open to all others. When whites actually join the struggle for freedom, Cone points out that they, too, participate in the wholeness and reconciliation of human salvation.

Black Theology is likely to be offensive to some, too, because of its style of theology. For Cone, "doing theology" is unabashedly active. It answers question and helps oppressed peoples "see . . . connections between their . . . political struggle and their Christian faith". It is not a pristine system beyond the reach of situations. It is a practical tool which helps oppressed Christians realize the promises of Christianity in their own day. In both content and style, it would seem to have much to offer all Christians.

Mary Adebonojo is a black student at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia and a candidate for ordination from the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

Response to Cone
Black Liberation Must Begin Within

by J. Carleton Hayden

James H. Cone has correctly noted that ideological and institutional racism resulting in the subordination and control of the black community by the white community has been and continues to be the major factor defining the needs of black Americans. Furthermore, he has demonstrated that all language, including theological, is reflective of a particular socioeconomic context. European (white) theology is both consciously and unconsciously an instrument of white supremacy. Consequently, a pressing necessity is a theology relevant to black liberation.

The explication of liberation themes in Biblical theology, such as God's deliverance of the enslaved people of Israel is necessary but not sufficient. An adequate black theology must do justice to the fullness of the Christian faith as contained in the Scriptures and tradition. The human malady is more than racial oppression. The root cause is human (not white or black) self-centeredness resulting in the misuse of human beings. This self-centeredness is accentuated by racist institutions that limit blacks and may well be more pronounced in whites as a result of their centuries long exploitation of colored peoples; but it is very evident among blacks. An adequate theology must deal positively with the need for personal conversion to Christian living and reform within the black community.

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Look at Yourself, America!

THE AMERICAN JOURNEY, PART II

by Edward Joseph Holland

Dana Martin

The Frontier & Expansion

This second section of THE AMERICAN JOURNEY recalls some elements of the massive tale of American history from the period immediately after the foundation of the young nation to the recent end of what has been called the "post-World War II era". This period basically is the period of American expansion—the time when the young nation stood up and stretched out its arms to reach its broadest limits as a cultural, military-political, and economic power in the world. On the one hand, the period is the tale of a great success story, for America emerged from World War II as the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. On the other hand, it is a tale marked also by great suffering and exploitation, because those whose labor was spent and whose blood was shed to make this possible were not always the beneficiaries, even though many dreamed they would be. It is important that this period be critically reviewed by the American people, because the expansion may have now reached its limits, and the American Dream which nourished it seems swiftly evaporating in the contemporary crisis of the United States, both within domestic society and as a world power.

The political leadership of the young nation believed that the structures of formal democracy (prejudiced toward the top classes) depended upon sustained growth. So long as there was a social movement both outward and upward, with which a majority of the population could identify, there would be no serious challenge to the elitist political structure of the society.

The process of growth guaranteed two things politically. First, expansion would act as a safety valve releasing threatening social pressures. Discontented white workers from the Northeastern seaboard, for example, could always quit their jobs (or even run away, if they were indentured servants) and head West to stake their claim to a small family farm in the "Free Soil" movement. Even later, when the continent was covered, the upward mobility of economic expansion, with America serving more and more as the world's industrial center, played the same role. Second, the dynamic of social instability in a growing economy enabled the top social classes to keep forming fresh political coalitions with new groups, and in the process preempting the possibility of a truly broad populist coalition from the distinct regional economies of the nation, from the nation's many races, and from the two sexes. Thus, the powerful Northern capitalists could at different times back the Black Freedom Movement, massive European immigrations, the Free Soil Movement, and even the later Women's Sufferage Movement. The net effect of these selective and shifting coalitions across class, racial, and sexual lines, however, was not the creation of a fully democratic society. What resulted instead was the growth of the capitalist economic base and reinforcement of the political power of the social classes which presided over that base.

Growth, so far at least, has been a fundamental law of capitalism. In fact, it is from this process of economic growth, whereby a significant percentage of national production is re-invested for further growth, that capitalism takes its name. It is that mode of production whose total social life is organized around the accumulation of capital, which law in turn takes expression in maximization of profit and maximization of technological or instrumental rationality. The unleashing of this growth under capitalism brings with it unprecedented material productivity and also unprecedented social recklessness. In the process, the enterprise creates a productive base capable for the first time in human history of responding to a wide range of human needs. Yet the productivity emerges within the boundaries of a social system whose political and cul-

tural institutions repress both the vision and vehicles of the common good. Within the resulting process of fragmented pluralism, competing groups are pitted one against another for short term and partial gains. At best, exploited social groups try to hold their own against such structures, and indeed they make gains in times of economic expansion—but these gains are often eroded during the following periods of recession or depression.

It must be admitted, however, that this social system did continually provide greater economic prosperity for a growing number of people. For that reason, there has been so far no truly sustained and broad-based political challenge to the system of American capitalism. The American Left, though counting dramatic moments in its history, has never attained the power of the political Left in other industrialized nations. This is partly due to the historical and geographic situation of the new American nation, which could muster such productive forces within an entirely new society. Even so, there are at least two reasons why the expansion period of American history merits critical re-examination.

1) While there were significant periods of generalized and increasing prosperity, there were many Americans who did not share in them. Also, those periods were more limited than we realize. American expansion in many ways was built on the exploitation of America's peoples and of peoples beyond our shores. The most dramatic exploitation occurred among the peoples of color in our land—the natives who were driven from their homes and pushed farther and farther back, finally into shrinking enclaves, in what in many cases became a genocidal process; the plunder of Africa for slaves and the brutal exploitation of their labor in the Southern plantation system; the seizure of land and homes from the Mexican-Indian peoples of what is now the Southwestern United States, and their subsequent conversion into an agricultural proletariat; the enticing of European peasants by the millions to undercut the bargaining power of organized labor in the early stages of American industrialism, as well as the nearly all-out wars against the labor movement which the immigrants later joined; the manipulation of small farmers across the country by giant financial interests in the East which controlled credit, transportation, and markets; the restructuring of women's oppression, marginalizing middle class women from productive roles in society, while driving poor working class women into some of the foulest industrial jobs in competition with working class men. At the same time, the triumph of instrumental rationality aggravated sexuality's reduction to a commodity and concentrated its locus on woman as sex symbol. Finally, the process resulted in the creation of a neo-colonial American empire concentrated in Latin America and parts of Asia, after the collapse of European colonialism.

This story of exploitation—the other side of the coin of expansion—is not simply a story of oppression, but also of resistance. There are thousands of tales of bitter battles by American men and women of every color and culture against their exploitation. Unhappily, these tales either have been forgotten or repressed in popular consciousness by an educational system which tends to sterilize our history. The unfortunate result, in many cases, is a crippling of political imagination—the blinding of the utopian faculty. It is very important therefore, to unshackle this faculty today—and not just out of historical curiosity.

2) It seems to many that America's expansion period has come to an end. John Kennedy's search for a "New Frontier" sounded the era's swan song. Since the late 1960s it has been clear that the nation could no longer afford both guns and butter. As a result, fundamentally new social policies—cultural (including religious), political, and economic—would have to be designed for the nation's future. If the analysis of this restructuring (to be described in Part III) is correct, it will mean the collapse of the American Dream, the shutting of the trap door on the American ladder of upward mobility, increasing repression of the labor movement and of progressive social forces, as well as more bitter suffering for the large body of America's poor. Within that context, it is possible that both racism and sexism will become more severe. The neo-imperialism of international capitalism also may become ever more ruthless.

Recalling the tragic and heroic tales of America's complex past, however, rather than constituting an anti-American attack on the nation's people, might prove the most important step in equipping Americans to continue the long struggle for real freedom.

It is impossible to tell the full story of these struggles in so few pages, but let us at least recall some of the richer tales.

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Manifest Destiny

Perhaps the crassest expression of American imperialism came from Sen. Albert J. Beveridge, when he

announced: "We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustees under God, of the civilization of the world. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world adept in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples."[1]

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Labor and Slave Labor

As early as George Washington, economic questions were raised about the institution of slavery. It was Washington's feeling, shared by many other Southern gentry, that slavery was too costly and inefficient to be of service in an expanding empire. They and their successors believed, a larger, cheaper labor force was needed which focused more skills and independent initiative than a subject slave population. It was for this reason that millions of immigrants were recruited from Europe to form the white working class.

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Revolution and Counter-Revolution

Just as the Revolutionary War had enlisted the colonial workers in a temporary coalition with the colonial merchants and planters against the English, the Northern industrialists enlisted Northern workers, the middle classes, and the slaves themselves against the Southern planters. This second revolution became most radical when the industrialists were forced to arm the black population and enlist them in the struggle.

As long as the industrialists held their power in the North, they could afford to unleash a democratic revolution in the South. Once other forms of resistance against the industrialists grew, however, they had to betray the black freedom movement in the South and allow the Southern elite to preside over a counter-revolution. The counter-revolution restored near slavery under a tenant-farmer and share-cropper system, backed up the black codes and guerrilla terrorism of the KKK. Thousands of blacks, a few years before had moved to dramatic gains in education, civil rights and political participation, became the victims of vicious and murderous attacks encouraged by the elite.

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Search for Solidarity

William Sylvis, one of the great names of American labor, devoted himself to the principle of white-black labor solidarity and to the solidarity of working class men and women.[2] Born of a poverty-stricken Pennsylvania family and never able to raise his own family out of deep poverty, Sylvis was no liberal. But he knew that freed blacks, formerly locked out of Northern industry, were being hired at reduced wages at the same time that Northern ports were bringing in thousands of industrial indentured servants. Together these groups were being played off against the old Northern labor force, and eventually against one another.

He knew too that women were being pitched into the skirmish, often working from 6 a.m. until midnight for $3 a week. He found cases of women and children fainting beside their looms and living in horrid urban slums.

Although many trade unionists wanted to reject black offers of cooperation, Sylvis insisted: "The line of demarcation is between the robbers and the robbed, no matter whether the wronged be the friendless widow, the skilled white mechanic, or the ignorant black. Capital is no respecter of persons and it is in the very nature of things a sheer impossibility to degrade one class of labor without degrading all."[3]

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The Secret Weapon

The secret weapon in many strikes was the courage and dedication of the women involved. Perhaps one of the greatest figures in all labor history was Mary Jones, affectionately known as "Mother" Jones.[4]

An Irish immigrant school teacher and seamstress, she became one of the principal organizers of the United Mine Workers of America. When police attacked the miners' pickets and forced them to flee, Mother Jones rounded up the women to drive away the police with sticks and brooms, and the strike was on again. Fighting hard for worker solidarity, over against narrow craft viewpoints, she supported the One Big Union concept and was in a prominent position for the opening convention of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), known more often as the "Wobblies". Later she supported the Mexican Revolution and went to Mexico as a "guest of State".

A fervent Catholic, she insisted that God Almighty had taught her ". . . to pray for the dead but fight like hell for the living". In 1921, at the Pan-American Labor Federation in Mexico, she supported the Russian Revolution and, despite the opposition of Samuel Gompers, secured adoption of a resolution demanding the release of political prisoners. Fighting for all workers, even going to jail in her 80's, Mother Jones was an American legend.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: A SocioHistoric Interpretation*, (New York, 1972) p. 56.
2. Staughton Lynd, *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism*, (New York, 1968)
3. Richard O. Boyer & Herbert M. Morais, *Labor's Untold Story*, (New York, 1971)
4. Mary Field Parton, *The Autobiography of Mother Jones*, (Chicago, 1972)

The Knights of Labor

The largest early labor organization was Terence Powderly's Knights of Labor. Between 1885 and 1886, membership in the order grew from 100,000 to 700,000. Some 60,000 blacks joined the order. The foreign born and unskilled rushed in. Women workers increasingly were active in its ranks under the direction of Leonora Barry. The slogan of the movement was, "An injury to one is an injury to all." Powderly himself was a pacific person. But the hostility and violence directed at his members by the National Association of Manufacturers (which employed countless spies and private armies organized by the Pinkerton Company) prompted him at one point to urge, "I am anxious that each lodge should be provided with powder, shot and Winchester rifles when we intend to strike."[5]

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The Eight-Hour Day

A small early labor organization destined to outlive the Knights of Labor was the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. It had its base among skilled workers organized along craft lines. Originally it was very militant. Founded in 1881, it adopted this preamble to its constitution: "A struggle is going on in the nations of the world between the oppressors and oppressed of all countries, a struggle between capital and labor which must grow in intensity from year to year and work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit."[6]

Accepting class struggle, international solidarity and the strike weapon, the organization made its great issue the eight-hour day.

In the ensuing battle, centered in Chicago, the upper class mustered all its strength in defense. Their feelings were expressed in the Chicago Tribune on November 23, 1875. "Every lamp-post in Chicago will be decorated with a communist carcass if necessary . . ."[7]

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Labor Recruitment

The journalist, John Swinton, writing in 1883 of the tactics used in the Pennsylvania coal fields, said: "The contractors make their appearance under the American flag among the half-starved mudsills in some of the most wretched districts of Hungary, Italy or Denmark, tell the stories of fabulous wages to be gotten in America, bamboozle the poor creatures, rope them in and make contracts with them to pay their passage across the sea, upon their agreeing to terms that few can understand. When they reach the districts of this country to which the contractors ship them, they find their golden dreams turned into nightmares, as they put to work in mines, factories or on railroads, at even lower wages than those of them whom they throw out of work . . ."[8]

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Eugene Debs

The great socialist hero of the era was Eugene Debs. Folks thought of Abraham Lincoln when they saw this giant, gawky midwestern figure. A former locomotive fireman, Debs fought against monoply as Lincoln fought against slavery. Politically conservative to begin with, Debs abandoned the Democratic Party and proclaimed himself a socialist.

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Al Capone and the Red Scare

Primarily for the unskilled and unorganized, the IWW brought together migrant workers, blacklisted members from other unions, lumberjacks, cowboys and farm hands.

Many workers were jailed and beaten in IWW-sponsored strikes. Because so much of the white labor militancy came from foreign-born workers, particularly the Irish and Italian workers, labor struggles were branded unAmerican, or the work of foreign agents.

In the meantime the Progressive movement tried to steer the country away from socialist influences. "Ford, not Marx" became the rallying cry of those championing increased production and worker speed-ups. Even Al Capone, foretelling subsequent collaboration between the CIA and the multi-ethnic crime syndicates, warned "We must keep the worker away from the red literature and red ruses."[9]

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Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan, the movement to "protect" the nation from foreign influences, also was the instrument of anti-black terror in the South. Calling itself "100 per cent American," the Klan was against blacks, trade unions, communism, Roman Catholic and Jews.

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The C.I.O.

Labor solidarity and militancy began to emerge again. In 1936 the CIO was born, the expression of the old fighting spirit. Growing out of forces critical of AFL leadership, it soon split the conservative leadership. For the first time in the century, it organized thousands of black workers on a basis of equality into the indus-

5. Boyer & Morais, *ibid*, p. 89.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 90
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 91
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 66
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 234

trial unions. The potential power of white-black labor unity was quickly perceived, and CIO men and women were flogged, tarred and feathered, even killed, by the Ku Klux Klan.

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Church and Labor

The dominant religion of the union movement was Catholicism. Because of its closeness to the Labor movement, the Catholic Church became organized labor's unofficial religious chaplain. At home with power, but reluctant to face class conflict, the Catholic influence reacted negatively to leftist strains in the movement and later became a major force in assisting the Cold War, both internally and externally. It was partly because of their usefulness in the Cold War struggle against socialist forces at home and abroad that Catholic leaders were taken into the confidence of the American upper classes.

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The American Left

In turn the American Left, the only force capable of providing a theoretical framework for the integration of the multiple social struggles, proved incapable of creating a unified and mass political force. It tended toward sectarian isolation. Eventually isolated, without the support of labor, of peoples of color, or of the women's movement, it became the victim of the McCarthy era and was mainly forgotten.

Without a coherent social theory and a firm practical alliance, the distinct social movements in America faced their battles for the most part in isolation. Separate screws were turned upon white unions, the black freedom movement, small farmers, working class women and voices which criticized imperialism. The four major issues of injustice in America—class oppression, racism, sexism and imperialism—were not systemically linked in popular consciousness.

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NEXT MONTH: What happens when there is no more room to roam? If expansion is a fundamental law of capitalism, what happens when military might is unable to push any further and the last wilderness has been settled? In our next issue, Joseph Holland probes "Limits and Crises."

Edward Joseph Holland is a staff associate at the Center of Concern, an independent center for policy analysis and public education, initiated by the Jesuits and dealing mainly with international social issues.

Francis of Assisi:
His Challenge in Our Days
by Dom Helder Camara

There are men who are so human, who live so profoundly the problems and crises of their times and of their people, that they live on as an inspiration for all times and for all people.

It would be a great mistake to concentrate only on the words these men spoke, on the actions they performed. What is important is to be able to discern, to sense what they would say, what they would do in new times, in the new circumstances that each generation must face.

Francis of Assisi is one of these rare human beings who, through centuries, latitudes and longitudes, are continuously challenging, questioning, unsettling. It seems suitable to bring before us the major challenges which, in my opinion, Francis of Assisi brings to those who live at the dawn of the 21st century. Certainly, I hope the seeds of meditation that I bring you will afterwards provoke other aspects, other challenges springing up from the life and example of Francis.

The Triple Challenge of Francis to Our Age of Transition

1. The Creator who is Co-creator, the Co-creator who Continues to be a Creator

You, who saw Sun and Fire as true brothers, the Skylark, the Water and the Light as true Sisters, clearly could not forget man, a brother among brothers.

The social problems of our days are so acute that, to intone the Canticle of Creation, we must remind two/thirds of humanity, "Man, my brother, you are a creature, but you have been trampled on, degraded to such an extent that we must all remember, more than ever before, an eternal truth . . . Yes, you are a creature, man of the third world; yes, you are a creature, man of the poor areas of the rich world . . . To begin with, you are not a sub-creature . . . By the expressed will of God you participate in the divine nature, you are charged to dominate nature and complete creation. By the expressed will of God you are a Co-creator."

Meanwhile, one third of humanity becomes larger, stronger and more powerful to such an extent that, in practice, it does not feel a lack of God, it does not need to call out for protection . . . This one-third of humanity has the money that opens all doors, has the prestige that

makes everything easy, has the force that breaks down all barriers. To this third of humanity we must say: "My brother, you are a creature and God wanted you to be a co-creator. God is far from envying you, but for your own good, do not forget that, raised to the glory of co-creator, you are still a creature . . ."

But, to him who is hungry, sick, ragged and tattered; without a house worthy of the name; crushed by a job that doesn't give him even the indispensable for himself and his family; with no security, because at any time he may lose his job and be expelled from the poor dwelling he calls home; without the chance to study; without an effective participation in the life of his region and of his country; to this man in a subhuman condition, who has no prospect, who has no hope; what is the good of telling him that God, his Father, made him a creature, but also wanted him as a co-creator? . . ."

On the other hand, he who has comfort and luxury at home; who has a house in the city, a house in the country and houses abroad; he who has several cars in the garage and even his own airplane and his own yacht; he who has shares in the largest companies and credit in the largest banks in the world; he who is unable to spend all the money he owns; he who has power of decision in multi-major corporations, which are the true lords of the earth; he who can influence the mass media; he can intervene in the appropriate official areas for you; in case of illness, can obtain the best specialists and even call the greatest specialists in the world for a medical conference; he who lives on these heights will live with assurance and disdain for anyone who reminds him that he is not God, but only a creature.

Francis, it is important to invite mountains and water, night and darkness, plants and animals to praise the Lord . . . But how will man, the interpretor of creation and minstrel of God be able to intone the new Canticle of Creation if the number of men reduced to a subhuman condition is increasing, and if the rest see themselves as super-men?

2. How to Understand and Live Poverty Among Sub-men and Super-men?

Poor man of Assisi! Minstrel of Lady Poverty! What would you do in a world in which two-thirds of the population have by far exceeded the limits of poverty and have fallen into misery? What would you say, what would you do, if you had to announce the Beatitude on Poverty to people living in utter misery? . . . I am sure that you would not allow any mistake between poverty and misery . . . You had, and you still have, the greatest respect for Lady Poverty, but it seems to me that, without doubt, you would never call misery a lady. Misery did not enter into the mind of Christ when he said: "Happy are the poor." You, Francis, you would say, oh yes, you would say clearly and openly that misery is an insult to our Creator and Father. I doubt that you would listen silently to any misunderstanding about the words of Christ: "The poor you will always have with you," as a pretext to maintain the structure that, throughout the world, crushes more than two-thirds of the sons of God.

Francis, you who rid yourself of your rich clothing and gave it back to your father, Peter Bernardone, what would you whisper today to the sons of the super rich, what would you say to the super-men who even forget that they are but creatures, who live as if they were gods! . . . You were not, are not, and never will be capable of hate, but, do tell me, would you speak of poverty to super-men? In what terms? Either I am very much mistaken, or I know that you would speak to them of Lady Justice, whom they forget as they oppress the poor, who fall into misery and hunger . . .

Would you, without losing your simplicity, without abandoning your joy, without forgetting for an instant to love all people in Christ; would you denounce the injustice that, at a national level, leaves the rich in poor countries to maintain their richness at the cost of the misery of thousands of their fellow citizens? Would you come to the point of denouncing injustice at a world level; the injustice which renders some countries always wealthier at the cost of other countries becoming poorer? . . .

Would you no longer be Francis? Of course, you would lose all your prestige among those who only see in you the poetic sight of the troubadour, so sweet that he sings praises to Sister Death . . . You would lose all your prestige among those who are enchanted only by your spousals with Lady Poverty and with the new tenderness you implanted on Christmas, making us remember the nativity scene!

St. Clare! Brother Leo! you who knew so well the soul of Francis! Would Francis, or would he not, for the love of Lady Poverty, for the love of truth, for the love of people, of the Gospel, of Christ, identify himself with all those who nowadays accept incomprehension, suffer distortion and calumnies, but struggle on for justice and for love, as the ways to national peace!? . . .

3. How to Help the Church of Christ that it May Help the World which is Being Born

Francis, you always were a man of the Church. If the Pope had condemned the rules you imposed on your-

self, and to which you invited your brothers, you would have understood, torn up your rules. If the Holy Mother Church, by a tremendous misunderstanding, had not recognized you, had expelled you, you would have never gone against the Church; you would have kept knocking at the door so humbly, with so much love, that the door would finally have been opened to you.

But my heart tells me, Francis, that your love of truth, which is summed up in your love for the Church, would lead you to make whatever sacrifice necessary to free the Holy Church of Christ from the jeopardizing weaknesses to which our human frailties have led her since Christ, when founding his Church, introduced her to our weak, human hands. There are those who think and proclaim that adversaries degrade the Church; that her sons, at least, should be enraptured by the spiritual body she embraces, and by the lasting sanctity of which she is the source, instead of wasting time pointing out little miseries, which, after all, are not hers, but her children's.

The illusion of him who thinks and speaks like this is to imagine that only the most intimate perceive the human failings of the Holy Church of Christ. The illusion of him who thinks and speaks thus, is to forget that young people of today, with their thirst for authenticity inspired by the Spirit of God, shall not remain silent in face of our attitudes as men of the Church, attitudes capable of jeopardizing the spouse of Christ.

Francis, with all your love for the Holy Church, from which of her greatest human weaknesses would you try to free her, so that she might have full capability to help create a more just and human world? The world of which we all dream!? . . .

If I am not mistaken, Francis, you would point out yourself three main failings:

The great poverty you want to see the church clothed with, and to see her free once and for all from concern with prestige; to see her thoroughly unleashed from the train of the powerful, so that she can effectively opt for the oppressed who are two-thirds of humanity, in this pre-vigil of the 21st century;

You would do everything to prevent us, men and women of the Church, from mistaking the prudence of the flesh for the prudence of the spirit. Christ exulted when the Spirit of God led Simon Peter to recognize in him the Son of the Living God. But Christ did not hesitate to address Simon Peter as Satan when the prudence of the flesh led Peter to try to divert the master from the suffering of the cross;

You would make whatever sacrifice so that without delay the Church of Christ would, in fact, put into practice the admirable encyclical Populorum Progressio *and inspired texts such as those of Vatican II.*

Invocation to Christ, the Master and Inspirer of Francis

Christ, allow me a final word directed especially to you. You identify yourself so much with him who suffers, with him who is crushed, with him who is reduced to a sublife, deprived of hope, that you allow your own wounds to become deeper; you allow your own crown of thorns to press your head all the more . . . You, yourself, are the picture of death and you can die no more. But you agonize and die with each of the millions of brothers and sisters reduced to agony and death.

Bring them to life, Lord Jesus! That they also be bathed by immortality and light!

Help us bring forth from darkness and from death a resurrected world, a new world, a world without wars, without racism, without hate, a world of brothers and sisters, not merely in word but in deed and in truth.

Dom Helder Camara is the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Olinda and Recife (Brazil). The foregoing is excerpted and adapted from his remarks in October, 1975 upon receiving an Honorary Doctor of Law degree from the University of Cincinnati and the 1975 Peace Award from the North American Federation of the Third Order of St. Francis.

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Both Jesse Jackson and the Honorable Elijah Muhammad have been providing this emphasis.

Black liberation theologians have yet to set forth a convincing rationale for the particularity of black unity and struggle within the context of the Christian Church which brings men and women of all races, nationalities, classes, and generations into a new relationship with God and thereby with each other.

It must set forth a rationale for blacks' perception of our own community as the beloved community. Any liberation of blacks will necessarily be posited upon black unity and strength. We require a theology that not only legitimates struggle against white power as God's own struggle, but that unifies and purifies the black community. The very first known Afro-American organization, the Free African Society of Philadelphia (1787), aimed at the purification and uplift of the community by providing psychological and financial support to family life. For example, intemperance and gambling were suppressed. (Drunkenness wreaked the same havoc on the eighteenth-century families that

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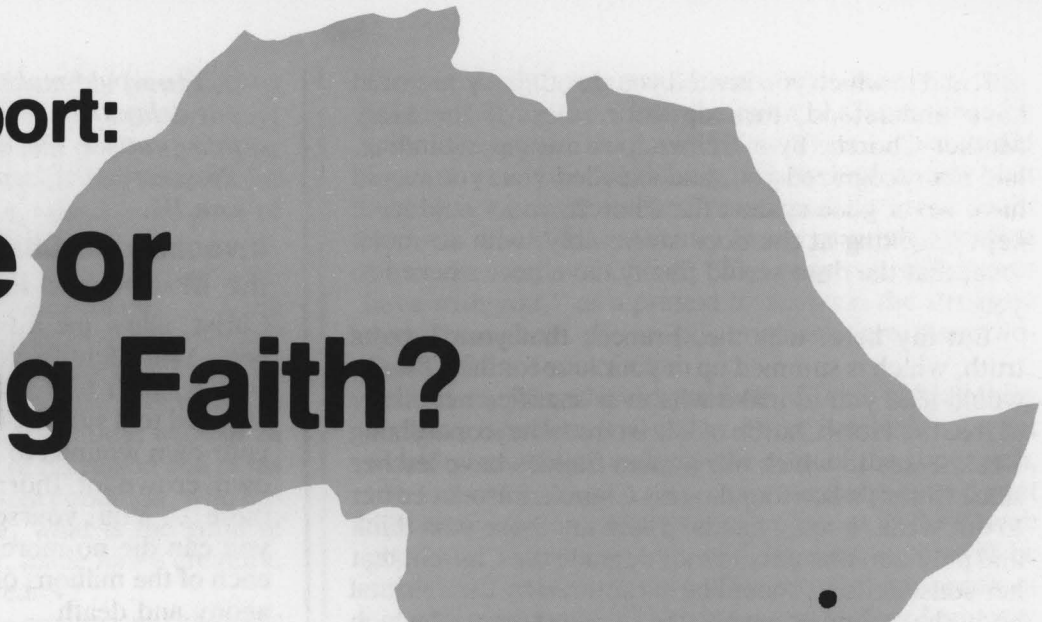
Nairobi Report:

Naivete or a Saving Faith?



by Robert L. DeWitt

The plane approached Nairobi with a passenger list largely consisting of persons attending the World Council of Churches' Fifth Assembly. An hour earlier the pilot had come on the inter-com to inform the passengers that the visibility was very poor over Nairobi, but that it might clear sufficiently by the time of our scheduled arrival. Then he came on again, and said the visibility was still inadequate, but improving, and that he would go into a holding pattern for a while. After 15 minutes of circling, he announced: "Two planes ahead of us have just been cleared for landing. We will wait and see how they make out!" For that plane-load of delegates, the Assembly began with a stirring call to "wait and see!"

Yet, the Fifth Assembly in Nairobi was an impressive act of faith. It took place in a world which knew that the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse were riding as they had never ridden before. The previous Assembly in Uppsala was held seven years earlier. It was a gathering deeply affected by then current revelations of a world afflicted by racism, sexism, imperialism and classism. The seven years which followed did nothing but verify, soberly and painfully, the intransigence of those revelations. Despite that awareness, here were Christians gathered together from all races, classes and countries to proclaim that "Jesus Christ frees and unites." Surely this gathering must have been either an act of unprecedented naivete, or a world-wide witness to a saving faith. Or was it both?

There were unmistakable signs of naivete. For example, although the theme was pertinent to this world, was there not a serious misreading of reality? The WCC was calling on its member churches to set right the wrongs of the world. But the churches are hardly free to respond. Individuals, it is true, can discern the difficulties, the threats to order in this world, and render significant service. Too, small groups of like-minded people can mount modest forays which attack specific problems. But to attempt to enlist for this purpose a major constituency, be it a member church or the WCC itself, seems to defy the facts. Simply put, large, organized bodies are caught, committed, coopted. They are immersed in the world, and seem unlikely to free themselves from it.

This is so not just in theory, but practically, politically, economically and ecclesiastically. With one of the major power cleavages in the world one which divides it into two camps—variously described as East and West, socialist and capitalist, communist and free—small wonder that a gathering of churches from around the world also bears the marks of this division. A resolution was introduced for example, which made a specific reference to the Helsinki Declaration on Human Rights, of which the USSR was a signatory. The resolution urged the USSR to stop its violations of that agreement. This resolution brought the Assembly to the edge of its ecumenical world, and threatened to push it off.

Vociferously and emotionally, the East European delegates presented virtually a solid bloc in opposing the resolution. They suggested that there might well have been violations by other signatory countries, that there was no substantial evidence of violations by the

USSR, that the Helsinki Declaration had been issued too recently to make possible fair condemnations for infractions, and that they had not been consulted before the resolution was put before the Assembly. In short, they suggested the resolution was unfair, and suggestive of a move to malign both their churches and the USSR before the world.

Western-world spokesmen, represented by delegates from the United Kingdom and North America, among others, pointed out that the practice of this and previous Assemblies had been to be specific in designating violations of human rights elsewhere, and suggested that the Russian and other Eastern-European spokesmen were speaking more protectively of the political interests of the USSR, than on behalf of the world-wide mission of the Christian Church. One spokesman said that the blunting of this resolution would commit the WCC to a policy of "selective indignation."

The debate was replete with amendments, and amendments to amendments, some of which attempted to conciliate by making the condemnation of the USSR more moderate. Time ran out on that day's session, and a special hearing was scheduled late that evening to continue the discussion. A standing-room-only gathering heard a rehearsal of the points already made, heavily dominated by the Eastern bloc. Said a delegate from Argentina, "Is this a question of right and wrong, or right and left?"

On the one hand, the Assembly risked the danger of having bowed to political pressure from the socialist countries, a not-inconsiderable danger, given the soft-on-communism image the WCC already had in the Western world. On the other hand, there was a veiled threat by the Eastern bloc to withdraw from the WCC if this resolution prevailed. The loss to the WCC of the Orthodox presence would be a devastating blow to WCC's claim to be a *world* council of churches. This was particularly true in light of the disappointment that no major steps were taken at the Assembly to advance the relationship between the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church.

God and Caesar seemed locked in a jurisdictional dispute, and the disputed jurisdiction was the WCC itself. A substitute motion was finally approved, which made only a passing reference to "the alleged denial of religious liberty in the USSR . . ." As one cynical observer put it, "The blood of nationality is thicker than the water of Baptism."

In terms of economics, too, the Assembly revealed that the churches are not only "in", but "of" the world. The budgetary deficiencies which the WCC faces—in common with most other institutions of today—highlighted the reality of the economic factor in church behavior. Churches, like dogs, it is said, should not bite the hand that feeds them. Thus it was that when the Prime Minister of Jamaica posed a strong critique of capitalism, even though he was also critical of state socialism, an American delegate chided the Assembly staff for not having included on the program an apologist for capitalism.

There was also a peculiarly ecclesiastical manifestation of this same principle of group self-interest. A current American proverb has it that "Where you stand (on an issue) depends upon where you sit." Some 60 per cent of the delegates to the Assembly were ordained persons. Where *they* "sit" is in the church establishment. There is a strong convergence, inevitably, between their personal interests and the interests of the church as an institution. Reflecting former Defense Secretary Wilson's memorable and remarkable dictum, "What is good for General Motors is good for the United States"; these delegates were predisposed to believe that what served the prudential interests of their particular denomination was identical with the best interests of the world-wide mission of the Gospel. This point was illustrated with reference to certain areas of the Third World. The recent clamorous movements by Latin American groups for liberation from economic and political oppression were often muted in the Assembly by church representatives from those same areas, because their institutional and financial ties bound them closer to the powers of oppression than to the oppressed whom they purported to represent.

These are some of the signs indicating that the churches have so much stake in the present order—both their own order and the present world order—that they are not truly free to pull up stakes and go on pilgrimage to the Holy City, God's realm of justice and freedom.

Further evidence of naivete was found in the frequent assumption that a change can be made from the present world situation to a more desirable one on the wings of words, intentions and resolutions. The truth is that such changes are brought about only by entering the abyss of the hard human realities of economics and political action, and by facing the divisions and conflicts which those realities inevitably produce. This is the only access that exists.

From Europe comes the good-natured jibe, "The WCC is trying to lay eggs on a moving escalator." How much easier it would be for the programs of the churches if history would hold still, if targets were fixed, not moving, if problems and issues would stop escalating. Yet, Christians believe that God came into this world as it is. And so have we.

In other words, the church must abandon its posture of being above the world, and enter into the world. It must incarnate itself in the struggle for which it professes concern, as did its Lord. It must dare to become particular, as He did. It must dare to make a choice. It must dare openly to join the struggle of peoples seeking liberation. Yet this imperative seems an impossible demand.

And so this Assembly seemed to have set itself to an impossible task? Yes. Yet Scripture reminds us that with God all things are possible. And the Assembly was granted some glimpses of how that may be so.

There was, for example, unmistakable evidence of the earnest intention of Christians to be obedient to their Lord, and to bear a clear witness to His Lordship. This found expression in many different languages, and also in many differing approaches. Some of those approaches seemed at times to be mutually exclusive. But there was a basic unity. This is not an inconsiderable factor, and is worthy of reflection. One could safely generalize that every delegate was a person whose spiritual formation had included, at some point in life, a deeply serious religious commitment. That commitment had rendered that person permanently different from what he or she had been before, different from what that person would otherwise have become, and having a bond of unity with others who had been similarly affected. The dairy farmer from Canada, with his pan-Protestant formation in the United Church of Canada, the Methodist parson from London, the Dutch Reformed pastor from Holland, the Orthodox Bishop from Bulgaria, the native African who is dean of an Anglican seminary in his native Uganda—what do they all have in common? It is easier to sense the answer than it is to define it. But it was evident. Centrally, it was a common recognition of the authoritative truth to be found in Scription. Partly, it was an affirmation of their common identity as "Christians." One is tempted to take refuge in the conclusion that this difficult-to-define unity was a "mystery." But a fact is no less real for its being mysterious. An official Jewish observer, after participating in the Assembly, remarked: "Now I know there is a Christian Church."

Another example: there was evidence that this Assembly was being united in a larger perception of the truth about the relationship which binds together nature, man and God. WCC studies, addresses and discussions all contributed to a deeper understanding of the character of God's gift in creation. There was a growing awareness that God had not placed man's feet on an alien world, which was to be exploited and expended. Rather, this world was a patrimony, a sacrament of God's bounteous love, a gift to be cherished and nurtured. With this came the deeper realization that we cannot faithfully be our brothers' and sisters' keepers without also being better stewards of the resources of the natural order which sustain us all.

At a press conference, a WCC staff member, in introducing a leading scientist, made the comment that "Scientists are no longer men pursuing truth. They are men pursued by technology." The scientist's remarks which followed, were strong corroboration of this observation. He stated that the world is a Titanic on a collision course and that only a change in course can avert disaster. This is now a rather familiar observation, no less true for all its familiarity. But he said more. He pointed out that the negative impact on the world environment has been disastrously accelerated by technology, and that technology is disproportionately controlled by trans-national corporations. He stated that the annual combined sales of the five largest trans-national oil companies exceed the gross national product of any but four countries in the world. He further pointed out there is a connection between human justice and renewal of the earth, and between human injustice and environmental deterioration. Nature, man and God are in this together.

We suggested at the outset that this Assembly was perhaps both an act of naivete, and a witness to a world-wide faith. As an observer, one perhaps would incline toward the former evaluation. As a believer, one would perhaps assess it as a witness to a saving faith. The final verdict is not in. However, in significant ways, faith creates its own justification. The question of whether God will use the WCC as an instrument to free and unite all the people of the world requires an answer which is as yet a hostage held by the future. Crucially, it depends upon the churches' response to their discernment of God's will for His world.

One of the veteran reporters covering this Assembly was asked what he thought of the WCC. After commenting on some of the problems it faces, he concluded by saying that nevertheless he felt the WCC expressed the best hopes for the world that he knew of anywhere.

Network Reports

The December issue of THE WITNESS told of the first meeting of the National Steering Committee of the Church and Society Network, and reported the statements of purpose and function which were formulated there.

Among the other actions taken were the determination of immediate tasks, and the assignment of persons to carry them out. One of the tasks was the preparation of a working paper on a theology for social mission, for consideration by the local Network groups. It was felt important that members of the Network be clear about the Christian imperative of the social mission of the church, to avoid a false dichotomy between religious motivation and secular concern.

Another task was the assembling of suggestions for worship and celebration appropriate to the on-going meetings of the Network in local and regional groupings. It was recognized that work should stay close to prayer, and prayer to work, and it was recognized that the celebration of hope is an essential ingredient of Christian social action.

Other tasks had to do with the need for effective communication amongst the various Network groups, and the question of funding for the on-going life of the Network.

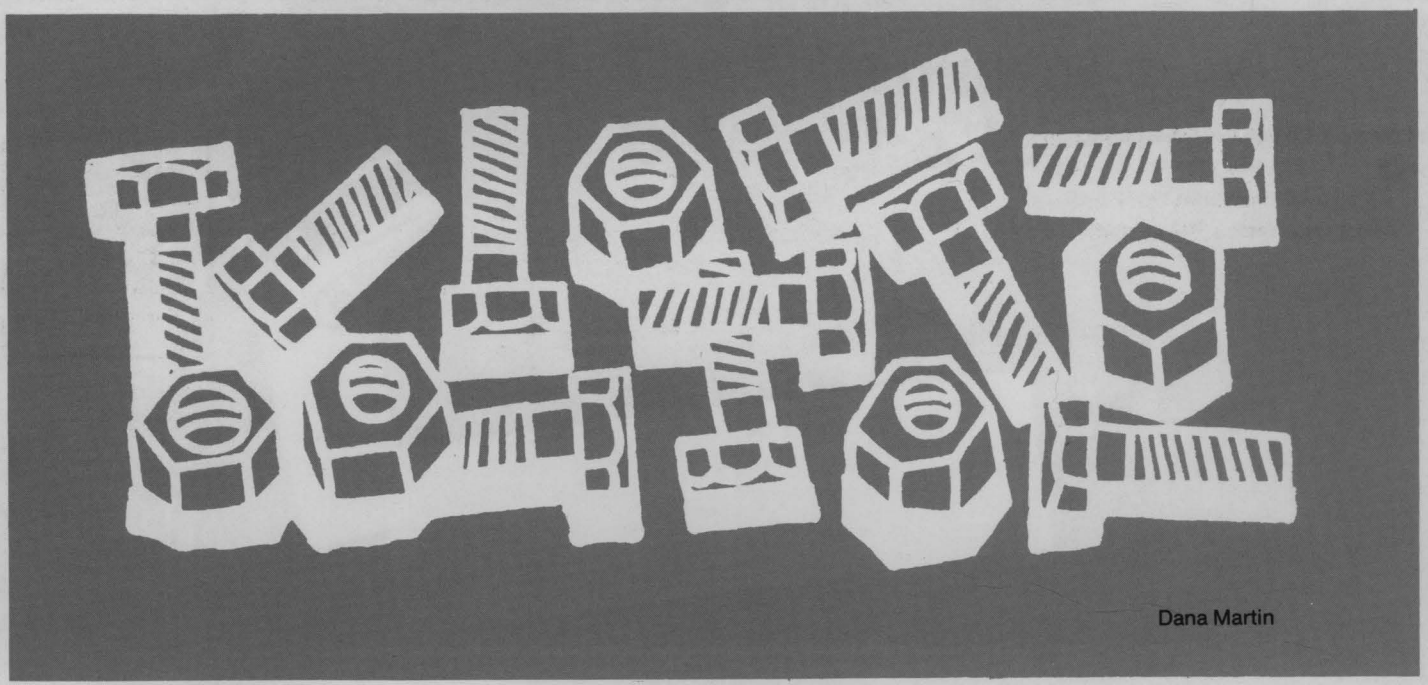
Those named to the National Steering Committee were: Ben Bagdikian, Cynthia Bourgeault, Robert L. DeWitt, Alice Dieter, Margaret Ferry, Richard Gressle, Edward G. Harris, Edgar Hartley, Jr., Fred Mahaffey, Betty Medsger, Joseph A. Pelham, Charles Ritchie, Harlan Stelmach, Henri Stines, Cabell Tennis, Harcourt Waller, Kathryn Waller, Lucia Whisenand, Hugh C. White, Gibson Winter.

continued from page 15

drugs do today.) Out of the Free African Society developed the northern black church. The black theologians of eighteenth-century Philadelphia clearly perceived the necessity of internal liberation.

Serious black liberation theology will not be successful until there is an understanding of black theology as formulated within the black religious tradition. Such a book as John Lovell's *Black Song: The Flame and the Forge* is a step in the proper direction. Lovell discusses the radical, revolutionary themes underlying the spirituals produced by the antebellum folk community. These black fathers understood the fullness of the liberation needed. Even such widely published black theological writers as Alexander Crummell and Francis Grimke are yet to be treated by black liberation theologians.

J. Carleton Hayden, Ph.D., assistant professor of history at Howard University, is president of the Black Episcopal Clergy Association.



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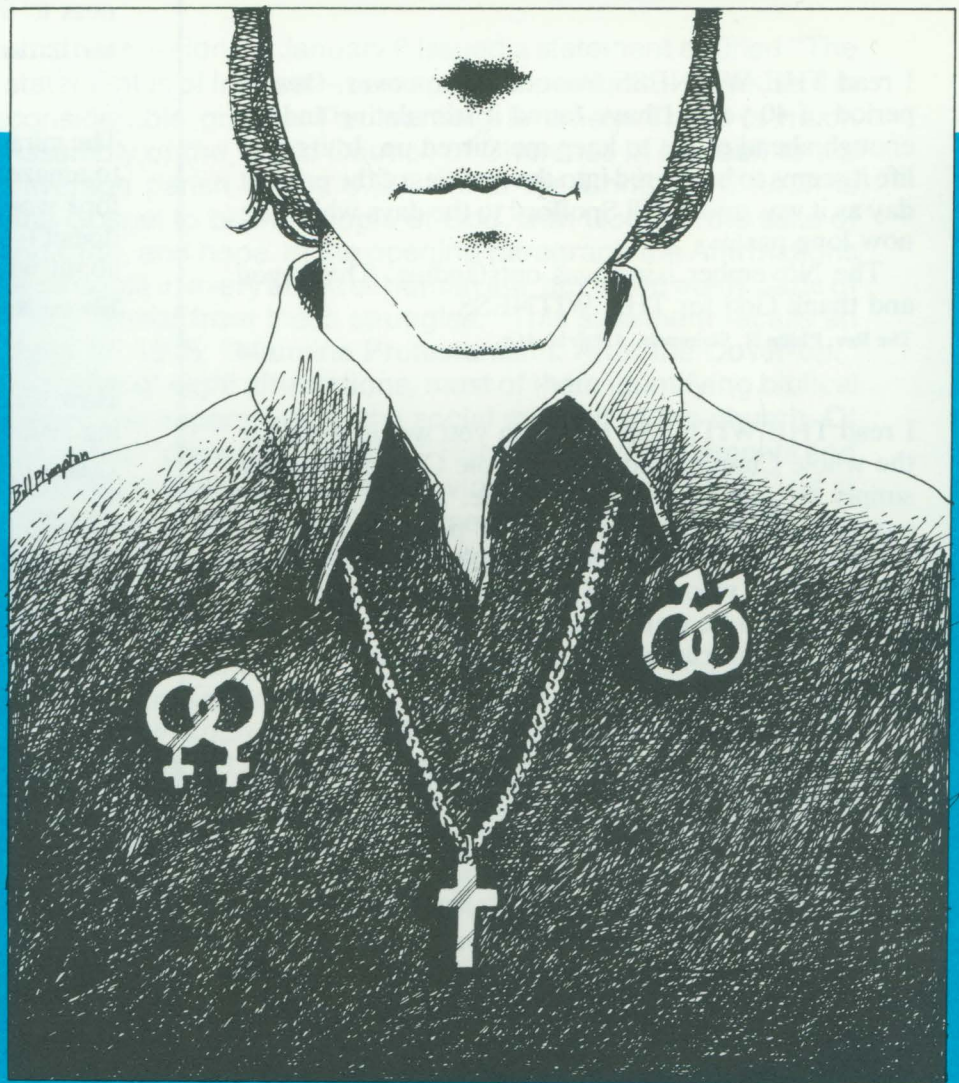


- **The Gay in the Church**
  by Brian McNaught
  Responses by:
  Paul Moore
  Coleman McGehee
  Rollin Fairbanks
  Louie Crew
- **Sex and the Unmarried**
  by Robert W. Cromey
- **Look at Yourself, America! The American Journey—Part III** by Edward Joseph Holland

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters

I enjoy THE WITNESS! The articles are long and deep enough to be thought provoking, while short and relevant enough that I always find time to read them. Thank you.

Sandra L. Weisenreder, *Webster, NY*

I read THE WITNESS from cover to cover. Over a period of 40 years I have found it stimulating and far enough ahead of me to keep me stirred up. In its new life it seems to be geared into the realities of the present day as it was under Bill Spofford to the days which are now long past.

The November issue was outstanding. Thank you and thank God for THE WITNESS.

The Rev. Philip H. Steinmetz, *Ashfield, MA*

I read THE WITNESS and wish you would write for the whole Church, and to the whole Church, and not simply to and for the avant garde. In this area, for example, there are thousands of people who have worked hard, served the Church well, say their prayers, and whose chief work now is to grow old gracefully and die well. Remember also that since there is much to conserve, a good conservative can be noble.

Rt. Rev. Richard S. M. Emrich, *Sun City, Arizona*

After reading the excellent editorial, "Eloise and Abelard" in the November WITNESS, what a shock to come upon such an incredibly sexist article, "To Those Who Stay," by James Lowery on the very next page. What an ironic juxtaposition. The shock hit me when Mr. Lowery continually (five times) used the masculine pronoun for the Holy Spirit! Does Mr. Lowery not know that the ancient Hebrew word for spirit (ruach) is of the feminine gender?

Ann Smith, *Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania*

I have found it (THE WITNESS) stimulating enough over the years to feel that a subscription is very worthwhile. The degree of stimulation remains strong, if it in fact has not increased.

Rt. Rev. Christoph Keller, Jr., *Little Rock, Arkansas*

While I find myself in substantial agreement with Dr. Massey Shepherd's letter, I trust that your publication will serve a useful purpose in clarifying the issues before the Church. More is at stake than partisan church politics, and THE WITNESS should try to be a reconciling instrument in strengthening our corporate witness to the Gospel of Christ.

Rev. C. Towsend Ruddick, Jr., *St. John, Barbados*

The miracle of the resurrected WITNESS never ceases to amaze us. I am sure Bishop Johnson and Bill Spofford would cheer; I'm not at all sorry that everyone doesn't—if they did I'd be worried. As it is, I'm worried about whether my subscription is paid up.

Jane and Roger Barney, *Ann Arbor, Mich.*

How we enjoy the challenging, forward looking, prodding articles. Thank you.

Ambrose C. Miller, *Middletown, RI*

Why don't you ever say something nice about conservative, praying, church going people who believe in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Book of Common Prayer.

Joseph M. McCarty, *New York, N.Y.*

Within this issue we present you, our reader, with Part III of Edward Joseph Holland's perceptive monograph on the American Journey entitled "Look at Yourself, America!" When the series of four is completed you may write THE WITNESS for extra copies for use with group discussions.

THE WITNESS Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; E. Lawrence Carter, Robert Eckersley, Antoinette Swanger, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White, Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates: $9.00 per year; $1.00 per copy. *The Witness* is published monthly by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Board of Directors: Bishops Morris Arnold, Robert DeWitt, Lloyd Gressle, John Hines, John Krumm, Brooke Mosley and Dr. Joseph Fletcher.

Editorial

A Tract for the Times

by Robert L. DeWitt

A task force of the Boston Industrial Mission on January 6 issued a statement entitled "The Boston Affirmations."* The statement is of interest—perhaps of importance—because it is a theological appraisal of considerable gravity. The warning is timely. There is much evidence—from the recent Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi, to the ongoing life pattern of the average parish in the U.S.A.—that the Christian Church is temporizing with the call of the Gospel to be the people of God, with God, for the sake of those who need liberation, and truth, and hope. In the opening paragraph the Affirmations identify this concern: "We see struggle in every arena of human life, but in too many parts of the church and theology we find retreat from these struggles." This statement recalls an article in THE WITNESS of April 13, 1975, "Mainline Protestantism: After the Cover-up."

The statement continues with a list of eight affirmations, most of them identifying biblical doctrines which clearly undergird the imperatives of the social mission of the church. Of especial interest is the section entitled "present Witnesses." Here are listed movements and signs in contemporary world society in which are seen the evidence of the Spirit of God at work, such as the struggles of the poor, of ethnics and of women to overcome injustice; the challenges to the idolatry of nationalism; efforts in the arenas of science and art to find meaning and hope.

The Affirmation concludes with this paragraph:

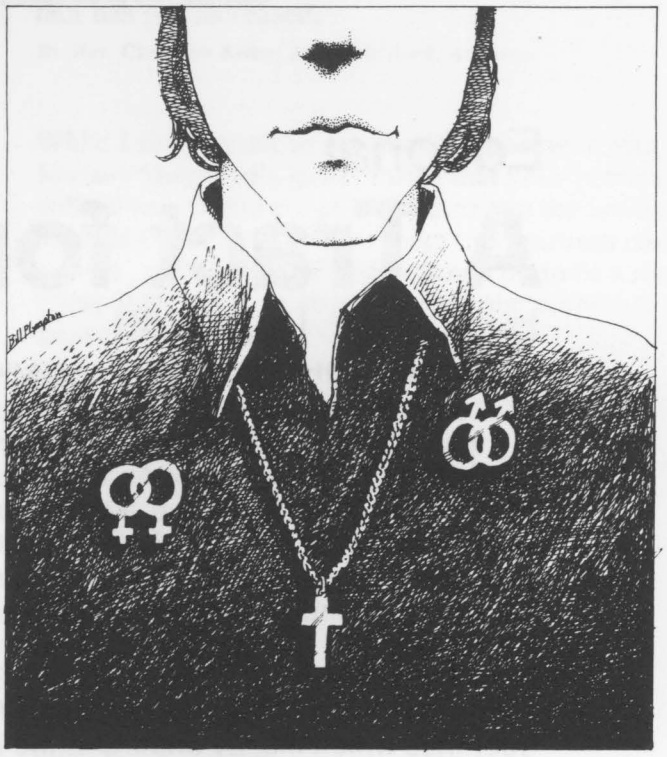
> *On these grounds, we can not stand with those secular cynics and religious spiritualizers who see in such witnesses no theology, no eschatological urgency, and no Godly promise or judgment. In such spiritual blindness, secular or religious, the world as God's creation is abandoned, sin rules, liberation is frustrated, covenant is broken, prophecy is stilled, wisdom is betrayed, suffering love is transformed into triviality, and the church is transmuted into a club for self- or transcendental-awareness. The struggle is now joined for the future of faith and the common life. We call all who believe in the living God to affirm, to sustain and to extend these witnesses.*

THE WITNESS commends The Boston Affirmations for study and reflection. We feel it is a needed reminder to the church that its social mission is not optional, but is an inescapable imperative of the gospel.

* Copies of the full statement can be obtained from the Boston Industrial Mission, 56 Boylston Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

The Dilemma of the Gay in the Church

by Brian McNaught



The delegates laughed nervously as they processed to communion. Accompanying a slide show, a voice echoed through the auditorium.

"When people think about homosexuals they imagine an over-weight, middle-aged man by the name of Bruce, who, with pink scarf tied loosely around his neck, limps and lisps his way through helpful hints for interior decorating."

The Episcopal clergy and lay delegates to the 142nd annual convention of the Diocese of Michigan laughed nervously and then immediately defeated a resolution which would have attempted to guarantee for homosexuals basic human rights.

Beginning as a protest five years ago by members of the gay community at the Diocesan Convention, the resolution on homosexuality was the result of two years of study by an appointed commission of theologians, churchpersons and representatives of the gay community.

In May, 1974, the Diocesan Council passed a resolution based on the findings of the Commission. When presented to Convention that fall, delegates voted to postpone debate pending a year of study by the delegates of the resolution.

Some 650 reports were sent out for study in the parishes. Delegates were encouraged to involve their parishes in a discussion of the resolution on homosexuality and to report back their findings, with suggestions. Some 300 reports came back.

In addition to asking the church to take steps "to create an atmosphere of openness and understanding about human sexuality and, particularly, about homosexuality," the resolution on homosexuality called for all ministries, professions and occupations to be open to qualified people "whatever their sexual orientation . . . An oppressive or destructive use of sexuality within personal relations, whatever the sexual preference or orientation, should give reason to doubt the candidate's fitness for office."

The resolution stated that all aspects of the church's life—"education, liturgy, pastoral care, fellowship"—be available to all persons, regardless of their sexual orientation. This was not interpreted as a blessing of homosexual marriages in church celebration.

Finally, the resolution called for an active campaign on the part of the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan to fight those civil laws which oppress voluntary acts between mature persons. Harassment and violation of basic civil liberties were cited as targets to direct energies against.

Though the resolution had the 544 delegates split fairly evenly, its sponsors had predicted victory. The nervous laughter should have told them differently.

To have guaranteed passage of a simple resolution on equal rights for homosexuals, the communion procession should have stopped, the lights turned up, the projector and tape recorder off and the delegates forced to confront their nervous laughter.

Long before we can expect that Christian persons will secretly favor equal rights for everyone, we have to deal with the stereotypes and myths which make Archie Bunkers out of all of us. A reminder of the Gospel imperatives to love the least of our brethren will not accomplish justice among the 20th Century Christians. Not sufficient either is strong direction from a spiritual shepherd, as the delegates received from Bishop H. Coleman McGehee, who advised them to pass the resolution.

Christians today need as much convincing as the folk from Missouri. Regardless of what Jesus or the bishop say, they have to see it for themselves.

The enemy of the oppressed is ignorance. Most especially in the persecution of the homosexual, blind ignorance has led to an atmosphere of paranoia, hatred and repression causing despair, loneliness, isolation, mental breakdown and frequently suicide.

Before we share with concerned Christians the paths they might take to help undo what is being done to their gay brothers and sisters, we should first stop the procession, turn up the lights, turn the projector and tape recorder off and engage in dialogue on our own concepts of what it means to be gay.

Let's first take the stereotypes: effeminate men; masculine women; promiscuous; interested in children; wish they had been born the other sex; suffer from lack of sexual maturity; condemned by Scripture; hideous in the eyes of God.

Nervous laughter? Why?

As a gay male who regards himself as healthy, reasonably comfortable and well-integrated, I think it is a dehumanizing exercise to explain myself and my basic humanity to persons who oppress me. It is like asking a black man to prove, through appropriate data, that he does not naturally smell funny, that his brain is the same size as a white man's and that his penis is generally no larger.

And yet, as a political activist, I am aware that heterosexuals, regardless of their religious persuasion, need to be assured that their nightmares are just that and reality presents a different picture.

Let's start with some basics. A widely accepted percentage of the number of persons we are talking about is 10 per cent of the total population. Some estimates are larger, some smaller, but on the whole, 10 per cent is the figure most widely used by gay activists. That refers to persons who are exclusively homosexual in their orientation. But even that figure is deceiving, for as soon as you suggest that 10 per cent of the population is homosexual, the natural deduction is that 90 per cent of the population is exclusively heterosexual. Not so.

Dr. Alfred Kinsey and his successor at Indiana University's Institute for Sex Research, Dr. Ward Pomeroy, place human sexual response on a continuum scale of 0-6, 0 indicating exclusive heterosexuality and 6 indicating exclusive homosexuality. The majority of the population falls between those two dichotomies.

According to their studies, about 37 per cent of the males above the age of puberty have had at least one overt homosexual experience to the point of orgasm. About 13 per cent of the males react erotically to other males without having an overt experience after puberty. For women, the figures are 13 per cent and 7 per cent respectively.

The institute further estimated that only 15 per cent of male homosexuals are easily recognizable and only five per cent of lesbians could be characterized as "butch." The overwhelming majority of homosexual men and women defy society's stereotypes of the effeminate, limpwristed, lisping male and the masculine woman. Statistically, gays permeate every walk of life, from bishop to baker. Most live secretly, terrified of discovery and its personal and economic consequences.

On Nov. 20, 1970, the National Association for Mental Health stated: "Throughout history, in all cultures, a certain number of persons have been drawn to deviational sexual behavior. Such behavior does not constitute a specific mental or emotional illness."

Likewise, in 1966 the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry and in 1972 the American Psychological Association made similar statements. For gays, however, the most significant stand was taken in Dec. 15,

1973, by the Vatican of them all, the American Psychiatric Association, which by unanimous vote of its Board of Trustees, removed homosexuality from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Psychiatric Disorders.

" . . . This diagnostic category is distinguished from homosexuality, which by itself does not constitute a psychiatric disorder."

Pomeroy wrote: "If my concept of homosexuality were developed from my practice, I would probably concur in thinking of it as an illness. I have seen no homosexual man or woman in that practice who was not troubled, emotionally upset or neurotic. On the other hand, if my concept of marriage in the U.S. were based on my practice, I would have to conclude that marriages are all fraught with strife and conflict, and that heterosexuality is an illness. In my 20 years of research in the field of sex, I have seen many homosexuals who were happy, who were practicing and conscientious members of their community and who were stable, productive, warm, relaxed and efficient. Except for the fact they were homosexual, they could be considered normal by any definition."

In the area of child molestation, less than one per cent of the homosexual population is involved in crimes against children. Police blotters across the country will affirm that the heterosexual is the major molester of children. If we were to be consistent with the logic which has sought to keep homosexuals out of the teaching profession, we would have to suggest that children are only safe with homosexual teachers. Obviously that is absurd. I, for one, had many heterosexual teachers who were fine, healthy people, normal by any standard. Child abuse is a disorder which is as much abhorred by the homosexual community as it is by the heterosexual community.

There are no statistics to present about promiscuity. While it may be true that sections of the gay subculture (the bars and the baths) are known to provide an atmosphere for easy sexual contacts, the same holds true for the heterosexual singles bars and Playboy Clubs. The bars in both cultures only attract a small percentage of the population. With the gay community the exception often is extended to be the norm.

The unfounded myths with which we operate when we deal with homosexuals has led to a national temperament which, in its paranoia, would publicly, and with pride, exclude homosexuals from every walk of life open to heterosexuals. We keep homosexuals out of the Armed Forces, the classroom, the pulpit, the Charismatic Prayer Group and the fire and police departments. If caught in the act of love making, homosexual men or women in most states can be fined heavily and sent to prison where they run the immediate risk of rape by heterosexual inmates (another myth challenged?).

Homosexual men and women grow up isolated from their families and friends and fellow employees. They are forced onto an island which is frighteningly lonely and desperate, suicide being the number one cause of death of young gay people.

When I revealed my homosexuality, my four-year, award-winning column was dropped by *The Michigan Catholic,* the official newspaper of the Archdiocese of Detroit, and I was subsequently fired. Yet many heterosexuals complain they don't know any homosexuals. Do they wonder why their homosexual friends don't come forward and identify themselves?

In looking back I see that we have neglected a major myth. That was intentional, for the myth that homosexuals are condemned by Scripture and hideous in the eyes of God is the primary source of the problem.

In my work within Roman Catholic gay activism I have identified my church as the major oppressor of the gay community throughout history. I say that as a Roman Catholic who sees value in the church and as an individual who wishes to continue to work within the system.

Non-Roman Catholics should not feel a sense of relief that we place the blame on Rome. My statement reflects my tendency to identify the church as the major political force in the Western world. But the blame is shared by the Episcopal Church and every other religious denomination which has preached the Judeo-Christian ethic.

As is true with many of our oppressive attitudes towards minorities, our source of ignorance is a selectively literalistic approach to Scripture. Blessed are the poor. Slaves be obedient to your masters and wives to your husbands. Women can't be priests because they were never intended to be equal to men. Homosexuality is "condemned" in Genesis, Leviticus and Paul's letters to Romans, Corinthians and Timothy.

Like every other unliberated group struggling for survival in a Judeo-Christian setting, gays have been forced to go back, study and then explain that most of our attitudes come from a patriarchal society which saw "spilling of the seed" as a threat to the increase of the race . . . a tribe of people small in number, political in nature, which was constantly being threatened by

much larger, more powerful tribes. "Spilling the seed" was a threat to the birth of the savior.

Throughout the Old Testament, the Biblical writers tell us how they perceive the beginning of the world and the purpose God has placed on all things. Men were created first; women from them. Men were the rulers and the providers. Women were the vine which was destined to bear fruit (no pun intended).

As long as that social order prevailed, the Chosen People would grow abundantly and subdue all oppressors.

Modern Scripture scholars, including Canon D. S. Bailey, tell us that we have misinterpreted scripture. If indeed we must scour the pages of the Old and New Testament for our answers to 20th Century problems, then let us scour in the frame of mind in which the passages were written.

Genesis 19, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, which all too often has been the source of pulpit protest against homosexuality, was never intended to be a statement on homosexuality, according to Bailey. Rather, the citizens of the famed city were destroyed for violating the law of hospitality. Though all of the men and boys in the city surround Lot's house (Kinsey would be baffled by the percentage of homosexuals allegedly living in Sodom) so that they might "know" the angelic visitors, Bailey states that in the 964 times "know" is used in Scripture, it never means homosexual intercourse.

Other scholars of Scripture tell us that the death by stoning penalty of homosexuality in the Old Testament was a reaction to the practice of temple prostitution engaged in by polytheists and not a statement on "constitutional" homosexuals. In fact, Jews of that time were culturally unaware that persons could be totally homosexual in orientation.

St. Paul condemns effeminacy and pederasty in his reaction to practices in Rome where homosexual prostitution was rampant.

In the dawning of Christianity and the writings of later thought leaders such as St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, the Christian world formulated its strict formula for all genital activity. Augustine and Aquinas stated that right order dictates the only proper use of genital activity is within the confines of blessed marriage and then only for the procreation of children. Thus we have restrictions on masturbation, pre-marital sex and birth control, not to mention homosexuality, (which incidentally by the Middle Ages was referred to as "peccatum illud horribile inter Christianos non nominandum")—the sin so horrible that it must not be mentioned in the presence of Christians.

These attitudes of the church, as with all attitudes of the church, showed their ugly face in the formulation of civil laws. Homosexuals throughout our bloody Judeo-Christian ancestry were condemned by the state and punished by death. The normal means of extermination was burning at the stake, a practice which led to the use of the term "faggot," in reference to homosexuals.

Without going into the atrocities perpetrated against hundreds of thousands of gay men and women throughout history, suffice it to say that it wasn't until 1861 that the death penalty for sodomy was removed in England. In Scotland it remained until 1889. In Nazi Germany, gays were rounded up from all occupied territory and either shot on sight or shipped for extermination to concentration camps.

Today Christian denominations refuse to ordain homosexual persons. In cities where legislation is pending which would guarantee for homosexuals the civil rights afforded every other person in this country, most church officials come out loud and clear against such measures. In the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan, where even discussion of the issue was considered "forward thinking," delegates screamed out their opposition to reconsider the defeated resolution which would have merely stated support for civil rights.

As a Christian gay I am led to identify another major source of oppression for gay men and women and for women in general. Challenging this source is generally far more threatening for even the most liberal Christian.

In his now famous book, *A Theology of Liberation,* Gustavo Gutierrez states: "Modern man's aspirations include not only liberation from exterior pressures which prevent his fulfillment as a member of a certain social class, country or society. He seeks likewise an interior liberation, in an individual and intimate dimension. He seeks liberation not only on a social plane but also on a psychological one."

When Fr. Gutierrez was in Detroit recently I asked him what his presentation said to gay men and women. He responded that gay men and women must come to grips with their own theology based on their experience of struggle.

For me that means re-examining not only Scripture but our source of inspiration. As a gay male who seeks, through the instruction of his church, to find his own image and likeness within the source of all understand-

ing and meaning, which we call God, I am forced to conclude that our God is inadequate.

Our God, the Father, who takes Israel as His bride, who protects and forgives her, who chooses one of her virgins to be His mate says nothing to me of my gayness and the expression of it.

Our God, the celibate Son, says nothing to me of my gayness and the expression of it.

Our God, the Holy Spirit, in the form of fire or dove, says nothing to me of my gayness and the expression of it.

My alienation from the image and likeness of the heterosexual, patriarchal Trinity is prompted by my experience of struggle as a healthy and happy gay male.

Woe to the gay or straight sister who is encouraged to look desperately in the Trinity for the image and likeness of herself.

The Jewish theologian and philosopher Martin Buber, in his book *I-Thou,* asserts that to give God dimensions is to limit God. To suggest even "all powerful" is to put God in the category of power. Despite that, heterosexual man has created in his own image and likeness a God which reinforces his lifestyle and beliefs.

It is not a bad God. It is merely a limited one.

Liberation from the oppression which is inherent in our culture means that all oppressed persons, be they gay or straight, male or female, black or white, rich or poor, must not only battle the signs of oppression but also the source. Liberation means discovering in your own experience the dimension of God as reflected in your own life. It means restructuring your concept of the divine without abandoning the revelation of love shared with us.

BRIAN MC NAUGHT is a graduate of the Marquette University College of Journalism. He is a free lance journalist because of his recent termination as a reporter and columnist for The Michigan Catholic *for being involved in the gay civil rights movement. Currently he is National Director of Social Action for DIGNITY, an international organization of gay catholics.*

TEN EPISCOPAL BISHOPS AFFIRM ROMAN CATHOLIC STAND ON "GAYS"

Bishops Thomas Gumbleton and Joseph Imesch, auxiliary bishops of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit stated in a letter to Brian McNaught,

> "... we have a serious obligation to root out structures and attitudes which discriminate against the homosexual as a person. We will exert our leadership in behalf of this effort."

This statement was affirmed by the following Episcopal Bishops:

Bishop H. Coleman McGehee
Diocese of Michigan

Bishop Paul Moore, Jr.
Diocese of New York

Bishop Frederick Wolf
Diocese of Maine

Bishop Wm. Henry Marmion
Diocese of Southwestern Virginia

Bishop John M. Krumm
Diocese of Southern Ohio

Bishop George E. Rath
Diocese of Newark

Bishop Richard M. Trelease, Jr.
Diocese of the Rio Grande

Bishop Lyman C. Ogilby
Bishop J. Brooke Moseley
Diocese of Pennsylvania

Bishop Charles E. Bennison
Diocese of Western Michigan

Bishop Robert Spears, Jr.
Diocese of Rochester

Response to McNaught

Concerning Civil Rights

by Paul Moore

In Brian McNaught's article "The Dilemma of the Gay in the Church" he dealt clearly and quickly with many of the misconceptions people have about gay persons and with the problems facing them. I have always been concerned about the different communities of our culture, both within and without the Church, who are discriminated against because of history and misunderstanding—poor people, welfare recipients, Black people, Spanish-speaking people, Orientals, women, and the rest. Perhaps the *most* misunderstood minority is the so-called "gay community."

Working toward the understanding of gay people—why they are the way they are, how they feel, what their problems are within society, how much of our misunderstanding and prejudice comes out of our own sexual insecurity, what of the seeming direct conflict between a gay life and some Scriptural statements—all this makes our understanding of them and our acceptance of them in society perhaps more difficult than that of any other group. As the Bishop of

New York where the gay community is large and articulate and influential, and of a Diocese which has hundreds—perhaps thousands—of gay people within its congregations, one faces this situation with some trepidation. Here are some of the difficult problems.

What is the best way by which scriptural statements condemning all sexual acts outside of marriage can be explained? Mr. McNaught's article gives us some good leads on this, but such commentary is little known and therefore might well be suspect by many churchpeople. How do you deal with the seeming conflict between the standard of married sexuality which is still the accepted standard of the Church and the fact that homosexuality must exist outside of marriage?

Can homosexual persons be married in any sense? How do you deal with the radical difference in reaction between traditional people who are shocked and horrified by the very mention of homosexuality in polite society and yet are faithful churchpeople and perhaps quite "liberal" on other issues, and those parts of the community and Church who are more than ready to accept a new interpretation of homosexuality along the lines of Mr. McNaught's article? Is the issue of homosexuality in any way related to the other great sexual issue of our Church, the ordination of women? Can the issue of homosexuality be considered outside consideration of the whole subject of sexuality, including the common practice of clergy counselling, or at the least condoning premarital intercourse between couples?

This is a large and deep agenda; there are many differences among authorities who write on the subject. People's feelings are perhaps more intense in regards to homosexuality than they are even on the subject of racism.

Nor are these questions unrelated to the welfare of the homosexual members of our Church. I feel very strongly that every person has a right to decide whether or not he or she wishes to reveal his or her true sexual nature, but those gay persons who do not wish to reveal their sexual preference are deeply threatened by a discussion of these issues—and understandably so.

All of these questions are difficult enough for the layperson but they become even more difficult when the clergy are involved. Because an ordained minister has a responsibility to be a role model many of our people find the concept of a clergyman openly practicing the gay life to be abhorrent. They feel that such a role model is not one to which they wish their children exposed. Thus there is a deep conflict between the advantages of openness and honesty and the need for Anglican clergy in certain cases to conceal their sexual identity if they wish to be employed as clergy and accepted by laypersons in most congregations.

It seems to me that the best of all possible solutions should be the rapid increase of understanding of the facts of homosexuality insofar as they can be determined, together with a compassionate and generous minded understanding of the rights of such persons to be Christians and to be fully accepted members of the community. As this process of education and understanding continues the atmosphere hopefully will become more accepting of gay people, and within that more accepting atmosphere gay people can become a respected part of the Church. At this point I cannot see the ultimate solutions to all of the problems stated above, but I do think it is an urgent responsibility of all churchmen to encourage open understanding.

In the meanwhile we must at least fight vigorously for the civil rights of all persons without regard to sexual preference. As their civil rights are gained and as the cultural atmosphere increases our understanding—both within and without the Church—they will by their own integrity, passion, and courage win the respect of their fellow churchmen.

Paul Moore is Bishop of New York. Several months ago, with the endorsement of his Diocesan Convention, he attempted unsuccessfully to prevail upon the New York City Council to protect the civil rights of homosexuals.

Response to McNaught

Concerning the Biblical View

by Coleman McGehee

The Bible contains mistakes, inaccuracies, contradictions, misinterpretations, and misunderstandings and yet it is still the primary record of God's revelation of Himself to the world. That is why the Bible can be the most difficult book of any book to read. And so with all this in mind, and more, I took the various citations in the Bible which have to do with homosexuality and over a period of time carefully studied them. I had assumed that homosexuality was condemned clearly in

the various Biblical passages. But I discovered surprisingly enough some interesting revelations as is often the case in reading and studying the Bible.

I discovered that the famous passage from Genesis having to do with Sodom and Gomorrah viewed for centuries as God's condemnation of homosexuality in the Old Testament may have nothing to do with homosexuality at all.

I discovered that much of the Biblical mention of homosexuality occurs within the context of a discussion of idolatry which, of course, Holy Scriptures condemns.

I discovered that some passages such as in Leviticus include homosexuality together with a long list of prohibitions that make up the holiness code and which we certainly would not observe today . . . For the Christian this legal code has been superseded by the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

It must be pointed out that Jesus in his ministry to our knowledge never said anything about the subject of homosexuality. He did affirm human life, however, at every point and showed us that the test of our commitment lies in our attitude toward and treatment of other human beings.

Homosexuality, I am more and more inclined to conclude, is not so much a problem but a mystery—a mystery which may be insoluble. A mystery which is given us and which perhaps we must somehow accept and live with. Could it be, I ask myself, that homosexuality is right for some persons?

Coleman McGehee is Bishop of Michigan. Under his leadership a unique program of diocesan education has taken place over the past two years on the subject of homosexuality. The narrow margin by which the resolution, referred to in McNaught's article, was lost at the recent diocesan convention is eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of and the need for education on this subject. The remarks above are excerpted from his convention address.

Response to McNaught

Concerning Sexual Rights

by Dr. Rollin Fairbanks

In accepting the invitation to respond to Brian McNaught's article I was influenced by three factors. First, as a former member of the Diocese of Michigan I have a continuing interest in what is happening there. Second, among the several courses which I teach at the Episcopal Divinity School is a seminar on human sexuality. Third, I respect the courage and honesty of those gay persons who have "come out" or acknowledged their sexual identity. Therefore I admittedly embarked upon this assignment with favorable anticipation. This attitude, however, has not been completely sustained.

Sex, whether heterosexual or homosexual, continues to be a very loaded subject in our present society. Many people still react emotionally and thereby lose the objectivity essential for creative dialogue. This is true of both sexual groups. I sense some of this in the foregoing article, with a resulting distortion of some of the issues at stake.

For instance, there is the use of the unlikely caricature of Bruce—an image many people would not necessarily associate with homosexuals. While the responses to the Commission's study (303 out of 645) are mentioned, we are not told what was said or indicated. Also there is no comment, speculation or interpretation as to why the 342 did *not* reply. The reported nervous laughter of the delegates to the Diocesan Convention seems to have been misunderstood or misinterpreted and given undue importance. There appears to have been the assumption that the passing of a resolution (no matter how well intended) would necessarily produce tolerance and understanding and make for positive thinking. People must first be informed and educated in order to vote for and try to live by the presumably well thought out proposals in the Commission's Report. As a position paper intended to stimulate discussion, this article at times appears to be more like a bill of complaint (howsoever justified) rather than a reasoned and persuasive appeal setting forth the claim of gay persons for an honest and honorable place within our society.

There is no indication that McNaught is aware of or sensitive to the very real and persistent anxiety felt by heterosexual individuals in regard to homosexuality although I am sure that he knows this. He is certainly right in criticizing the Church for being unjustifiably punitive, treating homosexuality as a sin. He has also dealt knowingly with the exploitation of biblical references for the purpose of moral condemnation. It is significant and hopeful that those involved in mental health have finally stopped considering homosexuality as a disease or mental illness. There remains, however,

the viable argument that homosexuality represents the second step in psychosexual development. There are many persons who because of behavior believe themselves to be homosexual but who are in reality (in terms of sexual identification) actually still on the first step, that of narcissism. This model of psychosexual development is admittedly rejected by many on the gay side of the fence. The discovery or realization of bisexuality also challenges but does not necessarily refute the psychoanalytic model to which I have referred.

As a marriage counselor I have become aware of the fact that sexual practices long associated with homosexuality (fellatio, cunnilingus and anal intercourse) are or have become common and accepted practices by many heterosexual couples within our society today. This fact plus the emergence of bisexuality may deplete the ranks of homosexuals or separate—for them—preference from practice.

In conclusion, the primary purpose of McNaught's article is a warranted appeal that individuals not be disenfranchised and denied their rightful privileges as persons and citizens of our society simply upon the basis of their sexual orientation and life style. The issue, as I see it, is civil rights not sexual rights. To challenge the latter is to confuse the issue.

Rollin Fairbanks is professor of pastoral theology at the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge. A few years ago he participated in a panel presentation to the House of Bishops on the subject of homosexuality.

Response to McNaught

Concerning Love and Charity

by Dr. Louie Crew

I am less apologetic than Brian.

Christ loves us Gays right now! His love is agressive and affirming.

From the moment Christ welcomed the Roman centurion, the history of Christianity has been the extension of the Gospel to hitherto excluded persons. God is no respecter of genital conditions. "Whosoever believeth in Him" is not the same as "whosoever has heterosexual orientation." Gay Christians are joint heirs with Jesus Christ.

The Church does not have the power to change Christ's conditions for the Kingdom of God. Gays would violate the living witness of the Holy Spirit in our lives were we to negotiate our salvation with laity, priests, or bishops. No more properly can we follow the false religion Respectability, for we follow the Cross.

For too long our church has defaulted the Great Commission to take the Gospel to the more than 20 million Gay Americans for whom Christ died. For centuries her only audible whimper to gays has been, "Repent and become heterosexual," a doctrine with highly suspect scriptural authority and with no clear and convincing evidence of efficacy.

Many persons have known that there have always been plenty of gays in the Episcopal Church, where sensitivity and talent have always been welcome. Were all gays not to show up to give sermons or perform in the choir or contribute to the collection plate, hundreds of churches would have a formidable struggle, even if for only one Sunday. Why then raise a fuss, in view of the obvious rewards for keeping silent?

The word "Integrity" does not mean "conventional virtue," but "wholeness." Sexuality is so much a part of wholeness that integrity is surely impossible without an integration of sexuality into all other aspects of personhood. Requiring gays to remain covert in ways not required of non-gays effects de facto excommunication.

Imagine a gay person introducing as such his/her gay date or spouse at your next service.

Try stating the intention "for all gay people" or "for my gay cousin(s)" at your next Communion.

Very tellingly promiscuity does not similarly upset the church, if contained in all the allowable places. Churchpersons clearly want such evidence to "prove" our special, second-class "depravity."

The experiences of the early Christians are very real to contemporary gay Christians. Paradoxically the Church herself has become our Colosseum.

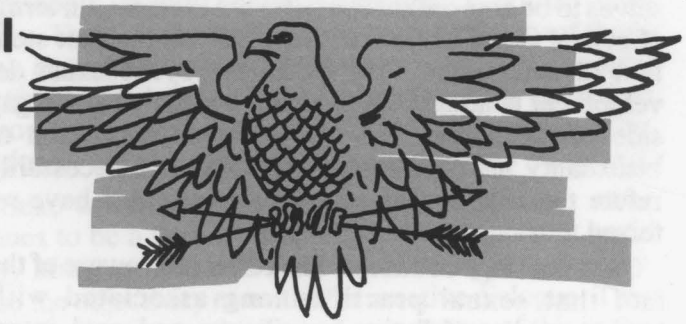
Brian talks about his need for a revised understanding of theological terms. The more catholic I realize gays to be, the more I hesitate to try to state for all gays our theological aspirations. Personally I would be very happy to see all churchpersons take seriously the familiar bidding to Communion—to be "in love and charity" with us gays.

Dr. Louie Crew is director of "Integrity," an Episcopal gay organization.

Look at Yourself, America!

THE AMERICAN JOURNEY, PART III

by Edward Joseph Holland



Property rights versus the rights of the people. Property over people was favored by the elite of the American colonies and has warped the American Dream ever since. More and more the American Dream has become an American Nightmare for the unpropertied. For 200 years a complicated battle has been waged by the "rabble" against classism, imperialism, racism and sexism. Within that setting, researcher Joseph Holland has been probing "The American Journey" and in this, the third of four articles, he draws our history to a close. Expansion, a necessary ingredient for the liberal definition of freedom, is no longer possible and the "rabble" at home suffer for it.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Limits and Crises

In the post-World War II era, American capitalism as a national system reached both its inner maturity and its outer limits. Because the escape valve of the frontier and expansion has come to an end, fundamental restructuring is required in the nation's economic, political and cultural life. The crisis of this restructuring is so basic that it calls into question the substance of the American Dream since the nation's foundation.

Response to this crisis could gravitate toward either of two poles, one salvaging the power of the controlling classes through a shift toward state capitalism and a reduced, but perhaps more lethal imperialism; or the other, a social challenge to capitalism itself.

In examining this third phase of American history (from World War II to the present), we will examine the outer limits met by American expansion in the Cold War era, and then the inner limits of the structures of American capitalism in its maturity. Finally we will look at the fresh challenges coming from the major social movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

Outer Limits

In the Soviet Union, western capitalism ran into its outer limit. An Iron Curtain, built from both sides, divided the capitalist orbit from the socialist orbit. Early on, each orbit had a single center of dominance, namely the USSR and the USA. With their separate spheres of influence fairly well defined, each center in turn found an outside enemy against which it could rally great national energies and fears. Heightening the fears was the ominous backdrop of the atom bomb.

The Chinese revolution and the division of Korea further contained the capitalist world, and thereafter new socialist successes began. The Cuban revolution was the first great shock. The victory of the Vietnamese liberation forces and the general turn of Southeast Asia toward socialism further heightened the sense of contraction.

At the end of World War II only seven per cent of the world's population and 18 per cent of its land mass were governed by Communist governments in 17 nations.[1] Since then, the socialist movement in Western Europe has assumed new strength, especially in Portugal, Italy and France. Socialist movements in Latin America and parts of Asia are contained only by brutal repression, and Africa has seen its first Marxist-Leninist government in Mozambique.

These very broad socialist successes spell the failure of the Cold War containment policies. United States capitalism no longer has the military capacity to stop the spread of socialism.

Other factors, not necessarily socialist, contributed to the end of the Cold War era. Its fears became a handicap to doing business across ideological lines, whether in the sale of wheat to Russia or the transfer of technology generally. Also, in the wake of the split between China and Russia, U.S. foreign policy shifted from a bi-polar strategy to a multi-polar strategy and a framework of interdependence and detente.

Despite the territorial defeats of American capitalism's Cold War strategy, the capitalist system still grows dramatically within its remaining territory. This takes shape in the transnational corporations, which are shifting considerable productivity off the American base. In search of cheaper labor, as well as markets and raw materials, American capitalism began exporting jobs, especially in textiles and electronics, but also in heavy industries like automobile manufacturing. While the growth often increased the GNP of poorer nations, it also often increased internal class polarization and external dependence.[2]

1. *U.S. News and World Report*, June 2, 1975, pp. 24-25.
2. *Center Focus*, newsletter of Center of Concern, # 12, August, 1975.

The transnationals began to create an international social class of privilege, made up of tiny minorities from each nation, and to manipulate labor markets across national boundaries. They also aggravated global unemployment, by stressing urbanization and capital-intensive technologies in industry and agriculture.

The imperialist side of the transnationals has begun to be checked recently, however, by a broad coalition of socialist and non-socialist Third World nations in the United Nations. These nations, which form the majority of the human race, are more and more aligning themselves against the Western industrial nations, especially the United States.

Two recent documents from the United Nations point to this. They are the "Declaration on a New International Economic Order" and the "Charter on the Economic Rights and Duties of States."[3] While neither document has enforcement power, both reflect the present world economic situation. Not all the nations challenging the old order are themselves models of justice, but by their growing coalition, they are weakening the hold which the Western industrial powers, under U.S. leadership, held over most of the world market.

This seems to mean for America a weakening and restructuring of its economic empire (not necessarily its collapse). The restructuring of the empire, in turn, probably means the decline of internal economic growth and the end of upward mobility within the United States. These possibilities point to the end of the dominant interpretation of the American Dream, namely the myth that God chose America as number one, to bring freedom, prosperity and peace to its own people and to the rest of the world.

An interesting cultural effect of this reduction of Western power concerns the function of Western religion in the global community. Christianity little by little ceases to reflect in the cultural sphere the old economic and political arrogance of the West. For the first time perhaps, it has begun truly to listen to the message of the religious traditions (including the secular religion of Marxism) of the peoples of Asia and Africa and even to the religious traditions of the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

Inner Limits

Two fundamental contradictions emerged within American society in the post-World War II years. The first was the contradiction of domestic social policy with foreign economic and military policy. The second was the contradiction between the promises and the performance of the social system. Both contradictions were generated by capitalism in its maturity and each continues to aggravate the other.

The first contradiction appeared in the deficit balance of payments in the late 1950s which by 1974 reached more than $10 billion. The deficit has been checked recently partly by severe recession.

There were many reasons for this deficit flow. First, the transnational corporations have been exporting production, causing the nation to increase imports. Second, the continued growth of American military power in protection of U.S. commercial interests across the globe, caused further capital drain.[4] Third, the devaluation of the dollar, while making U.S. goods more competitive at home, raised the costs of U.S. military presence abroad and of foreign imports. Fourth, and most well known in the popular mind, the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) cartel used its own economic leverage to gain higher prices for oil.

This last reason is especially important, partly because oil is such a basic commodity in the U.S. economy (centered around the private automobile), but also because the OPEC experience is being taken as a model by other Third World exporters of primary commodities. There are some signs that OPEC is moving toward orchestrating a giant Third World cartel.

The point of all this is very simple. A major shift is occurring. Foreign commercial and military involvements by the U.S. formerly took the pressure off domestic social tensions. Now they are aggravating them.

The various domestic efforts to stop the deficit balance of payments seem to point toward greater social and ecological exploitation at home, the second fundamental contradiction.

Socially the screws are turned on the working class, including some middle-income sectors. The most obvious example is an attempt by the controlling classes to put labor back in its place, especially through massive unemployment. The government has been willing to tolerate in the current recession an unemployment rate of approximately 10 per cent (unofficially much higher and incredibly high for certain sectors, approaching 50 per cent for Black youth).

High unemployment reduces the bargaining power of workers and sometimes even forces them to accept blackmail, like the threat that factories will move elsewhere unless the firm is allowed to lower wages.

Despite all the rhetoric in the media about increasing labor costs holding back growth, real take home pay of workers in private industry plunged, for instance, from nearly $97 a week in September, 1973 to a little more than $87 a week in February, 1975. And in 1975, it takes more than $18 to buy the same basket of groceries that was bought with $12 in 1970 and with $10 in 1965.[5]

The affluence of the American labor force is deceiving. The image of Big Unions protecting American workers applies only to about 20 per cent of the American labor force, and among those, some of the most highly paid per hour (e.g., the building trades) are experiencing extreme unemployment.

"Twenty five years ago," according to a *Washington Post* reporter, "two out of three families could afford to buy a medium-priced new home. Today fewer than one out of five

3. *Ibid.*

4. Sidney Lens, "Strangelovian Morality," *National Catholic Reporter*, July 4, 1975, p. 4.

5. *U.E. News*, April 7, 1975, p. 1.

can." In addition, rents in many urban areas are skyrocketing. While salaries may have increased dramatically, the structural costs of living in this society have increased even more dramatically. The automobile for many workers, for instance, is a necessity in a society where the creation of an effective mass transit system is fought at every turn by powerful lobbies. Even good higher education, the heart of the American Dream, was and remains (probably more so today) beyond the economic reach of most working class people.

Inflation in turn facilitates a negative redistribution of income. The upper classes whose money is secure in fixed sources find their wealth inflating with the general inflation process. Working people, however, who depend only on salaries, find their paychecks shrinking every day. This reduction in domestic purchasing power among the working class gives the national economy more buoyancy in the international market, since with less internal consumption, it becomes less dependent on foreign oil and on other foreign imports, thus partially redressing the negative balance of payments.

There also have been deliberate and successful efforts to transfer the tax burden of the system's social recklessness down to the middle and lower middle sectors. Taxes rose as much as 30 per cent recently, the highest single figure in the inflationary bag. The high tax costs are due basically to two items in public budgets: the incredible military costs of maintaining a world empire, even in decline, and the incredible social costs (welfare, prisons, unemployment compensation, etc.) of maintaining the free enterprise economy in a highly automated context.

Two other elements have helped redress the deficit balance of payments, both of them opposed to domestic and global welfare. They are international food sales and international arms sales.

The Food for Peace program since World War II has been hooking poor, foreign economies on products and technological styles which precipitate capital-intensive technologies and massive displacement of peasants. At home something of the same process has been occurring as giant agribusiness corporations crush small farmers almost by geometric progession, and gather up the productive lands of the nation into the hands of a very few powerful interests. The foreign economies, like the small farmers at home, come to a point where they can go no deeper into debt for the purchase of capital-intensive agricultural technologies, and then their internal food production suffers, making it possible for the transnational interests to buy up the best lands and use them in many cases for the production of cash crops for export.

The net result is less jobs and less food for the people of the nation and world. Similarly, the foreign export of our own food (generally not to the poor, but to the already well fed rich nations like the Soviet Union, members of the European community, and Japan) causes higher food prices for the already strapped working classes at home. Yet foreign food sales, to the detriment of many people of the world and in this country, are a central factor in righting the deficit balance of payments.

Also foreign arms sales, running over $8 billion per year, to each party in any and all conflicts, makes the United States one of the major arms dealers of the world.[6] Besides contributing to the threat of a war-torn world, this economic strategy makes large sectors of organized labor sympathetic to the arms race and beholden to the military industrial complex.

All of these structural phenomena—weakening labor power through unemployment, sustained inflation, downward shifting of the tax burden, and the sale of food and arms in the international market—have the cumulative effect of decreasing internal consumption and therefore moving toward a favorable balance of payments. Thus the national economy floats securely in the international market, but human needs at home are thrown overboard to keep it afloat. It is the "lifeboat ethic" which works not only against the world's poor, but also against the poor and the working class at home.

Ecologically, the costs are also severe. First, one proposed strategy to offset dependence on foreign oil is Project Independence, which basically means turning to strip-mined coal (much of it on Indian land, as well as in Appalachia) and to nuclear power, both extremely dangerous to the natural environment. Second, just as in production, efforts are made to hold down labor costs at the price of the health and welfare of the working class, so efforts are made to hold down ecological costs, at the price of a safe, natural environment.

Fresh Challenges

During the Cold War years, it seemed as if American capitalism reigned triumphant. The red purge of McCarthyism routed the enemy at home and supposedly America exploded with prosperity. Past struggles were forgotten and the present now seemed to become an absolute. This collapse of the critical spirit, particularly during the 1950s, was due to the rapid expansion of the new middle classes, and increased opportunity for many workers. American capitalism was exploding in the post-war period, stimulated by the war-subsidized industries which were still busy building up a global military apparatus.

The expansion of opportunity took the cutting edge off social protest. American ideologists began to speak of the end of ideology and of the arrival of the post-capitalist system. While still short of its goal, the system counted on "expanded participation," not radical challenge. The problem was not to find better structures but to give the structures more time and room to do their job.

A strong sense of dissent was present for a while in the late 1940s. It revived again in the 1960s, even if its analyses were not always adequate. In the 1970s it began to move toward

6. *New York Times*, April 14, 1975, p. A-12.

maturity and to regain continuity with the historical tradition of the American Left, reaching back to the pre-McCarthy era and even back to the struggle over two separate definitions of freedom in the first American Revolution.

In analyzing the resistance of this period, we can perhaps speak of three overlapping and closely related waves.

1. The first wave came from the resistance of the labor movement. Beginning immediately after the war, being set back temporarily by the Cold War (including McCarthyism), a radical critique has recently revived. This is seen particularly in the AFL-CIO's organizing support of poor Hispanic and black workers, through the United Farm Workers and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, as well as in the growth of hospital workers unions, the militancy of textile unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, (the Farah boycott), the reform movement in the United Mine Workers of America and a parallel reform movement in the Steelworkers of America. In addition, there is the beginning of a new international consciousness, at the very time when it seemed that much of big labor leadership was climaxing in a combination of isolationism and imperialism. Perhaps the best expression was the solidarity of the UFW with Chilean farmworkers, after the violent overthrow of the Allende government.

Finally, working class women have succeeded in bringing their issues to center stage in the labor movement. The year 1974 saw the emergence of the Coalition of Labor Women United, when more than 3,000 women from 58 internationals joined in Chicago. Partly because of the women's organized power, the AFL-CIO in its 1973 convention switched its position on the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) to one of support.

Also, small farmers' groups like the National Farmer's Unions have been fighting big business on the agricultural side. The food system is increasingly becoming the property of giant transnational corporations, which manipulate the consumer and crush the small farmer by converting to energy and capital-intensive technologies, further aggravating unemployment and ecological recklessness.

2. The second wave of criticism rose more from the consumer than the productive side of the American populace. It was generated by the variety of social movements which appeared with strength in the 1960s. They perhaps can be gathered under the rubric of community organization and addressed themselves to issues which organized labor was not directly facing, mainly because of its concentration on collective bargaining around work-place economic issues.

The most powerful of these waves was the tremendous upsurge of the Black Freedom Movement, under the cry of civil rights, attempting to turn back the counter-revolution of the post Civil War Reconstruction. As the movement developed it shifted its tone toward Black Power, but the impulse was the same. Though the movement contained such diverse leaders as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X, the tragic assassination of both men was seen by many in the movement as a double blow to a single force.

Other ethnic groups also began to organize along the model of the Black Freedom Movement. The Chicano movement emerged with a range of leaders from Cesar Chavez to Corky Gonzalez. Puerto Rican consciousness was heightened and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party made an important strategic decision to begin organizing within the continental United States as well as in Puerto Rico itself. The Indian movement revived and soon became an important cultural force challenging the dominant values of the West. Similarly, white subcultures began to organize, like Appalachian whites and later Catholic white ethnics.

At first, these groups often wanted only a piece of the pie. Supported in many cases by government funding under the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), or later by capitalist foundations, they accepted the official ideology that the capitalist system was infinitely expandable. Some even began to speak of black capitalism. With the crushing of the self-determination side of OEO by the Green Amendment, and the subsequent whittling down of programs, it became clear that, for the moment at least, the system was not infinitely expandable. As the old frontiers closed, John Kennedy stirred hearts with a promise of a "New Frontier." When it failed to emerge, Lyndon Johnson tried to turn the nation creatively away from frontiers entirely, and inward instead to a "Great Society," which could afford both "guns and butter." Now it becomes clear that not only is there no frontier but there is no great society within.

As a result of the disillusionments from these struggles, a profound reassessment has been going on in many sectors of American society. Even many people from the middle income sectors of society have begun to reassess national purpose and national institutions. The most powerful incentive for this reassessment was the brutal and tragic war in Southeast Asia, perhaps the worst blasphemy heaped by the elites upon American democracy, to say nothing of its effects on the Vietnamese. Only the combined resistance of the Vietnamese liberation movements and key sectors of the American public brought the war to a halt.

From within this disillusionment, the New Left emerged, full of immaturity and inadequate analyses, but together with the revived tradition of the older American Left promising to raise again with power fundamental questions. The New Left, in turn signaled a broader revival of the American socialist tradition, the third wave of fresh challenge.

3. The third wave is still very young but could be described as an explicitly anti-capitalist and pro-socialist political movement in America. On the one hand, it reaches back to the complex roots of earlier American socialist movements; on the other hand, it reaches out in the present to those whose anger and resistance, while not producing on the articulate level a socialist critique, perhaps might lead to that. Like the other waves, this movement is internally complex, composed of groups with quite different viewpoints on analyses, strategies and goals, but all agree that the question

must be pressed to the fundamental level and that it is working people of America, of all regions, races and cultures, as well as of both sexes, that must transform the nation.

Many church groups had roots in the first wave (labor struggles), and many pressed on heroically to the second wave (racial, ethnic, sexual, consumer and community movements). Church support from many of these groups did not come easy. More often than not there were great struggles within churches as to which side the churches would come out on. Generally too there was no single position, but division within the churches around these issues. But gratefully, major sectors of the churches became known, because of their participation in these struggles, as friends of the common people.

While the third wave is still young, controversies around it have already begun within church circles. It is possible that identification with this third wave, admitting much internal differentiation, may prove the test in coming years to tell which of the churches remain the friend of the common people.

Such an assumption of the socialist framework would not mean a replacing of long-developed traditions like Black Christianity, Native American religion, Hispanic Catholicism, White Populist Protestantism, white working class Catholicism or feminist theology, but simply linking all of them in a mutually critical and constructive coalition of interpretation and action. Understandably there would be fear from many groups that their particular richness might be destroyed, warped or compromised in such a framework, and such danger certainly could be present. To prevent this the framework of socialism would have to be the servant of such a coalition and not its master.

NEXT MONTH: Where do we go from here? Joseph Holland makes some predictions and is joined in comment by members of the labor force.

Sex and the Unmarried

by Robert W. Cromey

Celibate, married or discreet. You must be one of these to get ahead in the Episcopal Church. Sex in marriage is okay. No sex, as in celibacy, is okay. Non-married clergy, male or female, are in limbo. There are those who say that if Episcopal clergy choose neither to be married or celibate, they are probably gay. Non-married clergy, if not gay, are probably not having any sex. Then there are those who assume non-married clergy are having sex, and it's okay if it is done with discretion and with people outside the parish.

The real situation is that there are many clergy, men and women, who have never been married nor have they taken the vows of celibacy. They express themselves sexually in one way or the other. They masturbate. They may do it happily or with guilt, depending on their degree of sexual liberation.

The rumor is true, let's face it, that many clergy are homosexual. Some bishops, priests and deacons express their sexuality with persons of the same sex. They, too, do it with varying degrees of freedom or guilt.

Heterosexual clergy who are not married have sex with people of the opposite sex. Furthermore, in the last 10 years, there have been large numbers of clergy who are divorced. They too have sex while not married. Some of them may be homosexuals who have left

PARADOX

by Edward P. Allen

Our need to be free conflicts
with our need to be useful.
We want our independence
but we also want
some involvement
with other people—
as long as we don't get
trapped in their needs.

So what each of us needs
to maintain some freedom
and to avoid
feeling unnecessary
is a group of people
who have made a commitment
to back each other up
as we reach out,
together and alone,
to those around us.

A group that recognizes
our peculiar abilities
and fluctuating cycles
of availability and concern.

A group we can trust to be with us
when we need it—
come hell or high water.

The choice, it seems is between
independence and loneliness
or freedom in community.

Edward Allen, an Episcopal priest, is chaplain at the University of California in Irvine.

marriage to follow a new sexual orientation. Many more are heterosexuals who have sex regularly or irregularly with people of the opposite sex during the time they are not married.

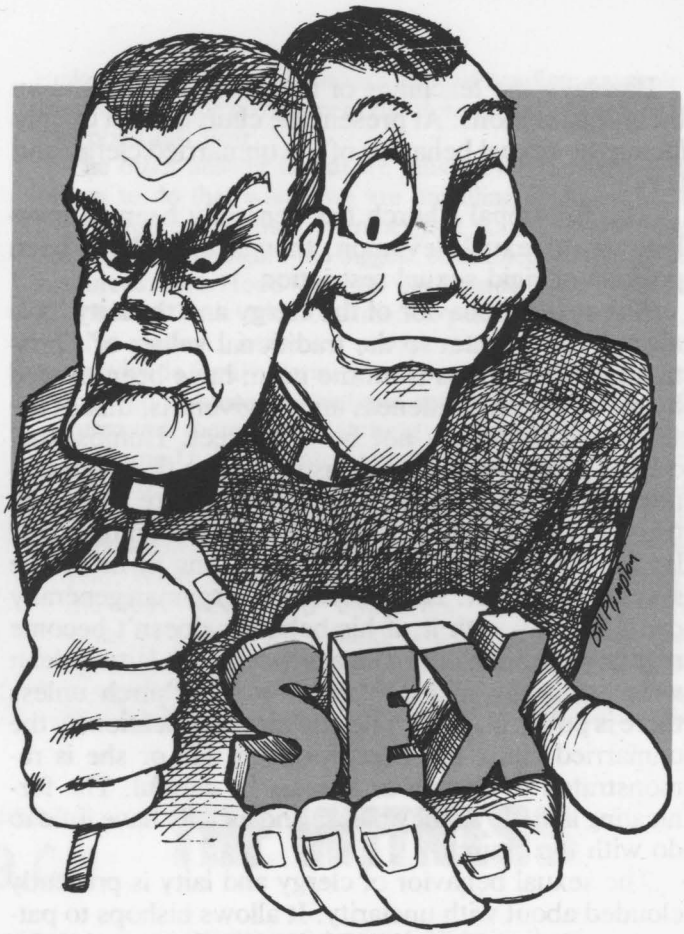
The time has come for honesty and plain speaking about this matter in the church. It affects not only the lives of the clergy, but also the sexuality of the laity. Younger people today fornicate, that is they have sex outside of marriage. It is open and honest. They make no pretense to be sexless. They may make some hollow protestations of virginity with their parents, but do not do so with their peers. Most young people will probably marry some day. Vast numbers of single young adults have little to do with the church, in part because of religious anti-sexualism. They no longer will subordinate their sexuality to the "church's teachings."

Men and women who have been divorced certainly have had sex in the past, are used to it, and plan to have it while they are not married. They ignore the traditional teaching of the church that such sexual behavior outside marriage is wrong.

More and more senior citizens are becoming open about their sexual drives. They participate in sex, though they are widows, widowers, or have never been married. In some homes for the elderly sex is specifically forbidden at worst, or sex is made impossible for lack of privacy. Some seniors are challenging these rules.

What is bringing about these trends in sexual thinking and behavior? There is a new sex consciousness in the Western world. Its worst expression is in pornography in films, books and magazines. Its best expression is in a desire on the part of many people to have better, more enjoyable sex. People are paying attention to sex and enjoying it more. Many married people whose sexual relationship has become stale turn to counseling or therapy for new ways to enjoy their sexuality. People are not denying themselves sexual enjoyment because of some abstraction about sexual purity. The clergy are not denying themselves, the laity are not. But the church is not openly talking about what its clergy and laity are in fact doing. So there is a snickering "hush-hush" about sex in the church. It is okay, but let's talk about it.

A very obvious development opening people more fully to their sexuality is the easy availability of birth control methods, simple cures for venereal disease, and the accessibility of abortions. The ancient taboos of pregnancy and disease, to keep people extremely careful about sexual expression, no longer have much power.



Another reason the church is facing more open sexual behavior is the growth of celebrations in the church. Liturgies where people sing, applaud, and touch each other are sexually arousing. I think this is okay and people should learn to handle openly and honestly any sexual feelings which do emerge. People can learn to acknowledge their sexual feelings toward each other. They may or may not choose to act on them.

Another basic element in the growing sexual awareness in the church is the recognition that as people experience love, forgiveness and community, there is a sexual dimension to those feelings. We used to talk about love, forgiveness and community; now many are experiencing these elements. People get turned on as they acknowledge their love for each other, openly apologize to each other and live in a loving community-family. The church's formularies do not fit these new trends.

Traditionally the church expects its members to have sex within marriage or to be celibate. The New Testament can be quoted to forbid fornication. There is no evidence that Jesus had sex of any kind. St. Paul was not comfortable about sex. The anti-sexual and celibate traditions of the first 10 centuries are strong.

Basically the teachings of the church are based on these assumptions. At present the church is not openly facing the sexual behavior of the unmarried clergy and laity.

The Episcopal Church has generally been benevolent about sexual deviation, though there have been pockets of rigid sexual restriction.

The sexual behavior of the clergy and the laity have always run counter to the traditional values of Christianity. Aberrations from the norm have been treated by pastors with gentleness and forgiveness, unless the sexual behavior has not been discreet. Homosexual clergy, if discovered, have usually been fired and dismissed from the ministry, though there are signs that this is not as automatic as it once was. The homosexual lay person is generally tolerated so long as he or she stays in the closet. The adulterous clergyman generally can get away with it, if his behavior doesn't become regular or scandalous. The adultery of the laity is dealt with pastorally and contained in the church unless there is public scandal. The odd bit of fornication by the unmarried cleric has been forgiven. He or she is remonstrated to abstain or at least be careful. The fornicating laity do as they please and usually have little to do with the church.

The sexual behavior of clergy and laity is presently clouded about with unclarity. It allows bishops to patronize priests with benign forgiveness for sexual activity apparently forbidden. Priests can say, "There, there, it's not so bad," to youngsters who masturbate. Pastors, with a patronizing wink, say to unmarried lovers, "Though it's against the rules, no one really cares." People, unmarried, living together or having sexual relations cannot clearly celebrate their relationship in the Christian community because their behavior isn't quite cricket by the traditions of the church.

This is the Anglican way: Loving, forebearing, forgiving and discreet. It is also dishonest, unjust and irrelevant to the changing sex consciousness of our time. It assumes sex outside of marriage is wrong. It is forgiveable sin. But it is sinful and wrong for the non-married to have sex.

I believe that candor is called for now. I believe it is time for the Church to say loud and clear that:

- Sexual intercourse between consenting unmarried people is good and healthy.
- Sexual relations between consenting persons of the same sex is good and healthy.
- Masturbation as a way for persons to give pleasure to themselves is good and healthy.

The American Psychiatric Association has deleted homosexuality from its list of illnesses. What a great thing it would be for the church to encourage homosexuals to find pleasure and love with partners of the same sex. What a gift of freedom it would be for the Episcopal Church simply to state that sex between consenting persons is good and healthy. What a gift of freedom it would be for the church to assure people that masturbation is a gift from God for pleasure and relaxation.

Many clergy and laity masturbate, and express their sexuality with others of the same or the opposite sex. The non-churched do the same. Officially the church still hesitantly teaches marriage or celibacy. I believe the church should get its outdated formularies and traditions caught up with what is happening in God's world. Such clarity on sexual matters could help people experience the love, forgiveness and joy which is what the church is in business to proclaim, and God's business to grant.

Is there any Christian justification for this emerging sexual freedom? I think there is. The Church's ethics are always changing and developing. Divorce, race and war are three areas where many Christians thought there was a firm teaching and tradition. Today these three areas are defined and re-defined according to people's deeper understanding of the dynamics of human life. Family structure does not disappear if there is more flexibility in divorce. Racial attitudes change as minority people assert their essential humanity. Christian warfare is impossible in a nuclear age.

Human sexual behavior is changing as people realize their bodies are gifts from God to be enjoyed. People's stewardship of their bodies includes pleasure. The human spirit is recreated and renewed in loving sexual contact. A person is transfigured in orgasmic response. Death and resurrection are deeply symbolized as people die to their old self and become renewed in joyous sexual union. There is the strong possibility that the Holy Spirit is active in and through the sexual lives of people, teaching, developing and bringing about change. As we look theologically at the emerging sexual patterns, is it possible to see the activity of the Spirit giving new meanings to human sexuality? I believe so. God is calling the world to a new dimension of sexual, loving expression. The new sexuality is producing love, caring, intimacy, openness and honesty. Certainly there are pornographic abuses. But I believe the pluses are greater than the minuses.

The church members are changing their sexual behavior. I hope the church as an institution can examine

again its basic ethics and be an instrument to free people to enjoy their God-given sexual gifts.

Robert W. Cromey is a non-parochial priest of the Diocese of California.

Response to Gillett Article on Hunger

by Derwent A. Suthers

I have been acutely aware of the reality of world hunger since working with the Church World Service food program in north-east Brazil several years ago. The causes of hunger are complex and inter-related as Mr. Gillett suggests. He says there are tough questions to be faced: global redistribution of resources, government policy, behavior of our agricultural giants, domestic unemployment, over-consumption at home. I find it strange that he does not here or anywhere in the article refer to the most obvious tough question of containing the population growth rates that are threatening to double the number of mouths to feed in just 35 years. How can we hope to attain a balance between supply of and demand for food if we attend only to these other questions? A quotation from John Stuart Mill to fill the column at the end of the article is surely not enough!

It is no coincidence that all the major international conferences sponsored by the United Nations over the last three years: The Environmental Conference (1972), The Conferences in Population, Law of the Sea, and Food (1974), and the International Women's Conference (1975) featured population-related issues either at center stage or as an important sub-agenda. For example, how can we set about raising the status of women without giving priority attention to the fact that more than seven in ten of them around the world are at risk to their health, and trapped in the most confining of economic and social roles, through lack of the means of regulating their own fertility? Here, as in the issue of hunger, the basic necessity of the means of fertility control has to be a part of the answer.

One might hazard a guess as to why the conspicuous omission from Mr. Gillett's article. The proclamation of the need to identify with minorities and oppressed peoples is sometimes seen as ruling out any mention of the population problem as there are those among these groups—mostly men I might add—who have seen this issue as one of genocide toward their own population. There are two answers to this. One is that people everywhere, particularly women, no matter what their culture or economic status, have evidenced an increased use of contraceptive technology when it is truly available to them in a way they can understand and appropriate for themselves within their own life styles. It is not a question of imposition of alien values but making available the means within a given society for people to have this new dimension of freedom. Even societies that have been insistent in their denial that they have a population problem are beginning to take steps to make this freedom available. An outstanding example is Brazil where the government has done an about-face on just this point last year.

The other answer is that we must never presume to ask others to do that which we are unwilling to do ourselves. Furthermore we must remember that Americans of middle and higher income are the biggest consumers of the world's resources. Jack Hood Vaughn, the President of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America pointed out recently,

> "No nation, however prosperous, is exempt from worldwide family planning and population challenges and the web of human, social and economic problems which surround them. Eye-catching announcements on the declining U.S. birthrate over the past decade, encouraging as they are, mask the persisting reality in this country of hundreds of thousands of unwanted births, and a population increase of almost two million persons, every year. While the gravity of the problem may be greater in the less developed countries than in the more developed—here it's a factor which aggravates and multiplies other personal and societal problems, there it threatens even the meager vision of raising human comfort above the level of subsistence—its roots and consequences are fundamentally the same.
>
> 'The future is purchased by the present,' Samuel Johnson said. How we act now on family planning and population issues will determine the quality of the human condition in the year 2000. In today's world context, inaction—or 'letting nature take its course'—is a reliable prescription for disaster. Intelligent action—inspired leadership, backed by the day-to-day work of many thousands of committed individuals in this country and around the world, and the support of an informed and concerned public—is not just a desirable option; it's a crucial necessity."

I would hope that the Episcopal Church which has been conspicuously absent from the arena of fertility and related issues—both in education and action—would take steps soon toward creative programs and support of those on the front line of the battle for human freedom and responsibility in this basic area of sexuality which is indeed also a battle for human survival.

Mr. Derwent Suthers is the Senior Regional Director for the Mid-Atlantic and Southeastern Regions of Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

Gillett Replies

I appreciate the carefully reasoned and articulated response of Derwent Suthers to my article. He is right on one score: I should have mentioned that population growth is a most serious aspect of the world food crisis.

The question which Mr. Suthers does not really address is fundamentally this: are people in poor nations poor because they are having too many babies, or are they

see back cover

Gillett Replies (Continued)

having too many babies because they are poor? Lester R. Brown, perhaps the best known American authority on world hunger says, "there will be little chance of bringing birthrates down rapidly enough to avert disaster without a more equitable distribution of income and social services." He joined the main thrust of opinion at the U.N. World Population Conference in Bucharest (an opinion opposed unfortunately, by the United States official delegation) in recognizing that economic and social development, not birth control programs, are the most effective means of reducing population growth rates. South Korea, Taiwan and China are recent examples of such development, as well as the State of Kerala in India, according to Arthur Simon in "Bread for the World."

Beneath the population concerns of many people, moreover, lurks a suspicion—that if the poor were smarter, they would not have so many children. "It is perhaps a measure of the condescension inherent to the population problem so far, that the biggest lesson that has had to be learned is that poor people are not stupid; that they make rational decisions over their own lives; and that large families are very often an intelligent response to economic circumstances," writes Tarzi Vittachi of the U.N. Fund for Population Activities. Particularly is this true in the rural (and poorest) areas of developing countries, where parents depend upon their children both to help them with crop-raising and harvesting for their own survival needs, and also as security in their old age.

Suthers is partly right about something else in my article. In omitting any mention of population, I guess I did succumb to the fear that it might be interpreted by the poor as genocide. However, my own nine years of living in the Caribbean showed me time and again how even well-meaning economic and social "advice" from both government and the private sector turned out to be bad. And our proffering of advice, money, and technology to the poor nations has thus far largely been either tied chiefly to our own substantial economic advantage or to that of the wealthy elite in those countries (and most often to both). With that sorry record of colonialism and exploitation, what kind of credibility do we have, even if offering birth control devices to poor nations were the principal solution? Thus, I see our role in this country as that of limiting our own consumption and population, especially when you consider that U.S. average total resource demand per citizen is about 50 times that of a citizen of India. More importantly, I see our role (as I indicated in my article) in the churches as one of working over the long term, and in all the ways available to us, to help bring about a new international economic and social order that allows for a just distribution of the world's resources, and an authentic expression, by the peoples in the poor nations themselves, of their own cultural, social, and economic life.

Richard W. Gillett is director of social concerns and Christian education, All Saints Church, Pasadena, CA; founder, Puerto Rico Industrial Mission, a church-related agency for social and economic change; lived in Puerto Rico for nine years.

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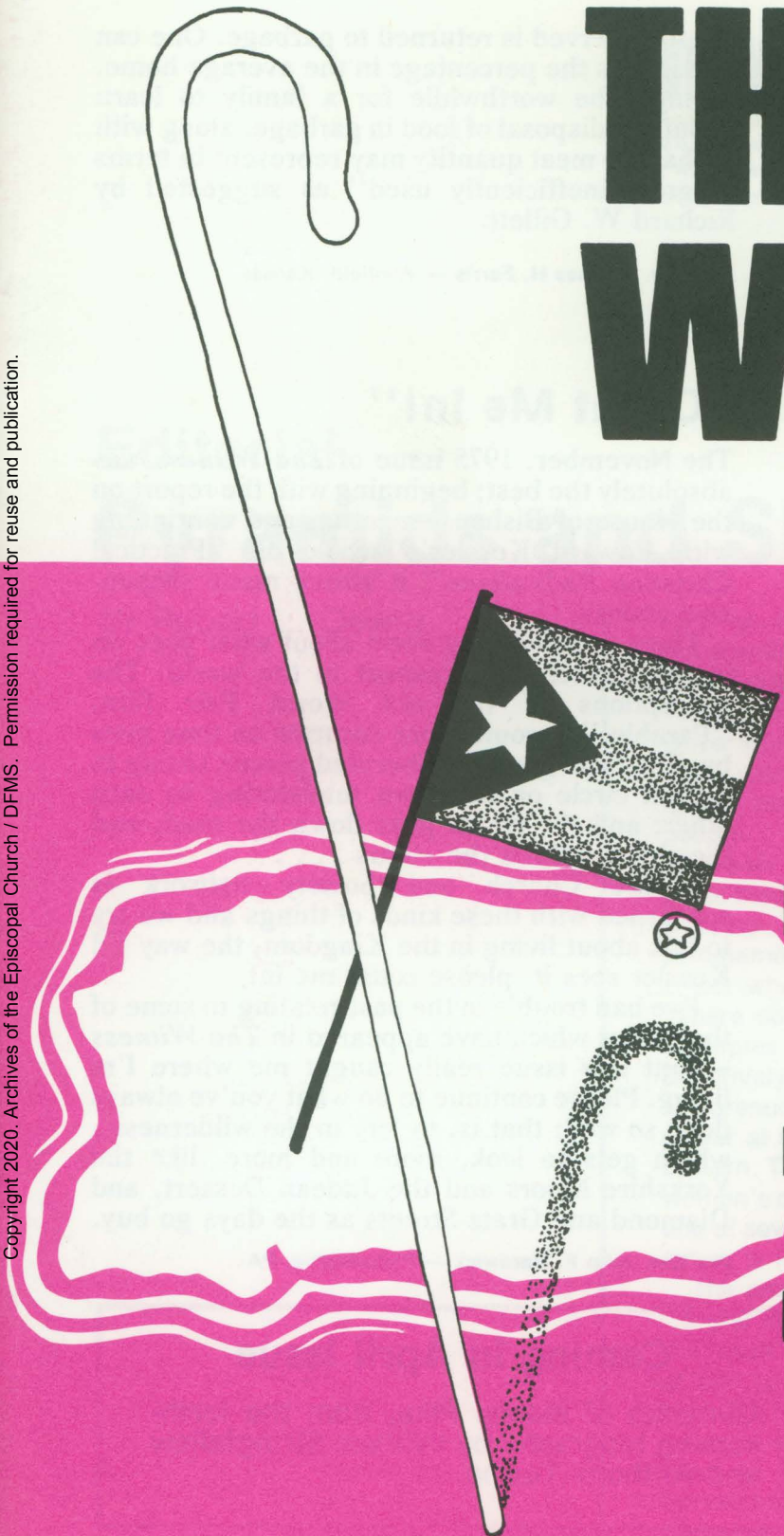


Puerto Rico Bishop Speaks Out

by The Episcopal Bishop Of Puerto Rico

On The Sentencing of Good Father Wendt

by William Stringfellow

The Wizards of Om

by Dan Georgakas

Look At Yourself, America!

The American Journey Part IV

by Edward Joseph Holland

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters.

Too Much Garbage

The problem of "grain inefficiently used" in the production of meat (Richard W. Gillett, World Hunger and Future Christian Response — *The Witness,* October, 1975) requires an understanding of the use of land as well as the vicissitudes of weather in the Great Plains area. The basic assumption that all meat represents lost grain production that could feed the world's hungry people is, at best, questionable and may prove to be counter-productive.

In the year 1974 over 35% of all beef marketed in the United States was not "grain-fed" at all. Rather the steers were matured on prairie grass land that could not support the production of grains without the risk of erosion and another "dust bowl." The remaining 65% of all steers attained an average of 800 of their 1100 pound market weight by utilizing the same grass as well as roughage, such as potato peelings.

In spite of the fact that land producing feed grains often produces less profit, small farmers in Kansas raise them in place of wheat as a hedge against poor weather. Wheat matures in late spring and depends on spring rain, feed-grains mature in late fall and depend on summer and fall rain. Without this "hedge" against the weather, many poor farmers could not survive in a bad year.

The feed-grains raised not only give a form of insurance to the poorer farmer, they make it possible to utilize thousands of acres of grass land that would be non-productive without them and they speed up the production of beef. The resultant meat has a higher amount of usable protein than either wheat or corn. Not only would a boycott of beef produce hardships on small farmers, then, it could result in less food being produced.

A recent study made of the eating habits of people in restaurants indicated that over 60% of the food served is returned to garbage. One can only guess the percentage in the average home. It might be worthwhile for a family to learn about the disposal of food in garbage, along with "what the meat quantity may represent in terms of grain inefficiently used" as suggested by Richard W. Gillett.

The Rev. Thomas H. Ferris — Winfield, Kansas

"Count Me In!"

The November, 1975 issue of *The Witness* was absolutely the best; beginning with the report on the House of Bishops' meeting and continuing with Edward Kessler's article on "Practical Christian Radicalism," it struck many responsive chords.

There is something eerie about what goes on in the Church with respect to the world. The perceptions of the old World Fair film, "Parable," become more accurate as time goes by: The little group of liberated people sitting in a tight circle on the lawn ministering to each other; and the circus goes down the road; and the clown follows the circus . . . .

If the Church and Society network is concerned with these kinds of things and we try to talk about living in the Kingdom, the way Ed Kessler sees it, please count me in!

I've had trouble in the past relating to some of the things which have appeared in *The Witness* — but this issue really caught me where I'm living. Please continue to do what you've always done so well; that is, to 'cry in the wilderness', which gets to look, more and more, like the Yorkshire Moors and the Judean Dessert, and Diamond and Gratz Streets as the days go buy.

The Rev. John F. Hardwick — Philadelphia, PA

Coming in April Issue

Glimpses of Bishop Pike, from the forthcoming biography by William Stringfellow and Anthony Towne.

THE WITNESS Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; E. Lawrence Carter, Robert Eckersley, Antoinette Swanger, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White, Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates: $9.00 per year; $1.00 per copy. *The Witness* is published monthly by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Board of Directors: Bishops Morris Arnold, Robert DeWitt, Lloyd Gressle, John Hines, John Krumm, Brooke Mosley and Dr. Joseph Fletcher.

Editorial

Pyramids and Shepherds

by Robert L. Dewitt

One of the great problems of our time is bureaucracy, be it governmental, industrial or ecclesiastical. The populist entries in the presidential sweepstakes this year will leave no doubt in our minds. They will remind us of what we already know only too well. Big Government and Big Business will be pilloried and pummelled for every vote that such criticism can produce. "Government and business ignore the little people." "Government should be returned to the people." "Business does not act responsibly toward the consumer." As we all know, there is more than enough validity in such truisms to make them plausible. And probably enough political shrewdness in the uttering to make them effective. After all, what are we commemorating in this bicentennial year?

But where are the demonstrations of how it could be different? Where do we find the precedents to follow? Where do we find the examples demonstrating how individuals and groups can function effectively to resist the bureaucratic pattern?

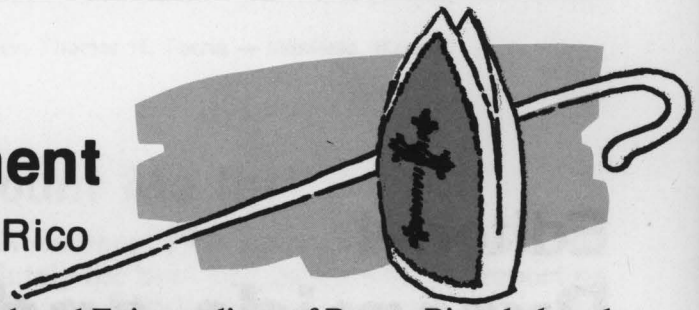
Bureaucracy is perhaps best symbolized by a pyramid, with the power at the top. The church in its own life reflects this bureaucratic pattern. The current immobility of the Episcopal Church on the issue of women's ordination is ample and melancholy evidence of this fact. Any one of several bishops holds the key to resolving the dilemma, but no action is taken.

The pastoral letter issued recently by the Bishop of Puerto Rico on "Social Improvement" presents a different image of the church. It is the result not of bureaucracy but of democracy. Consequently it speaks of and to the real needs of real people. It is in touch with reality because it derives from human contact. The people requested the issuance of a pastoral letter on this subject. The bishop consulted with them in preparing the pastoral. The result is a model of how a bureaucracy can be made to serve people. Big Government, Big Business, and the Church, need more such models.

Much attention is being given by the churches to the problem of world hunger. The Diocese of Puerto Rico and the Ninth Province of which it is a part has pondered its responsibility toward that tragic reality. That study has led them to create a Commission on Social Betterment. At the request of his local commission, and in consultation with people from his diocese, the Episcopal Bishop of Puerto Rico issued a pastoral letter, excerpts of which follow. The pastoral received considerable attention and comment from the media in Puerto Rico .

Pastoral Letter Concerning Social Improvement

Francisco Reus-Froylan, Bishop of Puerto Rico



Francisco Reus-Froylan, Bishop of the Episcopal Church of Puerto Rico, to all Episcopalians of Puerto Rico, to all Christians and to all men of good will: Salvation, Peace and Justice in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is our true salvation, our peace and the justice of God in us.

Recently our Presiding Bishop, the Right Reverend John Allin, sent a message to the members of the Episcopal Church, setting forth his deep concern over the suffering caused by hunger among wide sectors of the world's population. The pastoral concern of our Primate springs from the Gospel principle of radical solidarity of Christians with all men, and especially with the poor. The Gospel teaches us that conversion to God manifests itself in conversion to taking sides with the "Lord's poor ones," so that we must search for the face of God in the face of the poor. But it has been a noxious error of us Christians to understand the poor as underprivileged individuals, not as poor *people,* as a poor *class.*

The message of the Presiding Bishop ought to be seen as a daring challenge to us: not only to alleviate the hunger of some few individuals with whatever leftovers there might be from our tables, but to struggle shoulder to shoulder with all those who labor for the creation of a society no longer bound by the roots from which hunger springs for hundreds of millions on our planet. We must translate the Gospel phrase of "the kingdom of God" into a concrete and historically realizable utopia: the kingdom of justice and of peace . . . .

Beloved Episcopalians of Puerto Rico, beloved fellow-citizens, all of you: At my consecration as Bishop 11 years ago today, I made a vow to the Lord and to my people that "those outside my particular religious confession will not be outside my heart, nor outside my pastoral concern." I address all of you in order to share my pain and my hope . . . . We must all commit ourselves for the realization of our historic future as the Puerto Rican people; this is a project which we may not evade; it is also a privilege which we must not scorn.

Our participation in the constructing of the new human community starts from the perspective of our faith and from an imperative of God which thrusts us forward, a perspective which draws us towards a still unrealized future.

The same God who sent Moses to liberate his people and who encouraged sit-down strikes among the unpaid workers of the construction industry in Egypt, that same God calls us toward our future. When we see the frustration and dehumanization of a great part of our people, we could succumb into the temptation of abandoning this task and awaiting the so-called "will of God." But our God must not be a pretext for inactivity and fatalistic hopelessness . . . .

There is a painful word that describes our situation: *dependency.* We have left the orbit of the Spanish Empire only to fall into the orbit of the invisible (but palpable) imperialism of the multinational corporations. We have become something we never wanted to be: a dependent society, a dependent people . . . .

It hurts us to admit we are a dependent society. The recent economic crisis at the center of the economic empires, with the consequent dismaying backlash for our Puerto Rican society, shows clearly that ours is a satellite economy. It depends completely on such economic fluctuations as market prices and labor-management disputes in the metropolitan centers. Foreign industries invest their capital here in order to exploit the calloused and expert hands of our workers. For some, this is a sign of robotization. But we do not think that the progressive industrialization of Puerto Rico automatically will turn our men and women into robots, because our people will hold tenaciously to the treasured cultural and spiritual values which have characterized us — those things which make us a noble people.

But we see with deep pain that, faced with the high cost of living and the growing demands of the workers for a just return for their work, foreign enterpreneurs are removing light industry — the industry which is the source of so many jobs — from our island. This leaves us with a deeper dependency. Also, this leaves us with heavy industry which provides relatively few jobs and a threatening pollution of our skies and waters.

Worst of all is the pretension of dressing up our starkly dependent situation with social handouts which threaten to degrade human beings.

No wonder there is violence in our island. We do not approve of — although to try to comprehend in a Christian way — random violence, the turning away of the hopeless who look for refuge in hallucinations induced by drugs, the alienation of some religious groups, a progressive erosion of our most dearly held values — frugality, hospitality, unity in the family.

We must all join together to stop this erosion: to preserve our common values and use them as a starting point for building up the world which awaits us. Our Christian action would be of little use if we were to limit ourselves to the introduction of palliatives which alleviate but do not cure.

We do not pretend to have the solution in our hands. We even have to confess, without evading the truth, that our Church is still a dependent Church within a dependent society. I like to think of us Episcopalians as no more than a handful of grains of wheat scattered throughout our island. So I want all members of the Episcopal Church of Puerto Rico to make a commitment of solidarity with all those who work for a more just society.

Our Church is designing and beginning to carry out a program of pastoral action and of social improvement which will respond to the imperative of our vocation as Christians. I ask that all Episcopalians work together in this program, so that together we may search out and explore ways of solution. "The leadership of the Church has to live immersed in the life of its people, and at the same time must recognize the signs of the times which proceed from the action of the people, so that we may exercise a renovating ministry, wherein each person may be able to contribute to the whole process." (From the Commission on Social Betterment: "The Haiti Document.") . . . .

It is necessary that we all reflect critically, after making a serious analysis of our situation, and that we do not remain immobile with our hands folded. Christ sends us out to take sides with the poor and powerless people. He insists constantly on showing his real presence in the poor and humble. It is there where we must seek and find Him.

In our program of social improvement, we want to work with all who, in different ways and from different motives, look to remove our dependency. At the moment we can visualize some goals:

1. To stir the conscience of the local churches to the grave problem of hunger in the world and among our people, and to help them in compiling data — on a global as well as a local level — relating to this problem.
2. To train local teams whose members would be dedicated to a thoroughgoing program in their communities.
3. To identify models and experiences which show some success, and to present new projects which might offer new solutions to this kaleidoscope of problems.
4. To live out real self-giving in service to the poor as a people and as a class.

5. To commit ourselves to be examples of the new life in Christ, with hopes of being the salt of the earth in the renewal of the life of our country.

6. To make use of all the means within our reach to exercise our prophetic vocation of renouncement and denouncement of oppressive structures as well as the announcement of a "new heaven and a new earth."

This program cannot be carried out without a profound involvement of all Christians in this *polis. Polis* is the modern society, the responsibility of man and the creation of man. We must re-create our human community without destroying it. Moreover, we must announce, on the march and in action, the possibility of this realization.

Given under my hand this 30th day of November of the year of grace, 1975.

Francisco Reus-Froylan, Bishop of Puerto Rico

Two Views of Evangelism

1. The definition of Evangelism, passed by the House of Bishops, and proposed in a letter dated April 18, 1975, from the Rev. A. Wayne Schwab, Evangelism Officer of our National Staff:

> Evangelism is "The Presentation of Jesus Christ, in the power of the Holy Spirit, in such ways that persons may be led to believe in Him as Saviour and follow Him as Lord within the fellowship of His Church."

2. The following definition of Evangelism comes from the Bolivian Thesis on Evangelization in Latin America Today, and was produced by the Methodist Evangelical Church in Bolivia; quoted in *One World* (a publication of the World Council of Churches), No. 4, March, 1975, in an article entitled; "Jesus Christ Frees and Unites," written by Mortimer Arias:

> "Evangelization is the announcement of total liberation in Jesus Christ. Evangelization is preached to a whole being: individual and social, physical and spiritual, historical and eternal. Evangelization sets in motion the forces of liberation. The Gospel of Jesus Christ aims to free people from all the forces which oppress them, whether internal or external, individual or impersonal. To announce this Gospel means denouncing all idols or powers which hinder God's liberation purpose for people. Consequently, action for justice and participation in liberating tasks are part and parcel of preaching the Gospel."

On the Sentencing of Good Father Wendt

by William Stringfellow

On January 10, in the forenoon, the Rector of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church of Washington, D.C. was sentenced with a formal reprimand by his bishop, the Rt. Rev. William F. Creighton. The event took place in the Chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea (the follower who begged Pilate for the crucified body of Jesus so that he could put it in the place that had been prepared as his own tomb) which is, not inappropriately, located in the bowels of the National Cathedral. Counsel for Wendt made the following statement, given here in its entirety, and without comment.

"After the Court of Appeals by the barest majority, upheld the 3-2 Trial Court verdict adverse to Father Wendt, motions were duly submitted by the Defense to show cause why sentence should not be imposed.

"The chief subject of the motions concerned the fact that the sentence of the Trial Court catagorically lacks *canonical* status. The sentence recommended was specifically removed from the provision for possible sentences in 1967 and thus it is a nullity.

"The Appellate Court received the motions. It did not convene to deliberate them; we do not even know if they were read. It is reported the court was "polled" in some manner, though whether that has legal competence is problematical. Perhaps only the civil courts afford us a remedy for this situation.

"Meanwhile, the canons of the Episcopal Church restrict the sentencing authority of the Bishop. He may execute a sentence or lessen it. He may not exceed or increase the sentence entered by the Trial Court.

"Right Reverend Sir, you have a quandry. You sit today to pronounce sentence but the scope of your authority canonically would appear limited to diminishing a nullity.

"To proceed, in the circumstances, to sentence Wendt would be outrageous — and ironic, too, when one recalls that the court which tried Wendt unanimously adjudged the Presiding Bishop guilty of flagrant canonical dis-

obedience and the Bishop's Council of Advice has stated that this should be overlooked.

"Furthermore, Bishop Creighton, your quandry is compounded because there is no way any sentence pronounced today can settle the substantive issues of the trial. The Defendant has not exhausted his rights or resources and we here certify to you that the Defense, at the impending General Convention, will seek the ultimate court of Review pursuant to article IX of the Church Constitution. That alone warrants a stay or adjournment in sentencing until after General Convention.

"Perchance, there is another way altogether, however, albeit it more audacious, which would redeem this day and be more suitable to your capacity as pastor pastorum; more compatible with your spontaneous inclinations as a human being.

"In a moment good Father Wendt (that is how the courts named him) will stand before you to be sentenced. In the name of Christ, whom, even now, we await eagerly as the Judge of the living and dead, will you say this to him:

"William Wendt, the ecclesiastical courts of this Diocese have found that you have offended by authority as your Bishop.

'If that be so, I forgive you'"

******

Thereupon, Father Wendt stood before the Bishop, accompanied by two presbyters of his own choosing, as is his right, the Rev. Allison Cheek and the Rev. Lee McGee.

The Bishop pronounced sentence.

William Stringfellow: author, social critic, attorney and theologian, has been legal counsel for Father Wendt, representing him before the ecclesiastical courts.

Religion?

Sri Chimoy, the Indian yogi who heads the UN Meditation Group, surpassed his own unofficial world's record for poetry-writing in a 24-hour period by writing 843 spiritual poems between midnight Saturday and midnight Sunday. The 44-year-guru, whose disciples include jazz-rock guitarists John McLaughlin and Carlos Santana, had previously written 360 poems in one day on April 28. He said he used powers of concentration developed through meditation to keep himself going.

"What's My Line?"

by Mary Lou Suhor

The setting was the TV quiz show, "What's My Line?"

A panel of celebrities was trying to guess the occupation of a husband-wife team (U.S. Army helicopter pilots). The panel has established the fact that the vocation was unusual for the woman, because heretofore it was considered physically and traditionally dangerous.

Then Arlene Francis asked her, "Are you one of the newly-ordained Episcopalian women priests?" The audience roared.

But was Ms. Francis so far off target? Are not women — and men — who wish to exercise a prophetic priesthood in the United States today living dangerously?

If they are serious about confronting the injustices of a powerful system controlled by powerful men, they are taking risks. Episcopalian women seeking priesthood dared to challenge an all-male authority structure which fosters relations of dominance and dependency. Apparently the powers-that-be think such women are dangerous.

But for broader implications, their struggle has to be seen as part of the wider women's movement in the United States, whose demands, if carried to their ultimate consequences, are now considered by many to be revolutionary. For example, a country with an unemployment rate of 10 per cent and working middle classes suffering from inflation, cannot tolerate demands of equal rights, equal employment, and equal pay for women. In this context, FBI forays into the women's movement and grand jury investigations of radical feminists make sense. They indicate that women activists are considered a threat to the capitalist system. (Incidentally, an *ad hoc* national committee of concerned churchwomen from various denominations has been formed to discuss strategies to counter such harassment. The Division of Church and Society of the National Council of Churches is serving as the organizing center.)

But just what is it that women want? Are their demands selfish? Exaggerated? Un-Christian?

On the contrary. In her new photo-documentary book, "Women at Work," Betty Medsger shows why women are hurting:

- *Of the 35 million women in the U.S. labor force, a majority work because of economic need. About 3/5 of all women workers are single, widowed, divorced, or separated, or have husbands whose incomes are less than $7,000.00.*
- *Of all families in the United States, one out of eight is headed by a woman. Almost three out of 10 black families are headed by women. Among all poor families, more than two out of five are headed by women and almost two out of three poor black families are headed by women.*
- *Fully-employed women with four years of college have approximately the same income as men with an eighth grade education. Fully employed women with five or more years of college have approximately the same income as men who are high school graduates.*

Many women in the oppressed categories have found their problems are not of an individual, but of a social nature, and therefore call for political solutions. Frequently those who start by asking feminist questions end up seeking socialist answers.

It should surprise no one that challenging questions are being directed today at the middle-class Episcopalian church. As Juliet Mitchell points out in her book, "Women's Estate," the ideological dimensions of a revolution are likely to come initially from within the dominant class.

A Harlem mother of seven children, on welfare, for instance, may experience her plight as "natural" or inescapable, and lacks the means to call attention to her pain. An ordained Episcopalian unjustly denied her priesthood at least is in a position to ask why, and to move others to ask why through page one stories in the *N. Y. Times* and *Washington Post*, as well as in *The Witness*.

In both cases, the socialist analysis is that "the general denigration of women is an inevitable consequence of capitalism, and inferiorization is essential to its functioning." Since U.S. churches have "religiously" supported the capitalists system, some questioning, prophetic voices would be welcome at this point. Clearly, the moneyed classes (and male sex) which hold power will not easily renounce it.

Perhaps the clearest spelling out of these problems took place at the Theology of the Amercias Conference in Detroit last August. Liberation theologians from Latin America, supported by other Third World voices, warned it is folly to try to rectify institutional violence without analyzing the capitalist system as the root of oppression. To liberation theologians, socialism is, in large measure, an indictment of capitalism. It is directed toward building a new society which would overcome the inequities of an anarchic economic system based on the principles of "rugged individualism."

In a certain sense, if socialism didn't exist, God would have had to invent it.

Unfortunately, Middle Class USA has come to equate capitalism with the American Way of Life. If church folks have been surfeited with rhetoric about "atheistic communism," they have heard precious little about the systemic evils of "atheistic capitalism."

The Detroit theology conference revealed that many who are seeking a methodology to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth and to implement Christ's mandate to "feed the hungry, clothe the naked," have found a convergence between Christianity and Marxism.

Given the current anti-communist, pro-capitalist bias of church and state alike, are not such men and women living dangerously?

Mary Lou Suhor is co-director of the Cuba Resource Center, an Ecumenical group which circulates information on life in Cuba and on the churches in Cuba. Her articles have appeared in *National Catholic Reporter, Christianity and Crisis, Response,* and other church publications.

The Wizards of OM

by Dan Georgakas

Spectacles staged primarily for the benefit of the media have become a favorite device of American humanists. During the 1967 siege of the Pentagon, a group of artists led by Allen Ginsburg chanted "Om" and shouted magical formulas in an effort to levitate the Pentagon. That incident became part of poetic legend in this country. Unfortunately, the Pentagon did not levitate and the war in Vietnam did not end.

A 1975 Om event was publicized twice on the front feature page of the *New York Times.* That event was the Spiritual Summit Conference held October 21-24 to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the United Nations. Sponsors could boast that a cosmic mass had involved Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, Moslems, and Jews and that these faiths represented 2.7 billion persons or one-half the world's population. There was the additional prestige of an international podium, a concluding $50-a-plate dinner at the Waldorf Astoria, and a full week of programming staged at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

Certainly any effort to underline the unity of interest among the peoples of earth deserves respect. The Spiritual Summit Conference, however, had an agenda that, at best, was highly suspicious. The organizers called for a conscious movement away from "political ideology and special interest groups" to the "wisdom of the ages" and the cultivation of "spiritual resources." A UN translator is not needed to decode the message: "Off the streets — into the temples."

One special-interest group the summiteers did not oppose was themselves. In fact, they suggested that their existence be sanctioned by the creation of a new UN agency which would mobilize spiritual resources around the globe along the lines proposed by the spiritual diplomats. That approach raises the question of who was represented at the Spiritual Summit Conference. Most of the individuals who were involved had some responsible position in one organized religious body or another, but none of them had been particularly delegated by his faith

to be an official spokesperson. Typical of the summiteers was the Very Rev. James Parks Morton, dean of the Cathedral who had no directive from his congregation or the Episcopal Church, to say nothing of Christianity as a whole. Such realities quickly dissolved the illusion that 2.7 billion Earth folk were represented at the Summit. Equally relevant is the fact that funding for this affair did not come from religious communities but from an organization called the Temple of Understanding founded in 1960 by Mrs. Judith Hollster who has sponsored four other spiritual summits in various parts of the world.

Spiritual summitry is primarily a matter of pageantry. Typical events were concerts, art displays, and a series of ceremonies booked into the Cathedral like a spiritual variety show. Tickets for the evening performances were $7; the matinees went for $3. The paying audience could partake in Shinto, Jain, and Native American ceremonies or listen to the UN symphony, a jazz flutist, or Margaret Mead. One observer commented that the Church of the Spectacle had arrived to exorcise the ghosts of the social gospel.

The central role played by the Cathedral disturbed many in the New York area. With the perils of New York City's default brinksmanship making life more and more difficult, particularly for the academic, black, and Latin communities which surround the Cathedral, a call away from political action seemed like exactly the wrong note played in the wrong place at the wrong time. The about-face from the activism of the 1960's prompted some church people to ask if there ever had been a genuine urban strategy. The current reality in New York is that each individual church must support itself or face possible consolidation or outright closing. This policy amounts to an ecclesiastical version of "benign neglect." As one church deacon put it, "The upper class church with $5 million in the treasury and five people in the pews will stay open while the church struggling to deal with the social problems of the working class and the poor will be judged a failure if its books don't balance. What we did in the 1960's now seems to have been part of a fad; and the fad for black and Puerto Ricans has passed."

Criticism of the Cathedral came from traditionalists as well. One minister from Long Island suggested that the Cathedral was more interested in grabbing headlines that in saving souls. This minister was opposed to using the church for non-Christian rituals. He said, "You don't play polo on a baseball diamond."

The Spiritual Summit Conference, in short, never connected with the everyday lives of ordinary people even though it is destined to live on in press releases and bureaucratic bulletins. The public relations which handled the publicity for the conference also handles the publicity of Dean Morton. In a press-sheet aimed at television producers, the PR people seem to satirize the career of the very man they ostensibly promote.

> *"He's worked in the slums of Newark and Chicago, and marched with Martin Luther King . . . As the dean of the largest cathedral in the world and a man who is constantly in the limelight, he's an excellent show guest, either as a featured guest or for rounding out a show . . . Not too wordy, doesn't preach."*

Street wisdom in the U.S. teaches that the government never acts in behalf of social justice until stimulated by violence or the threat of violence. The movement which built up in the 1960's around issues of war, poverty, race, and sex has become unfocused and undirected even though economic realities have become harsher and promise to get worse. In New York City the fiscal crisis has led to reductions of services to the point where the middle class as well as the poor is being affected. In the midst of this social confusion, the Cathedral seems to be content with humming "Om." But, alas, nothing is levitating.

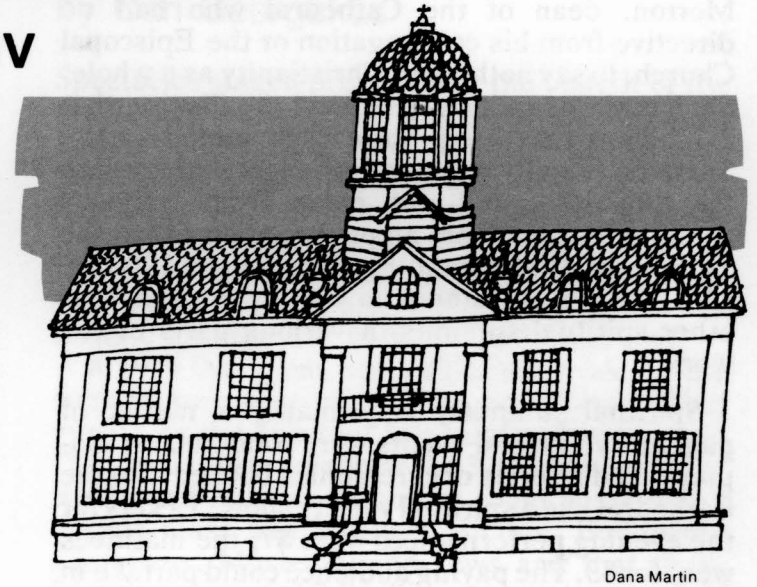
Dan Georgakas is co-author of *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, a study of urban unrest with emphasis on the period 1967-1974.

Look at Yourself, America!

THE AMERICAN JOURNEY, PART IV

by Edward Joseph Holland

Where do we go from here? As members of the American ruling and ruled classes, we have options before us which might either perpetuate the imperialism, racism, sexism and classism waged by our ancestors in the name of property rights or step onto untraveled, unchartered paths which may or may not lead to the liberation of all persons. Having shared with us his structural interpretation of the social struggle in the United States since the formation of the colonies, researcher Joseph Holland, in the last of a series of four articles, makes some predictions about the future we shall mold together. In addition, we have asked for and received reactions from various interested persons to Mr. Holland's presentation. Those statements, edited for our purposes, follow.



Dana Martin

Projections

Projecting trends is extremely precarious. Any number of forces and events can intervene. With that in mind, however, we might risk looking at two poles toward either of which present American social history could gravitate. In addition, any number of points in between is theoretically possible.

The first pole might be called the fresh triumph of capitalism. This is not unlikely, since despite continued Marxist anticipation of catastrophe, Western capitalism has survived with considerable resilience and maneuverability. On the other hand, there is some reason to believe that the present crisis may be unique, since the frontiers seem to be gone.

The issue of socialism is also a real question even for the controlling classes, as evidenced in the feature article of *Time* titled, "Can Capitalism Survive?"[1] There was a period briefly when the ideological program of American capitalism took the tack that we were in a post-capitalist society and the age of the end of ideology had come upon us. Even recently some assert that the question of capitalism and socialism is a 19th Century issue, with little meaning for today. One group which certainly doesn't feel that way, however, is the class of American capitalists.

A number of recent phenomena point this out — like the *Time* article, and the ads run by such old firms as Tiffany's, Chase and Mobil in defense of capitalism. There seems to be a new ideological offensive underway in American society and we can probably expect more of it. Two signs of its moving beyond ads are the decisions by the Advertising Council of America to begin a mass public education campaign on the free enterprise system. Also, Disney and Exxon have recently formed a joint agreement to produce a series of high school multi-media series defending the free enterprise system. Ideological discussion, it seems, will only get sharper.

Defense of American capitalism, however, would have to be waged on two fronts, one external and one internal. The new external offensive is perhaps signaled by the Daniel Patrick Moynihan appointment to the United Nations ambassadorship and by an article by Irving Kristol in the *Wall Street Journal* describing a new "Cold War" against the world's poor (not against their poverty, but against their

1. *Times*, July 14, 1975, pp. 52 ff.

power).[2] Moynihan, in turn, in a programatic article in *Commentary* simplistically lumps Third World nations under the rubric of "British Socialism," which he says, everyone knows can't work.[3] Thus, the battle by the U.S. elites against the majority of the human race takes on ideological tones.

"Liberal capitalism," to use Kristol's phrase, can produce the goods and wealth, while "British socialism," to use Moynihan's phrase, simply cannot. If the Third World wants to starve itself because of allegiance to British socialism instead of accepting liberal capitalism, that's their problem. The defense of declining American imperialism is then taken up under the disguise of self-respect and self-affirmation for ourselves as a nation.

Such a hard line may not be necessary for long, if the architects of the Tri-Lateral Commission can succeed in bringing some "new rich" nations of the Third World into the Western club. But that is still an open question. If those strategies are not successful, the appeal to American self-respect by the upper classes may run into problems at home, for these same groups are structurally forced to turn the screws on the domestic working class. This brings us to the question of domestic projections.

There is good reason to believe that the social legislation which grew from the New Deal on, attempting to take the rough edges off liberal capitalism, will be progressively overturned. This could leave us with a much more vicious capitalism, required to tolerate high unemployment and unable to provide adequate social services to the casualties. This is not a question of bad will or evil intention. It would be a structural imperative of declining growth and intense international competition. Thus, economically, the projection would point toward downward mobility replacing former upward mobility, and acute suffering, for the nation's poor.

Already malnutrition is growing in certain sectors of the nation, especially among the very young and very old. In the process, there will be a tendency to avoid surplus populations, especially among the poor, and to tailor population to fit the economic crisis. This tendency is already creating a society strongly prejudiced against the presence of both children and the elderly. It also will probably assume strong racist overtones. Zero Population Growth recently tipped its hand in this regard, linking its cause to the balance of international payments and the control of criminal forces in our society.[4]

Undoubtedly the downward mobility and closing out of opportunity will create great social unrest, but it could be of two kinds, and which one it is will probably determine which way the nation goes. On the one hand, American working people could fight among themselves for scarce resources (white against black, men against women, old against young, English-speaking against Spanish-speaking, one region against another, etc.). Or, the heterogeneous American working class could for the first time begin to develop a broad solidarity and a common class consciousness. If it is the first, it will be easy to mobilize "productive workers" against "non-productive" people who "drain the nation's energies", against "welfare cheaters", against "criminals", "non-union workers".

Either way, the social upheaval will probably create strong pressures on the state to move away from persuasion to overt force in ordinary life. Liberal democracies across the world are experiencing crisis as their institutions prove incapable of managing dissent or of providng channels for the necessary social restructuring of the contemporary crisis. Just as Daniel Patrick Moynihan speaks of the "tyranny of the majority" in the United States, so Gerald Ford warned during the last Congressional elections (when it was felt by some that pro-labor forces would gain a "veto-proof Congress") of the danger of a "democratic dictatorship." The rhetoric is surprisingly parallel. Vice President Rockefeller, in an address to the 63rd annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, contended that there is question whether the American system "is a viable way of life," and stated that it remains a question whether "free societies can discipline themselves sufficiently to deal with problems in the long term."[5] He answered "yes" to both questions for the present moment, but thereby touched the central political question for American capitalism in the future.

If the elites of military-police-intelligence agencies are further strengthened as a result of social discontent (and there are signs of growing

2. Irving Kristol, "The New Cold War," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 1975.
3. Daniel P. Moynihan, "The United States in Opposition," *Commentary*, March, 1975, pp. 31-44.
4. See the testimony of Bob Packwood in the Alien Employment Act of 1975 (Congressional Record Vol. 121, No. 119, Washington, Thursday, July 24, 1975).
5. *The New York Times*, April 30, 1975, p. 56.

integration among them, as well as of strengthening despite the appearance of public restraint), these elites would inevitably assume a greater role in public policy. Indeed, the role of institutions of force seems to have become central in all processes of contemporary social change, whether from the right or the left, across the world. There is no guarantee that the United States would remain immune from that broad tendency.

The tendency to use government force to hold the system together parallels closely the growing drift toward state capitalism (albeit a non-welfare capitalism). This in turn would give more rigidity to the social system, combined probably with class immobility (except perhaps downwards) and therefore much more class consciousness.

Culturally, the notion of freedom would have to be redefined (and is already being done) around discipline rather than opportunity. Here the colossal power of cultural institutions in advanced industrial societies assumes paramount importance, especially for religious groups which form part of the cultural superstructure.

There is danger for the more "liberal" churches whose social action programs or even educational institutions depend heavily on major capitalist foundations. Once this dependency was true only of the "established" Protestant traditions, and not of the Catholic Church nor of the more populist Protestant churches. Now, however, capitalist foundations have a broad role in theological education and in religious social action. This brings a very subtle shaping process of reward and punishment, which inevitably constrains the political imagination.

In addition, there would be strong tendencies for religious movements to provide programs of "adjustment" to the social crisis. Elements like simple living and the charismatic movement here can go either of two ways, toward non-critical accommodation to a declining capitalism and imperialism, or else toward fundamental social criticism.

Religious groups must beware of the tendency "not to take sides" in strong social conflict issues, and to withdraw from sources of tension. They would thereby legitimize the existing situation and spontaneously produce pastoral strategies of accommodation. Critical religious groups, on the other hand, must beware lest they produce outrage and little insight. They can easily fail to link themselves to a broad popular base and to institutional mediation, thereby replacing prophecy with eccentricity.

At present, there seems to be a fresh opening within broad sectors of the American working class to fundamental questions, even to the issue of socialism and class consciousness. In the minds of many, the American Dream has begun to dissolve. The failure in Vietnam and the necessity of a defensive posture by the U.S. in the UN have undercut the external aspects of the dream, namely the belief that America was number one in the world, loved by all as the grantor of freedom and prosperity. At home the revelation of broad structural corruption in Watergate, and the growing perception of clear unity between Big Business and Big Government, together with the sense of collapsing opportunity during the current recession, have underminded the domestic aspects of the dream. Probably one of the most powerful agents of the Dream's collapse is the combination of loss of higher education opportunities and the loss of job opportunities for those with higher education.

This can be seen very clearly in the new educational policies being worked out by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.[6] The Commission predicts over the next decade or so the collapse of most all private colleges not based on major capitalist endowments. This would leave the Ivy League schools as institutions for children of the upper classes. The state schools would contract somewhat to become the technical-professional-managerial training schools for the middle sectors of society. The universal appetite for higher education would be appeased by a retooling of junior or community colleges into lower level technical schools, perhaps integrated into the national public school system, thus delaying the entry of youth into the labor force. Already it is clear that the social class of college youth is shifting upward under mounting tuition costs. Many families who for one generation or two rose above rather poor financial and educational backgrounds may suddenly find their offspring collapsing back into them.

6. *Dollars and Sense*, March, 1975, pp. 4-5.

Even the racial struggle seems to be moving slowly toward a redefinition taking class into account, without discarding the issue of racism. The struggles of the 1960's for civil rights opened up opportunities for the small middle classes of racial minorities, but left the vast racial underclasses in the same if not worse positions. Reporting on the 65th annual conference of the National Urban League, Austin Scott noted that at least four of the conference's major speakers

> ". . . *argue that the possibility of such an underclass, the continued upward movement of some blacks who do have good educations and middle class values, and the realization that problems can no longer be solved through unlimited economic growth, combined to mean that class is now a more important factor than race in remaining poor in America.*"[7]

Further, there seems to be a fresh and growing sense of coalition building among groups formerly polarized along line of race, language, culture of internal class stratification. One factor assisting this bridge-building process is undoubtedly the re-emerging of the women's movement. Women from different sectors of the heterogeneous American working class seem much better at building bridges throughout that heterogeneity. It may be, then, that the women's movement could prove an important internal network linking the fragmented American working class.

This growing sense of social class and the collapse of the dominant definition of the American Dream creates great opportunity for creative political and religious searching among the broad and complex American working class. The danger, however, may be that such work would prove so threatening to the social classes which presently hold power and/or privilege, that government force would be used to repress those who fertilize the cultural-religious imagination and organize the political power of the American working class.

The second pole to which the social system could head is a socialist direction. The current discussions of American socialism are still too immature to describe what might be an "American model," but it is an alternative which must be carefully examined. For many, it is the alternative toward which the working class of this nation, slowly or rapidly, with clarity or fuzziness, consistently pushes us.

Consistent with the Christian belief that suffering is the source of redemption, exploited groups are having a major impact on the critical retrieval of the Christian tradition out of the broad crisis of Western capitalism. Black, Asian-American, Hispanic-American and White ethnic Christianity powerfully raise racial and cultural oppression as core issues of faith in the modern world. Radical Latin American Christianity, as well as major leftist Christian movements in Europe and North America, are raising the issue of class exploitation as equally central. Feminist theology raises the central issue of sexism. The Native American religious traditions, whether Christian or not, radically challenge the Western rape of the earth and the consequent loss of the religious mystery following from ecological relationships. Third World Christianity in general, be it African, Asian or Latin American, raises the issue of imperialism. It could be that some appropriation of the Marxist tradition will provide a framework within which each of these powerful streams of insight can understand their mutual enrichment. If that occurs, then the cumulative retrieval of the core Christian tradition would point toward a fundamental critique of the structures of capitalism and toward some generalized approval of socialist tendencies.

Of course, such approval would not portray socialism as an absolute utopia, nor as an eschatological realization of the Kingdom of God. It would simply suggest that, while not perfect, it might be structurally preferable to the current situation. Whether such a judgement is wise probably constitutes the most overarching question for Christians of this country and of the whole world, as we grapple with the Spirit of God in discerning the signs of the times.

The fruit of this discernment may prove a significant factor in determining toward which pole the American Journey will head in the present crisis. It may also prove an important ingredient in finally answering the as yet unanswered question of the two definitions of freedom — property rights or human rights — which two revolutions so far in the American

7. Austin Scott, "The New Apathy and the Poor," *The Washington Post*, August 5, 1975, A-16.

Journey have not settled. The closing of the frontier, the slow retreat of American imperialism and the decline of economic expansion may be setting the stage for a clear choice.

Edward Joseph Holland is a staff associate at the Center of Concern, an independent center for policy analysis and public education, initiated by the Jesuits and dealing mainly with international social issues.

This is the conclusion of Edward Joseph Holland's perceptive monograph on The American Journey entitled "Look At Yourself, America!" The complete 4-part series is now available at 50 cents in a bound booklet. Write THE WITNESS. For use in group discussions, inquire about quantity discounts.

Response to Holland

U.S.A. Destined for Division

by James Lewis

Last spring, the Rev. Marvin Horan, a fundamentalist, self-ordained preacher, was convicted in a federal court in Charleston, W. Va. on charges of conspiring to bomb public schools. Horan had been one of the leaders of the anti-textbook group that had been adamant in its protest of newly-adopted textbooks for the 900-square mile Kanawha County with its 4,600 public school students.

To many, outside of West Virginia, the media was able to sell the image of a poverty-stricken West Virginia still hopelessly engaged in a Hatfield-McCoy struggle. In reality, the struggle was cultural, economic, class, racial, and religious. It was an extremely important struggle which offered a microcosm of the larger struggle going on in the United States.

Just after the Horan conviction, the Charleston Gazette did a front page human interest story on his return, while waiting for appeal, to his tiny church in one of the hollows just outside of Charleston. The article described his welcome by the congregation and elders and told how, when given a bill from Appalachian Power Company, he commented on the necessity of paying the bill even though the power company was stealing them blind.

Interestingly enough, Appalachian Power at that time was in court appealing a rate overcharge, refusing to reimburse the public consumers. On top of that, it had also been revealed that Appalachian Power had been buying coal at a high rate from a coal company created and owned by itself and had been purchasing country club memberships for its executives.

A striking piece of irony and absurdity occurred the very day that the Horan story appeared in the newspaper. That very day a group of elderly citizens was gathering at my parish, St. John's Episcopal Church in downtown Charleston, to protest high power rates for elderly persons on fixed incomes. The irony resides in the fact that Horan and I had been locked in battle with each other in the textbooks dispute.

The lesson is clear. The created issues, whether they be over textbooks or busing, women's ordination or some other legitimate area of concern, are in reality divisions which keep us from uniting on fundamental issues. Marvin Horan and I had fought bitterly over the textbooks rather than coming together on the fundamental economic issues that are strangling both congregations. Rather than unite against the stripping of this beautiful land and the taking of that valuable coal to profit the large coal companies who care little about the men who journey into the mines, we fight over school books.

Holland hopes for a new and "broad solidarity and a common class consciousness." The alternative, unfortunately, is where we are right now, Americans polarized and fighting among themselves. My idealism and sense of justice begs for solidarity. My observation of Kanawha County, alias U.S. of America, is no such luck. We are destined for division and struggle, perhaps until exhaustion. Then, maybe Holland's alternative will become real. The "fresh and growing sense of coalition" he sees growing among women just had a rude set back in New York with the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment. Kanawha Countians could have predicted it. We still would rather fight than switch. At least for a little while longer anyway.

Response to Holland

Holland's View Simplistic

by Dwight Jensen

Mr. Holland criticizes Patrick Moynihan for "a programmatic article in (which he) simplistically lumps Third World nations under the rubric of 'British socialism.'"

Mr. Holland hates the sinner but loves the sin. His article is thick with simplistic lumps. He lumps Soviet state capitalism, Chinese labor-intensive communism, and the goals of Eugene Debs with other systems and theories and dream under the rubric "socialism." He writes with misplaced emphasis, misread history, missed perceptions and a mist of rhetoric.

He does seem to have grasped, or to have read about, the rising anger of have-not nations and the unease and bewilderment of Americans in the face of this anger. From there he has irrationalized backward to conjure up his version of history.

He omits a word in the opening of Part III: "Property rights versus the rights of the individual. The struggle was decided by the elite of the American colonies . . ."

It should read, "The struggle was not decided . . ." It continues. In Jackson's day it led to popular election of the President. Populism and progressivism culminated in popular election of senators and in an income tax law that built a middle class to take control from the very wealthy. The struggle continues in the field of civil rights even under a split Supreme Court and a regressive Administration.

Frontiers do seem to be closing. Resources do seem to be limited. Have-not nations are beginning to assert themselves. American and world economic structures do require reform. But let us approach this problem with fresh ideas, not rhetoric. We have no evidence so far that a free press can exist outside a capitalistic system. We have no evidence that a free people can retain their freedom without a free press. It is, therefore, worthwhile to consider saving capitalism, but bringing its benefits to those now excluded.

Locke, enunciating the doctrine of property rights, specified that each person is entitled to the property he needs to support himself. Accummulation beyond that should be held within bounds, but this can be done under our existing system.

The system built by the founding fathers, whatever their purpose, allows us to work out such problems without revolution. If solutions are slow in coming, that's irritating, often harmful — but it does make for a stability that human beings need. We have the system. What we need is leaders committed to justice and to orderly procedure.

The role of the church in all this should begin, but not end, with a dedication to the principles of respect for all people, humane stewardship of property, and the realization that we await the future on pins and needles we still do not see camels passing through the eye of the one, nor Marxists dancing on the head of the other.

Dwight Jensen is a free lance journalist in Boise, Idaho. He is also former assistant editor of the Intermountain Observer and was on the news staff of KBOI TV in Boise.

Response to Holland

"The Philosophers Have Only Interpreted . . ."

by Ira Einhorn

"The Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it."

Karl Marx

For several reasons Marxian analysis has never captured the imagination of the American people. For one thing, the 'average' American does not bemoan his lot. He has been conditioned to identify with the possibility of upward mobility. He senses his freedom in the possibility of transcending his situation in a personal way. He rarely identifies with his class. He certainly does not see his liberation in terms of class identification. The idea of individuality has been stamped into his thought patterns, and he storms the frontier of wealth, often achieving his goal without realizing that co-optation has occurred in the very moment of his success. Another intermediary has been formed, another link has been forged in the chain that binds us all into a system that needlessly exploits a large percentage of its members.

That dream of possibility, however, is fading. The failure of the system as a whole is becoming more obvious. Capitalism has lost its legitimacy and the process of demystification is slowly underway. Thus the forces that have militated against the type of conscious class identification that is necessary for collective action are no

longer operative.

Openness to previously-ignored modes of structuring our society is spreading: an example is my 33-year old stockbroker brother who told me in a recent telephone conversation: "A few years ago, when you said the country was heading Left, I thought you ought to have your head examined. Now I agree, and I am in favor of it. Tell me what to do and I'll do it."

Herein lies the problem. Can socialism come without the fully embodied class war? Can American wealth be shared without violent destabilization? Can the Left face the opportunity of generating a theory of transition unencumbered by the language of Marx?

The preservation of spiritual values by the church in the face of this Leftward thrust is made doubly difficult by the historical alignment of the church with the economic status quo and by the present wealth of the church. Legitimacy has been lost. It can only be reinstated by actions which encompass the Marxian ideal without neglecting the very needs of the spirit. This will require a radical transformation of church attitudes. Yet the model is there. The ministry of Christ drew its power from his identification with the poor and downtrodden.

Ira Einhorn is a free lance writer and author of "78-187880." He is presently working in a corporate planning project, and considers himself an enzyme for change.

The Last Shall be First

No one has ever made so devastating a criticism of our social and moral standards as the Teacher who put the harlot above the Pharisees, a penitent robber above the High Priest and the prodigal son above his exemplary brother.

T. E. Jessop, contemporary English Theologian

General Convention, Democratic?

Henry H. Rightor of Virginia Theological Seminary has written in the Washington Clergy Association newsletter concerning the lack of democratic representation in the House of Deputies.

He writes, "In neither House of Convention do we have the proportional representation of church members which is essential to a 'Democratic form' of government. This is understandable in the House of Bishops, as our church is 'Esiscopal' as well as 'Protestant!'" In the House of Deputies, however, where proportional representation in some form might be expected, each diocese has four clerical and four lay deputies. So — El Salvador, with 66 communicants, has the same representation in each order as Connecticut, with 82, 387 communicants; Eau Claire, with 2,867, has the same as Washington, DC with 36,561.

"The Declaration of Independence refers to governments as 'deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.' Such consent requires some approximation of proportional representation in the House of Deputies, if Convention is to have the authority and integrity needed to further the mission as a church."

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THE WITNESS

April 1976
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The Death and Life of Bishop Pike

Excerpts from the book by William Stringfellow and Anthony Towne

A Modest Proposal

Phillip C. Cato

An Alternative Approach to an Alternative Future

Sondra Myers

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters

I trust some good will come from my plugging "The Witness." I am delighted to be its promoter, because it is a good magazine and fills a useful and important need, especially now. You have made it a very worthy successor to the old Witness.

William A. Beal — Chevy Chase, Maryland

Peace and good be to you. Thank you for the complimentary copies of THE WITNESS. I am interested and shall read it with interest.

Sister Mary Jose — O.S.F. Venezuela

Let me just reflect a little bit upon The Witness and the movement as I see it. I think The Witness is, and can make, an increasingly effective witness in identifying new directions for social concern after the hyper-activity of the '60s and the danger of conservative backlash in the '70s. I know that economics are very real and this means that you cannot have a very large magazine at this time.

At the same time I believe we clergy in particular are in very serious need of more probing articles. I think I feel some over-concentration on certain issues and wishing for new perspectives on them and also some probes on other issues, e.g. Where is ecumenism? What are the meanings of changes in the youth culture? Why is the Bicentennial a BLAH?

I've tried to say in these few sentences where I am and where I'd like to be and I do want you to know we are with you and are grateful to you for re-invigorating this wing of the Church and giving it some direction.

Robert McGregor — Grosse Pointe, Michigan

Holland's "Look At Yourself, America" has inserted an inquiring "dip stick" into historical recesses of our sputtering national motor. Reading the level on his "oil gauge", he shares with us his new insights into our nation's "life and death struggles against classism, imperialism, racism and sexism". This is a self-instructive device with a high potential for producing rededicated citizens — eager for new witness and action.

The same kind of job Mr. Holland is doing for our country needs doing in every little soul and parish. Woe to us parish Pharisees. How great the difference between what we say we believe and what our actions show us to be. Perhaps you could follow the unblurred analysis of our national deeds with a dip stick inquiry into, "Just Look At Yourself, Parish".

Robert P. Moore — Sewanee, Tennessee

I am most grateful for the three months' complimentary subscription to The Witness magazine. I welcome learning about the Episcopal church community's presence and response to the church's social mission. Many thanks for your initiative in sharing with us.

Mary Daniel Turner — SNDdeN Executive Director, Leadership Conference of Women Religious

AMERICA

by Anthony Towne

is 200 years old
and by way of celebration
I would like to share with you-all
-assuming I somehow get my head together-
the fact that once upon a time the lordly Manisseans
for nobody knows how many hundreds of years
cultivated corn and harvested fish
on an island "discovered"
by G. Verrazzano
in 1524

(The Manisseans were Indians of the Narragansett family.)

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Editorial
A Voice in the Wilderness

Robert L. DeWitt

I knew Jim Pike well. He confused me. He stretched my mind. I am grateful for his life.

When I was a young priest I heard him speak at a diocesan clergy conference on the invitation of Bishop Emrich. Pike was then Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Devine. He had been asked to speak on preaching, a skill in which his excellence was recognized. I recall vividly the theme of his remarks. "Authentic preaching," he said, "requires two symbols. One is a weather vane. The other is the cross. The first is to keep us in touch with current reality, and the other is to keep us in touch with eternal truth."

Jim Pike was the preacher at the service when I was consecrated a bishop. On the day before the service, he inquired pastorally about the state of my soul, mind and emotions concerning the coming service. He also asked what I would like the message of the sermon to be. On the day of the service a vested array of bishops was lined up for the procession — but no Bishop Pike. Said Presiding Bishop Lichtenberger with a twinkle to one of the bishops, "If Jim does not show up, *you* will be the preacher!" Jim showed up, barely in time, gaily greeting the other officiants.

Once he spoke in the late 1950's to the Economic Club of Detroit, a luncheon gathering which many of Detroit's leading businessmen usually attended. His subject was the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a hot potato at the time. "Contrary to the general impression," he said, "I am not opposed but strongly in favor of the House's having a committee on un-American activities. My only concern is: what kind of activities are really un-American?" He then went on to label as "un-American" racism and other social ills which were corroding the heart of America.

Jim Pike was a man ahead of his time. True, some of the issues which occupied and preoccupied him have had their day. One thinks of the heresy issue. Thanks partly to him, that issue may now safely be lodged in history. He was an active advocate of many concerns — racial justice, theological reconstruction, women in the ministry, to name a few — which are still with us but have nonetheless lost their novelty. We have moved beyond some of them to their deeper implications.

Actually, it was in a profounder yet simpler way that he was ahead of his time. It had to do with his stubborn insistence that Jesus is Lord of the church, and that his teachings are normative for the church. I doubt he would feel any more comfortable in the church now than he did then. But he would not feel so lonely. Today his name is legion — the legion of those who feel alienated from, even exiled by a religious institution whose history and Gospel call forth their respect and loyalty, but whose present life and witness are more marked by the petty prudence of man than by the thundering truth of God.

From: **The Death and Life of Bishop Pike**
by William Stringfellow and Anthony Towne

AN HONEST MAN IS CANDID

They had come to talk about Bishop Pike. Bishop Robinson had seated them comfortably in his study, an addition to the old farmhouse, a bright, colorful room in the contemporary manner and with large picture windows giving onto an ordinary English countryside. There were birdfeeders scattered among the shrubs and winter-barren trees. No voices from the spirit world would interrupt Bishop Robinson, but during pauses in his recollections his guests would welcome the reassuring chatter of finches and chickadees.

John A. T. Robinson, sometime Bishop of Woolwich, and author, among other books, of *Honest to God,* a best-seller on both sides of the Atlantic in the mid-1960's, had been a friend of Bishop Pike, and the two bishops had met many times throughout that decade in England and in the United States to discuss theology and to have good times together. *What Is This Treasure,* which Bishop Pike published in 1966, included a dedication to the Bishop of Woolwich.

JOHN A. T. ROBINSON
GOOD FRIEND AND
COMPANION-SPIRIT ALONG THE WAY

Towards the end of September of 1969, Bishop Robinson was to relinquish his duties in Woolwich, and for the occasion he "laid on" some festivities. Jim and Diane Pike had been expected to stop in England on their way back from Israel especially for those festivities, but their desert ordeal and his death had intervened.

During the summer of 1962, which he spent in Wellfleet on Cape Cod, Bishop Pike had begun to write, under the working title "I Believe," a book on doctrine. His intention had been to consider particular traditional Christian beliefs, as set forth in the Creeds, in terms of their application to daily living in the modern world. He wrote an initial chapter on the nature of belief, but after fussing with several further chapters on specific doctrines, he found he could not go on and set the book aside. In the spring of 1963, Bishop Robinson sent him an advance copy of *Honest to God.* That book had a powerful impact on Bishop Pike.

> *I admired his courage; I felt he was getting somehow closer to the point. And it gave me the courage to throw away all the chapters I had written except the one on belief, and to write an entirely different kind of book, which is quite iconoclastic.*
>
> *In other words, by then I really had moved on further, even beyond the place where I was, and I decided not to try to come out smelling like a rose on orthodoxy.*

"I believe" was jettisoned, and Bishop Pike proceeded to write a controversial study of the creeds which was published, in 1964, as *A Time for Christian Candor.*

Honest to God and *A Time for Christian Candor* came to be lumped together as precursors within the Anglican communion of a development in theology that some found subversive of fundamental Christian doctrine. Re-read a decade later, however, neither book would seem to have seriously challenged any of the essential teachings of the Church, and neither Bishop Robinson nor Bishop Pike would seem to have advanced a theological position that was new or even novel. Both works had importance because they raised questions about the efficacy of antique and inaccessible magisterial creedal formulations. *Honest to God* was a searching approach to that problem limited by its caution. *A Time for Christian Candor* was bolder in its argument but unfortunately the argument had not been nearly as carefully thought through as it deserved to be.

Bishop Robinson would later feel some regret that his work had been so frequently associated with Bishop Pike's.

"Theologically, I've always been twinned with him by *Time* magazine and that sort of thing. I'm not quite sure I'm really happy about that. I don't know whether he was either, for that matter. But this is the way the press deals with people. I find it difficult to assess him theologically. He was essentially a popularizer and a brilliant one. He was essentially still a legal mind rather than a theologian. He was brilliant, of course, in the sort of 'p.r.' field. You always felt when he was talking to you that he was giving you a press interview. You felt it was all for the tape. I found this disconcerting. You felt there was this sort of spiel coming out and whoever was there . . . well, it didn't seem to make much difference. To that extent I did feel a certain unease with the fact that he never seemed *really* to listen."

"This doesn't mean, of course, that he wasn't always himself . . . absolutely disarming and very charming . . . such a warm person that one wanted to expand with him . . . and one felt entirely at ease with him in *that* way. But having watched him at work . . . the way he sort of switched on a press interview at a moment's notice . . . and the way it didn't make much difference whether he talked to you or to them . . . it just sort of all spilled out . . . *this* was the thing that was so distinctive about him. It was the fact that he was able to communicate to that kind of audience which was his great gift, I think. He was obviously a person who could . . . with a very competent theological training without being in any sense a scholar . . . a person who would get over the language barrier that so often makes communication between theologians and others impossible."

"Now I felt that in some ways the title of his book *A Time for Christian Candor* compared with my *Honest to God* perhaps put the finger on something of the difference between us. I think that basically what made Jim tick in all this *was* the need for candor. In other words, for heaven's sake say what you really believe, and if you don't believe it don't say it. It was with the *saying,* I suspect, that he was *really* concerned. It was this . . . and being truthful in the way you were prepared to put across what you believe . . . *that* was for him the nub of the problem. And so many of the things the Church says in its Creeds and its sort of official doctrines just don't mean anything . . . so why not say so?"

Now this was, I think, a slightly different exercise than the one I was concerned about . . . which was not *primarily* a matter of communication. That did come into it because the two are so interconnected as to be almost inseparable. But I was *more* concerned not with what you say . . . or the candor with which you express it . . . but with how you can re-express your beliefs so that they actually do correspond with what you think. These are, of course, very closely related exercises. But I do think there *is* a difference between candor and honesty. Honesty in a way cuts a bit deeper. Honesty is prepared always to go to the roots . . . and that for me is what it means to be a radical. I was trying to dig pretty deep down . . . to get at the roots of the problem of beliefs . . . and to re-express what some of the other formulations had been trying to say. I would *now* agree that the Creeds and so on don't really say it . . . or say it in ways you really can't make meaningful . . . or truthful . . . to yourself much less to other people.

"There is a difference of emphasis here. I was more concerned with digging down than he was. How you communicated this was obviously one part of the whole thing. Jim's image of "the package" which occurs in his stuff very often has to do with that. Let's throw away the packaging, he would say, and get at the treasure under the earthen vessels. That seemed to me to be simplistic. The idea was basically that it was the packaging that was getting in the way. So, if you could give to people what's inside, short of all these other things, then they would take it . . . or at least it would be more intelligible . . . and they could eat it . . . or something. Whereas I am not sure the exercise doesn't need to get a bit deeper than that."

Bishop Robinson's regard for Bishop Pike was rooted deep down in honest affection. It was the treasure within that Bishop Robinson delighted in, and not that dazzling earthen vessel the world knew as Bishop Pike, that glitter of packaging which for so long captivated the press and the *demimonde* of the media. Once, in the spring of 1968, the two bishops had been together at Princeton University for "one of those star-studded conferences that drone on for days and accomplish nothing whatsoever." One afternoon, weary of it all, the two old friends stumbled out of the Princeton Inn into a breath-taking display of flowering cherry and dogwood. An especially lovely pink cherry at the peak of its bloom enchanted Bishop Robinson.

I said to Jim, "Isn't that a gorgeous sight?" And he said, "What's that?" "You know, he really didn't know what I was looking at."

PASTORAL CRISES

During the interregnum of Pike's self-defined agnosticism, the young man had become virtually obsessed with the matter of ecclesiastical authority. He conceived faith to be contingent upon Church membership and upon affirmation of, of acquiescence to the authority of the Church as arbiter and instructor in the faith. He viewed the authority of the Roman Church as impaired and corrupted by an extraneous claim of papal infallibility and he concluded that Rome's authority had degenerated into authoritarianism. Pike sought, with evident zeal and with some anxiety, a Church which had been spared such excesses and abuses but which could confidently trace its authority in doctrine and polity to the Apostolic era. He had eventually settled upon Anglicanism, with the permission, if not the enthusiasm of his mother, and this renewed allegiance to the Church enabled him quickly to resume the vocation to the priesthood that he had wanted since childhood, though thereby putting aside his solid and brilliant work in law and in legal scholarship.

His preoccupation with the authority issue, as might have been predicted, diminished much, once he became a priest, and practically vanished in the course of his episcopacy. As bishop, Pike no longer felt need for an elaborate justification of ecclesiastical authority. Once he was in authority, he was free of this compulsion to rationalize it. To be sure, there were moments when he could not refrain from baiting his peers in the Roman Church about the difference between their asserted authority and his understanding of the episcopal office. In his letter to his clergy on "Freedom of prophecy and the limitations thereon," he wrote: "The position individual clergy have taken either by words or participation in group action have not always matched my own views, but this is not requisite (or entirely desirable, since I have not patterened my administration after that of the Cardinal Archbishop of Los Angeles, and it can hardly be said that we have a monolithic Diocese!)". Yet, essentially, as bishop, Pike lost interest in the question of authority. He was a bishop of the Holy Catholic Church; as such, he exemplified Apostolic authority appropriate in the Church; that settled the problem for him. In this, he showed a historic sense, a comprehension, a conscientiousness so remarkable that it proved to be an embarrassment to many of his fellow Episcopal bishops. Remembering the hostilities and hesitations attending ratification of his election, it might have been supposed that other bishops would welcome the eagerness and solemnity with which he applied himself to being a true bishop. Instead, many of them found his demeanor threatening, an exposé of their own banality and compromise, a violation of the fraternal etiquette of the House of Bishops. To add injury to insult, he became insistent that bishops should be theologically informed and competent and articulate. And what was most aggravating of all was the fact that, meanwhile, his diocese had become the most successful of all the bishops according to worldly criteria of material, financial and numerical growth.

Ultimately, James A. Pike became so emancipated from his own anxiety about authority that he utterly relinquished his authority, and reached the point where belief was no longer critically dependent upon ecclesiastical authority. He had moved — through a lifetime — from Church dogmatics to confession of the Gospel, from "smooth orthodoxy" to personal faith, from — in his own phrases — the ontological to the existential.

This shift is connected to the fact of Pike's quick boredom. In New York, at St. John the Divine, Canon West had noticed that after a very short time, Dean Pike had become bored, despite the vigor and excitement his ministry engendered there and despite the widespread acclaim evoked by his witness there. Even more did he grow restless in the administration of his diocese.

One significant factor feeding his boredom while bishop was the recurring necessity to respond theologically in his role as *pastor pastorum.* In this, for the first time, he was on his own, without surrogates or tutors, such as Howard Johnson, canon theologian at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine during Pike's deanship, had been. Thus his inclinations for study and thought, for reflection and expression returned to prominence. He entertained again the dream of his seminary days of studying in England with a great theological faculty. His old friend Robert Hutchins tempted him with an open invitation to join the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions as a theologian-in-residence. He was tantalized by a summer's stint in New York City devoted to reading and writing and to preaching at Trinity Church. He found both stimulation and nourishment, intellectually, in his ever-increasing travels to colleges and universities across the nation. As early in his episcopate as 1960, he began to delegate assignments to his Suffragan Bishop, George Richard Millard, and to Canons-to-the-Ordinary on the replenished Cathedral staff, and to assorted other aides, including, notably, Esther Pike. His wife acquired such prominence, indeed, in the administration of his office that she came to be called, among seminarians and younger clergy, "Mrs. Bishop."

The upshot of Pike's efforts to find room for his versatile and mobile interests, to secure respite from administrative tasks and to relieve his boredom was no lessening of pressures but their multiplication. And this acceleration mounted geometrically as internal opposition to Pike developed and became outspoken within the Diocese of California and within the House of Bishops. Throughout, personal and private crises accrued until they could no longer be contained or repressed or neglected. Not very long before his death, Pike wrote:

> *All my life — or as far back as I can remember (psychoanalysis has helped some here) — my pattern of response to disappointment, deprivation or failure — or to what threatened to be such — had been the extension of areas of activity with attendant multiple and diversified preoccupation. In the case of a person fairly capable at various types of things he gets involved in, this pattern inevitably opens up increasing numbers of opportunities in the respective facets, leading eventually to* ***hyperactivity.*** *When by such means all of one's time, energy and thought-spaces are occupied the result is the increasingly effective suppression of awareness and concern about unfulfilled areas of the personal scene.*

"To illustrate this fully," he added, "would require that I here and now write my autobiography (which I would regard as premature)."

Pike was accurate about his "hyperactivity" serving as both compensation and escape in relation to personal problems. Yet, astonishingly, in the midst of his hectic, sometimes frenetic circumstances, he stopped drinking. He acknowledged his alcoholism, confessed it, sought help, joined Alcoholics Anonymous, went dry. He renounced alcohol on June 30, 1964. Thereafter, save for a single reported lapse of a day or so, he remained totally dry.

WAS BISHOP PIKE A HERETIC?

The question left unresolved at the Seattle General Convention — the one apt to linger as long as any memory of James Albert Pike — was whether Bishop Pike was verily a heretic. Did he, to use the language of the canons under which he was accused, hold and teach "publicly or privately and advisedly, any doctrine contrary to that held" by the Episcopal Church?

An answer to that requires that Anglican doctrine be ascertainable with a degree of clarity and definiteness sufficient to render a charge of heresy coherent. A standard or measure of orthodoxy is necessary. It is not obvious that there is such. The Anglican Communion has nothing in its inheritance comparable to the *Westminster Confession* in the tradition of the Reformed churches or to the Lutheran *Augsburg Confession.* There are the formularies of the *Articles of Religion,* published in The Book of

Common Prayer, as ratified in the United States in 1801 by the General Convention of the Episcopal Church. They were promulgated in America then because of the exigencies occasioned by the American Revolution and the formation of the new nation and the consequent change in Anglicanism in America from a mission of the Church of England to an autonomous national church. The *Articles* are a virtually verbatim copy of the earlier *Articles* of the mother church adopted in the 16th Century. In the circumstances they represent a heavily acculturated composition and this fact is generally acknowledged in the Episcopal Church. The *Articles* are regarded as quaint — of historical interest, but hardly as definitive of doctrine. Even the most enthusiastic of Bishop Pike's accusers never thought to invoke the *Articles* against him. The *Articles* do uphold the ancient Creeds, in this manner: "The Nicene Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture." It had been urged repeatedly while various charges were pending against Pike that he denied the Creeds, or parts thereof, though he thought of his effort as explicating them and never repudiated their recital or other use within the Church. Thus, how the Creeds are interpreted becomes crucial to an appeal to the Creeds as assessor of heresy. Are the Creeds to be understood as reporting historical fact or as expressing theological truth? Shall they be read with simplistic literalism, as some of Pike's accusers argued, or stylistically and symbolically? Do the Creeds represent reportage or metaphor? Or, must such questions be answered one way or the other? Can there not be within the Church room for a diversity of interpretations of the Creeds in conjunction with their common use?

These questions plagued the Episcopal Church, as well as other churches, long before the Pike heresy controversy. It became one of the sad footnotes to the censure of Pike, under the nominal auspices of Bishop Angus Dun, that Bishop Pike could cite in his own behalf a proposal Dun had offered in 1924, while he was a seminary professor, that the historic Creeds be deemed optional in liturgical practice until they could be studied by scholars with the purpose of revising creedal language so as to be more comprehensible. Professor Dun had put the problem:

> *The practical question is not whether the great classical formulations of faith in Christ . . . within our creeds enshrine permanent truths and values, but whether they serve . . . to . . . share or sift faith in Christ in our day . . . For increasing numbers there are clauses where the mind goes blank as the words are repeated, where many honest but non-reflective minds feel a vague uneasiness, where the more middle-aged and indolent minds surrender the effort to think their situations through, and where the more docile minds recognize sacred mystery and working where they cannot understand.*
>
> *Under these circumstances it cannot be said that it is the creeds which unite us . . . There are at least certain public indications that it is the creeds that divide us . . . . . the basis of our unity and our continuity lies deeper than creeds.*

It had been, of course, the latitude and generosity of belief and interpretation traditional, if not consistent, within Anglicanism's existential unity and historic continuity that had so perniciously appealed to young Jim Pike in the days when he was so intensely searching for a church connection that he could enter in conscience. Through the years, he had retained that admiration for the breadth of Anglicanism. On the eve of his departure from the Cathedral in New York he declared that he considered the fullest expression of the Biblical message "is found in the Anglican heritage . . . I believe that this is the most Catholic, most Protestant, and most liberal tradition in Christianity."

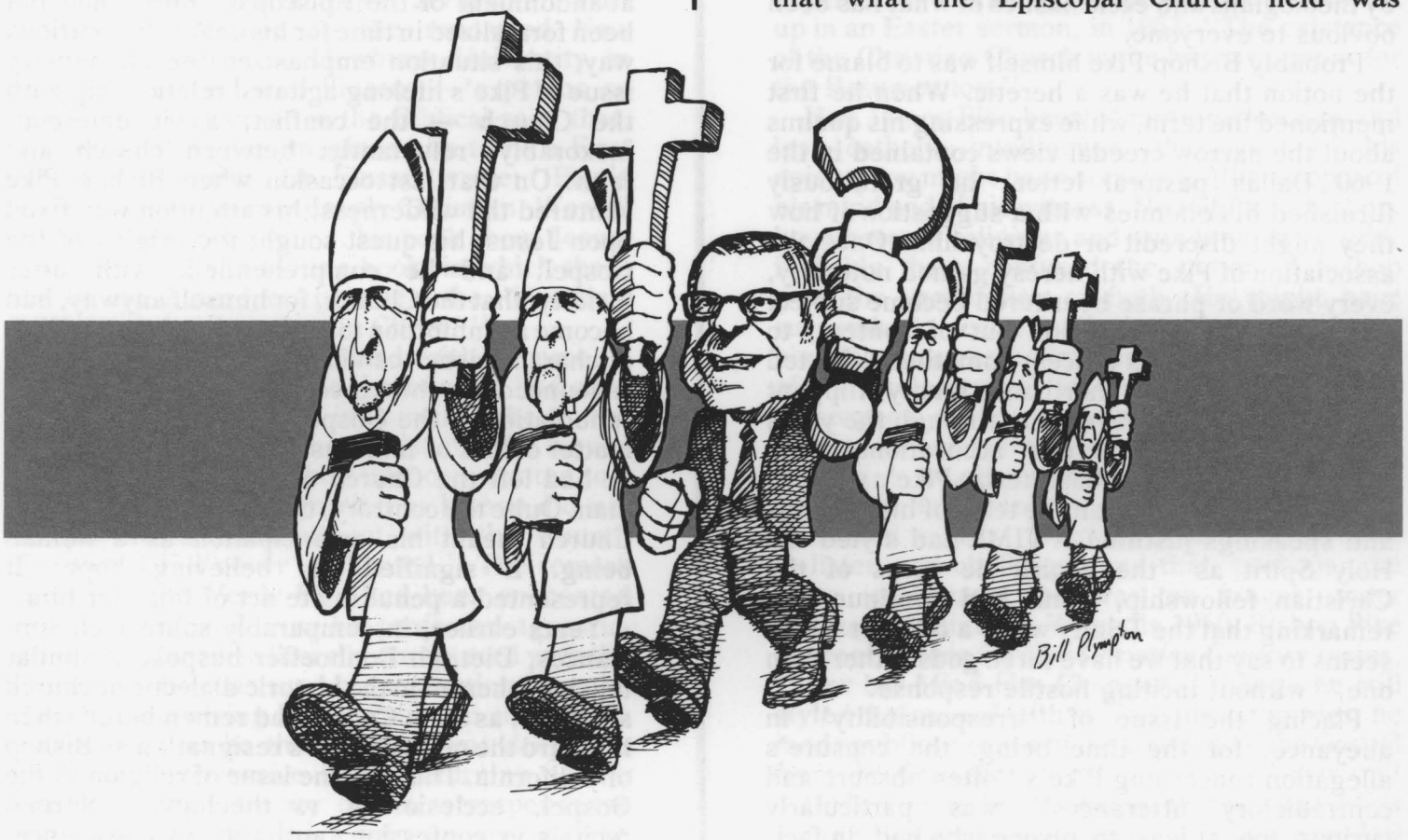
This same conviction about the Anglican genius was artfully embodied in the book on doctrine, *The Faith of the Church,* which Pike had co-authored with Norman Pittenger. Bishop Pike recalled this often, if sometimes somewhat ruefully, during the heresy tumult because that book had as much stature in defining doctrine as anything currently in official use in the Episcopal Church and he could envision himself in an absurd trial in which that book was cited as doctrinal authority.

Others in the Episcopal Church sensed the same element of the absurd in the heresy effort against Pike and in his censure. *The Witness,* on October 20, 1966, editorialized:

In the days preceding the meeting at Wheeling the press reported the death of the 'Red Dean' of Canterbury, and we were led to reflect on the maturity of the mother Church of England in dealing with the eccentric and the innovators among her clergy. Bishop Barnes of Birmingham, Bishop Robinson of Woolwich, the 'Red Dean' were never subjected to the humiliation which Bishop Pike was subjected to at Wheeling.

The open spirit of the mother Church had been affirmed in the words of Archbishop William Temple, in 1938, when a report commissioned by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, *Doctrine in the Church of England,* was published. It was the product of 15 years of work by 25 scholars and ecclesiastics on the nature and ground of Christian doctrine as perceived in the Anglican Communion; it has been a book widely studied in Anglican seminaries, and was a principal source for the Pike-Pittenger volume. In introducing *Doctrine,* Temple emphasized that it was not intended as a *summa theologica* — such would be, said Temple, a *monstrum horrendum.* "The Church of England has no official Philosophy and it certainly was not our desire to provide one for it."

Heresy trials and, indeed, the idea of heresy were anomalies in Anglicanism quite some time before the Bayne report reached that conclusion. It was, perhaps, in the last trial of an Episcopal bishop for heresy — that of Bishop Brown in 1924 — that this was exposed most cogently. There, after refusing to admit evidence on the latitude of doctrine in Anglicanism, the ecclesiastical court stated that the doctrine of the Church was a matter of judicial notice and it took judicial notice that what the Episcopal Church held was



contained in *The Book of Common Prayer.* After the verdict, which condemned him as a heretic, Bishop Brown remarked:

> *We have utterly failed to draw from the court a statement of any standard of orthodoxy. But this failure is our greatest triumph, because it was our contention, from the outset, that it could not be done.*
>
> *We are told only that the doctrine is contained, but not formulated, in the Prayer Book, in the Collects, in the Scriptures. So doubtless it is contained in the Dictionary . . .*
>
> *It will have become obvious to everyone whose mind lives in this scientific age, that a charge of heresy can not be sustained. More than that, it will become obvious to everyone that such a charge can not even be stated. And what is obvious to everyone sooner or later must become obvious to theologians.*

It took 43 years for Brown's prediction to be fulfilled by the recognition, in the Bayne report, by theologians and ecclesiastics of what has been obvious to everyone.

Probably Bishop Pike himself was to blame for the notion that he was a heretic. When he first mentioned the term, while expressing his qualms about the narrow creedal views contained in the 1960 Dallas pastoral letter, he gratuitously furnished his enemies with a suggestion of how they might discredit or destroy him. Once the association of Pike with heresy gained notoriety, every word or phrase he uttered became subject to distortion, to excerption out of context, to misrepresentation, a process sometimes abetted by his verbal skill in shorthand, jaunty, flippant talk. Furthermore, the media, through the years in which various heresy accusations were circulating, tended to characterize Pike's views in more emphatic style than the texts of his writings and speakings justified. A TIME had styled the Holy Spirit as "the espirit de corps of the Christian fellowship," and had continued by remarking that the Trinity was "a concept which seems to say that we have three gods rather than one," without inciting hostile response.

Placing the issue of "irresponsibility" in abeyance, for the time being, the censure's allegation concerning Pike's "often obscure and contradictory utterances" was particularly curious, too, at least to anyone who had, in fact, been attentive to his utterances, oral and published, during his public prominence. The inference, at the censure, was very compelling that few of his peers who endorsed this rebuke were relying upon direct knowledge of what he had said rather than an impression they had somehow acquired other than by reading his articles and books or listening to him speak. What emerges from the latter effort was neither obscure nor contradictory, for the most part, but remarkably redundant. What is noticeable is not how novel his views were, but how often they were reiterated in similar language. What is shown was not so much how his mind changed, but that his mind changed little.

A CONSUMMATE OBSESSION

The death of James A. Pike in Judea estopped his second departure from the Church. The ecclesiastical procedures for certifying his abandonment of the Episcopal Church had not been formalized in time for his death. In a curious way, this situation emphasized the elementary issue of Pike's lifelong agitated relationship with the Church — the conflict, as it emerged, inexorably, reluctantly, between church and faith. On that last occasion when Bishop Pike ventured the wilderness, his attention was fixed upon Jesus; his quest sought the origins of the Gospel, and he comprehended, with utter lucidity, that the Church, for himself anyway, had become an inhibition to such a commitment. With a characteristic candor, therefore, Pike had renounced his church connection. There was no repudiation of the Gospel implied. It was not a matter of loss of faith, as he had supposed when he had left the Church once before as a young man. Quite the contrary, this time his quitting the Church meant his emancipation as a human being. It signified his believing hope. It represented a penultimate act of faith for him.

Years earlier, in comparably solitary circumstances, Dietrich Bonhoeffer bespoke a similar tension inherent in the historic dialectic of church and faith, as John Cogley had remembered when he heard the news of Pike's resignation as Bishop of California. This was the issue of religion *vs* the Gospel, ecclesiology *vs* theology, doctrinal recitals *vs* confession, authority *vs* conscience,

the Church *vs* Jesus, idolatry *vs* faith.

Because he himself was an ecclesiastic, Bishop Pike felt this conflict most acutely in terms of idolatry or "ecclesiolatry," as he sometimes called it. In his writing and speaking, coincidental with the heresy controversy, he kept returning to Saint Paul's admonition concerning the frailty of the Church and the transience and relativity of churchly institutions and traditions as "earthen vessels" to which no ultimate dignity could be imputed and to which no justifying efficacy must ever be attributed. And, consistent with that, his growing awareness of Christian origins rendered the servant image of Jesus compellingly attractive to Pike. As James A. Pike became less and less religious, it can be said that he became more and more Christian.

Poignantly, it was a Jew who, perchance, most clearly recognized the extraordinary metamorphosis Bishop Pike had suffered, and most readily affirmed it. On the day after Pike's body was buried in Jaffa, *The Jerusalem Post* published an article by the renowned New Testament scholar at Hewbrew University in Israel, Professor David Flusser — a person so marvelously immersed in the Biblical saga that, in meeting him, one imagines him to be a First Century personality. Dr. Flusser wrote: "Pike's . . . attitude was surely deeply Christian. We will eagerly look forward to . . . his book about Jesus. It will be . . . a stimulating book, in which there will be no difference between the 'historical Jesus' and the 'kerygmatic Christ.'"

The dialectic of church and faith became so intense for Pike, of course, because he had once himself been eagerly idolatrous about the Church. Once upon a time — just after he moved to Santa Barbara — Bishop Pike commented to a newsman that his resignation as bishop did not indicate his disenchantment with the Church "because I was never enchanted." The remark was hindsight. Verily Pike had been enchanted with the Church. During his professed agnosticism, he remained so literally enraptured with the Church that he construed his separation from the Church as depriving him of faith; so completely enamoured was he then that he was desperate and became obsessive about returning to the Church. In the intimacy of his correspondence with Mama he posited a pristine era of "the undivided Church" and he romanticized Anglicanism as the residue of that era within Christendom. Later on, he sought to transpose his idealization of the Church in the congregation that he, in association with John Coburn, established and guided and nurtured at Wellfleet for the Cape Cod summer colony. That effort, launched while Pike was Dean of New York, was never publicized, but the Chapel of St. James the Fisherman had very high priority for Pike as a detailed model — in design, in liturgy, in teaching, in lay participation, in social concern, in pastoral care — of Pike's idyllic Church. Meanwhile, in similar vein, but with a fanfare befitting the premises, he implemented his grandiose view of the Church at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. During this period in his life, whether building St. James the Fisherman or upbuilding St. John the Divine, there was still a primacy of the Church over faith in Pike's thought which, if less anxious than earlier in his experience, was no less emphatic. He summed it up in an Easter sermon, in 1953: "The existence of the Christian Church is the best argument for the Resurrection."

Had James Pike been of more pedestrian and less catholic intelligence, the event of his episcopacy might have occasioned the atrophy of his mind and of his witness. He might, as bishop, have become religious and mundane. He might, foolishly, have confused the station of bishop with the verification of faith. He might have succumbed to ecclesiastical success or regarded his office as a vested interest in the preservation of the ecclesiastical *status quo.* Forsooth, his episcopacy did not conform or stultify Pike. Albeit he completed Grace Cathedral, and otherwise much embellished the life of the Church in San Francisco and in the nation, Pike continued to grow, to ask, to search and stretch, to listen and challenge, and that, perhaps, the more so because he was no longer under theological tutelage. When, in 1960, Bishop Pike wrote an article for *The Christian Century* series, "How My Mind Has Changed," though he still styled the issue of faith in churchly categories, he made public mention of the freedom of the Gospel from the Church:

(1) I am more broad church, that is, I know less than I used to think I knew . . . (2) I am more low

church, in that I cannot view divided and particular denominations as paramount in terms of the end-view of Christ's church, and I do regard the gospel as the all-important and as the ***only final*** *thing. And (3) I am more high church, in that I more value the forms of the continuous life of the Holy Catholic Church . . . These forms include liturgical expression and the episcopate.*

The tenor of the *Century* piece sharply different from the Dallas pastoral letter, with its rigid ecclesiology, which the House of Bishops had promulgated shortly before Pike's article was published. And the contrast between the two utterances was dramatically underscored when the Georgia clericus used the latter to charge Bishop Pike with heresy.

In his changing understanding of the relationship of the Church and the Gospel and in the dynamics of church and faith, for Pike, there was more involved than an open and active mind or the spirit of either a pioneer or a pilgrim. There was the matter of authenticity, of the recovery of origins, or, in the parlance of lawyers, the significance of precedent. James Pike was not an iconoclast. It remains a measure of the degeneration of the Church that he was ever so regarded. One of the books which Pike read, in his avid pursuit of Christian sources in his last years, was Marcel Simon's *St. Stephen and the Hellenists.* Pike marked the book with marginal notes and exclamations, many of which indicate his sense of identification with the text. One passage with which he could readily empathize was this:

> *Rather than revolutionary preachers of an entirely new message, Stephen himself, and Jesus as Stephen sees him, are, in the most precise meaning of the term, religious reformers. Stephen's position vis-a-vis post-Mosaic Israelite religion and official Judaism seems to me to be very much like that of the sixteenth-century Reformers vis-a-vis medieval Catholicism. None of them intends to make innovations. Their eyes are turned to the past . . . (Stephen) is against . . . his Jerusalemite . . . contemporaries because, and insofar as, they practice a debased and corrupted form of religion . . .*

Bishop Pike's concern for authenticity, for a recall of the past that would renew the present, did not assume that knowledge of the origins of the gospel was fixed and foreclosed. The radical potential of his interest was already evident in 1955, when news of the scrolls which had been found in caves near the Dead Sea raised apprehension that the discoveries would distress Christianity. "Christians have nothing to fear from whatever facts may be discovered," Pike told a Cathedral congregation, "The more we can know about the historical orientation of the life and thought of Jesus the better."

Some weeks before, in March of 1955, in another sermon, he had foreseen how his eagerness to know all that could be learned of Christian origins risked being at odds with the ecclesiastical and religious *status quo.* "Independence of spirit means a cross," he observed, "Simple conformity to the prevailing mood . . . spares one the cross." His foresight was fulfilled in his excoriation at Wheeling, but, there, in the moments he was allowed for response, he made no personal defense but pressed his appeal to precedent. He cited the past views of Angus Dun on the ambiguity of the Creeds to expose the sham of the use of Bishop Dun as sponsor of the censure. Then he invoked St. Augustine on the fitting conduct of theological inquiry and discourse:

> *If what I have written is not according to the truth, then let him only hold fast to his opinion and refute mine, if that is possible, and let me know of it, too, and impart his knowledge to everyone else whom he can reach. The method I sum up in this sentence is brotherly discussion.*

More than anything else, certainly more than any issue of doctrine or any item of rhetoric, it was Bishop Pike's obsession for authenticity — as that came to supersede and transcend his regard for authority — that threatened and enervated his peers in the Church. It was this which made his being obnoxious. He had become more concerned with the Jesus of history than with prospering the Church establishment; he actually raised questions which posed the Gospel against the Church. The Church would have to somehow be rid of his presence.

A blunt way to put the issue that arose between

Pike and the Episcopal Church is that Pike was too diligent, too conscientious, too resolute in his vocation as a bishop. If that caused bafflement and provoked hostility among many fellow bishops, it nonetheless was recognized as Pike's virtue elsewhere. John Cogley's memoir, at Pike's death in Judea, recalled his pastoral outreach to colleagues at the Center in Santa Barbara. "James Pike was happiest, and at his very best," Cogley noted, "when he was fulfilling some office proper to a priest or bishop." Malcolm Muggeridge affirmed the same, in the *New Statesman:* "Poor Bishop James Pike lost and found dead in the Desert of the Temptations. More fearful symmetry . . . A true bishop of our time . . ." The orders of the episcopacy in Apostolic succession are said to be indelible. Whatever the theological status of such a view, it is empirically the truth for James A. Pike.

Thus, despite the redundancy in much of his theologizing, an extraordinary shift occurred during Bishop Pike's life in which he was freed from idolatry of the Church by his passion about Jesus. There were detours and vagaries and temptations and distractions, triumphs and calamities and humiliations and obstacles along the way, but, by the time he reached Judea, his hyperactivity had become reconciled with his obsessiveness and he knew but a consummate obsession, concentrated upon Jesus, which engaged and transfigured the profusion of his talents and interests and energies.

There were, and are, those unable to comprehend Pike's situation, toward the end of his life, as other than madness. In the Bayne committee report, rendered at the Seattle General Convention, however, the paper of Arthur A. Vogel, an academic theologian subsequently made the Bishop of West Missouri, contained a clue to a different exegesis. Vogel wrote: "We might add that life in Christ, since it embraces the crucifixion and Christ's death to self, should enable the Christian inquirer to be completely open to the truth. If the Christian has died to himself to the degree necessitated by the cross of Christ, he is by that fact completely open to the truth of God's love . . . " One might imagine that, somehow, Vogel had seen the notes of a sermon Pike had preached on February 10, 1952, which said: "In the Cross of Jesus Christ we see . . . (that) God accepts me though I am unacceptable, thus enabling me to accept myself."

The death to self in Christ was neither doctrinal abstraction nor theological jargon for James Pike. He died in such a way before his death in Judea. He died to authority, celebrity, the opinions of others, publicity, status, dependence upon "Mama", indulgences in alcohol and tobacco, family and children, marriage and marriages, promiscuity, scholarly ambition, the lawyer's profession, political opportunity, Olympian discourses, forensic agility, controversy, denigration, injustice, religion, the need to justify himself.

By the time Bishop Pike reached the wilderness in Judea, he had died in Christ. What, then, happened there was not so much a death as a birth.

A Modest Proposal

by Phillip C. Cato

Recently in preparation for the election of a Bishop Coadjutor in the diocese of Newark, a survey was conducted among clergy and lay persons to ascertain what they regarded as the marks of a bishop. The divergence of opinion between the clergy and laity was telling in several instances. In one particular instance, that difference of opinion should be an occasion for learning for the entire Church. It had to do with the preferred age for the man to be elected.

The clergy believe the person elected should be over 50 years of age. In contrast, the laity indicated their desire to elect a person somewhat younger than 50.

Perhaps the clergy, who are somewhat more closely related to the bishop as a pastor and administrator of liturgical and other canonical discipline, desire someone with more experience and maturity. It could even be surmised that they are looking for someone who by virtue of age is more of a father-figure. But I suspect that there is an even more persuasive factor at work.

For good or for ill, a bishop places an enormous imprint on a diocese. Like the pastor of a local congregation, he shapes his charge over the years by the way he administers the diocese and gives pastoral leadership. After a period of time, the diocese begins to be an extension of his personality and his way of functioning. Knowing that, the clergy do a lightning calculation and figure how long, if he remains in good health, such a person would be at the helm.

And since long episcopacies have often proved stifling either for the man or the diocese (certainly this is true in local congregations) they almost automatically opt for a man who will have only about 10 years in office before he retires or gives up considerable authority to a new successor or coadjutor.

There are some serious drawbacks to this way of doing things. The rigors and stresses of the episcopal office are becoming increasingly demanding. Being a bishop in our Church is not unlike being a college president or the mayor of a major American city. No one seems able to function effectively without the bishop's presence or approval. The complex presided over becomes increasingly complex and that brings more demands for attention. In short, our bishops are worked to death and become more and more office-and meeting-bound. Their pastoral function suffers.

Furthermore, a man in his fifties and early sixties may not hold up as well under stress as a younger man might. Too often, I have heard too much concern for the health of an older bishop and too much desire to get the pressure off him.

The laity of our diocese want someone younger. Strong leadership was greatly desired by both clergy and laity in our survey and the laity see that leadership coming from a younger man.

Is it not time for this Church to consider canonical changes which allow bishops to be elected for only a 10-year period or to serve as a diocesan for only a 10-year period, after which they will become available as suffragans or assistant bishops in their own or other dioceses?

Newark was greatly blessed in recent years by the presence of the Right Reverend Kenneth Anand, a resigned bishop from India, who served until his recent death, as vicar of a mission and as Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Newark. Bishop Anand, a scholarly and saintly man, found time to minister to mental patients in a state hospital, to give spiritual direction and counsel to the clergy, to lead retreats and to grow intellectually and spiritually himself, all the while giving invaluable assistance to our diocesan bishop in pastoral visitation, ordinations and the like. Any diocese could benefit from such a presence.

We do not have too many bishops and pastors; we have too few. Younger and more vigorous diocesans could give more vigorous leadership. And the wisdom and experience of resigned diocesans serving as vicars and assistant bishops would greatly strengthen the diocesan bishop and the clergy and people of any diocese.

Public or private responses to the proposal of such canonical changes and reordering of our way of electing and utilizing bishops would be most welcome. This difference of opinion between the clergy and laity in Newark could be the ocasion for a dialogue from which we would all benefit.

Phillip C. Cato is Associate Rector, St. Peter's Church, Morristown, New Jersey.

An Alternative Approach to an Alternative Future

By Sondra Myers

Two questions challenge me as I pursue a study of alternative futures: How do we cope with the hidden presumption that if we do not design an alternative future, we will arrive at one that we know to be undesirable? And, conversely, if we do design one, how can we be sure that it will be good, and we will know how to get there? I am reluctant to concretize a fantasy that bears little relevance to what will happen. Obviously, it is not because I see the present course of Western society as satisfactory. Living in the "Badlands," how could I be unaware of the decay of human values and the loss of self-respect and sense of "belonging" that I see around me?

But here is the problem in considering the future: The only thing I am sure of about the future is that I have not been there before and neither has anyone else! And I don't know what will occur along the way. Of course, I may know the general direction, but I know equally well how I can be waylaid, how my journey may be interrupted by a storm or some calamity, how I may reach a fork in the road and not know which turn to take. And if I do design a future and try to get there, how do I know which road to take to that alternative place, and how can I be sure that I will really want to live there? The variables and uncertainties overwhelm me before I get past the first dream.

In a sense it is easy to imagine a Utopia. It is conceived often as a world existing in time and space. It is totally unlike the iron-clad ugly megalopolis which produces ugly iron-clad money-grubbing robots. (It is just the reverse of the here and now, as seen poetically; for Utopians often depict today and tomorrow in vivid imagery.) It is a small country community with sane limitations, a garden of genuinely creative human relationships and goals. It has a particular political and economic system. It is populated by people who have all reformed.

In short, I can only conceive of such a Utopia as an aberration, a little island of people committed to and unified by an ideal. The atmosphere is rarefied; it is a world for angels.

So, as an alternative to an alternative future, let me try to think through those problems that stand in my way when I consider the feasibility of a more humanized society, in which material goals and a passion for rampant growth are supplanted by more human aspirations of brotherhood and creativity. I am too impatient to wait until I get "there" to begin to experience these and other meaningful aspects of life, and so I must try to find them along the road.

When I think of the future I am chiefly concerned about those who will grope along without a central theme to their lives. The angels will take care of themselves, but what about the rest of us who do not have a dream to move into?

Utopias are, for me, naive fictions that do not spark us to action. In fact they do not lend themselves to practical improvement of one's life or surroundings because they are founded on a rejection of the human traits and environment of the present. They have a false solidity that cannot be supported by the rather shaky "oughts and dont's" that make up their foundation. At the very most, they are reminders of a better way, an ideal for the few.

In my view it is more fruitful to turn to the road itself, and our relation to it. It is in the dynamics of the relationship of the individual to his surroundings that one might uncover some hopeful possibilities for humankind's future. Change is inherent in being and I suggest that some of the changes that occur can arouse us from the apathy that results from being mere parts of the machine.

Last year's oil shortage startled the U.S., no matter that conservation experts had long warned us of the probability of disaster resulting from enormous waste. Especially, I suppose, in the U.S., the land where "everything is possible," it was inconceivable to most of us that the pattern of increasing consumption ought to be reconsidered. Until a crisis occurs we do not focus our attention on warnings (e.g. cigarette smoking: There is more than ever despite an elaborate warning system). According to the Western way, use everything. When, however, the Arab embargo on oil made scarcity a reality and suggestions for conservation came forward from the government, we did respond immediately by conserving. Perhaps we were even relieved to have the opportunity to break off the pattern of reckless use.

One can hardly advocate crisis as a way of life. On the other hand, one can surely assume that it is a part of life, and I suggest that there is still enough human energy left, even in this technocratic society, to respond to crisis. The kind of crisis that occurred was a threat from the outside and it had a unifying effect. I suggest that this kind of common need is more unifying than the Utopian dream — and more humanizing, and decidedly more energizing. When the growth ethic is challenged on moral or psychological grounds, it is natural that those who believe they are benefiting from it will not respond, nor will those respond who feel utterly powerless. Utopia, a place built on "oughts," is meaningful mostly to Utopians; crisis is meaningful to almost everyone.

In politics, the Watergate affair, for all its horrors, forced ordinary people to take a moral stand, and for all those in America who shrugged their shoulders and said, "Everyone does it — he was caught," there were thousands and thousands more who expressed genuine outrage. Watergate forced the legislative branch of government, which in recent years had seemed to be pathetically powerless, to rally the moral energy to see the crisis through, and to prove in the end that our system of government, with its focus on the power of law rather than the arbitrary power of any man, could withstand such an enormous jolt.

In the present economic slump I have seen instances of men choosing to work less hours in order to save the job of a co-worker.

The economic decline of the West is the kind of crisis that will break down some of the arrogance that has built up in our society. The presumption that we can and ought to manipulate the world will have to go if we do not have the power to do it. Out of necessity, there will be a renewed interest in the more creative facets of our being. The concept of infinite growth will have run its course — from being an ideal to an evil to an impossibility. When an idea cannot support itself, its strength must dissipate.

Perhaps I am no less naive than the Utopians in believing that the more human and humane traits have a certain permanence and that they will rise up whenever they have the opportunity; they have been suppressed in this period by the sheer

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momentum of the movement toward "more." Whether technology took over and proceeded on its own momentum or whether man was so fascinated with his manipulative powers (much like a gluttonous child) that he could not stop, I do not know. But the momentum was there — no question of that. Now it has slowed down and we can look toward the emergence of a greater appreciation of human values.

I am aware I have oversimplified in citing examples of noble responses to crisis. These crises are much too complicated to produce only one kind of behavior. I only wish to illustrate my belief that we are still capable of responding, that even the awesome technology has not snuffed out our human capacities; but we need a jolt, which I suggest is more likely to occur in crisis than in contemplation.

These thoughts have come forth in response to the challenge of conceiving a future society that would be to my liking. My whole way of thinking, my attitude, my hopes and dreams preclude my doing that. I'm afraid I am enslaved to the present; I want very much to perceive it with some accuracy and to act in it with some intelligence, and in some small way, to keep alive in myself and in society, the values that I believe ought to survive.

Starting from that point of view I believe the previews of energy shortage and economic decline we recently experienced already have caused people in all parts of our society to begin to change their ways of thinking. The crises that have now presented themselves have crystallized the problems of the "infinite growth ethic" the way no warnings ever could.

Sondra Myers is a free lance writer, active in community affairs, who has studied philosophy and history at Oxford.

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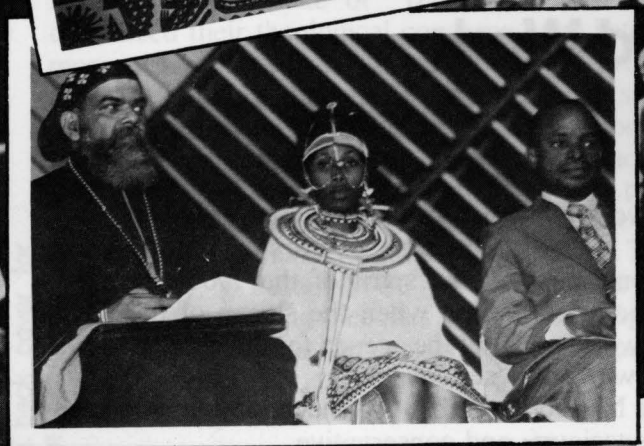


REPORT ON WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ASSEMBLY 1975

"God, who has made of one Blood all nations."

Robert L. DeWitt

By the phrase "the social mission of the church" we mean that aspect of the work of the church which pertains to the world society of which the church is a part, and to which it has been sent. When that world is gathered representatively, as at the WCC Assembly, the social mission of the church takes on a new reality, a new urgency.

The WCC is not a venerable institution. Nor, indeed, are other efforts to unite a tragically torn world. The WCC had its official origin only in 1948. The largest single segment of organized Christendom, the Roman Catholic Church, though a very interested observer, is still not a member. Nevertheless, as former Presiding Bishop John E. Hines has observed, "The WCC represents the only approximation of a world-wide Christian council that we have today."

Thus, the Assembly serves as a thermometer of the life of the universal church today. Because of that, and because the excellence of much that was said at the Assembly enjoyed only fragmentary reporting in the American press, The Witness is pleased in this special issue to bring together excerpts from some of the major addresses given at the recent Assembly in Nairobi, Kenya.

We hope hereby to make a contribution toward the diminishing of the localism and parochialism of so much of American Christianity by giving it a proper setting in its world-wide context.

For information concerning the obtaining of the full text of the addresses and the reports issuing from the WCC Assembly in Nairobi, contact: W.C.C., 475 Riverside Drive, Room 439, New York, New York 10027 (Phone: 212-870-2533).

Between the Prophets

WCC Begins Era of Plain, Hard Work

Roy Larson

This appraisal of the WCC Assembly by Roy Larson is reprinted here by permission of the Chicago Sun-Times, where Mr. Larson is religion editor.

Before the end of the 18-day fifth assembly of the World Council of Churches, it was apparent the 27-year-old ecumenical agency has entered a period of consolidation.

Archbishop Olof Sundby, primate of the Church of Sweden and one of the WCC's six newly elected presidents, summed it up as well as anyone when he said:

Perhaps this is a time that is lacking in prophets and prophecies. But prophets must be given to us by God. We can't just create them. No, we're in for a period of hard work while we wait for the new prophets."

The last assembly seven years ago in Uppsala, Sweden, reflected the spirit of the 1960s. It was a nontheological period when the slogan of the day—"The world must set the agenda for the church"—was taken with some seriousness.

The Nairobi assembly was much more theologically self-conscious—and conservative.

In his opening remarks, Dr. M. M. Thomas of India, the outgoing chairman of the central committee, recalled with appreciation the remark of a churchman who said after Uppsala: "For the sake of the world, the next assembly should be more theological."

THE WITNESS Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; E. Lawrence Carter, Robert Eckersley, Antoinette Swanger, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White, Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates: $9.00 per year; $1.00 per copy. *The Witness* is published monthly by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Board of Directors: Bishops Morris Arnold, Robert DeWitt, Lloyd Gressle, John Hines, John Krumm, Brooke Mosley and Dr. Joseph Fletcher.

It was that. The program committee, for example, which was charged with helping set the course for the next seven years, stated: "Constant attention must be given to the integration of theological reflection and action into all agendas."

Interest in theology and spirituality showed up even before the assembly began. In their preregistration forms, delegates were asked to indicate which of six legislative sections they wanted to participate in. By far, the most popular section was the one titled "Confessing Christ Today." Asked to analyze this concentration of interest, the theologian Jurgen Moltmann said: "It simply means people want to know what it means to be a Christian today. It does not mean they want to retreat from social and political issues."

Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, honorary WCC president and one of its chief architects, was delighted by this development. "After Uppsala," he said in interview, "there was danger we would lose our theological perspective. Now we're getting back on course again."

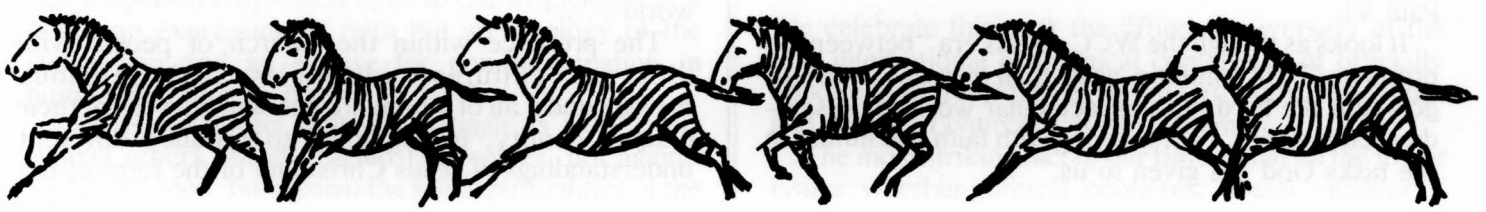
Many delegates from Orthodox churches who long have claimed the WCC has sacrificed its Christian identity for the sake of "relevance," left Nairobi convinced their theological concerns were listened to more attentively. Dr. Nikos Nissiotis, a prominent Greek Orthodox theologian from Athens, said the WCC was "coming back to its theological roots. We have more careful theological interpretations now," he said, "more of a realization that there is a point of departure in the Christian faith for all that we do."

To make sure this trend didn't go too far, Dr. Thomas and Dr. Philip Potter, WCC general secretary, took pains in their opening speeches to press for a "spirituality for combat" and for "spirituality for engagement instead of escape."

A few cynical observers familiar with the workings of bureaucracies, took different readings of the theological obsession. One said the WCC's serious money problems helped produce the intensified traditionalism. Another observed: "If you want to engage in radical social action, the most strategic way to do it is to wrap yourself in the garb of orthodoxy."

The traditionalism created as well as solved some problems. The most confused and confusing report came out of the section examining the relationship between Christianity and other faiths. In an age when people of different faiths and cultures increasingly are coming into contact with each other on a regular basis, words like "dialog" and "pluralism" have become popular. The delegates were awkward as they attempted to reconcile their cosmopolitan impulses with their commitment to evangelism and mission. Some delegates, notably those from India and the more secularized countries of the Western world, thought the committee went overboard in obeying its compulsion to stress the uniqueness of Christianity and lambast the dangers of syncretism (unification).

In its attitude toward Jews, the assembly was split between those who tend to lump Judaism with Buddhism, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam and those who contend, in the words of one document, "There is a very special relationship between Christianity and Judaism." This ambivalence never was completely resolved. In its political pronouncements the delegates did not repudiate Dr. Potter's statement condemning the United Nations action equating Zionism with racism. At the same time, they took some stands on Middle Eastern issues that reflected the point of view of member churches with sizable Middle Eastern constituencies.



For all its talk of evangelism and spirituality, the assembly did not ignore its traditional concern for social justice. There was very little disposition to abandon its controversial program to combat racism, which during the last five years has distributed $1.5 million in grants to a variety of action and education agencies, including Frelimoz (the "liberation movement" that now rules Mozambique) and the three factions currently contending for the rule of Angola. (No grants were given to these groups during 1975).

Similarly, condemnations of multinational corporations and international economic systems "that militate against predominantly nonwhite people" in the Third World became almost ritualistic.

Although some Americans became defensive when capitalism was attacked or questioned, there was no way the WCC could claim to be a democratic organization and attempt to mute the voices of its many members who do not regard Christianity and socialism as being incompatible. In Africa, where there exists a phenomenal continental self-consciousness today, all informed Africans are watching with intense interest the socialist experiments taking place in such countries as Tanzania and Mozambique.

Human rights issues were tougher for the assembly to handle. Generalized statements were criticized for blandness. Specific statements that focused attention on violations of human rights in certain countries were, in some cases, side-tracked when the word was passed that the resolution might jeopardize the lives or at least the well-being of delegates from the spotlighted nations.

In contrast to Uppsala, where there was some hope that the Roman Catholic Church was not far from applying for WCC membership, it was obvious from the outset here there would be no major new breakthroughs in ecumenical relations on the "Rome-Geneva axis." Meanwhile, however, in less dramatic ways, the relationships among Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox Christians have been intensified. According to most Catholic and Protestant observers, no decisive, new steps are likely during the reign of Pope Paul VI.

It looks as though the WCC, in this era "between the prophets," will continue, as its final message states, to go about the hard but unspectacular work of present-day ecumenicity, "persevering with faith and humor in the tasks God has given to us."

Sinners and the Kingdom

Report of the Moderator of the Central Committee

Dr. M. M. Thomas

Dr. M. M. Thomas is one of Asia's pioneer ecumenists and for the past seven years has chaired the policy-making Central Committee of the WCC. For the past 13 years he has directed the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society at Bangalore, India. Widely known for his consuming interest in social problems Dr. Thomas presided over the landmark World Conference on Church and Society (1966). Like other ecumenical leaders he was active in Christian youth and student movements and during the 1950's organized a series of study conferences on social questions in Asia which gave impetus to the East Asian Christian Conference.

I recall what David L. Edwards, then Dean of King's College, Cambridge, said, commenting on Uppsala—that "for the sake of the world the next Assembly should be more theological."[1] It is indeed for the sake of the world that God became man in Jesus Christ. The heart of the Gospel is that God loved the *world* so much that He gave His only begotten Son to be its salvation (Jn. 3:16), that God was in Christ, reconciling the *world* unto Himself (II Cor. 5:19). Therefore, if at any time we have done theology for any purpose other than the world, we were not being Christian. Looking at the main themes of the Assemblies of the WCC—*Man's Disorder and God's Design*,[2] *Jesus Christ, the Hope of the World*,[3] *Jesus Christ, the Light of the World;*[4] and *Behold, I Make All Things New*[5]—we can affirm with justice that "God's Purpose for the World in Jesus Christ has indeed been our basic theme throughout. The Christ-centredness of the Council makes the world central to its theological orientation. Theology is alive only at the cutting edge between the Word and the world . . .

The presence within the Church of people with different cultures, ideologies and religious backgrounds, all of whom are becoming aware of their unique identity, is beginning to produce different understandings of Jesus Christ and of the form of the

[1]The Uppsala Report 1968, WCC, Geneva, 1968, p. 85.
[2]Amsterdam 1948 [3]Evanston 1954 [4]New Delhi 1961 [5]Uppsala 1968

Church. James Cone's Black theology and Gustavo Gutierrez's Latin American theology oriented to social liberation, Seth Nomenyo's African theology and Kosuke Koyama's Asian theology oriented to renascent indigenous cultures, the new expressions of Christ in traditional and modern artistic forms being produced in all cultures and reflecting new experiences of Him—these to take a few examples, are all attempts on the part of Christians to emancipate themselves from the Latin or Hellenistic captivity of the Church . . .

The question is often raised as to whether in this emphasis on social and political justice there is not present a social utopianism which denies the fact of sin and affirms a self-redemptive humanism. Yes, the danger is always present. So is the opposite danger that we may not take seriously enough the fact of divine grace and the power of righteousness it releases to a daring faith in the realm of social and political action. It is the task of ecumenical theology to warn us against both these dangers. For instance, in the Accra 1974 discussions on "Giving Account of the Hope that is Within Us", it is clearly affirmed that "the future of perfected humanity lies in the fulness of the Godhead" beyond this side of history where sin and death prevail. But our hope in the coming Kingdom of God in Jesus Christ "takes on the character of a concrete utopia, that is, an idea of our aim and a critical point of reference for our action in society. This provides us with an incentive to participate in efforts to build a more human social order in the perspective of the Kingdom of God." The statement then goes on to point out how every social order is limited by "the continuing sinfulness of man" which corrupts the very institutions which are meant to protect human beings in society. Given this limitation, "concrete social utopias can correspond to the eschatological reality of the King-of God.[6] Here, then, is no utopianism of the kind which we must reject on theological grounds; we have rather the picture of a penultimate hope for the effective realization of the ultimate hope within the limits of a sinful history. In this sense, as Paulo Freire says, the Church "can never cease being utopian".[7] And often anti-utopianism lays itself open to the suspicion that it is not an expression of faith but an ideology of the *status quo* and an excuse for non-participation in human liberation in history . . .

Let us not forget that our struggle is not merely against others but also against ourselves, not against flesh and blood, but against the false spiritualities of the idolatry of race, nation and class, and of the self-righteousness of ideals which reinforce collective structures of inhumanity and oppression. Any spirituality of righteousness must start with a turning in repentance from idols to the living God and justification by faith . . .

Let me conclude with some words of adoration and expectation from the Theological Reflections adopted by the CCPD/CICARWS Consultation: "God be praised, not all is darkness. The light shines in the darkness and the darkness shall never be able to quench it. There are witnesses to the light. The power of Jesus Christ is at work and the Holy Spirit will bring to perfection that which God has begun. The new age is not a myth or a symbol, but a powerful reality which overthrows the mighty from their thrones and fills the hungry with good things . . . The Church called to be Herald, Sign, Sacrament and Agent of the Kingdom waits for her own liberation by the power of the New Age."[8]

The State of the Church
Report of the General Secretary

Dr. Philip A. Potter

Dr. Philip A. Potter is general secretary of the WCC. He was born on the Caribbean island of Dominica, studied in Kingston, Jamaica and Richmond College and London University's Faculty of Theology. He has served the WCC in three capacities: director of its Youth Department, director of its Commission on World Mission and Evangelism and the general secretariat. He has also been a pastor of a Methodist church in Haiti, a secretary of the British Student Christian Movement and of the Methodist Missionary Society in London.

We celebrate this year the fiftieth anniversary of the first international ecumenical conference of officially appointed representatives of the Orthodox, Protestant and Anglican churches at Stockholm . . .

The most striking fact of our time is that all the major issues, whether political, economic, social, racial or of

[6]John Deschner, *Uniting in Hope*, Accra 1974, Faith and Order Paper 72, WCC, Geneva, 1975, p. 31.
[7]"Witness of Liberation", in *Seeing Education Whole*, WCC Office of Education, Geneva, 1971, p. 70.
[8]"Structures of Captivity and Lines of Liberation", *The Ecumenical Review*," January 1975, pp. 45 and 46.

sex, are global and interrelated in character. What happens in one place affects all places. What appears to be a political issue tends, on closer examination, to have many other dimensions . . .

And they are exacerbated by the arms race. More and more deadly weapons are being produced. We now live under the permanent threat of the ultimate annihilation of the human species. The economy of many industrialized countries is now heavily geared to or dependent on the production and sale of arms. There is no world authority to limit this indiscriminate traffic in arms . . .

There is a third major trend which has become increasingly evident during these years.

All over the world people are becoming more determined than ever to participate in decision-making, in efforts towards self-reliance, in movements of various kinds which give them scope to be themselves and to be authentically with others. They no longer accept passive roles, or being treated as objects rather than as subjects. Even the pundits of science and technology now realize that such matters as nuclear energy, genetics, and planning can no more be left to governments and other power elites. The people themselves should be allowed to see the issues and express themselves on options.

In a real sense, this has been a major emphasis of the World Council's activities during these past seven years . . .

I have the impression, moreover, that these activities have provoked very strong reactions in many of our member churches. Why is this so? It may well be that despite their profession that the Church means the whole people of God, most churches have not yet learned what this may mean in their life and witness. The same hierarchical and nonparticipatory structures which exist in society are reflected in our church structures and styles of living—preaching, teaching, decision-making, authority. There is, therefore, bound to be resistance to the growing demand for participation and a tendency to accuse those, who promote this participation, of "left-wing" ideological motivation. It is interesting to note that in countries officially "left-wing" the cry for participation is suppressed for fear of "right-wing" tendencies . . .

It must, however, be admitted that the cry for participation all over the world is matched by an increasing trend towards the violent suppression of those who demand a bigger share in the life of their countries. This in turn provokes counter-violence which is called terrorism. During these years under review there has been an increase of military coups and guerilla movements and the steady erosion of private and public liberties in East and West, in North and South. The whole world is caught in a profound conflict between those who yearn and struggle to participate in change for a more humane existence and those who seek to maintain the *status quo* of power relations whether their ideology is capitalist or socialist—between people wanting to share power to shape the future and people holding on to power that shaped the past . . .

Underlying all these trends and threats to human survival is a growing malaise of the human person, the spiritual crisis which is everywhere evident. This takes different forms. People are gripped with fear—fear of losing privileges; fear of accepting responsibility for one another because of the perplexity of problems and the consequences of engagement; fear of difference and of conflict; fear of violence; fear of change, fear of expressions of faith and of church life different from their own. People feel so alienated from themselves and from one another that they are unable to trust each other. They create or hide themselves behind walls of non-communication with other persons and peoples . . .

In all this we are brought face to face with that revelation of the free, authentic Man, Jesus, who calls us all to repentance, *metanoia*, the radical change of our thinking, and attitudes, indeed, of our whole beings, towards God in Christ and our fellow human beings in faith. It is an act of sharing in the death of Christ, the crucifixion of our selfish existence, and in the resurrection of Christ, the affirmation of the impossible becoming real, of life being wrested from death.

Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them?

A Russian Orthodox representative, in the discussion of the hotly-debated resolution which proposed the naming of Russia as a violator of the Helsinki Declaration: 'We have been bearing our witness in an atheistic society. Our problems in witnessing are different from yours. Some day you may have to draw on our experience . . ."

Beyond Division, Unity

Who is this Jesus Christ who Frees and Unites?

Robert McAfee Brown

Dr. Robert McAfee Brown has done seminary teaching (Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1953-62) and college teaching (Macalaster College, 1951-53). Currently he does both, commuting between Stanford University where he is professor of religious studies and Pacific School of Religion where he is teaching a course on "Ecumenical Roots of Liberation Theology" as well as a Christian ethics course.

ONE QUESTION, MANY ANSWERS

Each day at Nairobi we will be confronting Jesus' question, "Who do you say that I am?" and each day we will be listening to answers other than our own. Out of such exchanges, our own understandings will change. Answers we do not take at all seriously today may have to be taken very seriously next week, as we are forced to share more fully our backgrounds, questions, anxieties and answers. It is both threatening and liberating to realize that our understanding of Jesus, as well as our understanding of ourselves will be changed in the process. It may be even more threatening and liberating to realize that the process will not stop when Nairobi ends; we must take our new perceptions, commitments and challenges back to Tokyo, Constantinople, Jakarta, Kiev or Waukesha, and keep the process going . . .

So as we deal with the question, "Who is this Jesus Christ who frees and unites?" let us listen particularly to *those answers that initially threaten us the most,* rather than reassuring ourselves with the answers with which we are already comfortable. If your present answer focusses on Jesus the personal savior, then be willing to confront Jesus the liberator whose social message threatens all the human securities you take for granted. If Jesus the revolutionary is the one who now gives you hope, then hear also the Jesus who reminds you that evil is embodied not only in oppressive social structures but also in every human heart—not only in the heart of the evil oppressor but in your own heart as well . . .

THREE CLAIMS

Nairobi describes Jesus as the one who Frees and Unites—Jesus the Liberator, Jesus the Unifier. As I shall suggest later, I believe that we cannot truly put those claims together unless we insert between them a claim that Jesus is also the Divider. As Jesus *liberates* us, we are required to face the potential *divisions* that liberation brings, so that we can move toward a truer *unity* than would otherwise be possible. Let us explore those three claims . . .

JESUS THE LIBERATOR

From what does Jesus free us, and *for* what does he free us? . . .

Negatively, *he frees us from the false securities by which we try to make our lives secure.* He makes an uncomfortably exclusive claim upon us. We are to give primary allegiance to him, and that means that we can only give secondary allegiance to anyone or anything else. Those other loyalties that have heretofore claimed us turn out to be inadequate and therefore false. They do not free, they destroy, particularly when we build them into the structures of our society.

Take the forms of oppression in our society mentioned a moment ago—racism, sexism, classism, imperialism. Those do not free, they enslave. They not only enslave those on whom they are imposed, they enslave those who do the imposing . . .

Positively, *he frees us for the possibility of seeing the world through eyes other than our own.* I offer that phrase as a "non-theological" equivalent for the theological word "conversion." He leads us to a fundamental change of direction, so that the concern of the "other" can become our *own* concern.

In the midst of much that remains unclear to me, one thing at least becomes increasingly clear: there is a *convergence* today between the Biblical view of Jesus as Liberator, and the cry of oppressed peoples for liberation. For our own day, to "see the world through eyes other than our own" has simply got to mean seeing it through the eyes of the poor and dispossessed. When the story of Jesus and the story of human oppression are put side by side, they *fit.* They are simply different versions of the same story. The cry of the hungry is overwhelming. The cry of the politically and economically exploited is overwhelming. The cry of those in prison and under torture is overwhelming. The cry of parents who know that their children are

doomed to stunted and warped lives is overwhelming. We cannot meet in Africa, indeed we cannot meet anywhere, and shut our ears to that human cry. There may have been other emphases needed at other points in Christian history when talking about Jesus as Liberator, but I am persuaded (and I hope this assembly is persuaded) that for *this* time and *this* place, the claim of Jesus to bring freedom, and the cry of oppressed peoples for freedom, converge and cannot be separated . . .

Gustavo Gutierrez has underlined this point unforgettably. He acknowledges that there is an important form of Christian witness that reaches out to the *non-believer,* the one for whom belief in God has become difficult if not impossible in "a world come of age." But he insists that the problem for Christians in the Third World is not how to reach out to the non-believer, but how to reach out to the *non-person*—to the one whom the *world* ignores, or uses and crushes and then discards, the one who is "marginalized," whose cry not only for food but for meaning is simply not heard, whose personhood the rest of us simply deny. We cannot talk about the lordship of Jesus Christ, or the reconciling love of God, or the meaning of the cross, or Jesus as Liberator, unless the cry of those we treat as non-persons is the central thing we hear, unless the vision of the world so structured as to take them into account is the central thing we see, unless we can come to see the world through their eyes.

Where is the gospel imperative for that? Take only one part of the cry, the cry for food, acknowledging that that cry must be heard in relation to agriculture, economics, population control, the use of energy resources and all the rest. Remember, in the midst of all that complexity, that while Jesus said that we do "not live by bread alone," he never pretended that we can live without it . . .

But it is not enough to "see" something; we must also act upon what we see. And so that means a third thing: Jesus not only frees us from false allegiances, so that we can begin to see the world through eyes other than our own, *he also frees us for struggle with and on behalf of those "others,"* who are the poor and dispossessed . . .

It is far easier to speak such words on a podium in Nairobi, Kenya, than to act upon them in California, U.S.A. But part of the liberation they struggle to describe is the liberation that comes from being part of the supportive community that is the church, and the exhilarating discovery that we are not alone in such efforts. We must support and challenge and prod each other in our common allegiance to the smiting and healing Word of God, embodied in Jesus, who promises to free us not only from inner attitudes but from oppressive outer structures as well.

JESUS THE DIVIDER

And that of course means that Jesus Christ not only liberates. He also divides. That is initially surprising. "Surely", we respond, "it is Satan who divides, not Jesus." Division for the sake of division must indeed be the devil's work. But let us not evade too quickly the reality that in different ways Jesus also is the divider. Consider: . . .

The good news he brings to one group is (initially at least) bad news to another group. If Jesus' liberating message is good news to the poor, it means that the rich stand to lose something. If slaves are freed, slave owners are threatened. If those in captivity are liberated, those who have kept them in captivity had better beware.

Let us press the point: Christians in Latin America often proclaim the message of liberation in the framework of the Exodus story: if the good news is that God freed the oppressed Israelites from the power of the ancient Pharaohs, then God must be able to free the oppressed today from the power of the modern Pharaohs. And that can hardly be good news to the modern Pharaohs!

Who are these modern Pharaohs? They are the local oligarchies, the tiny minorities who have betrayed their people. But they are also those who have supported the local oligarchies with money, guns, intellectual rationalizations of injustice, and sophisticated torture techniques. Much of that kind of support comes, of course, from the United States and other wealthy nations. So if it is good news to South Americans that God promises to free them from the modern Pharaohs, it can only be bad news to North Americans to discover that according to the Exodus scenario a lot of us are serving in Pharaoh's court and that Pharaoh is doomed.

Position yourself where you will in such a scenario. I know that it divides me from many of my South American sisters and brothers, who see me as the oppressor who must be conquered. It divides me from most of my North American sisters and brothers, who reject such an analysis emphatically and are outraged that it should be offered as an exposition of the gospel.

And it divides me from God and from Jesus Christ—for if the analysis is correct, I am, whether I like it or not, on the wrong side in a struggle in which God has clearly taken sides with the oppressed, the poor, the downtrodden. Jesus is the Divider.

JESUS THE UNIFIER

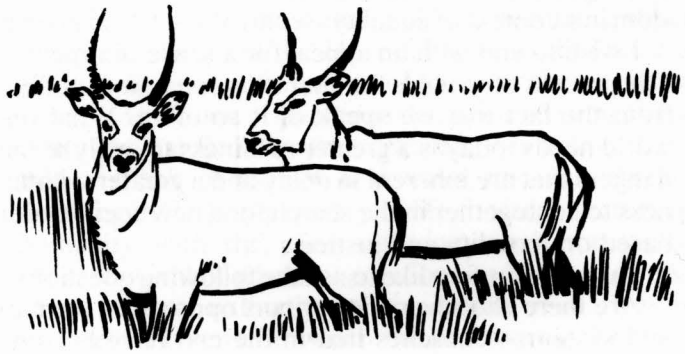
Finally, however, he is the Unifier. Jesus did not come "that all may be divided," he came "that all may be one." (John 17:21) But this must be said last (as it is now being said), rather than first. For if it is said too quickly, it will underestimate the reality of division, and the unity it proclaims will be superficial . . .

So the final note of the gospel is not division or ambiguity or tension or condemnation. It is joy. It is not a joy procured by ignoring what we clearly see going on in this bent and bleeding world, but a joy received by recognizing that in addition to what we clearly see going on, some other things are going on as well. As we look at the world, it *seems* to be only the shattered world of the cross—love defeated . . .

But for Christians, to see Good Friday at its worst is to begin also to see it at its best. For it is our faith that the seeming defeat is turned into a victory, that out of the very worst God can bring the very best, that God is working in our midst—patiently and impatiently, painfully and powerfully, judgmentally and healingly—to fulfill the divine purpose for us.

Babel, Interpreted

In the midst of the discussion concerning the Helsinki Declaration, a Bulgarian bishop speaking in his native tongue had to use the same microphone as his interpreter, a woman speaking in German, whose translation was rendered into French and English and Russian, which translations were piped through the ear-phone sets to people who came from the ends of the world.



The Shackles of Domination & Oppression

The Hon. Michael Manley,
Prime Minister of Jamaica

Prime Minister Michael N. Manley of Jamaica was trained as an economist at the London School of Economics. He was a journalist and editor then became involved in improving the lot of workers in the bauxite and sugar industries. He was first vice-president of the National Workers' Union and his skill in union negotiations led to election as president of the Caribbean Bauxite and Mineworkers Union. Appointed a member of Jamaica's Senate in 1962 he entered elective politics in 1967 and won a seat in Parliament. Two years later he headed the People's National Party and when it was victorious in 1972 he became Prime Minister. He is a member of the Methodist Church.

DEMOCRACY, AN UNFULFILLED PROMISE

It is the irony of political democracy in a capitalist system that it has often failed totally to provide for the people that continuing access to power and decision-making that is the inner heart and purpose of the democratic process. Hence, within capitalist systems, the process of the domination continues despite the appearance of political freedom which incomplete democratic processes provide.

If capitalism was the engine that lifted man to new levels of economic and technological progress, it was equally the burial ground of his moral integrity. And as if the moral consequences of capitalism were not sufficiently disastrous both for its supposed beneficiaries and all others who were caught in the system, it also proceeded historically in harness with that twin steed of ill fortune and oppression, imperialism. For imperialism was the means by which capitalism reproduced internationally all that it had done to human experience within national boundaries . . .

I would like to pause briefly to mention the largest category of victims in all human experience: women . . . Let me record my bewilderment at the continuing exclusion of women from God's Ministry in so many Churches of the Christian world. So subtle and familiar are the ways of domination and insidious the paths of oppression . . .

Many parliamentary democracies are in fact nothing more than means of legitimizing a tyranny of the majority for predetermined periods of time. Worse, many parliamentary democracies tend to disguise and entrench what is in reality a system of irresponsible bureaucratic control. Therefore, liberation, properly understood, cannot end with traditional forms of parliamentary democracy. Rather, this is where liberation begins. Obviously, the complexity of modern society makes true people's democracy, the reality of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and all of the time, extremely difficult to institutionalize. Nonetheless, the supremacy of this objective must be clear and must be pursued relentlessly in order to liberate mankind . . .

Liberation can only be secured in political terms where the people have access to decision-making at the community as well as the regional and national levels. Equally, it will only be secured where administrative control at the centre is neither exclusive nor irresponsible and bureaucratic, but is accessible locally where the effect of these administrative decisions is felt.

Equally, one must approach the economy in similar ways. A just society is one in which the economy is, first and foremost, directly and freely responsive to the overall needs of the community at large.

Under capitalism, it was long assumed that the "hidden hand" of market forces would produce this result by means of some mysterious inner chemistry. However sincere the intention, this hope foundered upon the rocks of self-interest, expressed as the profit motive, which are essential to that economic system. In extreme reaction to the familiar capitalist model, some societies have developed other economic orders under total state ownership and control which presuppose and promote bureaucratic centralism. While undoubtedly satisfying certain egalitarian tests which have failed in capitalist systems, these new models often involve a new form of oppression to maintain what is in reality, state capitalism.

The actual and potential victims of such systems are, as under bourgeois capitalism, the workers who now become unfree servants of a more powerful master, the bureaucratic state. The fact that such a state is supposed to act in the name of the people, is simply a fiction in terms of actual human experience . . .

Equally, I suggest that our social forms must leave intact those avenues of self-expression through which man pursues the path of his own infinite complexity and individuality.

The freedom to explore one's relationship to the universe, to walk the rocky road of personal salvation, to soar through the great spaces of the psyche in search of a mystic communion with the Maker: all these must remain intact. Even the right not to soar is important; and the agnostic must be left secure in his right to doubt.

THE CHURCH CALLED TO STRUGGLE

I do not believe that Western Christendom can cease from struggle until these outrages that violate our religious faith and mock its moral teaching, have been totally overthrown and abolished. Every politician and every churchman, indeed, everyone who neither raises his hand nor his voice against such systems of oppression, thereby betrays the very cause of justice. Whether they form a majority or a minority on matters like these, the silent are willing accomplices and copartners in the crime against religion and humanity .

The Churches have a clear duty to make common cause with the Third World in its search for a new order.

However . . . there is a small minority among the men of God who repudiate absolutely the notion of temporal concern or involvement. These clearly must be left to their own devices, silences and idiosyncratic mysteries.

The Churches should, therefore, speak out against injustice wherever it is to be found. Indeed, it was the Bishops at Medellin who recently reminded us that "when justice does not exist among men, God is ignored." The Churches must be prepared to take their stand against fascism, against racism, against oppression, against undue materialism in human affairs, against elitism, against imperialism, and neocolonialism, indeed against all those forces national and international, historical and contemporary, which militate against man's need for self-expression and freedom in a context of equality, security and social justice.

I wish to end with an appeal for a sense of urgency. The process of struggle for liberation sometimes suffers from the fact that we speak of it so often. What the world needs today is a greater readiness to analyze the dangers that are inherent in delay and a greater willingness to act together in the search for a new social order based on morality and justice . . .

I would therefore like to ask the following questions:

Are there churches that support oppressive regimes and systems—churches that in the end have become

apologists and spokesmen for regimes of domination and oppression?

Are there churches that maintain massive investments within oppressive political and economic regimes, thereby contributing to their viability?

Are there churchmen who act as Chaplains directly or indirectly to oppressive systems and who fail to relate the Christian spirit and message to the system that they serve?

Are there churches in Metropolitan countries which give aid to churches in developing countries, but do so with strings attached? And is this not also economic imperialism?

Are there Missionary groups who come to developing countries and wittingly or unwittingly retard the process by which people search for their own cultural identity? . . .

Creation, Technology and Human Survival

Charles Birch

Professor of biology at the University of Sydney, Australia, Charles Birch combines the pure scientist's knowledge with a lifelong concern for the social implications of modern science and technology. An early advocate of dialogue between science and religion, he now works to preserve the environment; since 1970 he has been vice-chairman of the WCC's Church and Society Committee. He combines research on mutations in genes with teaching and writing. Birch is an active Methodist layman influenced by the thinking of Paul Tillich, Alfred North Whitehead and the biologist Dobhzansky.

THREATS TO SURVIVAL

Let me be clear at the outset what I mean by threats to survival . . . Brontosaurus did not become extinct overnight, far from it. He doubtless experienced a gradual decline in his quality of life over thousands of years, one by one populations disappeared until eventually the last Brontosaurus expired. It is in this sense that I speak of threats to human survival; threats resulting in declining quality of life for large sectors of humanity with the poor suffering most, threats to sheer survival of whole populations and ultimately the threat of total extinction of the human race. This is precisely the sense in which the problem is discussed in the circles of the World Council of Churches today.[1]

I shall argue that the earth can no longer accommodate the sort of society we are building on its surface with the aid of science and technology. It has inbuilt into it self-destructive features. "Our present method of underwriting technology" says Kenneth Galbraith "is exceedingly dangerous. It could cost us our existence . . ."[2]

If the world is to sustain the lives of its four billion inhabitants and more to come, the world itself must be saved. But are we willing to pay the price of the redemption of the earth in terms of a revolution in values, in life styles, in economic and political goals and even in the nature of the science and technology we practice? Or shall we continue with the Faustian deal of travel now, pay later? The journey unfortunately is short. The time for payment has arrived. The world is a Titanic on a collision course. The iceberg ahead has its visible parts above water . . .

Only a change in course can avert disaster. Political leaders and economists still dance on the deck but the course remains unchanged. Technological optimists insist that a breaktrhough a day keeps the crisis at bay. But there are some problems science and technology cannot solve . . .

I and many of my fellow scientists are encouraged that the World Council of Churches has begun to be concerned with the total problem, scientific as well as economic and political. We hope it will not give up after a few years of preliminary effort. There is much to do before the churches show that they are taking seriously the problems that we face . . .

The total effort of the technological society is widening the gap between rich and poor countries. We know how to use science and technology to produce a rich society but not how to produce a just one . . .

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

Each person on earth has a negative impact on the environment. An Australian or an American has a much larger impact than a Kenyan or an Indonesian, perhaps twenty times as much . . .

There is no chance of the poor countries developing adequately unless the rich countries reduce the huge proportion they contribute to the total impact. This involves a programme of development of the rich world. The rich must live more simply that the poor may simply live. The world is not just. According to the

[1]Threats to Survival. Report presented by the Commission on Churches' Participation in Development to the Central Committee of the WCC, August 1974 Study Encounter 10 (4) pp. 1-11, 1974.

[2]J. Kenneth Galbraith. The New Industrial State. (Hamilton) p.8, 1967.

criterion of justice any country would be over developed whose standard of living was beyond the capacity of the world to generate for all its peoples. This is a revolutionary ethical concept. It is illusory to suppose that the world as it is now structured would ever share resources that way. Countries with a huge resource base (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Iran, Brazil and China) will have the power in the future. They will use it to gain further power. A just world involves not only a change in national goals, but, as well, a total restructing of the international economic order. While the world, at the instigation of the developing countries, begins to work out ways in which that might be done, we must develop strategies that put pressure on those with resource power, obliging them to use it in the interests of a larger human purpose. I do not know what these strategies will be. I only know that unless we invent them the future of the poor world is bleak.

Secondly, the impact equation emphasizes that a better model of development, one that is more just and less wasteful than exists in the rich world, is desperately needed by developing countries. The enormous problems now facing Japan are a consequence of its blindly following the western pattern . . .

THE AMBIGUITY OF TECHNOLOGY

The world, rich and poor, cannot live without technology. Yet we have found no way of living with it. The poor countries are mesmerised by the power of technology. Politically they see that the present power of the rich world rests on its technological achievements. Naturally they ask how can they share in this power. They need more technology. But we have no clear idea of the sort of science and technology and human management that can bring well being to the poor. The attempts that were made in the decade of development of the 60s turned it into a decade of disaster . . .

Science and technology in the service of unlimited growth may, for a time, stave off disaster, but only by delivering us into a fool's paradise from which there may be no escape. The technological fix becomes the technological trap. To act as if the cure for all the ills of technology is more of the same technology is to follow the pied pipers of technology to destruction.

It is important to be clear as to who controls technology, for who controls technology controls development. One sixth of the Gross World Product is controlled by the multinational corporations. 18 Nation States are not the only principalities and powers in the modern world. The annual sales of the five largest multinational oil companies combined exceed the Gross National Product of all but four countries in the world. 19 Multinational corporations have increased production in the developed and developing worlds but their products are usually designed for the rich who can afford to buy their products and not for the poor. It pays to tickle the palates of the rich rather than to fill the bellies of the poor. It is easy to criticize the multinational corporations. It is not so easy to invent and institute productive alternatives to these powerful corporations.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCHES

What is the role of the churches in this ambiguous technological future? It is now totally unintelligible for the churches to operate as though there is one plane called the spiritual which is their area and another called the temporal which they can leave to others. This leads to the false belief that all they have to do is to change people and that changed people will change the world. It has not worked out that way. If life in a vast factory is dehumanizing it is the factory that has to be changed. The redemption of people involves the redemption of the world they live in. The bonds that confine people all over the world are economic, political and technical as well as spiritual. The struggle for liberation is a struggle for economic, political, ecological and spiritual liberation. It is vital for the churches to be involved, boots and all, in all these tasks and to question seriously their commitment to the technically dominated society. It is a cop-out for them to draw a distinction between the things that belong to Caesar and those that belong to God. Nothing belongs to Caesar, except Caesar's evil machinations . . .

ECOLOGICAL RESPONSIBILITY

For millions of years the thin envelope of life around the earth which we call the biosphere has sustained the resources necessary for its life in a most wonderful and complex way. Every molecule of oxygen in the atmosphere comes from plants. Every time you take a breath you can say thank you to a plant. All the oxygen is completely recycled by living organisms every 2000 years. Every molecule of carbondioxide in the air, soil and water comes from living organisms. All the carbondioxide is renewed every 300 years. Every molecule of water on this planet goes in and out of living organisms. All the water is completely re-

newed every 22 million years. Nature's global society is a sustainable society. It keeps the molecules moving. We had better keep it that way if we want to stay around. Whether we do or not may depend upon whether the nations can agree on a common plan of management of the two remaining world commons—the atmosphere and the oceans. The crass political negotiating that is going on at present is not the way we shall make these commons secure. A major objective of such management is to sustain the biosphere. I happen to think that is important. The real world consists of sustainable societies within the great sustainable biosphere, be they the Amazon rain forest or the Great Barrier Reef. For millions of years these have been self-renewing and self-sustaining natural societies. I learn from them too. And I learn how easy it is for man to make them *unsustainable* . . .

If we could only see ourselves in a global perspective then I believe we would come to see that ultimately the sustainable global society has the following requirements. Population growth would cease at or below the carrying capacity of the earth: zero population growth. Consumption of resources will stabilize at a sustainable level of supply—zero growth in consumable goods. Resources will be distributed to where they are most needed. They will be "farmed" by recycling as much as possible, involving a new sort of technology. The emission of *pollutants* will be kept below the capacity of the earth to absorb them—zero growth in pollution. In the sustainable society the emphasis will be on people, not on goods, on growth in quality not on growth in quantity.[3]

There is a huge gap between biological models and political realities. What matters now is that the steps we take are in the right direction. I shall mention three.

Appropriate technology: There are many desperately important tasks for science and technology to undertake to help promote a sustainable society for all people on the earth . . .

In a million situations the scientific community must devise techniques that extract more good for mankind from natural systems at less cost in human terms and less cost in energy, materials and ecological destruction such, for example, as small scale solar energy units. Such enterprises are not as glamorous as the nuclear power parade and heart transplants but they do carry the potential not just for survival but eventually for providing a decent life for all . . .

Self-Reliance: Self-reliance is not isolationism or self-sufficiency. It is the development of the capacity for autonomous goal seeking and decision making especially in those countries which, with appropriate internal effort, have the potential of conquering poverty and other miseries. The road is not an easy one. Self-reliance has to operate in the face of an international power structure that, to quote the *UNEP Cocoyoc Declaration*, "will resist moves in this direction"[4] if they interfere with growth and profit.

Interdependence: The nations of the world have not yet decided they want interdependence. The myth is still widely accepted that each nation is a separate life boat. There is only one life boat with all humanity on board, albeit with first class passengers at one end and third class passengers at the other. If one end goes down the whole boat sinks. Survival and distributive justice require a reallocation of resources on the life boat by some means that is more equable than the international marketing system allows. The ultimate challenge of resource reallocation is to the concept of ownership of resources by the nations that by accident happen to have them. We abuse resources because we regard them as commodities belonging to us. When we come to see land and minerals and oil and coal as part of a community to which we belong, we may begin to use them with a little more respect and a lot more justice.

NATURE, MAN AND GOD

Two connections need to be made more clearly.

Firstly: there is a connection between human justice and the renewal of the earth and between human injustice and environmental deterioration. When people no longer care about people they no longer care about the world. The industrialist who pollutes the air and the kid who slashes the seats of the railway carriage both represent the same attitude. They are ignorant. They do not care about each other. They do not care about the world . . .

It is time to recognize that the liberation movement is finally one movement. It includes women's liberation, men's liberation, the liberation of science and technology, animal liberation, plant liberation and the liberation of the air and the oceans, the forests, deserts, mountains and valleys . . .

Secondly: There is a connection between our image of nature and the way we manipulate nature. The ideology of nature dominant in western Christianity is the same one that is dominant in the secular world. It

[3]See the report of the 1974 WCC conference in Bucharest "Science and Technology for Human Development". Anticipation 19, 1974, p. 12.

[4]Charles Birch. Science looks within itself and turns outward. Anticipation 10, February 1972, pp. 1-11.

is a technocratic view of nature . . .

Theology could have an important role in the future if more theologians were prepared to think critically about nature once again without fear of the consequences. The task, as I see it, includes the rediscovery of the fundamental unity of the human and non-human worlds without surrending any truths about man. Indeed I would say it is to rediscover the unity of the whole creation in the light of the Christian understanding of man. That involves a radical reinterpretation of the nature-man relationship.

The world is not as tame as our sluggish convention-ridden minds tend to suppose. There is another view—which for want of a better term I shall call a sacramental view, which emphasizes the tender elements of the world. We catch glimpses of it in the book of Job, for example, in the questions in the 38th chapter: Why have flowers in the desert after rain where no man is? Have they no value when there is no one to use or admire them? Or in Psalm 104, where God made things for their own sake. Man is only one of a number of pebbles on the cosmic beach.[5]

Two aspects of nature are saved in the sacramental view. One is the intrinsic value of creatures in themselves. The other is the dependent relationship of all entities. Neither of these concepts is consistent with a view of nature as contrivance, period!

Why assert that only people have intrinsic value? But what could give intrinsic value to the flower that blooms alone in the desert, or the elephant or the blue whale? I reply with John Cobb[6] that only responsiveness (or in anthropomorphic terms "feeling") gives intrinsic value; responsiveness to the toal environment which includes God. Who are we to deny this subjectivity to any creature? All we see with our eyes and the eyes of science is the outer aspect of things. The within of ourselves and our dependence we each know in our subjective life. Can we deny the within of other entities? Behold the lilies of the field! Not a sparrow falls to the ground without your Father knowing. I do not interpret this to mean that God is a counter of dead sparrows but that even the life of a sparrow has significance for Him . . .

The creation stories are not about events in the past. They are about relationships of dependence, alienation and renewal in the present. The image of God as the artist who painted the flower and left it is inadequate. In some way God is involved in the being of the flower and in all that exists here and now. We need a valuation of the creation that has within it a hierarchy of intrinsic value (of man and of sparrows) and which includes the concept of the rights of non-human nature. If existence on this earth is to be sustained it may be by a perilously slight margin of sensitiveness of those who value nature for more than its use to us . . .

I cannot think on this personalistic and unitary image of the creation without a humbling sense that all creatures are fellow creatures and that human responsibility extends infinitely to the whole of creation.

Can the Churches remain silent on these issues any longer? Or may they be awakened by the confusion in their own ranks and in the secular world? What is needed is a fearless pursuit of the meaning of the unity of nature, man and God in the light of both science and a wider ecumenism that includes African and Asian cultural ideas. They would then, I believe, see more clearly than they do at present their total responsibility to replenish the earth for the sake of all humanity and all creatures, while there may yet be time.

If we are to break the poverty barrier for almost two-thirds of the earth's peope, if we are to continue to inhabit the earth, there has to be a revolution in the relationship of human beings to the earth and of human beings to each other. The churches of the world have now to choose whether or not they become part of that revolution.

"ALL IN THE FAMILY"

The WCC press officer, early in the Assembly session, made the following comments at a press briefing:

The attitude of western people toward churches in totalitarian countries falls into two stereotypes:

1. Christians in totalitarian countries are oppressed people; therefore, we cannot speak frankly with them, lest reprisals be made against them. Only behind closed doors can we be candid. Or,

2. They work hand-in-glove with their totalitarian government, completely co-opted, and there is no point in communicating with them.

Urging the rejection of these stereotypes, the WCC official pointed out that these churches have an identity centuries old. If they have an identity, he went on, we must assume they have integrity, and we must speak with them accordingly. The WCC cannot deal with them on the basis of stereotypes. These churches have memberships in the WCC, he insisted, and we must respect that fact.

[5]Further examples are given in John Passmore: "Man's Responsibility to Nature." (Duckworth) 1974, Chapter 1.

[6]John B. Cobb. Ecology, Ethics and Theology. In: Herman E. Daly (Ed.) "Toward a Steady State Economy." (Freeman) 1972, pp. 307-20.

Women Are Different

The inter-penetration of the issues of racism, sexism, classism and imperialism was implicit but vivid in the presentation at the special session on "Women in a Changing World." The theme of women's rights was played in different keys, depending upon the place and circumstance of the origin of the speaker. For example, the spokeswoman from Lebanon was tough, hard, speaking from the battle (literally), and her primary focus was the task, the struggle, the project at hand. And it was essentially political. On the other hand, the spokeswoman from Australia was concerned with the (also very real) question: Who am I? She was sensitive, affective, introspective, psychological, in her approach and concern.

Rock the Cradle, Rock the World

Tony Simonian

Tony Simonian is inter-church development secretary for the Middle East Council of Churches, having previously been regional youth secretary. A member of the Armenian Orthodox Church, she was born in Jerusalem but moved to Lebanon at age 11. She received a bachelor of arts degree in political studies from American University in Beirut and has pursued advanced study in rural sociology. She was youth advisor to the WCC Central Committee in Addis Ababa and Utrecht, has been on the Ad Hoc Youth Committee of the Council and is a consultant to the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development.

Protesting about women's rights alone is less valid for developing than for stable industrialized societies. It is the concern of a society with leisure; one performed in peaceful times. Societies with well established bureaucracies and administrative patterns evoke details about male-female relationships. Here, the boundary between domestic and public life is distinct. I make such a statement in the light of my own experience in general and the specific circumstances under which I prepared this exposé. I was writing these notes under machine-gun fire and mortar bombs. I was forcing myself to think of this talk while organizing neighborhood committees for emergency relief work. When a country is going through a violent crisis, the problems and issues are challenging both men and women equally.

The mere fact that people are concerned with the status of women in society implies that they have started to question the nature and limits of the power women hold and the modes of its expression. As we all know, the question was asked for the first time by women and men in the Western industrialized world . . .

The issue of women's participation or non-participation in society, along with its accompanying strains or pleasures, is the product of social change and its impact on our institutions. It is the product of the evolution of our societies from agrarian to industrial societies. It is the conflict between the role of women within the family institution as opposed to their new roles transposed in other institutions (economic, academic, etc.). Besides actively participating within the family institution, women have also been powerful. Unlike the apparent impression of women's passivity, several sociological studies have demonstrated that women use their power at home by taking the total responsibility in child-raising, managing the economic life either by working in the field or in the kitchen, and finally manipulating the decision-making process. Based on the patterns of relationships outside the family, women are described as the submissive and obedient creatures in traditional agrarian societies. The appropriate social norms and legal codes set the rules of social control. With industrialization, institutions multiplied and the need for a new type of manpower arose. Women penetrated institutions other than the family where old ways of self-realization were no longer applicable. Consequently, old value systems were shaken and the type of interpersonal relationships between males anf females was challenged. All these were accompanied with a change in the concept of family. The relationship between partners in marriage was given a new expression. What did not naturally evolve was the mechanisms of social control. This is how the trend in the West could be caricatured. In my opinion, what women need is to establish the appropriate avenues within the new institutions through which they can realize their potentialities as well as recuperate the power they had within the family institution and society in a new form.

Protest of women's movements in the West is in my opinion the result of such a conflict: searching for new techniques to express their creativity on the one hand, and conditioning the male attitude to accept explicitly women's complementarity in the modern industrialized societies on the other. As we read studies on women, we find that biological differences are not a basic handicap to condemn women and make them accept inequality at the cost of hindering their creativity. We do not read about *a priori* discrimination between sexes by God. Re-reading the Gospel objectively shows this clearly. Roles in general and those of women in particular, along with the value systems guiding them, are defined by societies . . .

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that women have participated in the life and evolution of societies with a powerful position; sometimes explicitly, at other times implicitly. Although motherhood has been the central role attributed to them, yet they have also participated in the process of economic growth. Therefore, I am not here as part of a demand for equal rights. I am here to make whatever contributions I can to this Assembly in the hope that it will ultimately contribute to the good of my people and my community. This is why I hold a position of responsibility in our organization (The Middle East Council of Churches). In my active involvement, as for all women in all places both in times of peace and crisis, we will continue to achieve self-realization in terms of re-discovering our power within the institutions of our societies. The issue, I repeat, is born of a combination of challenged male ego and societal affluence. Therefore, I reject the issue as arbitrary and look to the future with calm determination.

To be a Woman, to be Free

Dorothy McMahon

Dorothy McMahon of Australia is particularly active in educating for peace. She heads a non-sectarian Australian organization called "Another Mother for Peace" and edits its bi-monthly journal. She has done research for the Methodist Information Service of NSW and worked with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the International League for Peace and Freedom.

My work in the home, in the office, in the church, the women's movement, the political party and the peace movement certainly says something about who I am. What interests me is that my work in the home is so often used to define me, when the fact that I can clean a bath and cook meals says less about me than anything else that I do. One of my hardest struggles is to free myself to believe that I have worth apart from what I do, that if I stopped doing, people would still love me for who I am. The struggle is especially difficult because I live in a culture which values achievement above all else; which still largely says that a good wife and mother does everything for her husband and children; and I belong to a church which preaches justification by faith yet praises people, especially women, who are always doing. When I can free myself from justification by doing, then I can offer my service with joy and commitment. I am also freed to see that there are some jobs that almost nobody likes and the answer is for all of us to share them, not ask one group to try and sanctify them. Homemaking and church housekeeping belong to us all, not just to women.

There are those who try to define me according to their own picture of what a woman is like.

To be defined by the expectations of others is a mark of oppression. It can be a very comfortable oppression because, when you accept it, you gain the approval of both those who oppress and your sisters who accept oppression.

You know how you are expected to look, speak, behave and even think. I am experiencing the pain that comes from knowing that to be true to myself I must break free of this, that my survival as a person depends upon it. I find that when I share the reality of my experience of life, I am told it is not happening to me or that the problem lies within me.

It is implied that I am not really a true women—that I am not defying tradition but the very order of Creation.

But I have come now to the point where it would be even more costly to go back. So I go on, not just for myself but for my sisters to come and, I believe, for my brothers too.

Some of you may believe you can define me as white, middle-class Australian.

My emerging personhood confronts me with the realities of this my birth and my inheritance. I can only say with sadness that I know very well who I am in

this respect—as I discover within myself dimensions of racism, the bonds of materialism, the clinging to economic privilege—the part of me which is oppressor. I know that my liberation must involve liberation from all these things—I can only ask that you meet me on the level of my frequent powerlessness, my humanness and my need of hope and grace.

So, who am I?

To ask this question is, for me, to make a move from non-being toward being. It involves the anger and pain which come with awareness of non-being, the urgent reaching out for affirmations of existence in relationships, in language and in a place in history.

I do know I am myself, a person with all the potential for whole humanness, with the worth that belongs to a daughter of God. In my growing freedom to be open to others, I experience both the vulnerability that comes with openness and the enfolding support of the sisters and brothers. I feel a strong sense of unity with all those who have committed themselves to the path of liberation. Our struggles are very different, our unity lies in the fact that we struggle. I have not been able to find in the church enough ways to share the pain and confusion of that struggle, nor enough celebration to express the hope I feel as I go through the resurrection process of finding myself.

I am.

I am woman.

I am freed by Christ and I am claiming that freedom, that space to live, now.

I stretch out my hands to you, my sisters and my brothers.

You may dance with me in celebration
You may walk beside me in unity.
I will no longer walk behind you.

Male and Female, Slave and Free

The African Moratorium

Rahantavololona Andriamanjato

Mrs. Rahantavololona Andriamanjato is one of the leading Christian women of Africa. Professionally she serves as Chief Water Engineer for Madagascar and simultaneously teaches applied hydraulics at the University of Tananarive. A lay preacher of the Church of Jesus Christ in Madagascar, she is deeply interested in grass-roots evangelism. In addition to professional and religious activities, Mrs. Andriamanjato is president of the local branch of the Malagasy Independence Congress Party.

The liberation of women calls first of all for profound changes in the structure of society itself, and then for the development of the material and social conditions which will enable women properly to fulfill their varied role as full members of society. However, in addition to the material obstacles which can be removed through such measures, there are other obstacles of a more subjective nature. And, let us be honest, the religions, including the Christian religion, bear by no means the smallest share of responsibility for creating the inferiority complex and sense of inadequacy interiorized by the majority of women over the centuries . . . The all Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) at its meeting in Lusaka called for a moratorium, for the suspension for a few years of the sending of material aid and personnel from the western churches in order to allow the African churches to develop the sense of responsibility for themselves and for their witness in their own world and to enable them to discover the spiritual and (why not?) the material riches God has given them.

I know that some western churches, members of the WCC, are offended by this call and on more than one occasion when I have been travelling in Europe people have said to me, 'What use is there in our holding mission sales and exhibitions if the mission countries no longer need our missionaries nor our financial help?'

Yet there are so many things to be done in Europe and North America, not least, indeed one might say especially, the need to bring the Gospel to the people of those areas. However, if there are some people who feel called to work for Africa they can do so just as well by staying in Europe and North America.

They could, for example, convert the largely 'Christian' directors of the multi-national companies which continue to despoil independent Africa. They could convert them and make them understand and admit that the sovereign right of a people includes its sovereign right to manage its own natural resources and hence its right, among other things, to nationalize them.

They could convert them and make them understand that western Christians cannot go on defending the drive to draw maximum profit from the peoples of Africa, and that, on the contrary, it is incumbent on them to work for the rapid development of a new international economic order based on justice and peace.

They can also work for Africa, though staying in Europe and North America, by conducting intensive campaigns in the churches and among Christians and non-Christians in their own countries *against* investment in South Africa, against white migration to that country, *against* the governments that do not apply the embargo on the sale of arms to the government of South Africa which was passed by the United Nations twelve years ago . . .

So many things can be done outside the missionary countries in general and Africa in particular, to bear witness to Christ the Liberator. Consequently, we would like the sister churches, which used to be called the 'donor churches', not to regard the moratorium as a hostile gesture on the part of the African churches, but as a call to each of our churches:

—to break with tradition,

—to create new foundations for witness to Christ in each country,

—to consent to be the instruments by which Christ makes all things new.

Education For . . .?

One of the unquestioned assumptions of Westerners concerning the Third World is the desirability of educational opportunities for Third World people. One of the hard lessons being learned by Westerners is that this unquestioned assumption is also, in many instances, unwarranted.

Dr. Samuel Parmar of India, speaking at a press conference at the Assembly, said that in India advanced education, although not intended to, often results in tending to strengthen the structures of domination. He cited the fact of 9,000 medical doctors in India seeking transfer to England to practice their profession. "And so", he said, "education can become the sustainer of negative values."

Third World, Last Place

Sergio Torres

Sergio Torres, a Roman Catholic priest, is the Executive Secretary of the Association of Latin American Theologians. He has spent many years in Chile, and last summer was responsible for organizing the Detroit Conference on "Theology in the Americas." Presently he is administering the continuation of that conference. He made the following remarks in an interview at Nairobi.

I am a little disappointed because this big conference, despite all its bureaucratic organization, is not really helping liberation, which is the theme of the conference itself.

There are significant differences between this assembly and the conference in Detroit last summer. One is that even though the General Secretary and the Central Committee of the WCC have in the past year held a very strong position about liberation in the world, I think that this assembly doesn't have a really common understanding of the presence of the church in the world. And I think that we had that in Detroit. That means two things. First, a common social analysis of the realities of our world; and secondly, a common theological understanding. These two factors were more clear in Detroit than here. I have to confess that the contribution of the Latin American delegation here is poor. I think there are two reasons. First, the protestant churches in Latin America are not united among themselves. Many of them don't belong to the WCC. Others are still far from a commitment to liberation. Second, in recent years there has been a strong movement of political repression in the different countries of Latin America. And I have to say that many of the protestant churches have agreed with this political repression by the governments. So I think it is a bad moment for some protestant brothers in Latin America. They are not really committed to the liberation of the oppressed. What we are seeing here at this assembly is the result of this situation in Latin America.

And not just the situation in Latin America. It is true also for other people of the Third World. I don't see clearly the input or impact of the Third World people in this assembly. Even though they are numerically in the majority in the assembly, they have not had a strong voice. They are related to other churches of their denominations in other countries. They receive money from the denominations to attend this conference. And I have the impression that they don't feel free to talk and to say what they should say.

Sadness

Robert L. DeWitt

It seemed never to have been mentioned explicitly at the Assembly sessions. It was more of an undertone. Perhaps an undertone not only in the speaking, but in the thinking as well. Half-unconscious as the thought probably was, it is not surprising that it failed to be articulated in words.

But it seems unlikely that persons attending this Assembly could have escaped completely an awareness of a cloud hanging over the churches. Better, a cloud formation, for there were various forms in which it cast shadows on the churches of the world.

Partly, it was the recognition of the failure of the churches to come together. Signs of this were the presence, only as observers, of the Roman Catholic communion, and the tenuous membership of the Orthodox, a membership threatened by any direct criticism of their country of origin. And this was sobering for an organization calling itself the World Council of Churches.

Partly, it was the awareness of the general failure of the churches to take seriously their mission, and the failure of the valid evangelization which would accompany a serious dedication to mission.

Partly, it was an awareness of the superficiality of so much of the theological discussions, the "vertical-horizontal" disputes, the problems of polity and politics which so occupied and preoccupied this Assembly.

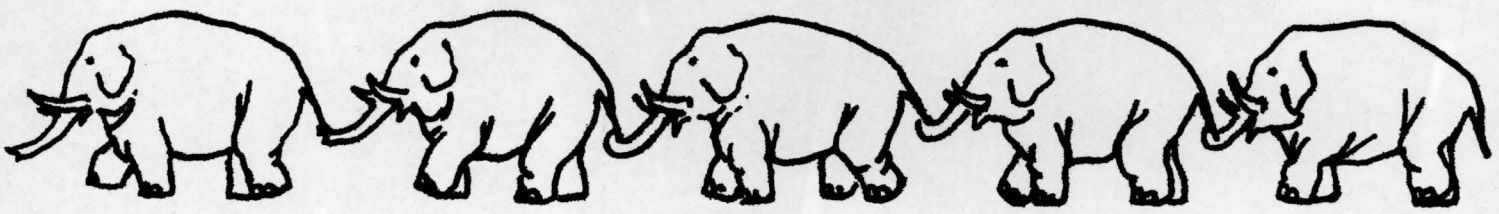
Most deeply, perhaps, it was the awareness of the emptiness and fruitlessness of so much of church life on the local level, so immersed in triviality, bound and fettered by finances and the other vexing problems of survival.

Survival. Was that perhaps the root of the sadness that permeated the Assembly like the coming of a humid spell, ennervating people, making their spirits limp and listless? There were many signs that survival was indeed the question before the churches, yet one to which it gave no conscious consideration. As with the dwindling garrison of a doomed fortress, the colors were still flying, the bugle still sounding, salutes still being exchanged. But there seemed to be manifested a quiet emptiness which none acknowledged.

Or perhaps not. It may be that the churches are only in a time of retrenchment. They may be exhausted by, but indeed recovering from a Pelagian fling, an era of trying vainly to bring in the Kingdom by force. The activist slogans and catchwords of the sixties may now be in the process of being quietly folded and laid away, even as the evangelical slogan—"The evangelization of the world in our generation"—of two generations ago was quietly forgotten when its subtle pride over-reached itself and was quenched by World War I. The end of an era. For those who have been in positions of influence, of authority, of privilege, the end of their era has inevitably a quality of sadness.

But what, really, is the meaning of "the end of an era" for Christians? Nothing but the passing of a watch in the night! God's eternal purposes in Creation and Redemption are not dependent upon the balance in our budgets. Nor upon the worldly success, even, of the churches. True, He has an eternal investment of concern in His Church. But our chronic error is too easily to equate His Church which He founded, with our churches which we manage. He is able, after all, "of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham"—and that may be precisely what He has in mind! If the tree does not bring forth good fruit, there is only one fate in store for it.

But sadness will not suffice. It is not worthy of who and what we are. We have been baptized into a kingdom not of this world. All that is required of us is to live as becomes those who know that they are free to live in this life in the power of the life to come. That is what it means to be a part of Christ's Church. And the churches? Yes, it is a thing of sadness if they do not, in life and work, proclaim *this* Good News. And perhaps that sadness is what one sensed at Nairobi.



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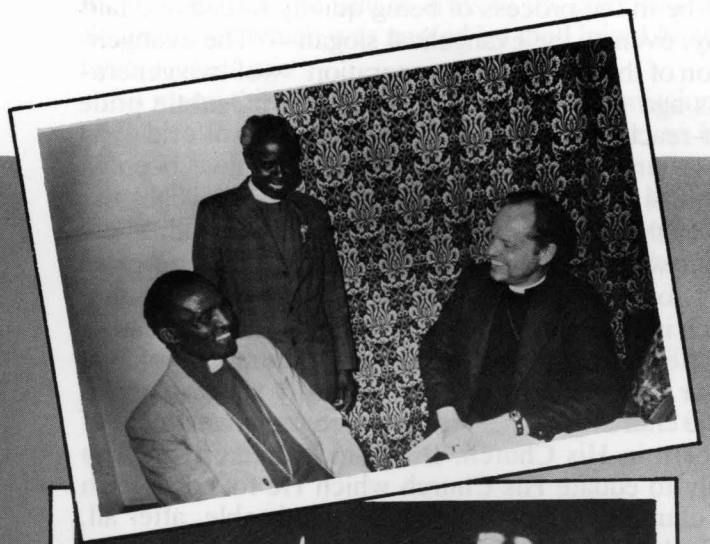

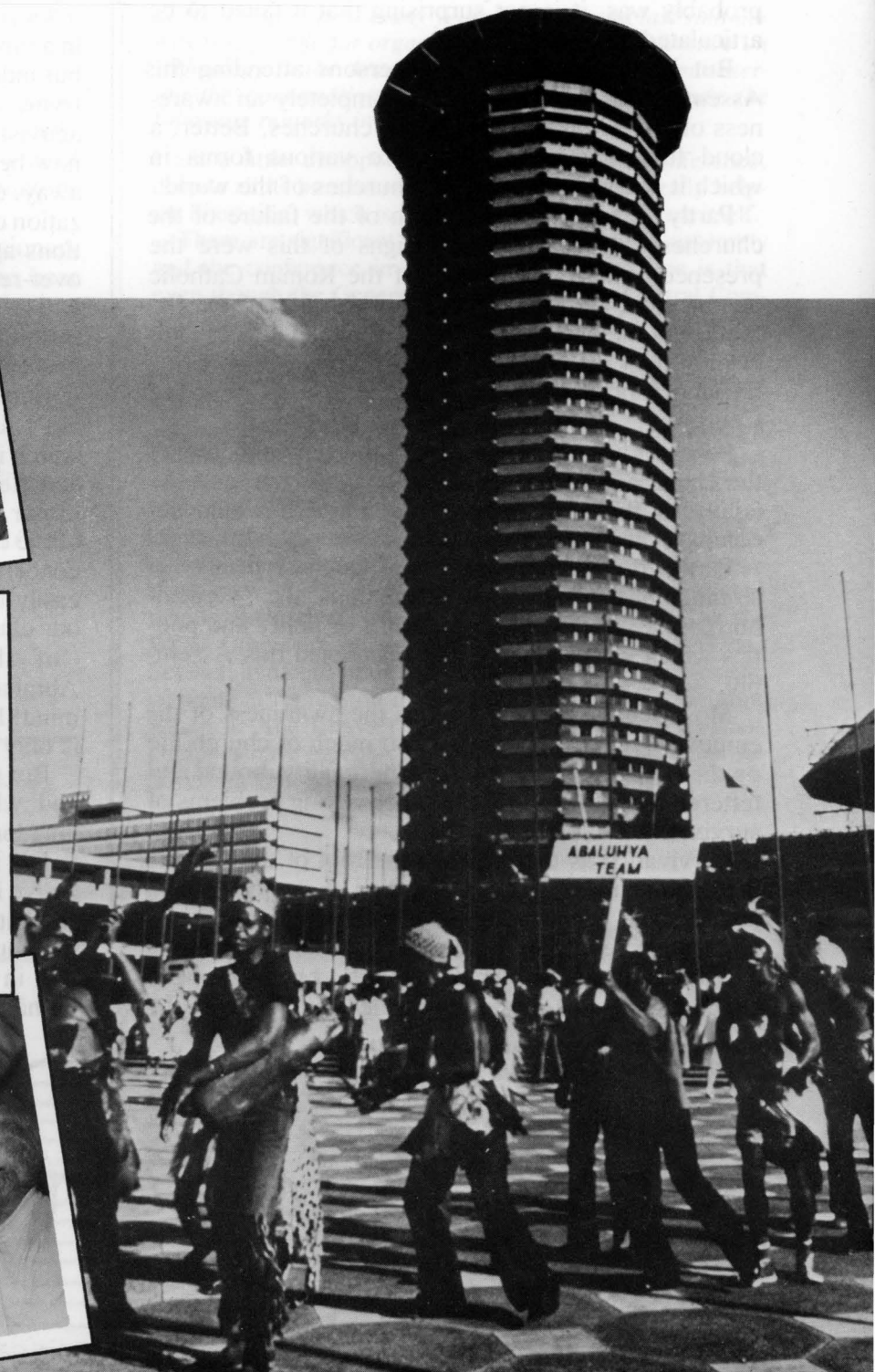

THE WITNESS

May, 1976
$1.00

- **Should 1976 Be An American Jubilee Year?**
  by Arthur I. Waskow
- **Reflections On The New Community In Oberlin**
  by Nicholas Jones
- **The Church Apostate And Regenerate**
  by Howard W. Lull

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters.

Freedom, liberty, exploitation, racism, sexism, imperialism: these key words in Holland's essay are the shibboleths of the left.

The language is appealing to all but the callous or the indifferent. The call for social justice, humanized relationships, and a better world links together Holland, Marx, and the prophets of Israel. The Marxist rhetoric of persuasion in the *Communist Manifesto* excites in me the same energy that carried persons in other times to the barricades and freedom marches.

The Marxist view of the dialectic struggle between the haves and the have-nots does not easily contain the reality of 1976. The left has no good way to explain away the conclusion that the history of reform and struggle for liberty in America shows the essential openness of the system in which laborers are also corporate shareholders and organized labor has as much power (or in Great Britain, more power) than management. Indeed, the struggle for freedom and equality, which liberals applaud strongly, has made matters better. The outcome of the struggle to date is the system in which capitalism and the worker are strongly rooted in American life.

Kent Hackmann, Moscow, Idaho

Re your March Issue of The Witness: Isn't it a bit contradictory to criticize bureaucracies which centralize the power at the top, and then suggest that "any one of several bishops holds the key" to ordaining women to the priesthood? (p.3) I thought the reason the Episcopal Church was "immobile" on women's ordination was because the democratically elected representatives of the people (General Convention deputies) declined to vote it through. The problem, therefore, would appear to be with the bottom of the pyramid — with the people who are acting through their representatives. Those at the top of the pyramid, the Bishops, have already spoken out in favor of women's ordination.

On page 16 Henry H. Rightor is quoted as saying: "In neither House of Convention do we have proportional representation of church members which is essential to a 'Democratic form' of government." Pray tell, how would proportional representation in the House of Deputies materially affect a vote by orders where each Diocese only gets *one* vote regardless of the number of deputies actually present? Is Rightor arguing that more representatives from a larger Diocese will substantially affect whether that Diocese votes yes or no as a Diocesan unit?

Rev. Nathaniel W. Pierce, Nampa, Idaho

It will come as no surprise to you when I say that CAM (Coalition for the Apostolic Ministry) will continue to fight with all legitimate and, we trust, charitable means of theological argument and political wisdom to maintain the Episcopacy and Priesthood free of the important change of permitting women to be ordained to these two orders. Believing that a male Episcopate and Priesthood is of the "givenness" of Catholic and Apostolic Order, we would be pressed to the most distasteful act of absenting ourselves from such sacramental ministrations — yes, even in the presence of our own Bishops! — as would include the exercising of the "priesthood" of women. This would be grievous indeed!

Rev. James C. Wattley, New York, New York

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THE WITNESS Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; E. Lawrence Carter, Robert Eckersley, Antoinette Swanger, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White, Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates: $9.00 per year; $1.00 per copy. *The Witness* is published monthly by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Board of Directors: Bishops Morris Arnold, Robert DeWitt, Lloyd Gressle, John Hines, John Krumm, Brooke Mosley and Dr. Joseph Fletcher.

Editorial

An Appeal to Caesar?

Robert L. DeWitt

In this bicentennial year, the foundations of our Republic reveal themselves, sometimes unexpectedly. Take, for example, the principle of the separation of church and state. Two illustrations of the conflict between principle and practice have come to light in recent months, one in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia, and the other in the Episcopal Church.

Caught in a bind between inflation and diminishing revenues, the large archdiocesan school system faces a severe trial. A number of efforts have been made in recent years to attempt to stay the rising tide of trouble. But financial problems mounted. For a long time the system was carried by nuns providing cheap labor. But with the decline of vocations, the system increasingly had to dip into the community pool of lay teachers--out of the convent into the marketplace. Enter the unions. Organizing for collective bargaining, the unions have called in the National Labor Relations Board to supervise the process.

How does this relate to the separation of church and state? The Archdiocese conducted a vigorous campaign to prevent the N.L.R.B. from taking jurisdiction. Said a recent editorial in the "Standard and Times," the official archdiocesan paper: "The exercise of such jurisdiction involves a violation of religious liberty and the virtual establishment of religion by a governmental agency..."

A parallel situation exists in the Episcopal Church. For example, in the Diocese of Central New York civil recourse has been sought in order to gain relief from an oppressive situation in which women have been denied church employment solely because of their sex. Because they are women, and only for that reason, their ordination to the priesthood has not been regularized, and because of that failure, they are denied employment as priests. The civil actions have been vociferously opposed on the grounds of the same principle of the separation of church and state. This is an internal church matter, it is maintained, and consequently it would be inappropriate for the civil government to take jurisdiction.

Starkly clear, in both the Roman Catholic and Episcopal situations, is the fact that the churches are taking refuge in the constitutional principle of church-state separation in order to conduct their affairs at a moral level below that of the general society.

The right of labor to organize and the prohibition of discrimination against persons on the basis of sex are democratic rights won at great cost over a long period of time. It is specious to justify violations of those rights by appealing to the principle of church-state separation. Certainly, this is one of the more melancholy and ironic ways in which the nation is being reminded, in its bicentennial year, of the foundations upon which this nation rests.

Should 1976 be an American Jubilee Year?

by Arthur I. Waskow

In the wake of the spiritual and political upheavals of the 1960s, many American religious institutions and communities, new and old, have been wrestling with the relationship between the religious traditions and social justice. Some have been wondering whether there is any specifically, uniquely and authentically religious path toward social justice--one that uses categories and forms different from those of modern liberalism, radicalism, or socialism. I want to suggest that the tradition of the Jubilee Year is one such unique, and uniquely valuable, teaching of the Bible on how to pursue social justice--and that Americans might sensibly view the Bicentennial of 1976 as a Jubilee Year.

Many religiously committed Americans have acted as if their traditions were crucial for bringing them into the struggle for social justice, but were not crucial in teaching them how to carry on the struggle. The tendency has been for religious folk to turn to conventional liberal or radical analysis and practice in carrying on their struggles for social justice. To take the case of Clergy and Laity Concerned, for example, the seedbed of much religiously-motivated opposition to the Vietnam War: CALC people felt called into action by their understanding of the Jewish and Christian traditions; they developed traditional Jewish, Christian and sometimes Buddhist symbols in liturgies that expressed their religious commitment; but they rarely or never went beyond liberal or radical analysis or practice in deciding what to do or what to demand that America do.

At least in retrospect, things might have been different. For example, one of the founders of CALC was Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel. As Rabbi Max Ricktin pointed out in a recent CALC memorial to Heschel, Heschel wrote profoundly of what Jewish tradition meant by "hallowing time" (as in the Sabbath), rather than space. Yet neither Heschel as a member of CALC nor CALC as a whole struggled to work out what it would mean for CALC to "hallow time," in its own work, or for CALC to urge as part of its program that an American society utterly desacralized and secularized should help renew itself by once again hallowing time.

I have chosen this particular example not wholly by chance, since it seems to me that the American "civil religion" has tried to hallow time through its celebration of the Bicentennial--but has done an abysmally bad job. The official liturgy for this Bicentennial "hallowing" has been to buy and to travel (that is, to buy tickets). But the People's Bicentennial Commission has been able to use 1776 only as a bank of rhetoric--slogans, tea parties, midnight rides--to be applied to our modern corporate oligarchs and embattled workers. No one has felt the Bicentennial had the force of a command to *do* something about our society, let alone what that something might be. No one has felt an organic link between the cycles of his or her own life, and the cycles of nature that create the years which now add up to 200.

Yet the Bible teaches a way of hallowing time

that would have done these things--not only linked us to the past, but transformed our future. This is the tradition of the sabbatical years of "release" and "jubilee."

Briefly, the Torah commands that in every seventh year the land stand fallow, to prove that it is God's; that its natural produce go to feed the poor; that in the year after the forty-ninth year it not only stand fallow but receive back to its bosom each family, each tribe, who had been assigned each portion to live with; and that the rich thus give up their extra holdings and the poor receive back what they had lost.

It should be noted that in this pattern the "big" cycles of seven years and seven-time-seven-years did not stand alone: they were linked to the traditions of the seventh day and the seventh month. Each seventh-of-a-natural-time-unit was to be hallowed. By themselves the big cycles might well have come to feel as alien and awkward as our Bicentennial does; growing from the shorter cycles, they probably made more sense.

Secondly, the hallowing was a linkage of God, the Land, and the People. Nature, not only humankind, was to join in the rest and renewal. In a way this made these longer cycles as much a "natural" event as spring, summer, winter--for the land would be experiencing (and the people watching) a "season" something like a year-long autumn after the harvest.

Third, it seems important that the Jubilee pattern treats social justice as indeed a cycle, a rhythm. Social justice is not seen as something to be achieved, once and for all, forever; but as something to be rhythmically reapproached. The Torah expects some to get rich and some to get poor, and says: That's troublesome but no diaster, *IF* you start over again once a life-time...every 50 years. (Otherwise...famine, war, plague.) This feels appealing--more "human," perhaps, than would a demand for permanent unchanging equality. But it does lead to problems. For instance, some historians believe that the Jubilee was rarely, if indeed ever, proclaimed. Could it be that those who won control of the land during the 49 years of acquisition then prevented the enactment of the Jubilee? If so, what does it teach us to do in order to make sure the Biblical rhythm of social justice is carried out?

Finally, we should note that the Jubilee process looks toward feeding the poor and redistributing wealth through a remarkably decentralized process--not by increasing the powers of the King, even benevolent powers. The Torah does not teach that Joseph's and Pharaoh's way of solving famine--a highly centralized food distribution system--is the best way. Instead it teaches that family by family, field by field, the poor should be fed and their land restored. How could we learn from this teaching to decentralize the process of social justice and renewal in our own society?

Modern Christianity and Judaism have not done very much to explore these teachings. Rabbinic Judaism decided that the Jubilee applied only in the Land of Israel, and only when there was a self-governing Jewish community there. For centuries this made the Jubilee a dead letter. Now that there is again a self-governing Jewish community in the land of Israel, a very restricted form of the seven-year rhythm is practiced, but no effort has yet been made to carry out the 50-year rhythm of the Jubilee, or even to raise the question. As for Christianity, it has etherealized the Jubilee. Thus the Catholic Church proclaims a periodic Jubilee of renewed spiritual commitment to God and to the church, but does not attach this either to redistribution of wealth or to respect for the world environment. Of course during the past century there have been revolutionary and liberal demands for the redistribution of wealth in general (or land in particular), and there have been demands for paying greater respect to the land. But these claims have been put--and indeed have sometimes been accomplished--with little or no reference to God, the Torah, the Jubilee, a rhythmic process, or decentralization.

Given all this, would it be reasonable to propose that the original Torah command for the Jubilee should act as a model to other peoples and other lands--not for a precise imitation, but for a fruitful learning? If so, is it possible that religious communities in the United States could take 1776

as a starting date and apply the notion of Jubilee to 1976 (which in this sense might be taken as the fourth opportunity for a Jubilee Year of the United Sates)? And if so, could American religious communities prepare a campaign to demand that the United States government recognize 1976 as a Year of Jubilee? Or that the whole period from 1976 to 1989 (bicentennial of the Constitution) be recognized as a Jubilee Period, in which various aspects of the Jubilee might be carried out?

In regard to the redistribution of wealth, how might we apply the sense of decentralism that pervades the original Jubilee command? Perhaps an American Jubilee might require not the top-down nationalization of property, but its return to the people in their own communities: thus workers' control of factories, neighborhood ownership of land, the strengthening of co-ops and of family-worked businesses and farms, etc.

In regard to renewal of the land, how might we apply the model? Rabbi Everett Gendler has suggested (Summer 1975 CCAR Journal) that a Back-to-the-Land movement, assisted by a Homestead Act, for American families that might like to work on and/or live on a small farm, might be a fulfilling version of the Jubilee. So might the reconstruction of urban neighborhoods so that "the land"--the environment--on which they are built is honored and their sense of community within themselves and communion with others is strengthened.

Part of the point of a Jubilee might well be that groups could develop their own version of it. At one level, the Jewish and Christian religious leadership of the United States, organized in a group like CALC, might sponsor the writing of and a campaign for a federal Jubilee Law. At another level, smaller religious communities like the Peoples Christian Coalition might work with or in their own cities and neighborhoods.

In one set of American religious communities, the process has begun. Three times a year, members of the East Coast *chavurot* (independent Jewish religious fellowships) meet at a retreat in New Jersey to celebrate and talk. At the Columbus Day weekend retreat last fall, one workship explored the Jubilee, and by its conclusion the retreat as a whole had decided to focus the next retreat--Washington's Birthday weekend--around the issues of the Jubilee. In the meantime, the participants agreed to raise these issues back home. They agreed to begin with some Jubilee dreaming: What would we really want our neighborhoods, our corporations, our food supply, our farms and villages, to be like--if this were the Year of Jubilee?

From such dreams it may be possible to work out some authentically religious paths toward social justice.

Arthur I. Waskow is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C. and a member of Tzedek Tzedek.

Reflections on the New Community in Oberlin

by Nicholas Jones

For the last two years, many of us in Christ Church, Oberlin, have been struggling to reform the unjust treatment of women who believe they have a vocation to the priesthood. These years have been a time of growth for us in knowledge, experience, and love; by grace, we have thus long managed to live within the institution of the Episcopal Church.

But the price of living within the church was not small. The conflicts of ideology and manner in this small parish made every action a ground for increasingly open battle. More and more, it seemed that we were trying to operate on two levels; one, the search for the life of the spirit, seemed to directly contravene the other, the fulfilling of the letter of the law. That law took the form of canons, bishops, and ecclesiastical courts; more exhaustingly, it showed itself in the daily expectations of people weighted with the inertia of institutional authority. We learned that we were being defeated by attrition, by the

insistent though passive pressure of those who felt that the church should always be what it used to be, and by the silence of those who refused to involve themselves except by voting against us.

Early this year, as a result primarily of the emotional effects of that attrition, we lost the support of the majority of this parish. To stay on in this parish seemed to involve one of two choices: more and more exhaustion as we continued the double course of witness and appeasement; or abandonment of the cause, of the women priests, of our own community. Since neither of these choices was possible, we created a third: to leave the parish.

Ecclesiastically, we are now a community of exiles, without official or practical affiliation with a recognized church, without a structure of church government, without a clearly-definable existence. For a while longer the future must remain obscure, but there are a number of questions most of us would like to be able to answer, for ourselves and for others. These break down into questions of affiliation (with what larger bodies are we linked?), structure (how will we exist?) and identity (what are we?).

In the grief of losing a hard-fought political battle and in the joy of discovering a vital spiritual community, we have become aware of the existence of two very different concepts of authority working in this experience. Judged by one concept, that of authority as a quality conferred by the action of another human being, we have lost. Such was the authority of the General Conventions authorized by the canons and by the will of the church to decide the fate of the women seeking ordination to the priesthood: by that authority, in 1970 and in 1973, women were categorically denied the chance to be ordained. Such was the authority of the bishops: authorized by election, consecration, and by the very real weight of their incumbency, they had been given the authority to refuse to ordain women, to hinder the ministry of the women once ordained, and to discipline those whose witness to that ordination was insistent. And, unmistakably, such was the authority of the majority of our parish: by maintaining a position within the laws and traditions of the institutional church, they were given by that church the authority to control the parish.

But through this experience we have learned that there is another authority, one that commands more obedience from us and at the same time nurtures us more. It is an authority that cannot be conferred by human force: it is an authority of grace and vocation, conferred spiritually and manifested not in any official form or act. This authority resides in the involvement of the whole person. The authority of a human being, when it proves fruitful, must be a reflection of the authority of God over the created world. It must stem from the authority of God's complete involvement in creating, redeeming, and sustaining the world. We cannot expect to *imitate* that authority, operating as it does with such complete engagement, without barriers. But we can *respond* when it is given to us to do so, when God by grace allows us to reflect that divine authority in an intense involvement of our mortal person.

In whatever ways we attempt to answer the questions of identity, structure and affiliation--and these may be widely divergent ways--we know that only the authority of involvement, the authority given by God, will have command over us. We have learned that we cannot live in obedience to an authority that hides itself behind legalisms, categories, roles, and institutions. We have seen too much of the unfruitful power of the reliance on conferred authority that characterizes the institutional church's actions against witness. And we have seen at least a little of the energizing involvement of those whom God has called and the church has refused to recognize.

Affiliation. Therefore, when we think about affiliation, we do not immediately think of external sources of authority, of institutions, hierarchies, or official recognition. We will not subject ourselves to any bishop, diocese, or church merely for the sake of the human authority conferred upon that office or institution, just as we would not expect any person to join with us for such a reason. Our primary affiliation must be based on witness. What we seek in the way of authority is the guidance and leadership of those who have involved and will continue to involve

themselves in our spiritual life. We acknowledge and join with all those who are called to be for us what our bishop might have been--a *pastor pastorum*, a "chief pastor." Similarly, reaching out, we will affiliate ourselves with those to whom we can be witnesses, affiliating not by conferring our authority upon them but by rejoicing in their discovery of their own authority. We will obey others as they profoundly and intensely help us and ask help from us.

Structure. The same principles determine our approach to structure. As our community has grown, we joyfully discovered that each individual has particular gifts to give to it and that the community thrives most when those gifts are most fully given--that is, when the particular authority of each person is most completely recognized. Whatever structure we evolve must acknowledge the involvement of each person. We are blessed to recognize the particularly deep involvement of those who are called to the liturgical life of the community: they are the celebrants of the wholeness that God has been pleased to give us.

Identity. For the past year, our community has been living under a particular identity, the missions of justice and reform. At this point we do not abandon those missions, but we acknowledge other identities. We do not need to be only "supporters of the women priests" or "supporters of the Rev. Peter Beebe." We are a community of many people and therefore many missions: social action, contemplative worship, ecumenism, liberation, education, reform. Each person in his or her mission must be for us as authoritative as the involvement of that person in the mission is intense and whole. We will be what *we* want to be.

Ordination and consecration, the rituals by which Christians seek to give form to the authority already given by God, are too often used not as *recognitions* of authority but as *evidences* of it: they rigidify vocation. In the history of our community we have seen the reality of vocation in the absence of the recognition of it, and we have seen the emptiness of recognized authority in the absence of vocation. Persons whom the church has recognized as being called to lead have failed to lead. Persons whose vocations the church as a body has failed to recognize have nonetheless manifested a stunning authority of grace. We, as a community, must attempt to recognize, to ordain in all ways, the authority of those persons called to involve themselves wholly in a process, for the function of ordination is to mark what already is the case. But we must also recognize that vocation will always, finally, evade regular forms of recognition: that the authority of grace will always be cropping up where it is least expected.

Nicholas Jones, formerly Assistant Professor of English at Kent State University, is now teaching at Oberlin College.

The Church Apostate and Regenerate

by Howard W. Lull

To accuse the Church in the United States of apostasy — desertion of its principles of faith — is, at first glance, to tread where angels fear, a fool's impulse. But look at the record of the last 30 years: time and again, faced with mass murder, racism, the deadly arms race, wrong-doing in high places, when did the Church protest with passion? Or strongly espouse the cause of world government necessary for world peace? Or work wholeheartedly to feed the hungry millions? Instead, its most notable activity has been sustained, internal bickering.

Further, this appears to be no new stance but simply the continuation of the Church's almost lifelong, unblemished record of wholesale apostasy. In no sense does world history suggest that the Church, over this span of time, to any marked degree carried out of the fullness of Christ's commandment to love God and neighbor. Today's implication of apostasy, however, carries a new threat: the probable extinction of the human race on planet Earth.

Look where we are. The record of apostasy during the lifetime of present-day adult Church

members includes:

The Holocaust: By 1945, in Nazi Germany, six million Jews had been consumed. Hitler had been extolled, by a German Protestant bishop, as "God's man for Germany"; certain Protestant churches proclaimed the "Aryanism" of Jesus, and the Vatican remained silent. "Auschwitz," Elie Weisel tells us, "would not have been possible without Christianity . . . the Christian Church's role . . . was dominant in the fact that it was possible for so many Jews to be killed."

Hiroshima: A committee of distinguished Americans recommended unanimously that the bomb be used without specific warning and against a population center to clearly demonstrate its devastating force. *Nagasaki:* "Big Boy", a still untested bomb, proved successful. Total killed in both cities, 105,000; at the Hiroshima A-bomb hospital 70 to 80 victims still die each year from radiation-induced leukemia. So began the Atomic Age: its inception is not recorded in Kenneth Scott Latourette's monumental *A History of Christianity* (1953).

Vietnam: Coincidentally, we matched the Nazi's six million with a holocaust of our own making — an estimated six million Vietnamese killed, wounded, or made homeless. To a significant degree, the church as a whole has not confessed its implication, supported reparations to help rebuild Vietnam, or called for amnesty for those who refused military service. Happily, there have been exceptions to the general rule.

Arms race: The Church has watched expenditures for armaments double every decade from $10 billion in 1940 to $80 billion in 1970 ($105 billion in 1975), without notable response even though the accompanying spiral of nuclear weapons threatens all humanity. Almost all Christians willingly pay taxes that fuel the ultimate Holocaust.

Racism: It continues, barely diminished. Witness the controversial busing programs and the widening gap in employment and income between blacks and whites.

Hunger: In 1968 a Citizen's Board of Inquiry reported that at least 10 million people in the United States suffered from hunger and malnutrition. Though much public concern was generated, a re-survey in 1972 found the same — the hunger problem had been "officially acknowledged, described, defined, and left unsolved."

Watergate: Was a moral and spiritual desert roamed by famous men who, according to Leon Jaworski, had forgotten the difference between right and wrong. On tapes, their own words described how they tried to cover up their misdeeds, and their unawareness of spiritual realities. Their coverup was unsuccessful. The Church's silence on Watergate covered up the spiritual abyss.

World government: Spaceship Earth, one-world concepts, and the obvious needs for international authority to discourage world suicide demand strong support from the Church. "Nationalism," writes Milton Mayer, "is not merely fallible; it is unholy . . . because it divides the family of man into *we* and *they.*" On this issue the Church has rarely spoken; an exception was Pope John's urgent call in 1963 for establishment of a genuine world community.

Obviously, during the last three decades the pace of man's inhumanity to man or, more specifically, Christians' inhumanity to Christians and other children of God, has accelerated. Not only are the tools of death and destruction more devastating but the great increase in population (from about 2.5 to 4 billion) has provided more victims.

From the time of Constantine, the church has maintained a remarkably consistent record of proclaiming its allegiance to the teachings of Jesus Christ without practising them. Only in the three centuries between Christ and Constantine, before membership became a status symbol, did the Church grow both in numbers and faith.

Today, a well-diluted Christianity confronts a world-destroying technology. Average Sunday morning congregations, involved unwittingly in this life-or-death situation, offer little help. Most still seek respectability instead of life. In no way did they consider the Vietnamese their brothers and sisters; in no way do they understand that all under nuclear peril (including their own children) are children of God. Eleven o'clock Sunday morning, in the last three decades has achieved new distinctions: developing from the most segregrated hour of the week to the most self-serving, uncaring and, in Dostoyevsky's criterion, the most ungodly — "He who turns away from mankind is an atheist."

And yet, even now, this sea of troubles does not diminish in any sense the fact that, in God's world without end, God is, God cares, Christ came, and the Holy Spirit comes. Testifying to their power is the continuing presence of a remnant of Christians who act on what they say they believe. Historically they have included the roster of the saints, the ranks of monks and nuns whose lives were living prayers, and the self-sacrificing laity and clergy who quietly have ministered to the Christ in those in need.

The remnant includes modern-day saints, whom God has sanctified, to their bewilderment, joy and suffering: Schweitzer, Dorothy Day, Bonhoeffer, Dolci, King, Merton, Pope John, and all those unsung men and women holy in the eyes of God. And these include the dedicated people who work for peace, and non-violently resist war, racism, and poverty: the Catholic Worker houses, the Peacemaker collective, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the American Friends' Service Committee, the War Resisters League, War Tax Resistance, and the demoninational peace fellowships.

But what of the Church Apostate? Doubtless, as in these latter days, it will continue to diminish. Yet, reduced in numbers, its influence may increase. Just as in the early Church faith and practice were diluted by mass conversion, so in these days they may be strengthened by mass defection. Out of its travail may develop the Church Regenerate: the active, creative Body of Christ powered by a reseeding remnant, cultivating a new crop of converts to discover in Christ's teachings their way of life and the medicine for the world.

What would it be like, this Church Regenerate? What else, but to carry the marks of the early Church: One, Holy, Catholic; its people energized by major Sacraments: baptized Christ's faithful soldiers and servants; penitentially cleansed by regular confession of sins; continually renewed and strengthened by frequent Holy Communion.

What would be some of its signs? Perhaps, frequent and short services of worship so fitted to their daily rounds that worshippers could easily, habitually attend; a refurbishing of relevant Saints' Days, old and new; annual requiems to commemorate Hiroshima-Nagasaki, Vietnam, the Holocaust; frequent litanies for peace and for the care of the poor and the sick; Lenten, Advent and Friday fasts to share with the world's hungry their travail and our bounty.

In addition regular study programs would unite prayer and praise to ministry. Basic would be graded and continuing study of the teachings and example of Christ, to guide and discipline life in God and service to others. Coincident study would assess the causes of war and the geography of the poor. Combined worship and study would lead to Christian action through political processes.

The Christian style of life would be marked by simplicity, sharing, and love: a "disentanglement from the world because, being merely good, it is the enemy of the best" (Gale Webbe); an embracing of holy poverty "not because it is good to lack created things but because it is good to possess Christ" (Bruno James); "a quieting and ordering of our whole life by self-denial, prayer, and good works, so that God Himself, who seeks us more than we seek Him, can 'find us' and 'take possession of us'" (Thomas Merton).

Dreams? Why not reality?

Howard W. Lull, a priest presently assisting at St. Cyprian's, New Bern, North Carolina, has been studying and writing on the subjects of war and peace.

Feeding the Hungry: Political Action is no Luxury

by Norman J. Faramelli

The fading headlines on world hunger give the illusion that food scarcity is no longer a problem. Thus, it is time to re-emphasize that the world hunger problem is neither novel nor temporary. Although intensified in 1974-75 by droughts, ill-timed monsoons, and soaring population growth, the problem has existed for generations. World hunger is one result of the inequitable distribution of global resources that has worsened over the last 30 years. Maldistribution is also a tough political and economic problem.

The widespread response in the Episcopal Church to the hunger crisis, although varied, has seldon moved beyond direct aid via the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief, and meatless meals (or modest fasting endeavors). One segment within the Church is convinced that the real problem is the population explosion (see Suthers-Gillett exchange, THE WITNESS, February, 1976). Yet there are growing numbers who believe that the problem today is neither too little food nor too many people, but lopsided distribution. They realize that our abstinence from meat in order to liberate grain for the hungry is a futile gesture unless it is accompanied by basic changes in U.S. food policy.

There have been many positive signs throughout the church. Numerous training events on hunger, involving several thousands of people, have taken place nationwide. The P.B. Fund has not only grown, but it has extended its guidelines beyond relief and rehabilitation aid to development and development education projects.

A story is told about teaching people to farm instead of giving them bread. Development projects not only make it possible for people to farm, but often to make their own farm implements. Nevertheless, other issues about the wider economic and political context need to be faced. People in poor nations, for example, need to be assured that the food produced will not be confiscated by the affluent. Although food aid will be needed in the short run, the real answer to world hunger is increased agricultural production in poor nations. That should take place in a political and economic environment which promotes social justice.

To take political action or development education seriously is to call for new and bold directions. Yet many churchpeople are still not up to the new policies of the P.B. Fund. "When I give money, I want it to feed the poor immediately," many say. In the Christian Church we have often confused acts of charity for genuine Christian love. We have to be reminded repeatedly that authentic Christian love is not possible unless social justice is first established. We can rejoice, however, that many in and out of the church are beginning to realize that solutions to global hunger entail social justice and cannot bypass politics and economics.

Yet the most important task is also the most difficult, i.e., engagement in food policies, trade and aid legislation, regulating agribusiness, etc. Group after group--in the Episcopal Church and other denominations, as well as Bread for the World--all find that political-economic action is the most difficult to initiate and to sustain. That is true even for people who are already intellectually committed to it. The task seems enormous. Also, the customary style of political activity has

rapidly led people to that "burnt out" stage. Hence, a new kind of political style should be developed based on sustaining "support groups" and communities of celebration.

It is encouraging that the national Episcopal hunger program will attempt a careful integration of the spiritual and the political. A political economic action network will need to be built, and because of its urgency and difficulty, the hunger coordinator will give that a special priority. For instance, it is essential that an effective network brings together those who attended the hunger training events, along with Church and Society and other action networks throughout the nation.

Part of the program should be devoted to legislative action. For example, funds for the new foreign aid bill, HR 9005, although authorized, have not yet been appropriated (as of this writing). (This is the first foreign assistance bill, incidentally, that separates military from developmental aid). Other actions are needed on the role of agribusiness in perpetuating or solving the hunger crisis. Furthermore, the American citizenry needs a keen understanding of a New International Economic Order (resulting from the Seventh U.N. Special Session), the trade issues to be dealt with at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development meeting in May and their impacts at home and abroad.

Will such ventures be successful in a church that has shown little enthusiasm for political-economic engagement? That is difficult to answer, but we do know that our expectation levels need to be altered. It is unrealistic to expect the majority of churchpeople to engage in political action. Therefore, a variety of meaningful programs should be available. But one of our key tasks is to mobilize effectively those who see the necessity of a political response to the Gospel message. Without such engagement we are only playing games with the world hunger issue.

We do not proceed with a naive optimism, but by faith in a living, righteous and loving God, and in hope that God will lift us to respond creatively to the concerns of all people.

Norman J. Faramelli is co-director of the Boston Industrial Mission, and he has served as chairperson of the Inter-Provincial Task Force on Global Hunger.

The Hierarchy Still Reigns

by Roy Larson

I was shocked beyond belief last week when I received my registration blank for the 65th general convention of the Episcopal Church.

I was set up for the present shock in February, 1974, when the Rt. Rev. John M. Allin, who had just been elected the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, gave to the denomination's executive council a picture of his understanding of the church's "organization pattern."

"I do not like to talk of levels," Bishop Allin said. "I increasingly feel a word the church needs to get rid of is hierarchy."

Here, I thought, is a prophet ahead of his time. Long before government officials like President Ford and aspiring government officials like former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia began campaigning against government, Bishop Allin was a church bureaucrat railing against bureaucracy, a figure at the top of the hierarchical pyramid criticizing hierarchies.

"I see the church," Bishop Allin declared, "not as a triangle but as a community of circles. The presiding bishop is at the center of the church surrounded by a series of circles. Around him are his deputies, the executive council, the council staff, the general convention, the entire church organization along diocesan and provincial lines, the church world, the entire world."

"How wonderful," I thought. "Nobody is looking down at anybody. Everybody will be meeting each other at the same eye level. We all belong to the company of peers."

My utopian fantasies ended last week.

The general convention registration blank was not a series of circles but a collection of boxes.

Under the words "Official Capacity at

Convention (check one),'' there were four boxes. The first, and presumably the greatest of these, was for bishops. They were listed vertically in the order of their importance: diocesan, coadjutor, suffragan, assistant, retired, resigned.

Next was a box for deputies or delegates to the convention. Clerical delegates were listed first, lay delegates last.

The last of the four little boxes was saved for a catch-all category that lumped together ''press, volunteer, exhibitor, visitor.'' Committed as I am to ecclesiastical egalitarianism, I was embarrassed when my group--''press''--was at the top of the fourth box.

The real payoff, however, was in a left-hand column of the form titled ''Title.'' Below the caption, we were asked to identify ourselves by title. Reading from top to bottom, the checklist went like this:

''Rt. Rev., Very Rev., Ven. (as in ''venerable''), Rev. Canon, Rev., Chaplain, Deaconess, Rev. Mother, Sister, Brother, Dr., Hon., Mr., Mrs., Miss, Ms., Other.''

Prepared for circles but confronted with squares, I called Walter H. Boyd, the church's national press officer, for an explanation.

''Say it isn't so, Walter,'' I pleaded. ''Assure me that the medium is not really the message.''

With a kind of straightforward candor rare among middle-level church bureaucrats, Boyd replied, ''Frankly, I think we would have to say there is a hierarchy, and we'd better not forget it.''

The foregoing is reprinted by permission of the Chicago Sun-Times, where Roy Larson serves as Religion Editor.

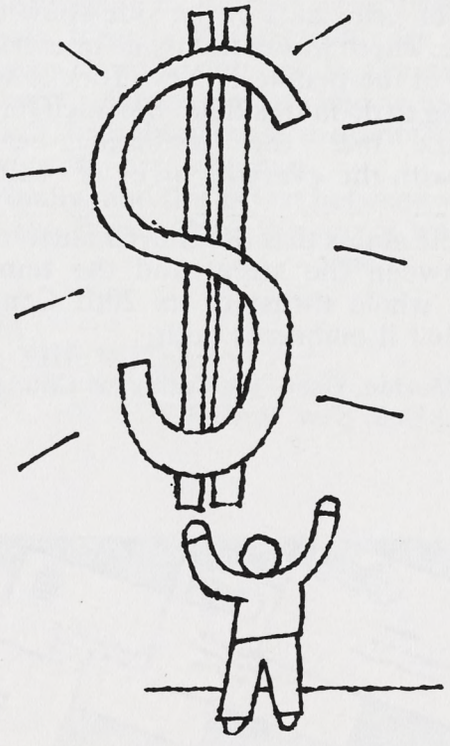
Money Talks

The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church has declined to approve a black community project grant over the objections of the bishop in whose diocese the project is located.

The grant in question was for $10,000 to the Afro-American Players (AAP), Yakima, Washington, which was approved by the Community Action and Human Development (CAHD) commission last September.

After Bishop John R. Wyatt of the Diocese of Spokane indicated that he ''could not approve that grant,'' the AAP appealed the bishop's veto and was heard by the CAHD in November.

Bishop Wyatt said that while the AAP, in his opinion, is ''doing something of value,'' both Episcopal parishes in Yakima ''are almost certain to lose in excess of 10 percent of their income'' if the Council approved the grant. This income loss, he said, could in turn affect the diocesan budget and the diocese's pledge to the national church program budget.



Dana Martin

In your March issue you print an attack on the Interfaith Conference held in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City last October, accusing us of grandstanding to the newspapers, turning our backs on "genuine urban strategy" and in general of cheapening our vocation by an experience in Interfaith spirituality.

The article was so negative that I deem it patently useless to refute it in detail. But I would like to make three points.

1. Ecumenism is the attempt to reach out to the spirituality of mankind beyond the Christian churches. So much for the ludicrous charge that we were "playing polo on a baseball diamond."

2. Our Interfaith Conference filled the Cathedral for six nights and five days with people of all ages, and especially the young. Of course, during such a prolonged agenda there were occasions when criticisms of the side-show type were possible. There was certainly no question of the response of the people of New York to what we were trying to do in this field. So much for the facile remark that the conference never "connected with the everyday lives of ordinary people."

3. The article states that the church must make a choice between the street and the temple, whereas the whole thrust of its 20th Century vocation is that it embraces both.

James Parks Morton, Dean, the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine, New York, N.Y.

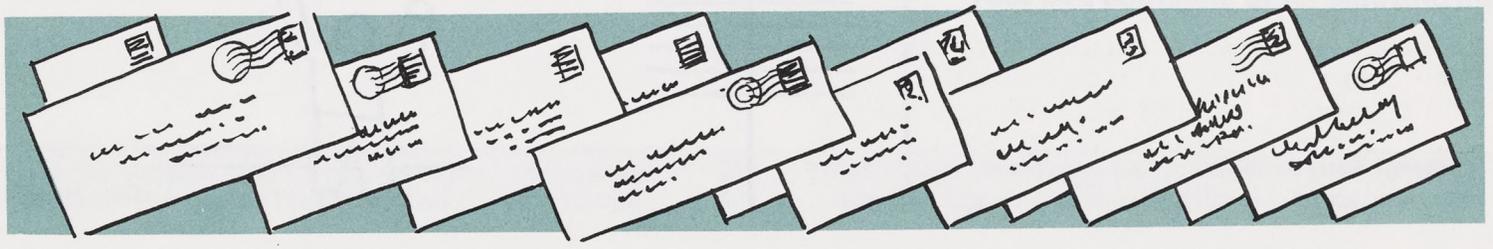
There are three things I ask to be permitted to say as a result of the "Response" by Edward Coolidge in the same issue to my article on ordained ministry concerns in THE WITNESS of November 1975 and the letter to the editor by Ms. Ann Smith in your copy of February 1976.

First, both the response and the letter accuse me of being "incredibly sexist." I cannot judge for myself. I am too close to the situation. And I have yet much to learn. I only know that linguistically it is a bit dangerous to try to make too much out of *ruach* being a feminine form. *Agricola* in Latin is acknowledged to be feminine in form but masculine in meaning - farmer. And I do think it is exquisite bad taste for uninformed readers to stomp on one of the group that came within a hair's breadth of getting the Episcopal Church her first female rector several years ago (until our work was undone by the incompetence of the nylon liberals then in the power seat in our judicatory). To change the metaphor, it is not always wise to shoot from the hip.

Secondly, I must say that I find the criticism of the article *incredibly narrow.* Since Chateaubriand and Sainte Beuve early in the 19th century, it has been a well-accepted canon of western criticism that the major thrust of any critic must be to deal with the *substance* of what the article or book is trying to do. My article deals with a broad array of ordained ministry concerns. I would honestly expect that some of them be squarely dealt with for any criticism to be valid.

And finally, I am impressed that in the February issue, when you publish a critical response to the Gillett article, you publish simultaneously the Californian's rejoinder. I would ask, in keeping with that kind of policy, that you at least print these words.

Rev. James L. Lowery, Jr., Boston, Massachusetts



Letters - continued from page 2

THE WITNESS will not print letters to the editor which are submitted anonymously. On occasion, however, when a correspondent, for weighty reasons, asks that his name be withheld, THE WITNESS will honor that request. The gravity of the following letter — and the humility implicit in the request — seemed to the Editor to create such an occasion.

Dear Editor:

Please find enclosed a copy of a letter which I have been asked to forward to you. The letter, I think, explains itself. It is my understanding that the writer of the letter would like it to be published in THE WITNESS. If you decide against it please convey that news directly to him.

Faithfully . . .

The Most Rev. John Maury Allin
Presiding Bishop
The Episcopal Church
815 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Most Reverend Sir:

Bishop Pike used to say, "God is not arbitrary, and does not make particular decisions." He was almost right about that. I seldom do make particular decisions, and the few I do make are not arbitrary. Now and then, however, I am compelled to make particular decisions, and when I do make them I have noticed that they tend to attract a lot of attention. That is more or less what the bible is all about. So, I am not surprised that there has been such a fuss about my decision two years ago to call eleven women to be priests. I regret that my decision has caused you so much inconvenience. The decision was not, however, arbitrary. I had brooded about it for nearly two whole millenia. In July, 1974, it became apparent to me that the ordination of women was an idea whose time had come.

I was delighted to read the other day that you have concluded that I am right about that. I am puzzled, however, by your remark, as it was quoted in *The Episcopalian,* that ". . . if God could make me Presiding Bishop He can make a woman priest." I didn't make you Presiding Bishop, Sir. Your brothers the Episcopal bishops are accountable for that. And those same bishops will also be accountable if they tarry much longer on the question of ordination of women. As you know, I do not lightly suffer mockery. I note that you expect the forthcoming General Convention of the Episcopal Church to vote in favor of women's ordination. Of my own foreknowledge I can tell you that it will not. And *that* is going to present you with some kettle of fish. What in the world, if you will forgive the expression, are you going to do? I am thankful that that will be your problem and not mine.

By the way, I wish you hadn't got yourself cited for contempt by skipping the trial of dear Fr. Wendt. It really was unseemly for a man in your position. And it puts me in the same dilemma Bishop Creighton was in when he had to sentence Wendt. Creighton chose to admonish. I choose to forgive. To err is human.

Finally, and this is just between you and Me, I like the Prayer Book the way it was.

— God

G:hg
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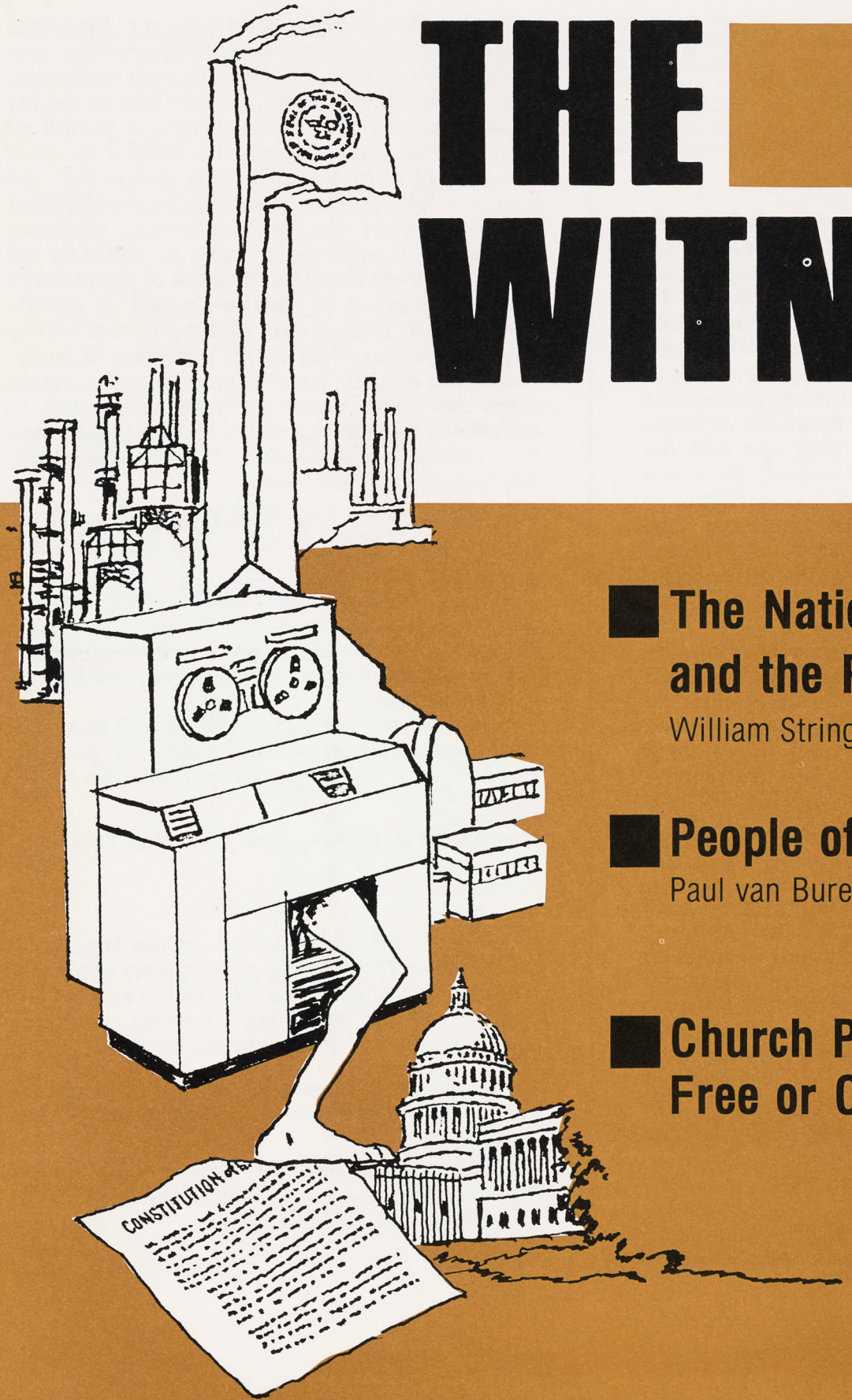

The Nation's Destiny and the Problem of Hope

William Stringfellow

People of the Promise

Paul van Buren

Church Press — Free or Captive?

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters.

The Sisters of Saint Mary, St. Mary's Convent, Sewanee, Tennessee, wish to inform their friends in Christ that they unanimously support the proposed Revised Prayer Book, which will be presented for adoption to the General Convention of 1976. Since early 1976, we have participated daily in one or another of the revised eucharistic liturgies and, since 1973, have made the revised Daily Offices the core of our monastic common prayer. On the basis of this long use and the opportunity for reflection and experience it has afforded, we would like to express our thanks to the Standing Liturgical Committee and our hope that General Convention will adopt the results of its work, keeping in mind the continuing need for renewal and revision of the work of the people of God.

On a separate issue, but one which practicality and economy encourage us to mention here, we also wish to say that we unanimously stand in favor of the proposal to ordain women to the priesthood of the Episcopal Church in the USA, and hope, too, that General Convention will adopt this resolution in 1976. We hope that the irregular ordinations of a number of women to the priesthood during the past year and a half will quickly be regularized.

We have reached these decisions not because we are professional theologians or liturgists (perhaps we are amateurs in the radical sense of the word), but because we are primarily beginners and strugglers in prayer. And because prayer, among other things, teaches one to pay attention and to speak for one's self to God, and to all the centers of power — internal and external — that touch one's life, we need at this time to address ourselves to the Church at large, and our fellow Episcopalians in particular.

Faithfully in Christ,
The Sisters of Saint Mary
Sewanee, Tennessee

Phillip Cato's suggestion that the Episcopal Church consider the election of bishops for a term of years rather than for "life" or until retirement seems most timely to me. I would like to modify his suggestion that after serving a period as bishop their future service be limited to some assignment as bishop still. Why should they not then be eligible for any clerical role for which they qualify: rector, assistant minister, seminary professor? In other words, why should they not rejoin the other clergy in the work of the church?

This procedure of elections would be greatly freeing to the laity as well. Mis-matches of bishop and diocese need not be an unending tragedy. Overwork, rigidity, frustration and other burdens could be viewed and perhaps responded to differently by a bishop with a limited tenure than by a bishop with a sinecure or with no way out, depending upon the view.

Betty Gray — New York, New York

THE WITNESS has come to my desk. A reading raises the question: Witness for what?

I am a loyal American and a devout Christian. Do not send any more copies of your publication to this address.

You will not persuade me away from the cherished tradition in this country of personal freedom, nor the right to worship the way I please.

Rev. Robert C. Kelly — New York, New York

As head of Social Relations in the Diocese of Los Angeles I frequently get requests about Los Angeles' participation in the Church and Society Network. Please let me know how we could plug in and if we would be welcome to do so.

Rev. Charles E. Bennison, Jr. — Chairman of Program on Social Relations, Diocese of Los Angeles

(Inquiries concerning the Church and Society Newtork may be directed to Box 359, Ambler PA 19002. It is not exclusive. Ed.)

more letters on page 15

THE WITNESS

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Editorial

John Cogley 1916-1976

Robert L. DeWitt

John Cogley, former religious news editor of the New York Times, died March 29th in Santa Barbara at the age of sixty. The Witness takes sad notice of his death. In his role as a journalist, John Cogley had taken his place resolutely at the intersection of the religious and the secular, the crossroads where church and society meet. It is not an easy assignment, as a reporter, to be called to observe and to comment upon the tragic unfolding of history during the past few decades, and upon the usually turgid efforts of the church to respond to that reality.

The New York Times mentioned that during the Depression he joined the Catholic Worker movement of Dorothy Day, an organized effort to apply Catholic principles to poverty and other social ills. He edited a newspaper and ran a hospitality house that offered a bowl of soup and a bunk bed to the down and out. ''This day-to-day living with the very poor, at least in my case, had one lasting effect'', he once recalled. ''It made me permanently skeptical about romantic proletarianism, facile talk about loving your neighbor, merely verbal radicalism. Dorothy Day used to quote Dostoievski to us: 'Love in reality is a harsh and dreadful thing compared to love in dreams.' We learned how true that was''.

And so John Cogley became a responsible journalist, a responsible human being. He was familiar with the foibles of both church and society, yet for him that familiarity did not lead to cynicism. It lead, rather, to a deep commitment. That commitment caused him, among many other involvements, to give generously of his time and wisdom to The Witness in the months leading to its re-publication. That same commitment led him, in the last year of his life, to seek ordination to the diaconate in the church of his late choosing, the Episcopal Church. Such commitment is a product of hope.

''Once the faintest stirring of hope became possible'', wrote Camus, ''the dominion of the plague was ended.'' Such words have an unmistakable reference for Christians. John Cogley stood tall in that high tradition. We are grateful to God for him.

The Nation's Destiny and the Problem of Hope

by William Stringfellow

Yet among the mature we do impart wisdom although it is not a wisdom of this age or of the rulers of this age, who are doomed to pass away. But we impart a secret and hidden wisdom of God, which God decreed before the ages for our glorification. None of the rulers of this age understood this; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.

—I Corinthians 2. 6-8

The aftermath of the prolonged war in Southeast Asia, and of the coinciding political crisis which has come to be symbolized by the word "Watergate" furnished temptation for most Americans to misapprehend and oversimplify the present situation and prospects for their society.

There is the accrued fatigue resulting from these ordeals and scandals which yearns for respite. The pent up frustrations which find expression in cynicism and quietism. But, beside such sentiments, there is the easy tendency to exaggerate the villainy of presidents, or military and intelligence professionals, or other public officers, as if their stupidity or malice, their practical incompetence or moral turpitude, their criminality or vanity were enough to account for the plight of the nation. Thus people hallucinate: they suppose, for instance, that war is over, even though the war establishment is as deeply entrenched as ever, even though the war enterprise, since the formal conclusion in Vietnam, has become more heavily financed, even though the war policy of America is more reckless now because, as a war, Indochina means an American failure of disastrous magnitude. Or they imagine that the constitutional and political crisis was exposed and climaxed and resolved in the prosecution of a few Watergate personalities and in the resignation of Richard Nixon, even though the unlawful excesses of the Nixon presidency

and the criminal offenses of the Nixon cabal are known not to have been unique, and even though, in the case of Nixon himself, the constitutional process was aborted.

I do not diminish, by an iota, the necessity of accounting for the public villains; indeed, I complain that such was not accomplished as, with respect to war, the Calley case shows, and, as, with regard to Watergate, the Nixon pardon proves. Yet I do suggest that both the Indochina war and the Watergate uproar represent symptoms rather than causes, and that in the disposition of either or both of these the essential American crisis has not been confronted, much less settled. The grave present temptation is that Americans will become persuaded that in these events "the system has worked" or that it has been somehow incongruously vindicated, thereby overlooking the truth of how the system has radically, perhaps irrevocably, changed. To press the matter further: not only do Vietnam and Watergate represent symptoms merely, but the American crisis as a nation and society is such that had these not happened at all, Americans would anyway find themselves in much the same circumstances.

An American Counter-Revolution

Since the time of World War II, since technology superseded industrialization as the dominant institutional and ideological power in society, America has been suffering a counter-revolution of extraordinary scope and conse-

quence. Its conspicuous feature is the proliferation of extra-constitutional agencies and authorities which, taken in their complex social, economic and political impact, have become the effectual regime of the nation, displacing the rule of the inherited governmental institutions and usurping the rule of law.

This is a counter-revolution in a classical connotation of the term, that is, the effort involves the undoing of the political and social ethic of the American Revolution, or, at least, of that aspect of the societal ethic of the Revolution which embodied a policy that esteems human life. It cannot be said that the ethical origins of the nation are unambiguous, containing as they do so much that renders property assertedly more basic than the concern for human life in society. Analytically, it may be argued that technology and the technocracy it sponsors are an implementation, in extremely elaborate or sophisticated terms, of the primitive property ethic which was so prominent in the settling and founding of the nation. Whatever the truth about such a proposition, the reality in this past quarter century or so has been the emergence of such a militant technology that the historic tension between the property ethic and the priority of human life has been practically surpassed. The political development of technology has brought into being a form of government which virtually abolishes that familiar tension by its destruction of human rights. Technology has installed a counter-revolutionary regime — a technocratic totalitarianism — which has set aside, if not literally overturned, the inherited constitutional institutions, and has, thereby, largely vested ruling authority outside the law and beyond accountability to people.

Thus I quarrel with the analytical accuracy of those who have been saying, in the wake of war and Watergate, that the American political crisis is focused in the "imperial Presidency" and that a semblance of democracy might be restored by the resurrection of the Congress or the reduction of the excesses and expansions of presidential power. The embellishment of the Presidency has been largely theatrical and superficial, nourishing the impression that the President governs when, in reality, the discretion of the President in policy making — as is regularly documented in how the budget is determined — has sharply diminished while the policy initiative of, say, the Pentagon bureaucracy or the so-called intelligence community or some of the great corporate powers has so fantastically increased. If Vietnam proved nothing else, it proved that the nation is not governed by the constitutional system and that public policy is not wrought in the White House, much less the Congress, and that the President, and the Presidency as an institution, are in the position of victim or captive of an ad hoc ruling technocracy.

An Inherent Lawlessness

Notice that the American technocratic totalitarianism is, from the point of view of a constitutional system, inherently lawless. The morality which dominates the functioning of this array of principalities conjoined in the military-industrial-scientific complex is the survival of the principalities. Everything else, everyone else are sacrificed to that overwhelming requirement. The principalities of technocracy are literally predatory. If there is some benefit for human beings in consequence of their political ascendancy it is either incidental or inadvertent. Commonly it will be found to be illusory as well, a means by which people are further enthralled and demeaned as human beings. One stereotyped appeal, for example — sponsored in one version by the military establishment, in another by the police power — is that human freedom cannot be politically honored because "security" would thereby be jeopardized. In context, "security" may refer to "the national security" — a conception which had some definition during World War II but, retained in currency by the military establishment, has deteriorated into the vagueness of a ritual term invoked to intimidate any opposed to adventurism, waste or aggrandizement of the Pentagon's political and economic power. Or, in relation to the escalation of the internal police power, "security" commonly means the protection of official or corporate premises or other property, or the convenience of technical procedure or routine, or the conditioning of people to exist in fear for their own safety whether or not an empirical basis for such fear exists. Amidst the multifarious variations of the excuse of "security" the central

consequence is the same: the exercise of human rights is removed as an impediment to the operation of lawless authority.

That the technological revolution, in the course of a quarter century, has enabled and entrenched lawless authority as the real polity of the nation, that society is effectually governed by the principalities, both public and private, of technocracy is now profusely verified — war and Watergate aside — in practically every realm of American life. Common knowledge, which must in the circumstances be counted as minimal and superficial, furnishes enough citations to boggle the imagination: the true magnitude of this new totalitarianism exceeds calculation.

- The media of technocracy, for instance, are heavily saturated with the image of a police power, engineered on a paramilitary model, reliant upon technogical apparatus to investigate, surveil, or coerce persons, and generally featuring blunt ridicule of constitutional protection against unreasonable search and seizure, self-incrimination, detention without charge, false arrest, invasion of privacy and of the tradition of civilian control. The redundant themes are the glorification of official violence and the justification of police lawlessness for the sake of efficient order. These have been reiterated so often for so long that they have become normative in the social definition of the police power.

- Meanwhile, one of the great public utilities acknowledges its practice, made possible by advanced technology, of the illegal monitoring of the telephone conversations of at least 40 million persons.

- Despite bizarre and appalling disclosures of complicity in assassinations, subversion of other governments, ubiquitous oversight of citizens attempting to exercise basic political rights, usurpation of the policy-making functions of the Presidency and of the Congress, and compilation of masses of useless, erroneous or untrustworthy intelligence data, the C.I.A. and its counterparts in practically every federal department persevere unbeholden to public control or discipline of law.

- Or the great banking institutions and financial powers, whose speculations have prospered the wanton proliferation of technical capacity and have converted this society to the consumption ethic, arrogantly move to abrogate representative government — or even the appearance of it — in New York City, in preface, one may predict, to similar seizures of the other cities.

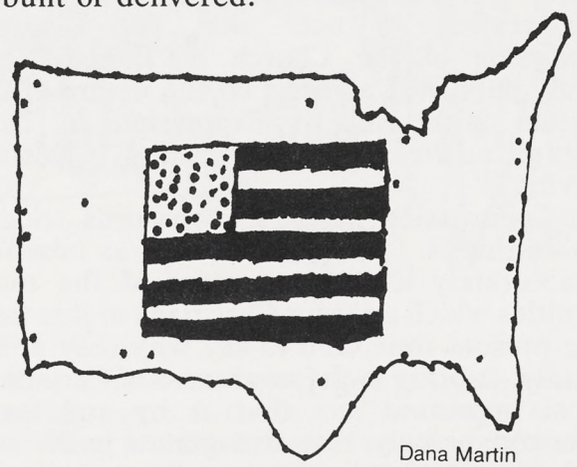
- Though the impotence of sophisticated weapons technology and the patent insanity of military overkill capability have been again and again historically demonstrated since World War II, the Pentagon remains the archetypal technocratic institution and the single most dominant ruling power, maintained as a law unto itself, recalcitrant to either presidential or congressional direction, and its essential lawlessness is sustained by the enormity of its procurement capacity and the consequent overdependence of the economy upon the Pentagon for employment. Thus the Pentagon technocracy has achieved a near-perfect dilemma, by which its political ascendancy, regardless of constitutional recitals, is secured: it poses for the nation the alternatives of insatiable waste and indefinite warfare or of so radical a dislocation of employment, and employability, as to be unthinkable.

The Preemption of Policy by Technical Capability

It is surely unnecessary to multiply this news. To comprehend the totalitarian implications of advanced technology, it is essential to understand that priority is assumed by technical capability over human discretion in the making of policy, in the rendering of budgets, in ruling society. The basic social premise, under the impact of technology and the momentum of technology, is the implementation of whatever becomes technologically feasible, the application of every technical capacity, without regard to human critique or control, and without regard to empirical benefit for human life or moral consequence for society.

The preemption of policy-making — of government itself — by technical capacity was exposed, symbolized grotesquely, and fore-

shadowed most ominously in Hiroshima. If theretofore scientists, as well as politicians, had often been negligent in considering the morality of their activity, by the time of Hiroshima the scope of technology had so vastly expanded, diversified and speeded that the problem was no longer quaint or theoretical, but quite literally implicated the destiny of human life. In any case, in Hiroshima technical capability became the overwhelming factor in the making of policy. There was conclusive fascination with building the bomb because it was so "technically sweet", as Robert Oppenheimer put it. The bomb was made primarily because the bomb could be made; the bomb was dropped because it could be dropped. The facility of technology became, then and there, the determinant of policy, overpowering everything else, including, especially, human discretion addressed to whether the bomb should be built or delivered.



Dana Martin

The implication politically is that policy making becomes incorporated into the technical process itself and the participation of human beings in the excercise of rational and conscientious thought or action is atrophied or otherwise obviated and humans become adjuncts to technology — robots or puppets deprived or inhibited in the use of the very faculties which distinguish them as human.

If the extraordinary political change in American society signaled by Hiroshima had, somehow, taken place abruptly, in the space of some days or weeks, it would more readily be recognized as the equivalent of a *coup d' etat.* As it has been, the change has spanned 30 years. During this time the gradual relentless effect of technology upon people has attracted less alarm and has even been taken as normative. In the process, human beings have been repetitiously defeated, subdued and conformed, coerced and conditioned, but the resistance to such radical dehumanization has been sporadic. One major reason for the adaptation of citizens to their own subservience to technocracy is that the metamorphosis is accomplished without the ideological fanfare associated with other forms of totalitarianism. The technocratic state does not need ideology — in the classical sense of ideology, though there is room for the argument that technology is itself an ideology — or an elaborate apparatus of propaganda and indoctrination. In place of that, technology furnishes technocracy with an invention capable of immobilizing human comprehension and conscience. There is no necessity for brainwashing when a machine can paralyze the head. This is, manifestly, the distinguishing facility of television. That instrument — by its sheer redundancy, by direct relay of data and by subliminal manipulation — can hypnotize people, neutralize human response, transfix the mind. Not only does it indulge fantasy, and inculcate indolence, it places human beings in an habitual posture or practiced passivity which is essentially incongruous for human life. Thus citizens are readied for political acquiesence while rendered largely unaware of how their most elemental human faculties have been harmed or lost.

The Resistance Witness

I understand that my view of the American political crisis is likely to be read as a melancholy message, one that deprives Americans of hope in a social or political sense.

So be it. From a biblical point of view, the best that can be said of any such hope is that it is literally and incredibly naive. Such hope is certain to betray those deceived by it.

For what I have been telling here, in quite particular way, is the doctrine of the Fall. The Fall means the profound condition of chaos and disorientation, brokenness and violence, struggle and conflict within and amongst all creatures and all things in the present age. The Fall refers to the pervasiveness of the power of death

reigning throughout the whole of creation. That death, in many forms and ways, is incarnate and militant in an advanced technocratic society like America is, biblically speaking, no novelty introduced by technology, but has been charcteristic of every other society in every other era.

This means, for human beings, that the only way to cope with the predatory quality of the technocratic regime is by confronting, comprehending, resisting and transcending the reality of death at work in this world. It is that which is the whole concern of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In that concern the issue is not how death can be defeated, but how the power of death is broken and confounded in the life of the Word of God in this world, and, thus, how human life is emancipated from servitude and idolatry of death in the American technocracy or in any other society whatsoever.

That means that the biblical lifestyle is always, in some sense, a witness of resistance to the *status quo* of politics and of economics and of everything in society. It is a witness to resurrection from death. Paradoxically, those who embark on the biblical witness constantly risk death empirically—execution or exile, imprisonment or persecution, defamation or harassment—at the behest of the rulers of this age. Yet those who do not resist the rulers of the present darkness are consigned to moral death—to the death of their humanness. That, of all the modes of death, is the most ignominious.

William Stringfellow: author, social critic, attorney and theologian.

A Matter of Heresy?

On March 6 of this year the Diocese of Newark, New Jersey, duly elected the Rev. John S. Spong, bishop coadjutor, pending the necessary consents from the Diocesan bishops and standing committees of the church. The Rev. Mr. Spong has served with distinction as rector of St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Virginia. He is also the author of several books on contemporary theology. It is the latter and his preaching which has once again raised the ugly matter of heresy, which the church thought had been buried with Bishop Pike.

Following the election a group of Episcopalians circulated a letter to the diocesan bishops and to the presidents of the various standing committees of the church questioning the election of Spong on the basis of his orthodoxy. A press release accompanying the letter said,

> *"The letter expresses a concern felt by the signers as to the Rev. Mr. Spong's theological soundness in the light of a public statement he made in 1974 which appeared to deny the church's teaching that Christ is divine. The letter also cites a number of quotations from a book by the Rev. Mr. Spong which are, on their face, unorthodox."*

In the light of this new "defense" of the faith it is interesting to note that the Doctrine Commission of the Church of England has recently published a report on the nature of the Christian faith and its expression in Holy Scripture and the creeds. It is entitled "Christian Believing".

The Commission, has, in its own words, tried to do three things. "First, to describe as honestly and accurately as we can some of the main difficulties which arise for Christians in this field at the present time, and to say why they arise. Secondly, to bring to the awareness of Christians a most important fact that is by and large overlooked: namely, that divergences in the way belief is expressed conceptually are to be expected from the very nature of Christian truth itself, and have in fact characterized the Church from New Testament times onwards. Thirdly, to show that underlying even very widely differing presentations of Christian faith there is in fact a common pattern or method of thinking, varying certainly in emphasis from one case to another but concerned in the last analysis with the same ingredients; and to suggest that the vital requirement for Christians today is not to force themselves to superficially agreed conclusions but to operate within the pattern—that is, to use, in whatever way or proportion integrity allows, the resources which the Christian community makes available."

The Leadership Role

New York, NY — The Rt. Rev. John M. Allin, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, has reaffirmed his leadership role of not taking a position on one side or the other with regard to the ordination of women to the priesthood and episcopate.

Diocesan Press Service Release
Executive Council, The Episcopal Church
New York, N.Y.

"People of the Promise"

by Paul van Buren

Dear John:

You asked me how I got started back into theology again, in the face of the current religious stumbling and hesitancy. It was certainly not the theologians who helped me to find my bearings, but, rather, a concrete administrative task: the reading and interviewing required for rebuilding the Jewish wing of our religion department faculty at Temple University. Confronted in this process by the reality and undeniable validity of Judaism, I was forced to reflect on what St. Paul called the irrevocability of God's promises to his people, and this has jolted me into a new vision of where we are and the task that lies ahead. Theological reconstruction is beginning to seem to me not only essential, but also possible. Let me sketch in for you some possibilities as well as I can at this early stage.

How odd of God to choose the Jews. But did he really? Was there something of the heart of God himself involved in those odd tales about Abraham, Moses and David? If not, then the very foundations of our Christian faith turns (has turned?) to dust. If the Jews are not the people of God, then either they never were (because there is no God, or because he doesn't mess around in this world, which undermines Christianity as well), or else they were once but are no longer (a position that would force us to part company with Jesus and St. Paul). Yet within 150 years of Easter, leading Christians were saying just that: that the Jews were no longer God's people, having been displaced by the Christians. And with rare exceptions, the Church has been saying that ever since. The historian Arnold Toynbee spoke for most of our tradition in calling Judaism the fossil remnant of a dead civilization.

History, however, has refuted the historian. History (not surprisingly for any of us who still have faith) has confirmed Jesus and St. Paul. God has been able to raise up stones as children unto Abraham (you and me?), but younger brothers by adoption do not displace natural sons and elder brothers, in spite of sibling rivalry. Jesus did help the Syrophoenician women, but his bread was still for the children (Mk. 7:24). Paul was surely a means by which Gentiles were grafted into the true tree of Israel, yet Paul's vision of the end included the natural branches being grafted back into their own tree, without first having to be converted to wild branches (Rom. 11:24)! Christianity certainly marks a new stage in God's dealings with this world, but if it denies the special relationship of God with the Jews, then it denies its own roots and calls into question the faithfulness of God.

These reflections have led me to ask about the consequences for us of God's new covenant with the Gentiles, if we were to acknowledge the continuing faithfulness of God to his Sinai covenant with his people. Once I take that initial step, which face to face with faithful Jews I have found to be unavoidable, I find that I must do a lot of rethinking about matters which I have long taken to have been settled. Let me list four areas that strike me as particularly in need of reconstruction, and share with you my preliminary thoughts about where we might go with them. The areas are that of our understanding of the New Testament, our understanding of God,

our traditional interpretation of Easter, and finally the way in which we have claimed Jesus to be the Messiah.

1. If Judaism and Christianity are God's witnesses to his continuing work in the world and together worship the God of history who lives yet and whose work is not finished, then the apostolic writings which come out of one piece of that history must indeed be taken seriously, but only because they are witnesses to certain important events within that larger framework. The New Testament reflects one way of interpreting - or reinterpreting - the Sinai Covenant of God with his people. The apostolic writings, the New Testament, were written largely by or based on oral traditions of Jews. Recent studies of Judaism in the First Century reveal that the conflict of the Jew from Nazareth and his followers with some of the Temple establishment falls well within the range of differences among Jews about the meaning of the Law and Israel's mission in and to the world. What is to be regretted and abandoned is the view that Jesus was in conflict with "the Jews", rather than engaged in an intra-familial argument, a view that developed when the Jerusalem communtiy was dispersed and the oral tradition was left increasingly in the hands of Gentile converts. The hostility between some Jews (Jesus and his followers) and other Jews (some among the Temple establishment) is regrettable, but it is hardly a hostility that warrants continuing. An attempt to make a turn here, however, will involve us in learning to read the apostolic writings in the context of other Jewish writings of the time, and all of them as part of Israel's continuing attempt to understand and be faithful to the God whose covenant is witnessed to in the Scriptures. If that God is still God, then we must set the witness of the apostles within and as a part of all the continuing wrestling, both Christian and Jewish, with that same God and his purpose for his creation, down to and including our own day.

2. If God is first of all the one who made covenant with his people and who is faithful in his love, then God must be understood first of all as one who has made a commitment, and so has qualified his own freedom. To say that God can do anything simply ignores the fact that God has to some degree tied his own hands by committing himself to his people. Indeed, if we do not draw back from the consequences, we will also have to say that as God committed himself in creating Israel as a people, so he committed himself in creating the world. If God is really Creator of heaven and earth, then the universe and the world are real and able to stand on their own feet, so to speak, not piteously dependent upon him for their mere existence. Creation's God-given independence conditions God's freedom, by God's own will.

Further, the God of the covenant of Sinai who is also the God of another covenant with the Gentiles inaugurated in Jesus, also made a covenant with Noah, and a promise that sounds very like a covenant with Hagar and Esau. Could it be that the One Covenant Maker is able to make many covenants with many peoples as his way of realizing his purposes in striking his one Great Covenant, that of Creation? If so, then our traditional view that the covenant in Jesus is the one and only covenant, which has been the foundation of Christian imperialism on the religious plane, and of Western imperialism on the secular plane, must be revised. What we have to say about God has political implications!

3. The third area calling for fresh reflection is our interpretation of Easter. By no means do I want to water down and spiritualize the event of that day, but I do want to set it in the context of that which Jesus himself had promised and hoped for: the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy—sight for the blind, food for the hungry, release for the prisoners, the beginning of the time of God's re-creation of this world. Whatever happened to Jesus himself, there was no beginning of the messianic age for the rest of the world. And Easter was for Jesus himself a victory over death only in a strange way. He could not or would not return to the land of the living, but could only appear again and again, always to disappear. The days for which he had taught his disciples to pray, when God's will would be done on earth, had not and still has not arrived. If we spiritualize Easter into an event in some other realm than this one, then it will be safe from these remarks, but it would seem to me a more responsible move for us to stop talking of Easter as a great victory, as a triumph over all evil, and to begin to speak of it rather as a tantalizing

glimpse of what is to be, an anticipation of the triumph for which we must still pray and work.

Once more, if we were to begin to realize that the victory has not yet come, then we might, along with the Jews, start working to make ready for the Day of the Lord. Then what we do now, as political, economic, and also private and personal beings, would begin to take on new importance. This great delay of nineteen and a half centuries between the hint of Easter and the promised new age just could be a word to us that God will not complete his work until we have done all that we can to prepare for the day of renewal.

4. My last point has to do with our conviction that Jesus is the Christ, the Messiah. The Jews, whose term this is, have had many different ideas about the Messiah. Perhaps no generalization will cover so complex an area, but I will risk one: much of Jewish thought about the Messiah centers in the idea that when the Messiah comes, that will mark the beginning of the renewal of the earth, with nations beating their swords into plowshares and giving up war, and justice reigning on earth. Since a glance at the morning's headlines should convince anyone that the time of the Messiah has not yet arrived, it is simply incorrect to call Jesus the Messiah in this basic sense of the term, and we would do well to heed his order not to say so to anyone. (Mk. 8:30)

The language used to speak of the restoration of all things, of which talk of the Messiah is a part, is only our feeble attempt to see into a future that is not yet here. What is certain is that by way of Jesus, a new opening to the Gentiles took place. As a result of the work and preaching of Jesus, and of the event of Good Friday and Easter, and then as a result of the preaching of Paul and the early Christians, millions of Gentiles have come to worship the God of Abraham. Surely, then, Jesus was more than a prophet. He was, I would dare to say, the one annointed by God for this new opening, and so we can dare to hope that when the Messiah comes to bring in God's restoration of this world, we will be able to recognize him by the marks on his hands and feet and recognize that new age as the kingdom of love and justice among men and women which he himself had proclaimed.

Well, that is only a sketch, but I hope it will be enough to stimulate you to new thoughts of your own. Once we open our eyes to the historical reality and conventional validity of Judaism, the task of theology for our own time suddenly becomes, so I am finding, exciting and urgent.

Best regards,
Paul

Paul M. van Buren: author; associate professor, Department of Religion, Temple University.

A Reply to Van Buren
by Michael Fishbane

Van Buren's bold and innovative essay evokes my respect for its attempt to grapple with issues suggesting a crisis for many contemporary Christian theologians. His recurrence to what must be seen as a strong Judaizing tendency, which strips back the apostolic tradition of hate, looks to Jewish historical existence as a key to a refurbished theology. But—and this would appear to be the hidden agendum—it is not simply a refurbished Christian theology which is at issue but a refurbished Christian morality, as well.

What would emerge from van Buren's 'demolition and reconstruction' is a thoroughly transformed Christianity. Any theological movement which downplays Jesus as messiah, and argues that Christians must stand four-square before the crisis of a 1900-year wait, not only must downplay immoderate 'triumphalism' but necessarily consider the specter that Jesus was a false messiah. Van Buren is, in fact, alive to this implication, as he suggests that it will be only by deeds that a Christian can "justify" the claim that his hope and faith are not in vain. This is surely an about-face—not only because it reveals the uncompromising courage of van Buren's theological questions, but also insofar as the notion of "works" is inserted into the theological agendum. The human and religious task in history prior to the messianic fulfillment becomes, at once, more Jewish and more paradoxical. One is reminded of Kafka's remark that Messiah will come only when he is no longer needed, and perhaps only on the day after; i.e. only after we have conditioned a messianic age by our acts of love shall we realize that we have already received it by the grace of God. A whole new rethinking of the relationship of hope, faith and works is thus in order for the Christian who would take van Buren seriously. In a world of both banal and outrageous evil it is surely a forthright moral and theological move to argue that Christian hope will be justified through works of love. Necessarily, the theological context of Jew and Christian will remain distinct—for the Jew yet trusts that his acts of love and celebration, within the framework of Torah and Tradition, are good in the eyes of the Lord. But it is just here, in shared acts of love, that Jew and Christian can join hands in a world not-yet fully redeemed.

Michael Fishbane is Associate Professor of Biblical Studies at Brandeis University

Church Press - Free or C

April 6, 1976

Mr. Henry L. McCorkle
Editor-in-Chief
The Episcopalian, Inc.
1930 Chestnut Street
Phila., PA 19103

Dear Henry:

I feel, after some reflection, that I must write you and express my shock and disappointment over your 11th hour decision not to run the Women's Ordination ad.

As you know, I had been in touch with your advertising manager, Kip Lee Bevier, for several weeks prior to your abrupt decision. There was, I agree with you, one error in fact -- a typography error in the first line which was corrected, as you will see in the ad running in the National Catholic Reporter. No other arguments by you can be classified as other than your editorial opinion imposed upon paid advertisements - a direct violation of the freedom of our press.

What was particularly sad to me were my clear and vivid memories of two General Conventions - Houston, and Louisville - where the deputies from this Diocese fought for funds for your newspaper, partly on the basis that The Episcopalian should always remain free.

You said to me that there were "errors in fact"; that "legally there are not 15 women priests"; that they are "not celebrating the Eucharist". You said your action was "more for our protection because, according to the law of our church, the statements are legally inaccurate". You said you are "an agency of General Convention".

But I say to you, Henry, that you and/or your Board were castigated unfairly for the "Integrity" ad (relating to the Gay Community) and your reaction to that was to practice censorship on our ad. I am angry because when your freedom is caged, we are all wounded. You hurt many of us with your decision and you made your denomination that much less free. I cannot believe you wanted to do that and I cannot believe that your Church rules with such a heavy hand that you felt this action prudent.

Sincerely,

Donald W. Belcher

cc: Bishop Robert L. DeWitt, The Witness
Mary Moriarty, National Catholic Reporter
Bishop Lyman Ogilby, Diocese of Pennsylvania

r Captive?

The letter on the opposite page is self-explantory. We print it, and the proposed advertisement to which it refers, for two reasons. First, we attach considerable importance to the substance of the ad, and feel it needs to be seen by a wide readership. Second, we feel the policy expressed by the rejection of the ad is of sufficient importance to have attention drawn to it. (Ed.)

There are women priests

in the Episcopal Church now.

By the year 1975, fifteen women were validly ordained to the Episcopal Church. That their ordinations were canonically irregular is not disputed. However a notable array of seminary professors, theologians and bishops are agreed that these women are valid priests in every sense of the word.

They are working as priests — preaching the Word of God, celebrating the Eucharist, Baptizing, giving absolution to the sinner and being pastors to those to whom they minister. Many churches have received them gladly and happily as these new stars in the ecclesiastical galaxy have brought them closer to Christ.

Some say that the Church should wait for the General Convention to act. But the only authority needed to regularize these priests is their being licensed by the Diocesan bishop. The Church canons do not forbid women to be priested.

Right now over 250 women are enrolled in the seminaries of our Church. When they graduate, they will be ordered deacons in accordance with the ruling of the Houston General Convention. Nothing should stand in the way of their being priested canonically. The Church needs them for the enrichment of the ministry and to once and for all affirm their full humanity.

Until our Bishops fulfill their duty, we need your financial help to spread the word that women *are* priests in this branch of the Holy Catholic Church. The message has to be told to those who stand irresolute on the issue. Your dollars can help bring this about. **Please help.**

Contributions should be sent to:
Church and Society, Inc. Box 359 Ambler, Pa. 19002
With a notation that gift is for the Women's Ordination Fund

A Peculiar Anglican Social Strategy

by Benjamin P. Campbell

Top leaders of international Anglicanism met in Trinidad this Spring and decided not to say anything public on any major social economic, social, or political issue.

"Church and Society" was one of the four major topics on the ten-day agenda when the 54 assorted archbishops, primates, presiding bishops, clergy and lay persons who make up Anglicanism's only continuing international gathering met as the "Anglican Consultative Council" seven miles outside of Port-of-Spain.

They claim, with either great gall or great grace, that their non-statement of social goals is part of a major emerging strategy which commits the Anglican Communion as it has never before been committed to a radical place in the Gospel's interaction with society.

Only time, the next Anglican generation, and the Holy Spirit will be able to tell if this is the truth or mere pious twaddle.

Why the Silence?

1. Each nation has its own issues. One nation is totally bored by the social issues of another nation. Social pronouncements which are true for one situation miss the point of the next one. The Christians on the spot will in fact pay the cost and sense the alternatives they face, and will in fact make the hard judgements about such issue as violence and non-violence in social revolution.

2. Unlike other international churches, national and international Anglican leaders operate by consensus. There is no consensus on social issues among Anglicans, except maybe that they are important.

3. Nearly all the Anglican leaders seem afraid of the press and of public statements. Some fear what their governments will do to them or to their churches if they say critical things outside their country. Some feel the people at the top should hold the church together by leaving prophecy to others in the church. Everyone is aware that no international Anglican staff can do the research to give an intelligent basis for social pronouncements.

4. The international Anglican leadership feels that the church has in recent years been "dictated to," not only by the interests of "the rich and powerful," but also by "the poor and oppressed."

In the face of this negativity, it seems strange that there could be any concern at all about church and society on the part of the Anglican prelates and leaders. Yet, strangely, there seems an intense commitment by many of these same persons to do battle with the world's inhuman social, economic, and political powers.

An Anglican Social Vision

Anglicanism's greatest impact on international society, they said, can come as it becomes a better international church.

1. Anglican churches should intensify their international contacts. Westerners are still going to the newer nations from the English and English-settler churches, but now it is time for everybody to go everywhere. Other nations' Christians can testify to the problems which Western societies make for them, and they also can testify to a vitality which tired Western Christians have lost. Third World missionary preachers of all descriptions may be common in all Western churches in the next decade.

2. The peculiar Anglican social concoction of order, unity, and diversity may become an international witness to a world which somehow hasn't learned how to put all that together. Violently different social, theological, and economic positions can and will be taken in the Anglican churches throughout the world, giving witness to a style of unity almost totally without

uniformity—a unity which Anglican leaders remind us is simply impossible for human beings without the Holy Spirit and reconciliation in Christ. No other international communion has so high a tolerance for diversity.

3. The Anglican policy may be a testing ground for the world's political systems.

4. Militant non-violence, the Council said, probably should become the most characteristic Christian strategy for social change.

5. Anglican churches and the international communion should see themselves as a "prototype community", or an "alternative society".

6. Without the spiritual base of Christianity, the perspective of the eternal promise of Christ, the awareness of its own sinfulness, and the dependence on the power of the Holy Spirit, the Church has no social witness to give.

That kind of talk can very easily be twaddle. It certainly isn't going to shock any indifferent Christians into social concern tomorrow. It lacks the pained urgency which you find in the streets and countrysides where Anglicans and non-Anglicans live. It shows great disregard for anyone else's need to know what Anglicans think or what they stand for. It pays too much attention to our inability to agree on anything. And it assumes that all the important issues will come up around the family table.

But that kind of talk is also realistic for the Anglican Communion. This Communion never will "take positions" on anything. Sometimes that's a comforting fact and sometimes it's positively satanic, but it is virtually indisputable.

If this communion will ever have a serious corporate social witness, for better or worse, it's going to have to be a peculiarly Anglican witness. That witness may just be that it holds together as a communion over the next two decades. The kind of life that will be necessary for that kind of holding together would change many people. Plenty of prophecy, hard work, and Holy Spirit in very diverse collections of Anglicans would be necessary to make that life happen.

The Rev. Benjamin P. Campbell is editor of The Virginia Churchman. He attended the public portion of the meeting of the Anglican Consultative Council in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, March 31-April 2.

Letters - continued from page 2

We have received the fifty copies of the special World Council of Churches issue of THE WITNESS and have distributed them to our students and faculty. Thank you very much for making these available to us. They will be a good record of key portions of the Nairobi meeting.

Edwin G. Wappler — Dean, Bloy School of Theology, Claremont, California

Dana Martin

The free bonus issue has arrived as a report on the Fifth Assembly and I want to thank you for a great job. Including Larson's reprint was excellent taste.

I am particularly pleased with "Sadness". There certainly was a "cloud formation" about Nairobi. But even with that cloud it seemed to me that a great deal came to pass . . . not necessarily was accomplished. I have been disturbed by many statements on Nairobi because again, it seems to me, people are expecting the human side of the Church to accomplish the miracle that only God will accomplish in his own good time. And I am not an apocalypticist in the usual sense of the word, I hope. How true it is as you say, "... our chronic error is too easily to equate His Church which He founded, with our churches which we manage." This certainly does not permit us to "give up our responsibilities to him" but keeps us honest as to where we are.

I really felt that much can come as the result of Nairobi if we are willing to follow the leading of that meeting. Much has been made of the fact that the "big voices" were not predominant as has been true in past Assemblies. I really believe that we with the "small voices" are as much the Church as they, and that out of the "small voices" there will come motivation to action in behalf of real ecumenicity that would not come because "big voices" called for it. I truly value as great, Nairobi.

Rev. Robert H. Taylor — Warren, Ohio

Proud to Know You

From the time it was just a possibility under consideration, until the present day, (new) WITNESS has been deeply indebted to Roy Larson, Chicago Sun-Times religion writer and columnist. His counsel and advice were crucial in early consultations about the proposed republishing of the magazine, and his continuing editorial wisdom has been regularly drawn upon.

For this reason, THE WITNESS takes pride in reporting that Roy Larson has won the 42nd Annual National Headliner Award in the special feature column category for "At This Moment", a column which appears in Midwest magazine, a Sunday supplement of the Sun-Times.

In announcing the unanimous decision, the selection committee cited Larson for a "particularly outstanding job of reporting and covering religion", and called his work "consistently impressive". Well qualified as it is to comment on that judgement, THE WITNESS says: "Exactly right!"

Managing Editor

On June 1 THE WITNESS welcomes Mary Lou Suhor to its staff as managing editor.

Since 1972, Ms. Suhor has been Coordinator of the Cuba Resource Center in New York City. C.R.C. is an ecumenically-funded group organized in 1970 to circulate information about life in Cuba and its churches. She also edited C.R.C.'s quarterly journal, the *Cuba Review*.

Ms. Suhor was graduated cum laude with a degree in journalism from Loyola University in New Orleans.

Robert L. DeWitt will continue to serve as editor of THE WITNESS.

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THE WITNESS

July, 1976
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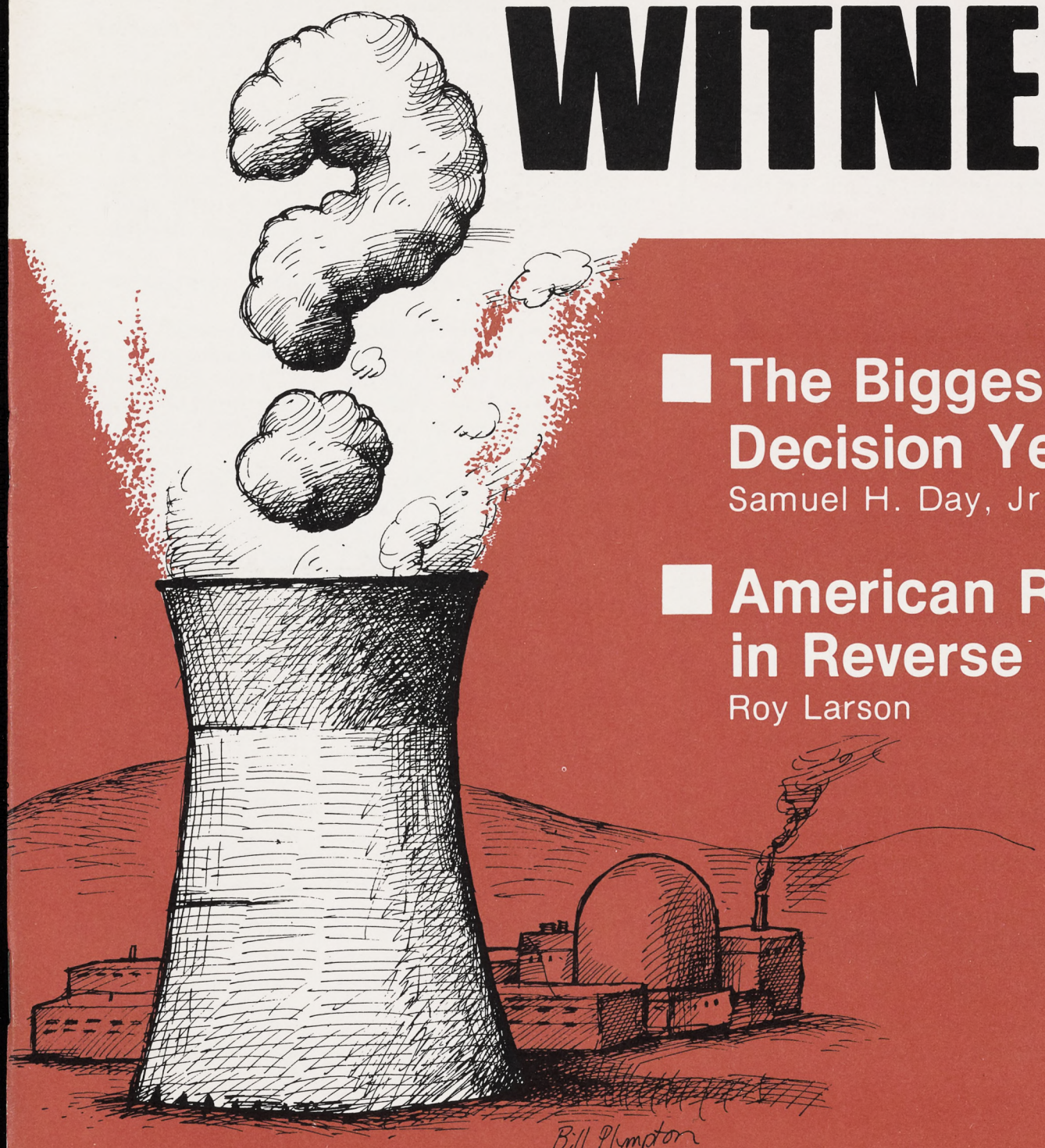

- **The Biggest Decision Yet**
  Samuel H. Day, Jr.
- **American Religion in Reverse Gear**
  Roy Larson

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters.

We Try to Inform—Not Hurt

You have lost the respect many have had for THE WITNESS by publishing in the February issue, Cromey's "Sex and the Unmarried."

This is an offensive, repulsive, and destructive article—the young and the old are hurt by this type of journalism. You have insulted the intelligence of Church people and have harmed the Church irreparably.

What is good and healthy about sexual intercourse between consenting unmarried people, or between consenting persons of the same sex, or masturbation as a way for persons to give pleasure to themselves?

Situation ethics is an affront to the Church.

With Sadness, **Robert Lambert,** Jacksonville, Florida

Thanks, We Needed That

May I commend THE WITNESS for its excellent February issue, especially the articles dealing with human sexuality.

Religion is not an option for human beings, nor is our sexuality. Yet the sad and difficult truth is the traditional expressions of Biblical teaching in regard to human sexuality are proving to be inadequate for the human needs of today's world.

What is needed today is a model of responsible and joyful sexuality that celebrates our common humanity and our creation in the image of God.

Throughout the world is a movement of people who are helping make themselves more human, more free and more responsible for their destinies. The world demands religious institutions that help make these things happen and which place human dignity and freedom of lifestyle high in their gospel of good news.

Robert W. Renouf, President, Human Relations Institute, Tustin, California

A Blessing on Both Your Houses

A saintly Bishop constantly confronts Christians with the hypocrisy of living life-as-usual in a world of oppression and suffering. A saintly Rector, a devoted high churchman, concentrates on teaching and transmitting the Faith in all its richness. Thank God for both of them.

The Society for the Preservation of the Book of Common Prayer fights to save that wonderful treasure-house from oblivion and this lay reader, says -- "right on" -- and save the King James translation too! Our liturgical reformers offer the Word in today's tongue -- and this parent and evangelist, well aware that children and non-Christians must comprehend fluently at the threshold, says "right-on". Thank God for both. And Almighty God forbid that the new or old be suppressed by any silly, tidy mind in any diocese or parish!

The Philadelphia prophets, doing what God calls prophets to do, ordained women priests. The conservatives, doing just what God calls them to do, resist. Thank God for both! And grant us a solution in which local option is the watchword.

Threats of schism are made. Some social gospellers say the "Establishment Church" is a mere husk out of which the butterfly of their new, purified sect will emerge. Some conservatives scratch the Church out of their wills if their One True God of 'Free Enterprise' is breathed against. Some Anglo-Catholics so confound "catholicism" with their own views as to contend the Church in Canada is in schism!

Heavens above, didn't Henry VIII or "Barchester Towers" teach us anything? That we are *imperfect* members of Christ's body. That some feel called to run, some to sleep, some to scratch -- and maybe *all* are hearing the Spirit's call as best we can. That we can live with diversity. That "Fathers" and "Misters" didn't have to purge each other. The patron saint of our parish said it best in I. Corinthians 12.

Our Anglican *genius* is broad churchmanship. Surely, it's to be our great gift to a reunited Oecumene. Let us rediscover broad churchmanship in loving and obedient reconciliation now.

Alec Kyle, St. Paul's Church, Doylestown, Penna.

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Editorial

Do Not Bring Us to the Test

Robert L. DeWitt

What will result from the General Convention? What do we hope it will accomplish? Most people see it as an ordeal for the church, a trial. Trial by ordeal. Perhaps that is right. The sharp focusing of political pressures on issues such as the election of a new president for the House of Deputies, the question of the ordination of women, prayer book revision—these will be ordeals, and they will in fact be a trial of the church. And full credit is due those who by virtue of their office, or of concern, invest a great deal of energy and concern in these political processes, hoping that the issues will be resolved as well as may be. It is necessary work, and it must be done.

But there is another dimension, a dimension both of time, and of truth. Seen in this dimension, the convention will be not so much an occasion where the church will accomplish something, as reveal what it has accomplished. It will be not so much an accomplishment as a revealing. Not so much an achievement as an indicator.

Ordeals do not so much make or break individuals, or organizations, as reveal clearly what they are. They are a moment of truth. The truth is made clear. Stepping on the scales is a useful action, but it does not change one's weight. At convention, the church is revealing its spiritual weight.

This year of Presidential election provides a useful parallel. The deals, compromises and buttonholing, traditional to the nominating process, are the ingredients which result in producing a candidate from a national convention. It is a necessary process which results in an inevitable result—that the country gets the kind of candidates it deserves. And the same can be said of the one who finally is elected President—he and the country deserve each other.

This line of thought leads to a conclusion which is not new, but important. It is the importance of doing homework, as over against the examination. As Arthur Koestler has one of his characters say: ''Every night is the last judgment''.

The General Convention will be a testing of the quality of last Sunday's sermon, of last month's vestry meeting, of last year's diocesan convention, of the last interim meeting of the House of Bishops, of the meetings of Executive Council, of the Presiding Bishop's decisions and indecisions. The Convention is not the Last Judgment, but it is a judgment.

And the prospect is not bright. The Church is not expecting a high grade on this test, rather, it is hoping, desperately, forlornly, that it can somehow manage to pass. At least that is what most people hope, and what some expect.

But what does God say to a church which prays it can survive a convention? ''I am not interested in issues you have chosen, and called Mine. I have made it clear what My priorities are. If you have not heard and heeded the prophets, you have not heard and heeded Me. If you have not heard and heeded My Son, you have disregarded Me. I have made it clear that I love this world of Mine, and the people in it. That is My enterprise, What is yours?''

The Biggest Decision Yet

by Samuel H. Day, Jr.

Take an ordinary grocery sack and fill it with plutonium or enriched uranium. Depending on how you use it, this fuel could heat and light a great city for a full year—or destroy it in an instant.

That is the fundamental paradox of nuclear power.

That is the essence of an issue of costs versus benefits which presents humanity with perhaps the most important question it has ever had to face.

And that is the crux of a dilemma which at long last has begun to compel the attention of the public. It is not a moment too soon.

No one ever doubted the destructive capabilities of nuclear energy, which was unleashed by mankind in the atomic bomb which leveled Hiroshima at the end of World War II. Nor does anyone challenge the capability of nuclear fission of delivering vast amounts of useful energy at relatively economic rates. What makes the issue so fundamental today is the dawning public realization—30 years after the threshold was crossed—that there is an inherent and inescapable connection between those two facets of the atom.

The driving forces of the commercial nuclear power program are political and economic, having their roots in the atomic diplomacy of the early cold war period. The technology for the industry evolved out of military research and development. The reactors in current use in the United States are patterned on the power plants built for the Navy's nuclear submarines. The fuel to run them comes from the huge uranium enrichment plants which were built in the 1940s and early 1950s to supply fissile material for the nation's vast stockpile of atomic warheads.

It was largely to justify its immense investment in nuclear weapons development that the Atomic Energy Commission encouraged the initially reluctant electrical power industry to invest in nuclear energy. In this it had the enthusiastic support of nuclear scientists and technicians, and the public itself, who welcomed "atoms for peace" as an alternative and antidote to atoms for war. The first commercial nuclear power went on the line at Shippingport, PA, in 1954.

Under the tutelage and patronage of the AEC, which paid for the research and development, took care of the heavy costs of fuel enrichment and fabrication, and arranged for other far-reaching subsidies, including insurance liability, the nation's utilities gradually began taking the plunge. In the process, a constituency for nuclear power was born in such giants of American industry as General Electric and Westinghouse, which manufacture the reactors.

By the mid-1960s the nation's deepening commitment to commercial nuclear power was approaching the point of irrevocability, and other industrialized nations were beginning to follow suit. The steady drift turned into a stampede in 1973 when the OPEC nations quadrupled the price of oil. The number of commercial reactors in the world increased from 24 in 1960 to 98 in 1970 to 219 in 1975. With larger and larger reactors being developed, the total installed capacity of those units increased almost a hundredfold.

The first signs of trouble for the industry and its allies in government occurred in the 1960s in the form of public concerns over pollution. Here and there, people worried about pollution of lakes, streams and the atmosphere by the vast amounts of waste heat generated by nuclear power plants. The AEC attempted to assuage those fears by making the industry build cooling towers. Others worried about the cancerous and genetic effects of the low-level radioactivity discharged by the plants in the normal course of operations. The AEC took the edge off such complaints by tightening the emission standards. Still others raised questions about disposal of the high-level radioactive wastes, some of which remain toxic for literally hundreds of thousands of years. The AEC promised to search more diligently for a permanent repository for the wastes.

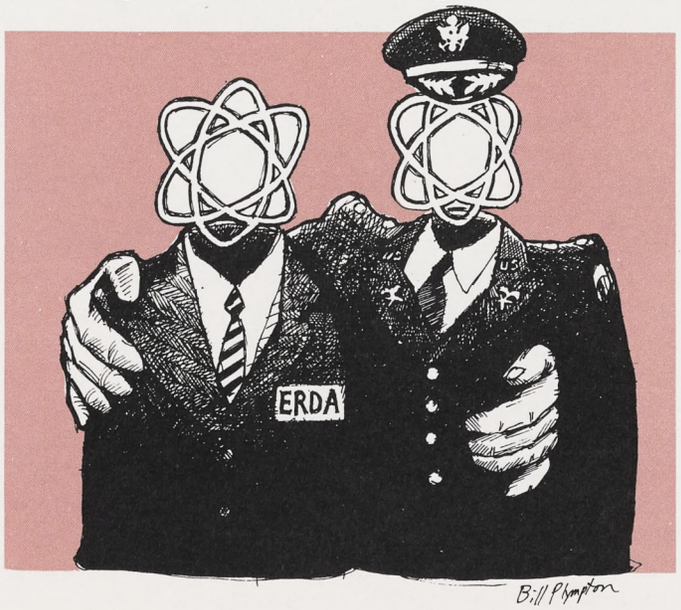
Samuel H. Day, Jr. is editor of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

It wasn't until the early 1970s, when nuclear power began its present upsurge in growth, that opposition coalesced around an issue for which the AEC had no ready answer. This was the question of catastrophic accidents in nuclear power plants.

The seeds of doubt had been sown by the AEC's own scientists, whose studies in the 1950s and 1960s had indicated that failure of a reactor's "emergency core cooling system" could lead to a melt-down of the reactor's super-heated fuel supply, a chemical explosion and the release of vast quantities of debris which could bring radioactive death to tens of thousands of people.

The efforts of a small group calling itself the Union of Concerned Scientists, armed with the AEC's own reports and documents, produced at a series of hearings in 1972-73 the reluctant admission by the AEC that it had no real assurance that the emergency core cooling system would work. Field tests which were supposed to demonstrate the workability of the system had been allowed to fall behind schedule even as bigger and more volatile reactors were coming on the line.

Eventually, by the fall of 1974, the AEC did produce an answer to the safety question. It came in the form of a $3-million study which minimized the consequences of a melt-down accident and said the probability of catastrophe was exceedingly remote. But by then the damage had been done. The credibility of the nuclear establishment had become the main issue.



Questions about the vulnerability of nuclear power plants to major accidents led inevitably to questions about their vulnerability to acts of sabotage. Even if the probability of a catastrophic accident was remote (a point still much in dispute), there was no way of computing the odds against deliberate mischief. Or of protecting society against such acts except through police state methods.

Such questions have led to profound misgivings about the adaptability of nuclear fuels—plutonium and enriched uranium—to military and other hostile purposes. India's detonation of a nuclear device in May of 1974, done with plutonium sneaked out of a Canadian-built research reactor, was a reminder of the peaceful-military interchangeability of nuclear fuel. With nuclear technology proliferating around the world at an extraordinary rate, the energy-hungry nations were steadily acquiring the capacity of mutual annihilation.

Despite these misgivings, the nuclearization of the world's electrical energy system has proceeded with a steadily increasing momentum, especially among the industrialized nations, slowed only by the current recession and the industry's spiraling capital costs. About eight per cent of all electrical power in the United States is now produced by nuclear fission. Current projections call for this ratio to increase to about 50 per cent by the end of the century. Other nations—Japan and Western Europe in particular—are planning even more ambitiously.

Efforts to halt this trend are mounting. A major test will come in the California primary on June 8 in the form of a proposed "nuclear safeguards initiative" which would require the industry to prove its safety beyond doubt if it is to continue growing in California. Industry has responded by mounting a multi-million-dollar public relations campaign which points to the diminishing supplies of fossil fuels and equates the continued growth of nuclear power with the struggle for national "energy independence."

As the public concerns mount, the nuclear establishment is quite literally battling for its life. And for a way of life.

A Reply to Sam Day

by Sheila Collins

Sam Day has written a concise but important piece. In order to understand the present drive for nuclear power in the nature of the conflicts which now surround its development, an historical perspective is crucial. The connections between the impetus for nuclear power and the bomb are not incidental. Hannes Alfven, formerly of Sweden's Atomic Energy Commission and now a nuclear critic, has referred to them as "Siamese twins" linked together in a symbiosis of frightening proportions. It is important to weigh both the symbolic and the actual power that this connection confers on governments and corporations which own the access to nuclear technology. By its very nature—the vast danger it poses as well as the great concentration and wealth which are preconditions for its development—nuclear power can only be owned and controlled by governments or major corporations. It is, therefore, not amenable to small scale, decentralized, democratically-controlled forms of ownership and production.

If we continue to pursue nuclear energy to the point where 50 percent of our energy needs are met through this source, we will have virtually guaranteed ourselves not only a system of state capitalism but a hierarchical, repressive, authoritarian political order—to protect its functioning.

We can already see evidence of this tread in the secrecy and deception with which the AEC has operated over the last decade and in the cozy relationship between the new Energy Research and Development Administration, the energy industry and the military establishment. An example of the relationship between commercial energy and military needs is seen in the job description of R. Glenn Bradley, recently appointed Deputy Director of Production, Fuel Cycle and Waste Management at ERDA. An ERDA news release states: "Bradley will be responsible for production of nuclear weapons material and research, development and demonstration programs for reprocessing and recycling commercial reactor fuels, and treatment, storage and disposal of commercial radioactive wastes." Is a man who is responsible for the production of nuclear weapons the kind we want in charge of handling radioactive wastes?

Under the assumption of a continuing upward spiral in energy needs (itself a concomitant of an economic system based on private ownership of the means of production), government and industry are moving into a fond embrace. Eventually there will be no difference between them. We can see this happening already in the Energy Research and Development Administration. In a speech delivered to the New York Security Analysts in February, Robert W. Fri, Deputy Administrator of ERDA, outlined the relationship which will be needed if government is to guarantee us an energy-rich future.

> "So to deal with these uncertainties (financial risks) industry must be prepared to take Government on as a risk partner, just as we must learn to deal with industry as a sharer of risk. We have to make changes. For example, we must be prepared to do without regulations (where we can) that tend to drive returns down in the energy industry. Sharing risks, after all, is not the same thing as buying a product, and it should therefore require less Government involvement and interference in the business of private industry. So, as to our overall estimate of the future of nuclear power," he concludes, "we think the nuclear power industry will survive and prosper and make an invaluable contribution to this nation's future."

Whose future, we must ask, will be benefited through this development: The poor—who have never benefited from capital and energy-intensive technology? Women—whose needs are not for more energy wasteful, labor saving devices but for equal rights, dignity, justice? The unemployed—whose jobs were lost when they were replaced with energy-intensive technology?

The specter of a nuclear future forces us to a critical examination of the entire structure of productive activity and to the values which have shaped life in a capitalist society.

Sheila Collins is editor of Grapevine, a publication of the Joint Strategy and Action Committee, Inc.

ENERGY AND NUCLEAR POLICY STATEMENT

A Statement of the Friends Committee on National Legislation
Approved at the Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., January 25, 1976

Friends' historic testimonies on simplicity have stressed that the quality of life does not depend on material possessions or conspicious consumption. Waste and extravagance have been opposed because they squander natural resources which should be devoted to helping create a fuller life for present and future generations.

The world's energy problem is a crucial aspect of the struggle for human survival and welfare on a planet of limited resources. Energy policy formation should be global, not determined primarily by nationalistic, military, or corporate interests. The choices are basically moral: what long-term risks are justified—risks of damage to the environment, or radiation damage to health, and of limitation of the life-chances of future generations? There should be open discussion of all *alternatives, both at the United Nations and between citizens and the decision-makers of their respective nations.*

Conservation

We give high priority to conservation as a significant way to help meet urgent needs of peoples throughout the world. Conserving energy can be accomplished in many ways, including: decentralizing energy systems, thus permitting fuller utilization of energy; using renewable sources including solar; setting more stringent standards for insulation; developing new building techniques to cut energy requirements further; total energy planning for communities, industrial plants, office buildings, and major public facilities; developing mass transportation and carpooling; and developing more efficient types of engines.

Renewable Energy Resources

The development of the use of fuels other than nuclear, particularly from non-fossil fuel sources, will do the most to conserve our environment. Solar energy can be of use as a primary source for heating, air-conditioning, and generating electricity. Secondary sources of solar energy include wind energy, hydro, ocean temperature difference, organic waste conversion, and other organic energy sources. All of the above plus tidal and geothermal require increased research and funding.

Food production consumes a large share of the energy budgets of many nations. It is important to step up research on programs which aim to increase the amount of food produced from given amounts of energy expended.

Non-Renewable Energy Resources

Non-renewable energy sources—oil, gas, and coal—while important in the short term, should in the long run be conserved and reserved for essential uses other than the production of energy.

To meet the needs of nations which are not now equipped to develop alternative sources of energy for civilian use, we advocate the establishment of a world energy conservation and development fund, with strong leadership from all areas of the world.

Fission Power

(See Note at end)

We believe that U.S. reliance on fission nuclear power to fill the energy needs of an economy characterized by extravagance and waste needlessly mortgages the peace, welfare, and freedom of future generations.

The threat to peace results from the possible diversion of fission fuel materials for nuclear or chemical warfare or terrorist activity.

The threat to welfare results from the risk of catastrophic reactor accidents, from health damage due to low-level radioactive emissions associated with reactors, fuel-processing plants, and waste storage, from the radioactive poisoning of the biosphere, and from environmental damage.

The threat to freedom results from the extreme amount of security required to prevent sabotage and diversion, especially at reactor power plants, fuel treatment plants, and in transporting material between them.

Plutonium

We regard with the greatest apprehension the increased production and use of plutonium, which is the fuel envisioned for nuclear power generating plants in the future when the present limited supply of uranium ore becomes short.

Plutonium is one of the most toxic substances known, has a half life of 24,000 years, and is, of course, the material from which atomic weapons may be made. The utilization of plutonium bombs by increasing numbers of nations or terrorist groups becomes easier.

The task of security policing becomes formidable for untold generations.

We believe that any planning for electrical power generation using plutonium is misguided. The key issues are not technical or economic but social and ethical.

Nuclear Radioactive Waste

Storage of radioactive wastes for thou-

sands of years is so far an unsolved problem. At present, about 100 million gallons of high-level radioactive waste, half liquid, half solid, are stored in the United States. At Hanford in the state of Washington some half million gallons have leaked into the soil as the result of corrosion of the containers, resulting in permanent contamination.

Plans for the future call for solidification of all commercial wastes and their shipment to a "Federal Interim Storage Facility." Plans for permanent storage do not exist, since no truly safe depositories have been located. A reliance on nuclear fission power is thus, in Alvin Weinberg's words, a "Faustian bargain," in which the safety, health, and freedom of future generations are traded for ample and cheap power for ourselves.

Moratorium

A moratorium must be secured on all new construction licenses to build new nuclear power plants; and development of fast breeder reactors and plutonium recycling should be suspended pending further study on the political, technical, economic, health, and moral issues.

Transition

We recognize the possibility that increased conservation might not suffice during the moratorium period preceding the widespread use of renewable energy sources. Therefore, to the extent that fossil fuels, and especially coal, might be used during this transition period, such use should be closely regulated to minimize environmental impact.

Use of presently operating nuclear plants and of those for which construction licenses have been approved should be phased out over a period of years, with the substitution of other energy sources, keeping in mind the consideration of environmental effects.

Nuclear Fusion Power

Controlled nuclear fusion research to date suggests that fusion could call on an unlimited store of low-cost fuel and would reduce or eliminate the problems of waste storage, fuel diversion for military use or terrorism, catastrophic accidents, and severe radioactive contamination. Research should examine the potential genetic and environmental hazards. The funding of such research should not be at the expense of harnessing the benign sources of energy.

International Atomic Energy Agency

During the period of transition to the elimination of nuclear weapons and the generation of nuclear fusion power, the authority of the International Atomic Energy Agency should be expanded to regulate adequately the transfer and use of highly enriched uranium. We strongly urge U.S. leadership in the negotiation of greatly increased authority for the International Atomic Energy Agency with full participation of all regions of the world.

Decentralization

The widespread use of decentralized energy systems, based on renewable energy sources at a community level, would save energy and capital outlay, reduce pollution, and enhance the freedom and self-reliance of those using it. Tax incentives should be developed to encourage this.

Decentralization would also counteract the increasing concentration of economic and political power in a few giant energy corporations. Decentralization would encourage essentially grass roots efforts involving individual and community action and small businesses, thus giving many people the opportunity to do something effective to help solve the world energy problem.

In conclusion . . .

. . . the United States should seek solutions for the energy problem through conservation, development of renewable energy sources, decentralization of power systems, and consideration of global energy needs. Production of power by nuclear fission involves unacceptable risks. International control of nuclear energy should be strengthened and attention should be focussed on steps toward nuclear and conventional disarmament.

NOTE: Fission energy comes from separating a heavy nucleus into two fragments with the release of energy. Fusion energy results when two light nuclei combine to form a single nucleus. Fission is the source of the atomic bombs, and fusion is the principal element in hydrogen bombs.

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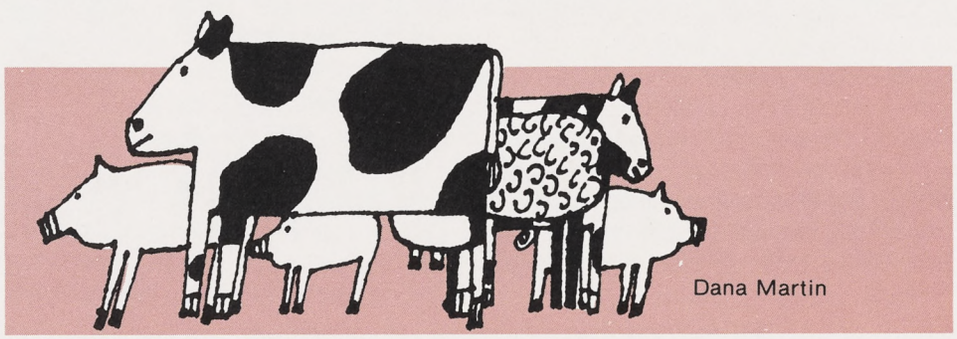

Christianity A Subculture?

by Paul Van Buren

As disenchantment with the American myth spreads, the more possible it becomes to think of Christianity not as a cultural support of the Establishment, but as a counter-culture. The increasingly convincing evidence that we the people have been lied to and are still being lied to by our highest officials is not at first sight a matter of theological import. Yet I believe it is or may be a help in loosening the stranglehold which the values, standards and canons of our civilization have had upon Christians, especially in this country. The rise of an increasingly interesting Marxist-Christian dialogue is evidently a piece of this. So too is the challenge of fellow Christians from the Third World, especially from Latin America, pressing to see whether there are any Christians in North America who will side with them against governments supported by the interests that control our government and determine its policy. All of this makes for a situation which invites new thinking, which opens a window on a new view of Christian faith and the Christian's role in a society such as ours. Twenty-five years ago such matters were called "non-theological factors" in the ecumenical movement. That we are no longer so sure that they are non-theological is a sign that theology is beginning to stir and is far from dead.

Paul M. van Buren has recently resigned the Chairmanship of the Religion Department of Temple University in order to spend a year writing on Jewish-Christian theology.

Dana Martin

American Religion in Reverse Gear

by Roy Larson

Since 1970 I have been reporting at regular intervals in this column the growth of neotraditionalism in American religion.

That trend, which followed on the heels of the death-of-God movement, the now-obsolete Now Generation's obsession with novelty and spontaneity, and the frenetic casting about of the hyperactivists, is far from spent.

Nevertheless, while chronicling the resurgence of neotraditonalism, I have kept in the back of my mind the suspicion that much of the present rage for tradition is as faddish as the voguish tendencies it is reacting against. In a society still not that far removed from the frontier, traditionalists often get undeserved credit for depth. In obedience to these undocumentable hunches, I have continued to assume that the basic, long-range drift of American culture is in the direction of an expanding secularism.

These thoughts surfaced again the other day during a long lunch with a former Roman Catholic priest, a part of the church's "brain drain" during the 1960s. For personal reasons, he preferred to remain anonymous.

More than 10 years have elapsed since he left the priesthood and the church. Unlike many ex-priests, he has no desire to remain active in the church as a layman.

"Staying within organized Christianity," he said, "is by no means the only thing to do. It is by no means always the courageous thing to do. Staying within might be cowardice, capitulation, entrapment. It might entail the death or stunting of whatever was valid in the Christian ethos."

Although he is by choice an outsider now, he remembers with appreciation the gifts he received from his Christian heritage, especially the art, the music, the architecture. "I have a healthy respect," he told me, "for the ecumenical tradition of the church." In a

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historical sense, he is a Christian; in an existential sense, he is not.

That means, among other things, he no longer participates in the liturgical life of the church. For him, the liturgies are more like costume dramas than real events. Attempts to inject new life into old liturgies leave him untouched. "Leonard Berstein's 'Mass'," he said, "is terrific show biz, but it's concert music, not liturgical music."

Behind his feelings about the liturgy are his convictions about theology. Parts of the church's traditional theology, he believes, are "salvageable" for modern adults, but he is convinced many of the questions raised by the death-of-God theologians were brushed aside before being adequately dealt with.

In his judgment, neotraditionalists like those who recently issued the "Hartford Appeal for Theological Affirmation" are engaged in a fruitless effort to keep alive by artificial means a tradition that is played out. "What they're doing," he said, "is pumping air into a tire that has holes in it."

After our conversation, my companion wrote me a letter and sent me some of his essays. In his letter he went a step further in his denunciation of theology: "To try to justify theology at all is a regressive and possibly a pathological trend. Let the dead bury the dead." It is disorienting, he contends, for modern persons to look at reality through a theological filter.

Like many students of contemporary culture, the former priest believes we are living in a transitional time, "a time between the times." Old ways of understanding life no longer make sense; new ways have not yet come into being. "It's like being in adolescence," he said. "We can't go back to where we were, but we're not yet able to go forward."

"How do individuals make it in such a period when so many of the props have been removed?", I asked him.

"It's not easy," he replied. "We have a sense of isolation. We are left without a community. But instead of turning for help to a false community or to dead symbols, we need to look to other people for support, wait for legitimate new symbols to emerge, and struggle to find a language that clarifies rather than distorts the data that come from our senses."

Terms like "theist" and "atheist" have little meaning for him. What is important is the word "religion."

"Religion," he stated, "is the bond between men. Now we need to be putting something together again, a human community, on a new basis. For me the basis for this is not theological fantasies but humane socialism."

Out of this community, he thinks, a new vision of God may emerge:

"This god will not stand in infinite opposition to man. Rather he will be not unlike the earthy gods of earthier peoples than we have been, a deity of joy and laughter, of Dionysian creativity, of wine and song and lovemaking, of friendship and of the holiness of solitude and stillness.

"In short he will be a god who truly symbolizes the vitality of life and experienced love and is germane to the lively ethos of his people. Such a musical deity is beyond what we have known in theism or atheism. The new epiphany may be a surprise. For it will be the manifestation of a long suppressed community elan, surging forth from a consciousness in which we are bound together in mutual care and love."

You Had Better be Worried

Many groups and individuals concerned with civil liberties are working to defeat a bill in the senate known as "Senate 1". A full copy (750 pages in length) of the bill contains in it a serious threat to our rights under the First Amendment of the Constitution.

The comprehensiveness of the bill and the vagueness of its language in themselves should alert us to potential dangers. For example, the bill would legalize the government's practice of keeping secrets, would re-enact laws which permit wiretapping without a court order, would re-enact the Smith Act in a manner which would allow the government to imprison people for merely talking about revolution, would severely limit the freedom of the press, and would protect federal officials from criminal penalties for any illegal act "required or authorized in performance of their duties..."

If this bothers you, write your senators.

A New Executive Council Position?

by Mark Harris

A note on representation:

For a short while last fall it appeared that the Executive Council might decide to fund a position on national staff titled "organizational liaison officer." Such an officer, among other things, would represent our interest to, and inform us about, legislative bodies which most directly affect the way in which long-term issues of world and domestic hunger are dealt with or resolved. That position was not funded.

To the credit of the national church and its leadership, and because the church has come to see issues of hunger as long-term in character, the Executive Council has funded a position of hunger coordinator. The person who fills this post can be invaluable to us all in relating to us the full extent of complexities in both facts and values that hunger issues raise up. We can hope that coordination of our efforts to work on issues of hunger will lead to a better formed, more cohesive, plan of action for the whole church.

It seems appropriate, however, to suggest that the possibility of an organizational liaison officer be re-introduced with a broader area of responsibilities. The national church ought to fund such an officer so that our church might better be represented to, and be informed about, the whole range of issues where national and international policy formation and action relate to Christian concerns for justice, peace, and human rights.

Such an officer ought to be representative in a diplomatic sense—carrying concerns and representing interests of our community in alien territory, and representative of a constituency (perhaps in even an elective way) in parallel fashion to the way that legislators have constituency and authority base.

In a time of money troubles it might seem strange to suggest yet another staff position on a national level. Nevertheless, such a suggestion seems necessary. Public policy affects the ways in which our faith has relevance in the world. Unless we seek ways of consistently and concretely communicating our concerns as a faithful community in the arena of decision-making bodies, our concerns will go unheard.

Mark Harris is Chaplain at the University of Delaware.

Black on Black

by Robert L. Dewitt

It occurred last December at the Fifth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi...

I was early at the luncheon line, to avoid the later rush. I had an early afternoon meeting. I took my tray to one of the many tented picnic tables. No one was seated yet at the table. I mused at my lack of social assurance, a lack which deflected me from the few tables where some were already seated. There I would have found conversation to go with the lunch, conversation I would have relished. Just then a young Black woman came to the table and asked if she might join me. She was a Black from Ghana, and exhibited a social poise which I, as a white, had failed to learn in the United States. She was serving, I learned, as a French-English interpreter for the Assembly.

As we passed a few minutes in casual conversation, a Kenyan steward serving our section of tables came up to me and asked if I would care for some fruit cup for dessert. I said yes, and he turned to go. The Ghanaian woman stopped him with an abrupt inquiry: "Why did you not ask me?" He was confused by her question. She repeated it: "Why did you ask him if he wanted some fruit cup, and did not ask if I did?" He was no longer confused by the question. Now, he was embarrassed. He stammered an apology, and said he would also bring her some. Still poised, she said: "You are excused."

The moral needed pointing, for me. "Why", I inquired, "Did he not ask you? Because you are a woman?" Patiently she explained, "No. Because I am Black." "In Ghana, she continued, "we have been trying hard to overcome the effects of colonialism. We are very conscious of the tendency of Blacks to defer to whites. It is a conditioning from our past. Consequently we try to be sensitive to it, and to identify it wherever it occurs."

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GENERAL CONVENTION ISSUE

THE WITNESS

August, 1976
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■ **A Ho-Hum Convention Unless . . .**
William R. MacKaye

■ **Church and Society Network**
Alice Dieter

■ **Carter's Politics of Nostalgia**
William R. Coats

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters.

Critique from an Old Friend

THE WITNESS both intrigues and irritates me. It is the easiest magazine to read that I know of. It is brief and one can read the articles quickly and understand pretty well what they are trying to say. It has a personal punch. On the other hand it is dogmatic in its assertions about sexuality, capitalism, etc. The net result is that it both makes me mad and makes me think.

Rt. Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr. — Brookline, Massachusetts

He Didn't Like It

I find your sophomoric attempt at humor ("Letter from God to Presiding Bishop Allin," May 1976) in very poor taste.

At this time the ordination of women to the priesthood is nothing to joke about. To some Episcopalians, it is a question of simple justice. To others, it is a matter of abandoning the treasured apostolic ministry. After September, inevitably there will be many grievously hurt people in our Church. Compassion and charity are needed now, not partisan, self-righteous cleverness.

Rev. David R. King — Elizabeth, New Jersey

Pike Lives On

I thought the tribute to Jim Pike in the April issue was top-flight. He was at General for a year while I was there and was my roomate's tutor, so he spent a lot of time in our quarters. A stimulating, beautiful man.

Rev. Paul Kintzing, Jr. — Providence, Rhode Island

We Agree

THE WITNESS is good. I'm an old Fletcher student-factory workman-priest, slum mission priest and the rest of the 29 years in the priesthood on the left side of things.

I agree with Joe Emrich (the Rt. Rev.) that there should be penetration into the local church problems and less pot-boiling and theorizing by those who seem to be esoterically related to the nitty-gritty of church life.

Rev. Robert Cook — Granville, New York

New Depths

Thank you for the April issue. It reaches greater depths than some of your previous ones. I hope to be able to benefit from more of this type of honest probing.

Mrs. Virginia Gunn — Nottingham, Pennsylvania

A Word to Philip Cato

I simply couldn't let Philip Cato's "Modest Proposal" go by without comment. My concern goes beyond the issue of the age and tenure of bishops to the underlying problem of "ageism" within the church.

Thanks for the piece on Jim Pike. His hearing was a low water mark for the House of Bishops. I thoroughly enjoyed reading it, for my fascination, admiration and feeling for Jim continue.

Rev. Kenneth E. Clarke — Cincinnati, Ohio

Letters continued on page 15

Cover: From woodcut by Robert Hodgell.
Courtesy Episcopal Peace Fellowship.

THE WITNESS

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On Liberating Prophetic Voices

Robert L. DeWitt

It seems likely that this year's General Convention will not respond as the church should to the social crisis of our era. The church pays for its space, privilege, honor and power in society by muting its prophetic voice. Especially in America, the church has become the chaplain-in-residence to the established order, unable to be other than vaguely uneasy about the human suffering caused by the burgeoning industrial machines and corporate business structures.

Despite this, it needs to be clearly seen and strongly asserted that we are not people without hope. We are not the hapless and hopeless victims of circumstance. We have been commissioned to be co-creators of this world and of its history. To do less is to be less than human. True, we are in danger of not being aware of the pervasive power of the political and economic structures of our world. But perhaps even more we are in danger of being mesmerized and immobilized by them. We are free agents, responsible for the shaping of our human destiny.

What does this entail? St. Paul said, ''We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers...'' This is becoming, in this century, increasingly evident. We are beginning to realize that we are subject to a totalitarian world-wide economy, exemplified by the transnational corporations. This totalitarian economy—a world order which dwarfs the empires of the past—is effectively bringing about the alienation of people from their means of livelihood, from their families, from their capacity to determine the quality and direction of their own lives. This is cruelly true of the people who have no jobs, no homes, no food. But it is also true of the middle class whose members find themselves threatened by unemployment, oppressed by inflation. The mission of the church to society, once seen merely as doing good works, giving alms to the poor, is increasingly evident as being a mission to and for everyone, because all are threatened.

Our own Episcopal Church is not unaware of this. The Presiding Bishop and the program on world hunger which he has urged upon the church make it clear that world hunger will not be eased without a fundamental change in the domestic and world political and economic processes which are the fundamental causes of hunger. More recently, the report of a special advisory committee to the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church stated: ''It is simply not enough to pray for the poor, or comfort the victims of life. We must also try to change the policies and structures which debase and restrict personhood...'' This is a clear calling to analyze, understand and change the political and economic system which presently oppresses this world and the people who inhabit it.

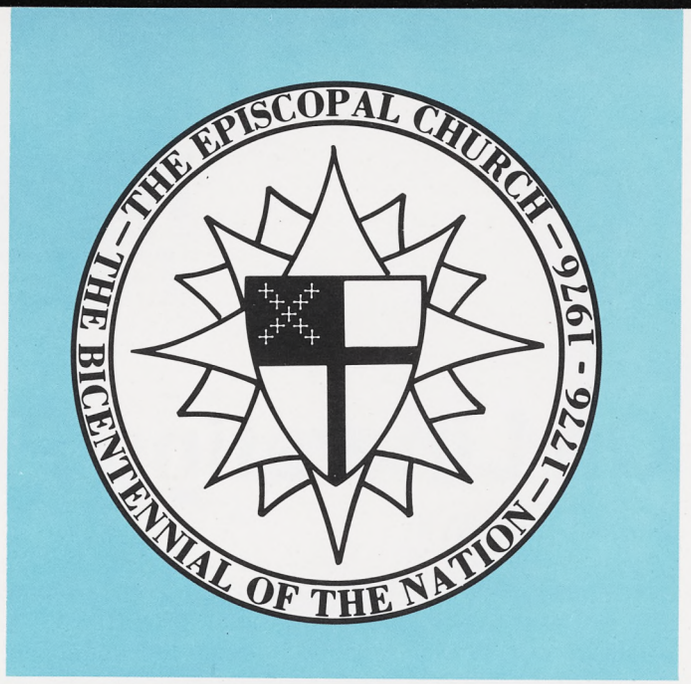
There can be no doubt about the correctness of these urgings. On the other hand, there can be no optimism that the church through its official structures either can or will respond with any adequacy. Like most institutions, the church is too conformed to this world to be able to transform it. One expression of this conformity is the presence of a dogmatic attitude in the dominant culture which has created a climate of repression that make it difficult to criticize or alter ''the American system.'' The well-known ''Communist phobia'' of the McCarthy era did not die with Senator McCarthy. And this repression of free thought, of open consideration of how our national life can be more human, this insistence that ''our system is the best,'' has powerful support among the present economic and political powers. And a church which has many possessions in this society is in a difficult position to challenge this society. The accommodations involved in the proposed raising of $100 million for national church programs will scarcely improve that position.

It is true that specific social ills have their peculiar patterns of oppression; but it is clear, though not generally recognized, that the basic dysfunctioning of

General Convention

A Ho-Hum Event Unless . . .

By William R. MacKaye



When Episcopalians by the thousands stream into the St. Paul (Minnesota) Civic Center September 11 for the worship service opening their church's 65th General Convention, they will for the first time in recent memory at such a service not be offered the consolation of the holy eucharist. The sacrament of unity, at least in the mind of Presiding Bishop John Maury Allin, has become a sign of division.

Eager to avoid seeming a partisan either of the 1928 Book of Common Prayer or of the rites of the revised prayer book to which the convention will be asked to give preliminary assent in September, the Presiding Bishop in effect conceded that the church is momentarily ritually speechless, canceled the traditional opening eucharist, and penciled in in its place a service of "praise and witness."

The omitted offering of the sacrament points to the two principal factors that will determine the tone and shape of the forthcoming convention: the disarray of the present-day Episcopal Church, which finds it almost impossible to come to a common mind on anything more controversial than the Apostles' Creed; and the conviction of its Presiding Bishop that his proper role is to sidestep issues that divide, seeking instead new programs and visions on which all may agree. Recognition of these two factors may in turn offer help in the discernment of a convention agenda to those Episcopalians who want to see the convention attempt to achieve more than simple peace in the household.

Discussion about the convention, at least up to this point, has centered almost exclusively on two of the issues that will come before it—revision of the Book of Common Prayer and ordination of women to the priesthood. In dioceses all across the country election of General Convention deputies was politicized as never before, and veteran deputies from many jurisdictions were summarily retired from office because the electors rejected their positions. In the Diocese of Virginia, for example, doughty lay deputy George Humrickhouse's endorsement of women priests was deemed too tepid, while in the Diocese of Long Island the urbane Rev. Robert Capon was seen as too avid a supporter; neither man will represent his diocese this year.

Despite the torrent of talk and pre-convention politicking, however, the two "big" issues of the Minneapolis convention may well prove to be big non-issues. Already a broad spectrum of convention watchers see the Draft Proposed Book of Common Prayer as a shoo-in when it comes before the convention. Dorothy Faber, editor of the conservative Christian Challenge magazine, which has repeatedly attacked the work of the Standing Liturgical Commission, conceded recently that the only hope of the anti-revisionists is to derail the proposed Prayer Book when it comes up for final approval three years hence.

"I'm sure it will pass this time," she said.

The fight over the admission of women to the priesthood and the episcopate is a much closer one. Spokespeople for the National Coalition for Ordination of Women to the Priesthood and the Episcopacy, which has done the most careful nose-counting among the prospective deputies, decline to discuss the Coalition's findings in detail, a tip-off that all is not well in the Coalition's vote-seeking.

"At this point we have something less than fifty-eight domestic dioceses," said the Rev. Patricia Park a few weeks ago and offered no further overall detail. A Virginia deacon, Mrs. Park is co-chairperson of the Coalition.

Fifty-eight is the magic number for the Coalition, a majority of the 114 dioceses represented in the Convention. Owing to the difficulty of communicating with the 21 overseas dioceses, the Coalition has concentrated its efforts entirely on the domestic jurisdictions. In early summer, Mrs. Park said, her group was actively currying support in about 20 marginal dioceses, seeking to convert divided deputations into affirmative votes and to hang on to supporters in deputations where affirmative majority seemed shaky.

The Coalition, whose other co-chairperson is the Rev. George Regas, rector of All Saints' Church, Pasadena, Calif., had raised and spent more than $30,000 in its organizing efforts by mid-spring, and its leaders thought their campaign might cost as much again by the time convention adjourns.

Early on: Women, Prayer Book

Convention strategists—the Presiding Bishop, the Rev. John B. Coburn, president of the House of Deputies, and the agenda and arrangements committee headed by Bishop Willis Henton of Northwest Texas—decided some time ago that the question of women's ordination should be disposed of as early as possible in the convention. Present plans call for the Draft Proposed Prayer Book to be debated and voted upon during the convention's first two days, with the priesting of women question to follow immediately afterwards.

For the first time, action on women's ordination will be initiated in the House of Bishops, where the proposal's chief sponsors, Bishops William F. Creighton of Washington and John Burt of Ohio, say they have attracted as supporters a majority of the bishops expected to attend the convention. Burt announced a few weeks ago that 67 bishops would sponsor the resolution and would be joined in the vote by 15 other supporters, assuring a total of at least 82 "yes" votes for women priests.

The division of the deputies on the ordination issue at this point is far too close to predict an outcome. Mrs. Park reported that deputations this year appear far more uniform in their viewpoint than was the case in 1973: the Coalition nose-count turned up only about 12 divided deputations in contrast to the 40 divisions recorded three years ago. It appears, in fact, that the deciding votes may be cast by the 21 overseas dioceses, which often do not seat full deputations because of the cost of travel but are still entitled to a full vote in each order if as many as one cleric and one lay person are present to cast them.

In any event, voted up or down, the Prayer Book and women likely will be disposed of as convention issues by the middle of the convention's first week. At that point it is clearly the Presiding Bishop's hope that the convention's attention will turn primarily to what he sees as the great unifying opportunity for the convention and the church—a decision to launch a national fund drive with a goal of as much as $100 million.

How to Spend $100 Million

The plan for the "Partnership Fund," as approved by the Executive Council in April for submission to the convention, does include a dream book of some of the ways $100 million might be spent—$13 million for dioceses overseas to make all of them financially independent within fifteen years; $20 million for other overseas Anglican and ecumenical work; $15 to $20 million for black colleges; $7 million for education and training for ministry and for the Board for Theological Education; $6.5 million for projects of social intervention under the aegis of an agency to be known as the Coalition for Human Needs.

But the ultimate beneficiaries of the $100 million seemed almost incidental in Bishop Allin's call for the drive. Citing as his precedent for launching the partnership fund the Apostle Paul's collection for the church in Jerusalem (see the closing verses of First Corinthians), the Presiding Bishop declared:

"Paul's collection of money...was proposed as a task that would let the clear light of giving illuminate the true unity of Christians. It would brush back the clouds of fragmentation. The Apostle felt this unity needed to be seen by the world in general as well as by the Christians themselves. The collection of money was also proposed as a way in which the infant church could meet some pressing needs and responsibilities that had been laid upon it."

The design for the proposed campaign, in which Executive Council Vice President Oscar C. Carr, Jr. has played a key part, calls for the retention of Ward, Dreshman & Reinhardt, Inc., a fund-raising firm that has conducted drives in 50 dioceses. Under the proposal to be submitted to the convention, the firm's president, Harold Treash, will serve as full-time director of the Episcopal Church drive from October of this year until June 30, 1978, at a fee of $96,000 a year. During the last six months of the campaign, when the most intensive fund-raising would go

on, Treash would be assisted by eight or nine associate directors who would receive $5000 a month each.

Despite these high-powered salaries, however, Ward, Dreshman has a track record of relatively modest overall fund-raising costs. In the diocesan drives it has conducted, according to Carr, costs averaged four per cent of the funds raised. Several bishops familiar with the firm's work, including two skeptical of the wisdom of launching a major fund drive at this time, acknowledged the good reputation of the fund-raising firm. It is the Ward, Dreshman board chairman, Donald R. Hannum, who supplied the possible goal for the drive by declaring. "There can be no reasonable doubt that a goal of $100 million is within the potential of the Episcopal Church." But still among many church leaders a sense of skepticism remains. New York's Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., for example, spoke of the massive financial needs that the Diocese of New York has been unable to meet and questioned whether fund-raisers for a national drive can hope to have better results among New York's potential givers.

7 Volume Teaching Series Slated

The Presiding Bishop is also lending his personal support to the preparation and issuance of a new Church's Teaching Series, although it remains to be seen the extent to which the convention will be permitted to review the decision to proceed with the publication of a new series. No money for the books is included in the budget to be presented to the convention. Rather the planners proposed to draw $125,000 from the funds raised in the Partnership Plan; Seabury Press, which will publish the series, is pledged to provide the other $125,000 deemed necessary to launch the publishing effort. Under the present schedule the manuscripts of the seven proposed volumes are to be completed in final form in the fall of 1977, with publication set for the following spring. The idea of a new teaching series is likely to stir opposition from those troubled by the cost and confident that books already available meet the need that the new books are intended to fulfill, but there may not be much they can do about it.

In any event whether bishops and deputies favor or oppose the Partnership Fund or the new Church's Teaching Series, neither project is likely to stir the passion that attended, say, the authorization and subsequent carrying out of the General Convention Special Program. Indeed an aura of blandness pervades most of what is currently slated to come before the convention. The House of Bishops and the House of Deputies will be asked by the Joint Committee on Structure to approve a number of reforms of the convention, most notably a reduction of the representation of each diocese in the House of Deputies from eight deputies to six. The move would at one stroke reduce the swollen membership of the house by one quarter and eliminate the perennial debate over whether to abolish the rule that counts divided votes as negative. The Rev. Carlson Gerdau, a veteran deputy from the Diocese of Northern Michigan, commented briefly of the proposal: "It doesn't have a chance." Whether or not Gerdau's assessment is sound, the average person in the pew (or parson in the pulpit, for that matter) seldom is stirred up by debates over institutional structure.

Not much fire seems likely either in the three-way race for the presidency of the House of Deputies that is likely to get under way with the rap of the opening gavel, since the deputies are required by their rules to fill the vacant vice presidency of the house as their first order of business. Normally the vice president succeeds to the presidency when it becomes vacant, as it will when Dr. Coburn leaves office at the conclusion of the convention to be consecrated Bishop of Massachusetts. Candidates for the Coburn job are Lueta Bailey of Griffin, Ga., the first woman ever to run for the post; Charles Lawrence of New York, a professor of sociology at Brooklyn College; and Walker Taylor, a Wilmington, N. C., insurance man and former member of the Executive Council staff.

Even that old standby as a source of controversy, the Church in Society program proposal is strangely passionless. Bishop Paul Moore, presenting the report of his advisory committee on church in society to the Executive Council, used the strongest possible language, declaring he now has "the most urgent concern I have ever had for the social mission of the church."

City, Moral Bankruptcy Linked

"I really believe that we are at a crisis, not only in American life but in the life of Western culture," he told the council, as he questioned whether free societies would survive the next 15 years. The economic turmoil of New York and other great cities, he went on, may well be the early warning symptoms of the "ultimate destruction of a society which cannot deal with its weakest members."

But despite the urgency of his words, Bishop Moore's own tone and that of his committee's report was calm, almost resigned, and the proposal itself is modest—essentially a continuation of the present grants for minority programs and empowerment, though fueled with even less

money unless outside funding can be located; development of programs responding to the challenge of such issues as domestic and world hunger, housing shortages, economic injustice and sexism; and the creation of a church-wide network concerned about the social mission of the church gathered in an umbrella body called the Coalition for Human Needs.

Bishop Moore spoke to the Executive Council of the weariness he has encountered among those once concerned with social questions—"a strange cessation of energy throughout the world," he called it, that has characterized "the strange quiet '70s"—and some of those who served on his committee said they saw this same weariness in the

Dana Martin

bishop and many of the other veterans of the '60s social action battles. Few committee members seemed to have much hope that the broad reaches of the church or the General Convention could be mobilized this year in support of a bold, dramatic, potent program of social action. "I don't see much enthusiasm for pursuing this in the church as a whole," said one participant, "but you've got to do what you can."

The convention then conceivably could run its course in the spirit of calm and lack of unsettling controversy that many of its leaders seem to hope for. Bishop Henton, who heads the agenda and arrangements committee of the convention for example conversed reluctantly with a reporter about the preliminary scheduling decisions made for the convention. "Sometimes you pre-program issues by giving them too much attention," he said.

Sex, a quietly ticking bomb

There is, however, amidst the surface calm of the pre-convention preparations, one quietly ticking bomb—a series of resolutions to be introduced by the Joint Committee on the Church and Human Affairs, chaired by Bishop George Murray of the Central Gulf Coast. These resolutions would commit the Episcopal Church to a systematic exploration of what a contemporary Christian view of sexuality, including homosexuality, might be; assert that homosexuals, like members of other minorities, should be entitled to the protection of civil rights law; and call for the repeal of all laws regulating non-commercial sexual conduct except those designed to protect minors and "public decorum."

It is no news that contemporary men and women, including church people, are deeply confused about what kinds of sexual activities are morally acceptable and what kinds are not. Views range from countenancing sexual activity solely between husband and wife on one extreme to the precept "If it feels good, do it" on the other. Particularly unsettling for many people is having to acknowledge the existence of homosexual conduct, at least among persons they know, much less endorsing it as acceptable behavior for some people.

Yet the convention is going to be asked to debate the question of homosexuality, and not in a vacuum but under the watchful, visible and interested eyes of Episcopalians, including clergy, who openly acknowledge they are active homosexuals. The two-year-old Integrity organization, an association of gay Episcopalians, plans to operate a booth in the exhibit hall that, in the words of one Integrity leader, will be "staffed at all times by either members of Integrity or other Christians who are gay and happy about it."

The booth's personnel, continued the Rev. Ronald Wesner of Philadelphia, will be a "*visible*, incarnate presence at the convention. Gay people have been at General Convention all along. I know—I've been there, but this time others will have to acknowledge them."

Homosexuals have been present in the church including the clergy, all along for that matter. A bishop of a Western diocese, for example, estimates that perhaps as many as one-quarter of the clergy of his diocese are homosexual. In one recent episcopal election, two of the four nominees for bishop were homosexuals, according to clergy in that diocese. The House of Bishops has had a committee of bishops for some years now that has been quietly studying the phenomenon of homosexual clergy and what, if anything, to do about it. But Minneapolis 1976 seems likely

to be the first convention that will have to wrestle with the question openly. (Presumably the convention will have to deal, as well, with the report of the Murray committee, and with a memorial from the Diocese of Texas calling upon the convention to prohibit the ordination of homosexuals to the ministry.

Ruth Tiffany Barnhouse and the Very Rev. Urban T. Holmes III, editors of *Male and Female: Christian Approaches to Sexuality*, one of the three study guides* for the convention published by Seabury at the direction of the Presiding Bishop, declare in their preface that "an attitude to homosexuality necessarily involves an attitude to heterosexuality—these are not independent issues. They must both emerge whenever we consider human sexuality generally, since they touch on the fundamental configuration of the human person as he or she attempts, the difficult process of integration of the personality. The day has clearly come when the church must do more than quote or misquote the Bible—depending on one's view—to justify a position."

Father Wesner of Integrity, a priest for 13 years who publicly acknowledged his homosexuality last year, puts it even more strongly: "The liberation of homosexuals will be the liberation of humanity," he said. "I think the two issues of gay people in the church and the ordination of women to the priesthood are deeply interrelated. The distress over these two issues is coming from the general distress over sexuality. When one is comfortable with his own sexuality, he is comfortable with sexual variations."

The topic of sexuality, particularly homosexuality, has the emotional power to unloose the kind of process that made the 1969 special convention at South Bend one of the most dramatic and decisive conclaves of a national church body in modern times. It is often forgotten that the actions taken at South Bend were planned by no agenda and arrangements committee: the convention planners had quite another program in mind. The convention was confronted rather by demands from the real world—Black people calling for power, young people calling for an end of war—and found within its cumbersome procedures the flexibility to respond, at least in part, to the demands.

Many lamentations have been sounded by tidy-minded reformers about the swollen, creaky House of Deputies, and indeed sooner or later the convention may have to reflect further on the bizarre arrangements that permit 60-odd communicants of the Diocese of El Salvador to cast four votes in the House of Deputies, just like the four votes allotted the 80,000-odd communicants in the Diocese of Connecticut. But despite its unwieldiness, the House of Deputies has demonstrated that it is capable of moving when effectively challenged. Perhaps this is true—and truer of the deputies than the theoretically more "liberal" House of Bishops—because of the deputies' openness to the extraordinary profusion of lobbyists who gather round an Episcopal General Convention.

The proliferation of voluntary organizations that are a distinctively Anglican contribution to the church scene invariably gather in force at General Conventions; increasingly they are flanked by delegations from concerned congregations who come to camp on the convention doorstep to see their church at its legislative work and to offer their own comments and criticisms. In recent years a good-sized temporary village has sprung up around each convention, a village in fact served three years ago by the three daily newspapers—the official Convention Daily, the conservative and sometimes contentious ACU News and the breezy and frequently witty Issues, sponsored by a coalition of progressive-minded organizations ranging from Associated Parishes to the Church Society for College Work. And all of these convention visitors are talking to every deputy they can find.

Predictions are dangerous, but it at least seems possible that a wide open debate on sexuality might raise the convention to an energy level at which it would be enabled to act in a more than pro forma manner on the issues raised for it by the Church in Society proposals. Then the convention might find within itself the power to demand the people of the church to really do something about reforming the unjust economic system they collaborate with, and to bind up many more of those wounded by the system's operation.

William R. MacKaye identifies himself as "a veteran Episcopalian" and former religion editor of the *Washington Post.*

* This volume and its companions, *To Be a Priest: Perspectives on Vocation and Ordination,* edited by Robert E. Terwilliger and Urban T. Holmes III, and *Realities and Visions: The Church's Mission Today,* edited by Furman C. Stough and Urban T. Holmes III, are available at $3.95 each from Seabury Press, 815 2nd Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Church and Society Network:
A Tale Anxious for the Telling

By Alice Dieter

If the Church and Society Network exists in the summer of 1976, then it exists more as an idea than a reality. But ideas have a way of creating reality, and that is what the Network is intended to do. The reality it seeks would be an exuberant, irrepressible and prophetic linking of people who believe there is a Gospel imperative for social concern. People willing to take action, challenging the institutional church right along with the other institutions of our society, to fulfill that Gospel demand.

The reality so far is that the Network has been little more than a series of meetings discussing itself. I attended one of the first such meetings deliberately held in the "hinterland," which can be specifically defined as anywhere in the United States outside of New York City and Washington, D.C. In this case, the hinterland was Seattle, and those of us invited to be grass roots were from parishes throughout the Pacific Northwest. I do not say we "represented" parishes from that region, but rather that we were individuals who claim church identity from its parishes and dioceses.

From Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Alaska we came to hear about the Network, or rather the idea of the Network. It is this: the church, by its very nature, tends to speak to the manifestations of problems rather than to the cause of them. And just now the church is in dire need. It is in danger of ignoring even manifestations. Without too much effort the church can satisfy its institutional conscience by dealing with the hurts of society through the traditional responses of charity and never really face the existence of human alienation and oppression or act to eliminate the roots of these evils.

Dana Martin

The idea of the Network came from Bishop Robert DeWitt. It took shape as he planned his resignation as diocesan bishop of Pennsylvania. DeWitt resigned because he believes that no diocesan bishop should hold office longer than 10 years. Without diocesan responsibilities he wanted to see what might be done to help people deal with the root causes of the problems of oppression. And he was looking for others with the same concern to be part of the effort.

That day in Seattle came and went in talk as we got to know each other and tried to determine if we were such people. For some of us the idea recalled the sense of purpose of the anti-war effort. The Network sounded almost familiar. We discussed the issues we believed were crucial. Issues we saw causing human pain and disruption. Issues for society that the church seemed to take no real institutional cognizance of. The list is not unpredictable, although our regional perspectives gave it specifics that may have the distinctive mark of time and place.

There were economic issues and issues of human displacement and there were crucial environmental concerns. Alaska's pipeline, Washington's Trident submarine base, Oregon's new aluminum plant, the threats of environmental pollution, the economic disruption of national agricultural policies on the family ranch or farm, the failure of our people to understand the situation of the Indian reservations in our states or the urban poor in our cities. Was there a way the church could help people to understand the *causes* of social disruption? Was there a way the church could lead to less energy-consumption life styles? Was there a way the church could help us shape changes as change rushed upon us? Was there a way we could move the church to consider the issues? Or was the church, weighted with its own institutional agenda, a lost cause?

Will the Real Church Please...

Of course, there was also the issue of ordination for women. For some of us, but by no means all, that subject was a paramount concern. Unless the church could accept

all its people as made fully in the image of God, was it the church?

That first meeting took place more than 18 months ago. And it has had its own results in several diocesan conventions as well as in some new human links across our vast western miles.

Since then, Bob DeWitt and his colleague, Hugh White from Detroit, have held many such meetings; and there have been regional follow-ups, communication letters, national steering committee meetings and all the other tedious manifestations that inevitably accompany the phenomenon of social organization. The scorecard last spring was that contacts have been made in 44 dioceses spread across every region of the country. As a result of this effort, 22 local groups have met more than once, 16 can be fairly counted as sustaining, 10 to 12 are "dormant" but still in contact. The mailing list was counted at 575. Not a multitude, admittedly, but certainly a worthy beginning.

The effort has been powered by the energy of the two organizers and by funds given to Bishop DeWitt for the Network project at the time of his resignation by Trinity Church of New York City, Lilly Endowment, Inc., and a number of caring individuals. Additional financial resources have come from the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, which also publishes THE WITNESS magazine.

All that organizing activity has also resulted in the creation of a national board made up of people attending the local meetings. We have issued a series of policy statements and determined some immediate priorities for action. These priorities include the publication of a study guide by fall and the determination that the Network will be present at the church's national convention in Minneapolis in September to assist in enlarging and enlivening the issues.

In the process of talking to itself about itself, the Network has said some heavy things:

The Church and Society Network is composed of people inside and outside the institutional church who, out of concern for the mission of the church, are committed to work for the liberation of all persons from oppression.

A further comment on that statement of identity is that we intend to be a place for those who refuse to separate prayer from action, or action from prayer. For us, each tests the truth of the other.

The Network recognizes that systemic change is necessary to eliminate the alienation and injustice which are at the root of the religious and social crisis of our day; and in pursuing the task of liberation gives high priority to fundamental social analysis.

This statement recognizes that the structures and institutions of our society cause our nation's seemingly chronic inability to provide domestic justice and freedom for all our citizens or to stand as a reliable ally of justice and freedom internationally. We must accurately diagnose why injustice and social malfunction occur if we are to correct such evils.

The Network understands key forms of oppression to be racism, sexism, classism and imperialism. Informed by this analysis, the Network shall initiate and participate, locally and nationally, in programs of action designed to eliminate these oppressions as they are manifest in society, including the church, to help create a society which meets the needs of its people.

That adds up to saying that we are individually and collectively committed to work for dignity and justice in the social system...to challenge systemic oppression and expose its roots as offensive to the Christian Gospel.

The foregoing represents a considerable amount of hard work and mostly loving argument among those of us who have worked to form the Network. They certainly represent the rhetorical hazards of consensus seeking; but they also offer some degree of progress toward defining a reality that might represent an idea.

The Network can be said to have historical antecedents. History is something dear to us who (although our fellow parishioners may not believe it) treasure tradition as much as the next Episcopalian. We just highlight different, less comfortable, traditions.

The CLID Connection

There are obvious connections between the Network and the Church League for Industrial Democracy. The CLID was born of World War I and provided a vibrant stimulus to the church and the country during the 1920s and '30s. Relishing creative turmoil, the members of the CLID spoke, held seminars, wrote and admonished church and society to the end that the economic problems of the depression and the conditions of an industrial society be attended.

Later there was the Church Society for College Work, formed in the late 1920s to approach the world of the college campus as if it were yet another missionary field. Raising money to augment the salaries of ministers near college and university centers, CSCW fueled a linkage of church leaders and the intellectual youth of that time that shaped lives and thoughts for decades to come.

The 1950s called forth the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; people who saw the upcoming racial turmoil and decried the church's inattention to the crisis which culminated in the civil rights battles of the '60s.

Always of the church, yet always challenging it, these remnant organizations are perhaps the best way, maybe the only way, the church has of responding to the history that presses hard upon her. Never have such groups been counted as numerically powerful. Always they have seen themselves as minorities within the fringes of the institution. Often they have been irritating. But, at their most faithful, they have been prophetic servants of the Gospel and the Church.

There is also a link between the Network and that wrenching time for the institutional church when prophetic action was, briefly, central and official; when the General Convention's Special Program pumped $7 to $9 million to political and economic self-determination for minority peoples. After that the winds blew, the pews rattled, and the church closed the window and looked inward toward its spiritual navel, away from risk.

Social concern became a void. That is the reality of the church for the Network in 1976. That is why the meetings, the rhetoric and the yet blurred, unclear definitions requiring articles to explain manifestos. Some understanding of the problem can be found in the organizing experience itself.

DeWitt and White say they have found people around the country with growing concerns about the directions of society, and growing convictions that not much can be done about it. In the midst of the bicentennial of a revolution, we suffer from the collective shrug of the shoulder. People are friendly, but marching to banners or causes is passe. And significant regional differences exist in the common view of what is real or possible in dealing with social issues.

There are some of us convinced of the values of already defined alternative political and economic systems. Others believe that since all systems require continual remodeling there is less point in arguing the brand-name rhetoric of competing social and economic theories than in dealing with specifics. The "how to" manual for doing social analysis on such a diverse and dispersed scale hasn't been written.

And large numbers of vital people live on the boundaries of the church, not quite in exile, not quite enrolled, disquieted at what the church should be but isn't, yet not willing to call for Pontius Pilate's basin for a handwashing scene. Of such diversity the Network seeks to create a new reality. From where will the unity evolve? That question is so difficult it may measure the importance of the task.

Alice Dieter is an Editorial Associate with Boise Cascade Corporation and a national board member of Church and Society.

Invitation to Action

Church and Society, the alter ego of THE WITNESS, is:

- A network of Episcopalians and others, inside and outside the institutional church.
- Who, out of concern for the social mission of the church are committed to work for the liberation of all persons from oppression.

Church and Society invites you to join along with others at the local, regional and national level to reflect on those structures of society which are oppressing many and threatening all. Further, it is a call to risk taking specific actions which will stand up to the principalities and powers.

THE LOCAL CHAPTER is the basic organizing unit of the Church and Society Network. It is the center for the development, celebration, and practice of Christian faith in the construction of a new society. Theology and bible study, social analysis, joint action, celebration and support of members' life work, and political and social struggles are hallmarks of this level.

THE REGION consists at present of nine areas across the country encompassing several local groups. The regional level provides a means of communication between chapters and between the national executive committee. Conveners are:

Northwest—Cabell Tennis, 1245 Tenth Ave. East, Seattle, Wash. 98102; Midwest—Henri Stines, 125 E. 26th St., Chicago, Ill. 60616; Appalachia—Richard Gressle, 315 Shady Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15206; Central South—Harcourt Waller, 1737 Queens Road, Charlotte, N.C. 28207; New York-Connecticut—Joseph A. Pelham, 235 Crosman Terrace, Rochester, N.Y. 14620; Mid-Atlantic—Cynthia Bourgeault, Good Hope Road, Landenberg, Pa. 19350; California—Richard Gillett, 132 N. Euclid, P., Pasadena, Cal. 91101; Texas and New England regions—conveners to be selected.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE responsibilities include shaping national policy and programs from initiatives received from regions and local chapters and developing relationships with Christian movements and organizations at the national and international level.

For further information on the C&S Network, write the regional convener nearest you or Church and Society, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pa. 19002.

Carter's Politics of Nostalgia

By William R. Coats

Jimmy Carter is an evangelical Protestant and a politician. This combination bothers some people. Starched Episcopalians are disturbed because they are snobs. Non-believers are incredulous. Still others are alarmed because they fear the use of religion to cloak and justify illegitimate power. None of these responses, however, strikes me as being particularly pertinent in penetrating the mystery of the political phenomenon called Jimmy Carter.

Nor is it a matter of accepting or rejecting Carter's piety as if it could be separated out, judged and ultimately contained. Unlike John F. Kennedy, whose faith apparently was minimal and at any rate extragenous to his politics, Carter's faith is entwined with politics. Let us take him at his word: his politics expresses his faith. It is possible then, that Carter's evangelical Protestantism provides the clue to understanding his seemingly odd, vague and contradictory mishmash of ideals and policies.

I believe Carter's political approach stands in contrast to three dominant political modes: formalistic politics, issue or interest politics and eschatalogical politics. Moreover, Carter's campaign, by no means a purely negative one, is based on a very traditional religio-political understanding of society. Indeed I suggest that Carter's campaign is dominated by nostalgia for pioneer America.

I will begin by using ecclesiastical imagery to explain what I mean by Carter's contrast with or, perhaps, revolt against, formalistic politics. Most mainline churchpeople wear their religion on their sleeves. Ecclesiastically and politically they focus on ritual and formal behavior. Historically, leading sectors of the mainline churches have actively participated in political life—but in a certain way. They counsel strict adherence to law and public ritual, matters which guarantee a class society. In elections they seek the structured, public policies behind the symbols and images, while their social compassion is exercised through formal public or private agencies.

For other Americans, particularly evangelicals, religion and life is a matter of the heart. Often lacking in traditions of political activity, they find public ritual and power intimidating and often persecutive. The heart and not law or policy is primary. First comes the conversion of the heart which is then manifested in public life in moral character. Indeed the real source of social trouble, as they see it, is deficiency of moral virtue which can be corrected only by conversion of the heart. Politics, to them, is moral character expressed publicly. For that reason Carter's personal faith, his simple talk, his call to virtue and wholesome endeavor signifies the kind of "politics of the heart" which millions of Americans think is basic to political life. "Whatever mistakes I may make," Jimmy Carter tells us, "I will never lie to the American people."

By its nature, "politics of the heart" requires a

personalistic and individualistic campaign. Indeed, Carter's style of intimate address, the projected image of the "outsider," the appeal to personal moral images is in sharp contrast to the issue-oriented approach. Labor leaders and crusading liberals bemoan Carter's success. And with reason. Carter addresses voters in their most primitive political capacity, namely as political isolates. Voters do not confront Carter as members of unions or as participants in social movements, still less as members of a social class.

Voters Politically Naked

To put it crudely, voters stand before Carter politically and socially naked. In this way they welcome his assurances, his description of America as a land of vigorous individual effort (and not social movements), his call to rise above interests and issues (Carter says he speaks on "themes" and not issues), his challenge to act individually and decently. By breaking people off from their social setting, Carter, in effect, negates the power of interest-conscious labor and issue-oriented liberals and re-presents the pre-twentieth century vision of America as a land of rugged individualists and lone pioneers.

It also is clear that Carter's campaign contrasts sharply with eschatalogical politics. Traditional eschatalogical politics takes the form of a reforming crusade in which the call for action presumes a flawed nation in need of social change. This tradition, which goes back to the Puritans, has found its most recent expression in the holy crusades led by George McGovern and Eugene McCarthy. Like the Puritans, contemporary crusaders have relied on a pessimistic impulse—a sense of despair, an awareness of deep and fundamental crisis—to prompt people to action.

Carter, on the other hand, urges people to act out of confidence that things are fundamentally right. Carter's evangelical milieu reflects enlightenment and pietistic assumptions, not those of Puritan Calvinism. Consequently he has replaced eschatalogy with ontology. His political sermons are filled with calm assurance that the people are virtuous and that our institutions are basically sound. Indeed the atmosphere of steady confidence projected by Carter and very much reminiscent of the campaigns of Franklin Roosevelt, stands over against the eschatalogies of the crusading Morris Udall, the hate-soaked George Wallace and the War-mongering Ronald Reagan. Only Gerald Ford measures up to Carter in this regard, save that the President's believability is hampered by a stiff plasticity.

Eschatalogical politics is also characterized by a political approach which assumes a systemic social malady and thus the need for a comprehensive social solution. But Carter's followers are not prepared to give such primacy to the social fabric. Instead they have chosen the human heart as the primary battlefield of good and evil. Consequently they are led to assume that society is basically a collection of fundamentally harmonious private interests. To some degree the absence of personal morality might spill over into society, but it is not private interests themselves which have a flaw. Thus, if there is to be anything like a public policy, it should emphasize minimal State interference. And this is exactly the nature of Carter's approach.

Left of Doctrinaire Right

It should be noted, however, that this is different from the Reagan position. Doctrinaire rightists see the basic struggle in society between private interests and the State. Carter's following focuses on the individual and the conflict within the human heart with the State a potentially bothersome but not necessarily evil force. Carter's economics are decidedly right of Center—which fits his ad hoc and minimalist view of the State—but he is no champion of the absolutely free market or the reign of the corporation.

Jimmy Carter's evangelical politics (or political evangelicalism) recalls a basic American dream: That of a nation free of the class bitterness of Europe, composed of hardworking, honest and virtuous individuals. It is a vision of the early frontier, the America of the pioneer—independent, basically good at heart, willing to act for the common good when called upon, asking in return only that there be few entanglements and there be no encroachment on individual freedom (such as with trade unions or political machines).

Recalls Woodsmen Image

This is the most basic American dream: A nation of self-reliant people, detesting lies, wanting simple, ad hoc programs, refusing to believe social trouble is deep or that the national life is flawed. Whereas Reagan recalls the war-whooping, gun-toting frontier brinksmanship of "Doc" Haliday and the wild West of Tombstone, Arizona, Carter bespeaks the woodsmen of early Virginia and Ohio

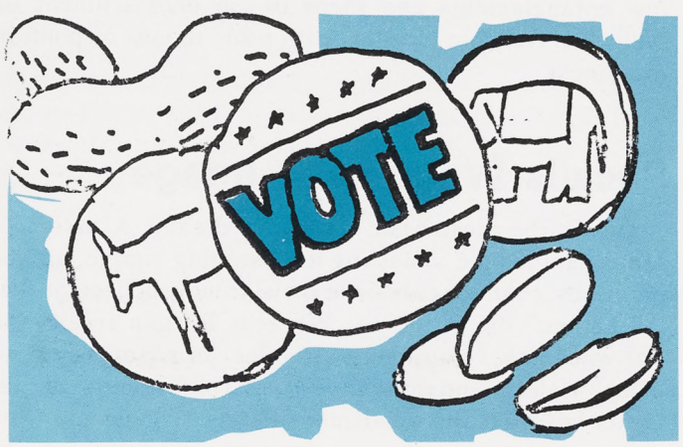
(Carter's strength is in the South and Midwest), the citizen of republican virtue of whom Thomas Jefferson dreamed. This is the vision which still inspires millions of Americans, particularly rural and suburban Americans, conservative Democrats and small business people, who form Carter's following. And this vision of America owes as much to the political work of Jefferson, James Madison and Andrew Jackson as it does to early evangelical Protestantism.

Of course, Carter the man is different from the Carter movement. He is a shrewd politician and knows that the real political world is composed of interests, class-conflict and social movements. Yet, for all this sophistication, both Carter and the image he is projecting can best be understood in the categories of evangelical politics I have outlined. His conservative economics, his ad hoc approach to policy, his appeal to the heart, his evident moral sincerity—all mark Jimmy Carter as the politician of evangelical America. And to that degree a product of political nostalgia.

I say nostalgia because I believe none of the outlines of evangelical politics to be ultimately real or relevant for our day. The question then emerges: If elected, what will Carter do when the harsh reality of class interest overwhelms the pieties of evangelical politics?

For me the answer is a sad one. I suspect Jimmy Carter will do what all evangelicals do when pushed. They move to the Right, where ideologically (though not socially) they already have ties. While campaigning in Michigan, it should be reported, Carter easily picked up the support of Henry Ford and many of the top executives at Chrysler and General Motors. A man, after all, is really known by the friends he keeps.

William R. Coats is Episcopal chaplain at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.



Continued from page 3

our social structures and institutions unites victims of these differing oppressions in a common bondage. To be a woman, or to be Black, or to be poor—any one of these is a grievous liability in this society. But what of the "triple jeopardy" of being all three at once?

Women can claim with good reason that sexism is the most ancient form of oppression in human society. For countless generations women have borne the burden of a stereotype of inferiority, a denial of the fullness of the reflection of the image of God. Their being denied access to the "higher orders" of the ministry in the Episcopal Church is a reminder of how the dead hand of an oppressive past is still upon us.

Racism, too, has a tragically long history in human society. In America this racism has a particular form and content. Without an understanding of Black oppression, one cannot understand America. And without being Black, it is very difficult to understand Black oppression. This is the irony of seeking to solve the problems of America without coming to terms with American racism.

And there are those who are hungry because they are poor. And although many are women, and many are Black, and many are both, there are many who are neither. Millions of people in this country are hungry. There are many more such millions around the world. Be they women, or Black, or in Bangladesh or India, or in Bolivia or Peru, they have no sense of solidarity in their hunger. But there is a remarkable coherence and organization in the economic and political institutions and powers which cause and perpetuate that hunger, and that also maintain the patterns of sexism and racism.

Our church, therefore, clearly is hearing the mandate, the perennial call to serve society. Just as clearly, our church through its official structures is too encumbered with this world to be able freely to respond.

We must use the term "church" with care. It is the official structures of the institutional church which through the centuries have been conformed to their world. And at no time or place more so than in the years of the church in the American Republic. Even so, God has not left Himself without witness. The long story of the Christian church, as well as the short story of the Episcopal Church in America, is brightened with stars who were exceptions, the "untold story" of people and movements—truly "the church," though outside its official structures—who have not been conformed to this world, who have been in the vanguard of needed reform and renewal. We are not only the inheritors of an ambiguous church tradition. We are also the beneficiaries of these clear witnesses.

A 1957 Projection

Wishful thinking and illusion can combine with energetic planning to suggest that things are not so bad—unconsciously our expectations have been scaled down, reorganization of parishes and the demolition of buildings rid us of hauntings from the past as we erect smaller buildings for far vaster populations in our cities.

Our eager hearts leap at every evangelistic opportunity and are easily assured that the trough of the wave is passed and revival before us. There are even accommodating theologies that can reconcile us to the situation...And always there is our busyness, and indeed our proper business in maintaining the Church and her customary work, and more than enough to do without worrying about impossible things we may have left undone.

The reasons popularly given, both inside and outside the churches, for the weakness and collapse are woefully superficial and betray ignorance of the process of history through which the churches have passed since urbanization and industrialization in the modern sense began some seven or eight generations ago. Indeed, unless we become better informed, in twenty years' time we may blame the nakedness of the scene upon television!

(**E. R. Wickham,** Page 11-12 *Church and People in an Industrial City, 1957*)

Letters - continued from page 2

Questions for Van Buren

The following was written to Paul Van Buren in response to his article "People of the Promise" in the June issue of THE WITNESS.

Dear Paul:

It was very interesting to read your article on "The People of the Promise" right after Bill Stringfellow's "The Destiny of the Nation." The questions I want to ask you flow from a comparison of the two pieces.

Stringfellow starts from a confession of faith in Jesus as Messiah, defined in New Testament terms, which he takes to be normative for Christians today. On the basis of this confession he is free to radically criticize this nation, this century and the prevailing technological order. For him the message of the Lordship of Jesus is the same yesterday, today and forever. It is not something to be proved by the actions of Christians but simply witnessed to. It is not a message of hope in any naive sense of that word. It *is* a faith which can inspire and undergird resistance.

You write about the need to reconstruct the traditional Christian understanding of Jesus as Messiah along Jewish lines. Your respondent, Michael Fishbane, suggests that you open the possibility that Jesus was a false Messiah; those of us who believe in him will have to demonstrate that he is the Redeemer. The first question I want to ask is how far does Fishbane really understand your position?

When you say we must do "all we can to prepare for the day of renewal," are you adopting a progress-oriented understanding of history? If so, is the rapprochement you are building just going to be between liberal Jews and liberal Christians? Will there be room for the Christian or Jew with a radical eschatology?

I think Jesus *is* to be understood as the light to the Gentiles and that there can be a very creative co-existence between the two faiths. But I want to resist any attempt to resolve the essential mystery of each faith in a common theology. There are still two Covenants (as you say, at least two!)

I also join you in wanting to reject Christian imperialism. But I have found that it is precisely an old-fashioned "Jesus is Lord" theology which is enabling many Christians to struggle against the secular imperialism which is the real, demonic force today. Is the Resurrection what you say it is, a "tantalizing glimpse" of something yet to come? I guess it is. But it is also for us what Paul of Tarsus said it was, God's designation of Jesus as Lord and Messiah.

Rev. David Gracie
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

C & S, Witness to Run 3 Panels at Convention

Church and Society, in cooperation with THE WITNESS magazine, will sponsor three panel discussions on "Sexism," "Racism," and the "Theology of Hunger" on Sept. 13, 14, and 15, respectively at the General Convention in Minneapolis.

Among those who have already accepted invitations to participate are Gustavo Gutierrez of Peru, noted liberation theologian; Pam Chinnis, presiding officer, Women's Triennial; Rosemary Ruether, author and theologian; and Bishops Coleman McGehee of Michigan and John Walker, newly elected coadjutor of Washington, D.C.

Other outstanding panelists both from the Convention and outside the church will speak at the sessions, scheduled for noon.

Tickets at $2 (which includes a light lunch) will be available at THE WITNESS/Church and Society exhibit booth (No. 122) while they last. For further information and a complete roster of speakers, check booth No. 122.

Study/Action Guide to Debut

A Study-Action guide to assist local groups in probing the social mission of the church and to provide clues for how to bring about social change will make its appearance at the General Convention in Minneapolis in September.

The guide was prepared by men and women, ordained and lay, activists and theoreticians, amateurs and professionals—all identified with the Church and Society Network. They undertook the task because two years of work with groups across the country indicated the need for a study guide at the grass roots level.

Designed that a group might move collectively through 12 sessions, the guide embraces the history of social concern on the part of the church, the theological convictions which have kept that concern alive, social analysis and a glimpse of some alternative societies, and suggestions as to how the foregoing relate to celebration and corporate worship.

Each unit will be self-contained, including study materials, questions around the readings, and bibliography. A section on guidelines for action rounds out the publication.

Look for it at THE WITNESS/Church and Society booth (No. 122) where publications of THE WITNESS and Church and Society will be available.

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On Living Biblically Now
William Stringfellow

Beebe Case: Clue to the Future?
John Rea

On Meatless Meals
Helen Seager

Toward Building the Cities
Paul Moore

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters

All Not Called

The ad sample on page 13 of THE WITNESS (June 1976, "There are women priests in the Episcopal Church now") says "Right now over 250 women are enrolled in seminaries of our Church. When they graduate they will be ordered deacons in accordance with the ruling of the Houston General Convention. Nothing should stand in the way of their being priested canonically..."

It would be more accurate to say "many will be ordered deacons..." or "most will..." if you know it to be true. Some women seminarians do not have vocations to the ordained ministry. Please change this in future copies.

Rev. Kathy Piccard — Cambridge, Massachusetts

Who's Missing a Witness?

Providentially, the June WITNESS fell into the wrong postbox and into my hands, shortly before a Sunday when I was inhibited from getting to church. There being no sermon on the radio or TV, I decided to make THE WITNESS my preacher and ended up with a sermon of my own:

The issue of editorial censorship of proffered advertisements ("Church Press—Free or Captive?") will plague editors for many years. When Good Housekeeping announced it vouched for every article advertised, and for a time at least offered to refund shoddy purchases, every magazine became judged by its ads.

So, though it is accepted that newspapers will print all the political campaign ads proffered, church and other "high class" magazines are expected either publicly to announce an equal time policy or to stand back of their advertisers. Most church papers have been specific about printing letters without necessarily agreeing with their content, but make no reference to paid advertising.

I have seen some horrible little ads in church papers (God knows they needed the money) and THE WITNESS doesn't print ads. But for the sake of The Episcopalian, which is vitally needed by the church, it should print either a Good Housekeeping or caveat emptor statement. The Episcopalian editor should have printed the ad as a letter. That would have gotten him off the hook and he wouldn't be damned for censorship.

Rev. Edric Weld — Santa Barbara, California

We See Only God's Back

I read Paul Van Buren's proposal (June 1976) with complete dismay. While I applaud any effort to help Christians overcome their persecution of Jews and of Jews to better understand how and what Christians think, for Prof. Van Buren to start out on such a diversionary effort which may well take two generations and longer before it reaches local congregations is a waste of time.

The real problem is not peace among Jews and Christians but who is God in our day? How do we talk God language now? Because the death of God people could not come up with a new God does not mean there is no need.

We are not out on the Negev. We are in a lot worse place: The world of the 21st century. If there must be a biblical story it surely is that of Moses in the cleft of the rock when God went by. He saw only God's back.

The problem for us—theologians included—is to discern God's presence, make it visible and viable in the signs and symbols of our time and follow where it leads.

John Clark — Poughkeepsie, New York

Letters continued on page 15

Credits: Cartoon on page 7 from poster by Peg Michel, available from Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02108, $1.50. Cartoon on page 5 courtesy Centro Nacional de Comunacion Social (CENCOS), Mexico City.

THE WITNESS

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Endangered Species

Robert L. DeWitt

A few years ago a prominent Black leader, in a conversation, made some comments about ecology. It was a term just then coming into popular usage. Said he, ''Ecology? Oh, yes, I know all about that. You know, they tell me that the trout in the streams this spring are a quarter of an inch shorter than they were last year. Isn't that a tragedy!'' His cynicism was evident. To him, ecology was the latest in a long series of devices whereby white liberals were enabled to busy themselves about something other than the fundamental questions and crises of our social order.

Ecology has since come of age. The issues it raises are not superficial. Pollution of our rivers, contamination of the ozone layer, and threats to the earth's temperature are aspects of life which we will neglect at our certain peril. Rachel Carson's ''The Silent Spring'' could indeed be the silent prelude to the death of life on this earth.

But there is often a curious myopia in this focus on threats to the other creatures who share this earth with us—the whales and porpoises, for example. People, too, live under the shadow of grave threats to their existence. The chemical and thermal pollution of our waters which poisons the fish are the work of an industrialized system within which millions of men and women are now unemployed. The mindless mechanization of modern production which scars the earth in its press for unlimited growth is marring the lives of people, leaving them hungry, resentful and powerless.

Back to that Black leader. Was he not correct in sensing that there is a real touch of the effete in a great deal of ecological concern? Are not the basic environmental threats in danger of being ignored by an ''ecological chic'' which can too easily become both trivial and sacrilegious? The Bible is clear that humankind is the crown of God's creation. From the Christian standpoint, ecology should focus on the crown as much as on its setting. It is not people, made in the image of God, who are a threat to the rest of God's creation. They, too, are threatened. Rather, it is the economic and political structures which have come into being that are endangering not only the lesser creatures of this earth, but also threatening people themselves.

A sound ecology should concern itself over mankind's own social and economic and political environment. The rest of creation would be a direct beneficiary of that concern. It is a sign of the poverty of our understanding of the social and economic order that people of good will, in their concern for creation, can ignore the misery of human beings and deny their grandeur.

On Living Biblically Now

by William Stringfellow

I spend most of my life now with the Bible, reading or, more precisely, listening. My mundane involvements, ostensibly distinguished from this vocation—like practicing some law, being attentive to the news of the moment, lecturing about the country, free lance pastoral counseling, writing, activity in church politics, maintaining my medical regimen or doing chores around the premises on Block Island—more and more readily become incorporated into this main preoccupation so that I cannot really separate the one from the other any longer.

This merging of more or less everything into a biblical scheme of living spares one an artificial compartmentalization of one's person and a false pietism in living.

The biblical adventure continues, I expect, forever and ever: always familiar and always new, at once complete yet inexhaustible, both provocative and surprising, gratuitous and liberating. Insofar as I am a beneficiary of the biblical witness, the significant change that I am able to identify, so far as my own thinking is concerned, has to do with the abolition of false dichotomies between the personal and the political or between the private and the public.

What verified this to me, in an outstanding sense, was the illness which placed my life in crisis in the period from 1967 through 1969 and which I chronicle in *A Second Birthday*. In the radical endangerment of the illness, protracted as it was, I could recognize that the death which so persistently threatened me, the death so aggressive in my body, the death signified in unremitting pain, the death which took the appearance of sickness—that death was familiar to me. I had elsewhere encountered that same death. (Actually, I had *everywhere* encountered that same death).

The previous decisive exposure, of which I had total recall during the illness, had been a decade or so before while I was working as a lawyer in East Harlem. There I contended in daily practice with death institutionalized in authorities and agencies and bureaucracies and multifarious principalities and powers. I had, slowly, learned from that involvement something which folk indigenous to the ghetto commonly discern; namely, that the power and purpose of death is incarnated in institutions and structures, procedures and regimes—like Consolidated Edison or the Department of Welfare, the Mafia or the police, the Housing Authority or the social work bureaucracy, the hospital system or the banks, liberal philanthropy or the corporate real estate speculators. In the wisdom of the people of the East Harlem neighborhood, such principalities are readily, spontaneously, and truly identified as demonic powers as a result of the relentless, ruthless dehumanization which they work.

William Stringfellow is a theologian, social critic, author and attorney. This article is the substance of his remarks at a Church and Society Network meeting. They will be incorporated in a book to be published later.

Institutional Death in Harlem

In the years in East Harlem, I become enough enlightened about death institutionally so that death no longer was abstraction and no more was narrowed to its merely funereal connotations. I had begun, then and there, to comprehend death theologically as a militant moral reality. Hence, the grandiose terms in which the Bible denominates the power of death had begun to have a concrete significance for me.

When, subsequently, death visited me in (apparently) a most private and personalized manner, in the debilitations of prolonged illness and the aggressions of pain, I was able to recognize that this represented the same power—the same death—that I had before beheld, in quite another guise, vested in the principalities active on the East Harlem scene. Divergent, or even unconnected, as the two

situations seemed otherwise to be—the one so public and political, the other so private and personal—there was an extraordinary and awful coherence in each situation in the vitality and intent of death. And, thus, the asserted or assumed dichotomy between the public and the personal appearances of death is very superficial. Or it is a deception abetting the thrall of death over human beings.

In later reflection, I would press the point further. I confess that the experience of exposure to death and of coping with death in the ghetto of East Harlem became critical to such capacity as I received to endure and survive—more exactly, to transcend—profound illness.

This virtual abolition in my mind of the distinction between the private and the political realms reveals a secret of the gospel which, I notice, bothers and bemuses very many people of the church, though they seldom may be articulate about it. Most churchfolk in American Christendom, especially those of a white bourgeois rearing, have, for generations, in both Sunday School and sanctuary, been furnished an impression of Jesus as a person who went briefly about teaching love and doing good: gentle Jesus, pure Jesus, meek Jesus, pastoral Jesus, honest Jesus, fragrant Jesus, passive Jesus, peaceful Jesus, healing Jesus, celibate Jesus, clean Jesus, virtuous Jesus, innocuous Jesus.

Meek Jesus or Political Criminal

Oddly enough, this image of Jesus stands in blatant discrepancy with biblical accounts of the ministry of Jesus where Jesus is known to have been controversial in relation to His family and in synagogue appearances, to have suffered poignantly, to have known complete rejection of intimates no less than enemies, and to have been greeted more often with apprehension than acclaim. More particularly, this notion of an innocuous Jesus contradicts the notorious and turbulent events now marked as Holy Week in which the historical Jesus was pursued as a political criminal by the authorities, put to trial and condemned, mocked and publicly humiliated, executed in the manner customarily reserved for insurrectionists, and, all the while, beheld by his followers with hysteria and consternation.

While the traditional churches have invested so much in the innocuous image of Jesus, they have not been able to suppress and remove from common knowledge the public clamor of Holy Week. This has placed churchpeople in the predicament of having simultaneously two views of Jesus with little help available as to whether the two are reconcilable.

I recall how uneasy, as a younger person, I used to feel in church when Lent, especially Holy Week, would happen and when, suddenly, it seemed, all that we had been told during the other church seasons about Jesus would be refuted in the recital of gospel accounts. There were these obvious questions which would never be mentioned, much less answered.

Why, if Jesus was so private, so kind, so good, was He treated like a public criminal? Why would the State take any notice of Him, much less crucify Him?

I became aware that others felt this discrepancy, too, and that some met it by steadfastly concentrating on the idea of an innocuous Jesus since that convenienced their way of life and made the effort to overlook the contrary evidence of Holy Week and the disquiet it occasioned. Some others, I noticed, opted the other way: they ideologized Jesus, rendering him a mere political agitator. I found both of these attempts deeply unsatisfactory, both being narrow and acculturated versions of Jesus, the one pietistic, the other political.

If the church failed to deal with this remarkable discrepancy, one still might have recourse to the New Testament to ascertain whether the contrasting images of Jesus had basis and, then, to comprehend the issues posed in Holy Week. The secret involved has to do, I learned in the Bible, with the political significance of the works, discreet

though they be, attributed in the gospels to Jesus, and similarly, the implication, politically, of his sayings. Both are cryptic: characteristically Jesus tells a parable, ending the recital with the remark "those who have ears, let them hear." Or, characteristically, He heals someone in some way afflicted in mind or body and then cautions the one healed and those who may have witnessed the happening not to publicize it. It is only when His parables or His works become notorious (the particular precipitant episode being the raising of Lazarus) that the authorities move against Jesus.

Why do the rulers of the world regard Jesus so apprehensively? Why is He an offense—and a threat—to their regime?

Power Over Death

The emerging answer in the biblical accounts is that in teaching and in healing Jesus bespeaks and demonstrates an authority and capability over the power of death, and it is that very same power of death in the world which supplies the only moral sanction for the State, or its adjacent ruling principalities. This Jesus preached and verified a freedom from captivation in death which threatens in the most rudimentary way the politics of this age. The rulers perceive this, once they have learned of Jesus and of what He has said and done, accurately to be their undoing. Thus, the very events which have been most private or most discreet in Jesus' ministry take on the most momentous political meaning, and if, in the days of Holy Week the truth of the confrontation becomes public, it has been premonitory throughout the life of Jesus—from, so to speak, Herod's attempt to murder the child through the temptations to submit to the power of death—portrayed in explicit political terms—in the wilderness.

It is, in other words, the coherence of the power of death multifariously at work in the world which explains why the public authorities cannot overlook the ministry of Jesus when it becomes apparent to them that He possesses authority and exercises capability over the power of death, as exampled in His preaching and healing.

In the midst of the consummate public confrontation between the political principalities and Jesus during Holy Week, on Maundy Thursday, Jesus promises that His disciples will receive and share through His triumph over the power of death in that same authority and capability over death in this world. And so it is that His promise is fulfilled at Pentecost, and thereafter, whenever that

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On Meatless Meals: Orgy and Out

by Helen Seager

Ho, shepherds of Israel who have been feeding yourselves!... You eat the fat,... but you do not feed the sheep. *Ezekiel 34*

So that local parishes could follow Lenten meatless meals this year without resorting too often to macaroni and cheese, I decided to assemble for them a booklet of meatless recipes for large quantity meals. Moreover, hoping to persuade my parish to remember the world's hungry in a tangible way during this Lent (and after, I hoped), I asked the Episcopal Church Women president, a retired dining room manager, to collaborate in the selection of recipes.

For even greater credibility, the two of us offered to help the sexton/cook prepare the meals for our parish. It worked. We put together a booklet of 10 menus for meatless meals for 25, 50 and 100 people, loosely based on the principles of combining vegetable proteins. We enlisted the endorsement of Bishop Robert Appleyard (we named the booklet *Bishop's Bread*), printed it at our own expense, mailed a copy to each parish in the diocese (to the ECW president—who else?), gave a copy to Presiding Bishop John Allin, shopped for ingredients for *Quiche Lorraine* for 100 people that first Thursday, and put on our aprons.

Our first obstacle was the parish secretary, who upset the sexton/cook and called the Bishop names for interfering with her eating habits. The cook got over it the first week as the three of us quietly made quiches. Dinner was delicious, some signed a food pledge (about legislation, not eating), the cooks were applauded ("if this be meatless eating, count me in"), and no one said anything upsetting—anything at all—about hungry people. Through tuna loaf, spinach-stuffed shells, and egg foo yong, the response was a smiling corporate YUM; yes, we thought, they were learning; one can eat festively and with a conscience at the same time. But no one collected money for hungry people.

We learned that Bishop Allin gave his copy to his wife

Helen Seager is Church and Society convener for Pittsburgh and "a very part-time accountant."

(who else?) who raved to Mrs. Appleyard (who else?) who ordered 10 extra copies. The writers (cooks) were smiled at and applauded.

We planned a glorious soup, properly festive, of all the leftovers we'd saved from previous weeks so that the parish would not have to pay extra for roast lamb for Maundy Thursday (a remnant of Seders we had a few years back). Several of those of little faith in what was being fed to them distributed a petition, "We the undersigned do not want to eat soup next week." The first signature on the petition was that of the parish secretary. Still, the cooks were applauded.

The Junior Warden and I met in the kitchen. "I suppose we should try to be good Episcopalians," he began, "but I don't think it is right for the Bishop to tell us not to eat meat during Lent."

The poor man thought we were engaged in a medieval fasting discipline dictated to the faithful as a prescription for goodness by the Great Father. It's not his fault; eating with a conscience had not been explained to him in his

Do You Care?

More than 20% of the world's people are believed to be starving at this moment; 60% are estimated to be malnourished and physically underdeveloped.

JSAC Grapevine

Because of the cross of Jesus and our worship of the triune God, the Church must address itself to the appalling suffering of humankind caused by hunger. It belongs to the Church's nature by virtue of its indissoluble union with its Head to cry out by word and action against those human systems and ideologies which dehumanize over half the human race by denying it a fundamental right—that is, food adequate to maintain physical and mental health.

From Statement of Theology
National Committee on Hunger, Episcopal Church

Cattle fed on grain consumes 10 pounds of grain for every pound of meat produced. Hogs and chickens are more effective converters of grain than cattle, four pounds of grain producing one pound of pork and two pounds of grain producing one pound of chicken.

If the average citizen of the U.S. would reduce his consumption of beef, pork and poultry by 10% in the next year, 12 million tons or more of grain would become available for the purposes other than livestock

Lester R. Brown, "Our Daily Bread"
Foreign Policy Association

We can appreciate how wasteful this system is when we realize that the amount of grain and soy lost through feeding livestock in one year in the United States would provide every single person on earth a bowl of cooked grain every day of the year.

Frances Lappe (Eating for a Small Planet)
Interview with Richard Taylor, *Youth*, 8/75.

parish. I briefly set him straight about the world food and hunger situation, explaining that it really does make a difference to the rest of the world what Americans put on dinner plates, and vented my anger toward the soup petition. His face hardened; my voice rose.

I went on about my 12 years of dealing with intransigence in the parish, about the fearful attitude of the parish about change, toward women on the vestry (5 out of 15 was considered "too many"), about the stinginess of the ECW

guarding an $11,000 bank account; it was very satisfying. But more was happening than a malcontent spouting off to an authority figure. I was leaving.

The petition restored perspective about the nature of things in the parish, in PECUSA, a perspective which applause might have altered. Instead of soup, they ate whole wheat crepes, and a vestry member donated the lamb for Maundy Thursday. My apron went on one more time to cook, one by one 200 crepes (more applause). With each one I blessed the Lord for wheat and eggs and took another step out of the door I knew the Lord would close behind me.

This Lenten orgy of woman's-place idealism was a finale. The crepes finished and delivered, I hung up the apron, went to a meeting of Church and Society Network Convenors, glimpsed a new community at the Shadybrook Conference, and came home to help with the arrangements for a new meal—a Eucharist celebrated in Pittsburgh by the Rev. Carter Heyward. Thanks be to God.

The Poorest Half

What is it like to live in the poorest half of the population, in the poorest half of the world?

Start with a typical American family. Take away the car, the house and all the electrical appliances, no TV, radio, iron, washing machine or refrigerator. No electricity. No running water or sinks or showers or toilets.

Substitute a one-room hut made out of mud or straw or a few boards, with a dirt floor. Add children, sick and hungry. One out of four won't live to the age of five. On an average day, most of them will have diarrhea. No schools. No one in the family can read.

Take away breakfast, lunch and dinner. Substitute two bowls of rice—or corn meal, or sweet potato. Add a little gruel made of chickpea, or else some fish sauce, once a day. One chicken splits six ways on Sunday. Maybe.

Mix this well-fed family group with a sun-baked field. Work them like oxen from dawn to dusk, to see if the next crop comes up before they die. At harvest time, see the landlord and the money-lender show up from town to get their share.

Watch the powderkeg sitting in the sun.

Roy L. Prosterman — JSAC Grapevine 5/74

Beebe Case: Clue to the Future?

by John Rea

The Peter Beebe case is closed. But the words *"charges dismissed"* may reverberate all the way to General Convention and beyond.

The Court of Review decision in Ohio June 11 will make it extremely difficult for any prosecutor to convict a priest who invites women priests into his diocese to perform priestly acts.

And it would certainly appear that if General Convention does not act in favor of women priests, it is just a matter of time before some Ecclesiastical Court, using the Beebe decision as authority, will hold that the canons as they now stand permit the ordination of women. To put it bluntly, if General Convention does not do it, an Ecclesiastical Court is going to do it.

A review of the facts in the Beebe case reveals why:

On July 29, 1974, in Philadelphia, eleven women were ordained to the priesthood in the Episcopal Church. A storm of controversy arose at once as to the validity of these ordinations. In August, 1974, at a special meeting in Chicago, the House of Bishops declared that the ordinations were not valid.

Subsequently, the Rev. L. Peter Beebe, with the majority support of his vestry, invited two of the women to Christ Church, Oberlin, Ohio, to celebrate holy communion on December 8, 1974. These two women were not licensed to perform priestly acts in the Diocese of Ohio. Both had been inhibited by the Bishop of Ohio from coming into the Diocese and performing priestly acts. Furthermore, Father Beebe had been admonished by the Bishop of Ohio not to have the women come in. In spite of this, Father Beebe allowed the service.

Shortly after, the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Ohio ordered Father Beebe to trial. On May 13, 14, and 15, 1975, at St. Paul's Church, Akron, Father Beebe was tried before a diocesan court of five priests and unanimously found guilty of the two charges lodged against him:

John Rea, member of the law firm of Meyers, Stevens and Rea, Cleveland, is attorney for Peter Beebe.

- Disobeying the "godly admonition" of his bishop
- Violating Title III, Canon 24 of the General Convention which provides: "No Minister in charge of any Congregation of this Church, or, in case of vacancy or absence, no Churchwardens, Vestrymen, or Trustees of the Congregation, shall permit any person to officiate therein, without sufficient evidence of his being duly licensed or ordained to minister in this Church."

The trial court conviction was appealed to the Court of Review of Province V. Although the Court was created in 1904, this was the first case it had ever heard. The Court is made up of one bishop, three presbyters and three lay communicants, two of whom are lawyers.

The Court of Review unanimously reversed the conviction on April 3, 1976, and sent the case back to the trial court with specific directions as to how a new trial was to be conducted.

Re-trial was set for June 30 at Trinity Cathedral, Cleveland. Several weeks before the scheduled re-trial date, the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Ohio, by a divided vote, dismissed the charges against Father Beebe.

Reversal Came as Surprise

So all inhibitions against Father Beebe have been lifted and he is a priest in good standing once again in the Diocese of Ohio. The reversal of the conviction came as a complete surprise to almost everyone. The question presents itself: What effect, if any, will the Court of Review decision have on General Convention?

The polity of the Episcopal Church is similar to that of the U.S. government in that each has an executive, legislative and judicial branch. A balance of power is supposed to exist among the three. In the Church, the overpowering balance of power has been with the legislative branch—General Convention. Power exercised by the executive branch has varied depending upon the Presiding Bishop. The judicial branch has almost completely atrophied through disuse.

In the Beebe case, however, the judicial machinery was dramatically brought to life. The General Convention canons, because they have been used so seldom, have many gaps with regard to the judicial process. The only meaningful language in the General Convention canons with regard to the mechanics of how a trial should be conducted are in Title IV, Canon 3(f), Section 21. No mention is made in the canons at all as to whether cases shall be tried as criminal or civil matters; as to what degree of proof is required of the prosecutor; as to whether members of the trial court sit as judges or as jurors.

This is of great importance because *voir dire* examination of the individual members of the court may be conducted by trial counsel in the event the members of the court are characterized as jurors. In the Beebe case, by pre-trial motion, counsel for defendant asked the court to try the case as a criminal case and, therefore, asked that the prosecutor be required to prove his case beyond a reasonable doubt. This motion was overruled.

By pre-trial motion, counsel for the defense also asked that the members of the trial court be treated as jurors and that the defense be permitted to examine individually, in open court, each prospective member of the court as to his

possible bias or prejudice. It was the ruling of the trial court that the prospective members thereof could not be so questioned.

On appeal, the Court of Review agreed that the case indeed should have been tried as a criminal case, reversed, and sent the case back for a new trial.

On appeal, the Court of Review held that the members of the trial court sat both as judges and as jurors and that the individual members of the prospective court were, therefore, subject to *voir dire* examination by counsel as to their possible bias and prejudice. The court, therefore, reversed on this ground also and sent the case back for a new trial.

Rulings Set Precedent

These first two rulings of the Court of Review clearly establish a precedent which will probably be followed in the future. This means that the prosecutor will have a much more difficult time in proving his case because he will now be required to prove his case beyond a reasonable doubt.

At the time of trial of the Beebe case, with respect to the alleged violations of Title II, Canon 24, counsel for defense pointed out that the critical language of the charge was as follows: "No Minister in charge of any Congregation of this Church shall permit any person to officiate therein, without sufficient evidence of his being duly licensed *or* ordained to minister in this Church."

Little Words Mean Lot

The key word in that charge is the word "*or*". The overall import of the trial court decision was that the word "or" really should be treated as the word "and". It then went on to hold the obvious—since the women admittedly were not licensed, Father Beebe was guilty of violating this canon.

The Court of Review reversed and held that the word "or" meant exactly that. Thus, the issue was squarely raised as to whether the women had been ordained. The Court of Review ordered that this question be resolved by the trial court at the time of re-trial. Therefore, the prosecutor was faced with the task of proving beyond a reasonable doubt that there was not sufficient evidence that the women were ordained.

It is obvious from the action taken by the prosecutor in recommending dismissal of the charges shortly before the second trial that he did not feel that he could prove his case.

With regard to the godly admonition charge, it is worth noting that the Court of Review decision made several important points. First, the fact that a bishop tells one of his priests to do or not to do something does not, per se, establish such statement as a godly admonition. The decision establishes several criteria against which an alleged godly admonition must be measured. It is interesting to note also that the consent of a bishop issuing an alleged godly admonition to one of his priests must be had before a priest must stand trial for disobeying the alleged godly admonition.

Those Women Priests

In the hullabaloo surrounding the trials of Peter Beebe and William Wendt for allowing women priests to celebrate the Eucharist in churches where they were rectors, it is easy to get the impression that except for those two occasions the women priests have been quiescent over the past two years.

Recently a congregation that had contracted with two of the women for regular celebrations was told by a diocesan official that theirs was the only parish in the country still inviting women priests and that only two Episcopal priests were still accepting such invitations.

This of course is not true.

The women priests are alive and well and most continue to act as priests. One has joined the Methodist Church and another is in the process of being deposed as a presbyter who has "abandoned the communion of this Church." Most of the rest of us continue to celebrate the Eucharist with small groups of Christians or Episcopal churches in exile or in parish churches. While these celebrations have become too numerous to keep track of, it is certain that since November, 1974, Episcopal women priests have celebrated the Eucharist in no less than 30 Episcopal congregations (parish churches, missions and college chaplaincies.) These celebrations have occurred in 12 different dioceses. In two dioceses, women priests celebrate unhindered by Bishop's sanctions and in several parishes they have become regular visiting clergy.

In addition, Episcopalians and other Christians have attended celebrations of the Eucharist by women priests in ecumenical or non-official gatherings in at least 20 other dioceses. Women priests have also presided at Baptisms, marriages, and funerals. A number have been invited by parishes in several dioceses to celebrate after the General Convention regardless of its decision.

And so, backed and supported by a growing number of Episcopalians—clergy and lay—the women priests continue their ministry in hope and thanksgiving.

Rev. Suzanne Hiatt — Episcopal Divinity School

Jesus Our Mother?

Medieval men spoke of themselves easily in feminine modes. There seemed to be much less nervousness than is felt today about responding to God and the created world in the manner of the opposite sex. Before God, every Christian soul was the bride of Christ and the mother of the Child of Bethlehem; before God every Christian soul was a son and heir of Christ, a soldier called to fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil. The medieval church in its life with God experienced Christ as mother, and men and women could experience themselves as women and men.

Let us look first at the divine androgyny. One of the earliest witnesses in the Middle Ages to the tradition which knew the Second Person of the Trinity in a feminine mode was St. Anselm of Canterbury. This eleventh-century English bishop, theologian, and monk refers to Jesus as "our Mother" in his prayers, in three different modes of divine action. Through his passion and death, Jesus gives birth to the souls of faithful Christians.

"And if you had not died, you would not have brought forth. For longing to bear sons into life, you tasted death. And by dying, you begot them."

Anselm's motif of Jesus our Mother is found repeatedly throughout the literature of mystical piety.

A second theme found in St. Anselm depicts Christ as our caring mother who comforts, gentles, revives, consoles.

"Christ my mother, you gather your chickens under your wings; this dead chicken of yours puts himself under those wings. For by your gentleness the badly frightened are comforted, by your sweet smell the despairing are revived, your warmth gives life to the dead, your touch justifies sinners..."

Anselm takes the biblical image of Christ the Mother Hen (Matt. 23:37) to draw a parallel between the care and nurture of earthly mothers and the work of Christ in the soul, as our Mother of Mercy. This Mother of Mercy is not as in Marian piety, the Lord's mother Mary, but is the Lord Christ. The experience of unquestioning, accepting love is here found in God rather than in the auxiliary, subordinate figure of the Virgin.

Repeatedly in the popular vernacular literature of prayer, Christ's sacrifice is experienced in a maternal way. (But) Christ is not only our Mother. Medieval Christians experienced God in a wonderful variety of emotional relationships. They passed easily in prayer from Jesus the Lover of the Bride-Soul, to Mother of the Creature-Child, to Brother and Sister who stands with us in our creaturehood, to the Child who is born within in the castle of the soul, and to Father, Lord, and King.

The God of medieval piety was a Mother/Father, Sister/Brother, Lover/Child, a God of demanding and accepting Love, a God who is born within each of us and who bears us into life as a travailing mother.

Excerpted from "Male and Female in Christian Tradition," by Eleanor L. McLaughlin, in *Male and Female: Christian Approaches to Sexuality*, edited by Ruth Tiffany Barnhouse and Urban T. Holmes III. Copyright 1976 by The Seabury Press. Used with permission of the publisher.

That Undemocratic 'Divided Vote'

by Jeannette Piccard

The "divided vote" as cast in the Episcopal Church House of Deputies is unjust because it aids and abets minority rule.

But it has been used so long that people believe it is part of the Constitution and the Constitution must be changed in order to eliminate it.

Not so. Article I, Section 4, paragraph 4 of the Constitution, regarding voting procedures, does not mention the "divided vote." It exists in the rules of procedure of the House of Deputies, not the Constitution.

What is the "divided vote?" How did it develop?

Each diocese is represented by two delegations, lay and clerical, each consisting of four deputies. In most cases, each deputy has one vote, but when a "vote by orders" is called for, each delegation has only one vote among the four deputies.

The Constitution requires the four deputies to reach an agreement *before* casting a vote. If all agree, or if they decide three to one, the vote is either "yes" or "no." But

The Rev. Jeanette Piccard, Ph.D., an Episcopalian priest, lives in Minneapolis.

what if the four deputies in either order remain split, two for and two against a given question?

Sometime in the 19th century, the old Robert's Rules of Order which applied to the whole house were extended to apply also to the individual order in each diocese.

The Rules determined that an unresolvable tie would be counted as a "no" vote because it was not a "yes" vote. The so-called "divided vote" was invented because of the belief that each order in each diocese *must* vote, although the Constitution does not require each delegation to vote. It does limit the four deputies to one vote between them. One vote cannot be on both sides of a question. The decision is determined by the "votes cast," not the number of dioceses present.

So what can be done? The response seems simple: Change the rules of procedures. But that is easier said than done.

In this regard, it is important to raise the consciousness of the deputies to realize just how large a majority is needed in order to pass a motion if it is voted upon by the present unconstitutional rules of procedure. Simple statistics show that the "divided vote" *can* require a better than 87% majority in order to decide a question in the affirmative. The result all depends on the *distribution* of the "divided vote" just as the distribution of two negative votes can decide concurrence or nonconcurrence in a single diocese.

For example, the vote of the Diocese of Minnesota at Louisville concerning one question was six "yes" votes and two "no" votes. Had the two "no" votes been distributed evenly between the clerical and lay orders, the delegation would have voted "yes." Both votes, however, were in one order so that the vote of that order was declared "divided" and counted "no." Hence, no concurrence. Since the same thing occurred in other dioceses, a minority defeated the will of the House, while making it look like a majority decision.

If the Constitution is obeyed and each diocese really has only *one* vote (remember one vote cannot be on both sides of the question) in the lay and *one* vote in the clerical order, all questions will be decided by the total yes and no "votes cast." (The Constitution reads, "votes cast" not dioceses present). A question may not then be defeated by a 25% or 12.5% minority.

The democratic principle of majority rule is well-established in our culture and clearly required by the Constitution of the Church. Resolving the issue of the "divided vote" will end the frustration and divisiveness caused by the injustice of minority rule.

Toward Building the Cities

by Paul Moore

In a sermon on Easter Day I asked the people of our city to look with clear eyes at what is going on in New York. That same process is going on today in all the cities of this diocese; Yonkers, White Plains, New Rochelle, Beacon, Newburgh, Poughkeepsie. It is a sickness unto death.

I stated that each one of us is responsible for this dying, and that each is part of some tragic cycle of it. One of these is the cycle of businesses leaving the city and thereby making conditions worse and causing more businesses to leave. I urged those businesses which could do so to exercise their moral responsibility to stay here, in order that they might help to turn around the dying of our city into rebirth.

I realize the grave difficulties facing businesses here—the high taxes, the problems of retaining personnel, the crime in the streets, the inadequate schools, the untrained workers. But even greater difficulties will face our national economy, and therefore our businesses, if the metropolitan areas of our nation disintegrate into wastelands of non-productive poverty and despair.

I commend the businesses that have announced their intention to stay in New York, and I hope that their spirit may inform others who may now be wavering. Granted, the primary purpose of a business enterprise of any kind is to make a profit for the stockholders. Management has a moral obligation to its stockholders to fulfill this mission. Similarly, the primary purpose of a university is to teach its

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore is Episcopal Bishop of New York. The above is excerpted from his diocesan convention address, May, 1976.

students and to conduct research. The primary purpose of a hospital is to heal the sick.

But American law declares that corporations of all sorts have the privileges of a person before the law. Thus, every institution, whatever its purpose, has an ethical responsibility towards its community. If our institutions, whatever their particular vocation, do not assume this social responsibility, our whole system of free enterprise and democracy will collapse and the state will have to take over that burden.

Remember, the community, through its government, does take responsibility towards its business enterprises, often lending great sums of money to save them. In turn, business and other institutions have an obligation toward the community.

However, the blame for the root causes of the disintegration of New York and our other cities cannot be placed at the feet of businesses alone. Many others are to blame. Generations of government on many levels have committed New York and other cities to a devastating debt load, under which we now stagger. For a momentary political advantage, they closed their eyes to the disaster they were laying on future generations. But we must remember that these are the officials whom we elected and whom we allowed to jeopardize the future.

And the press failed to alert the public sufficiently to the danger of this debt when it was first clear many years ago. Some labor unions have made demands not commensurate with the economy's ability to support them. Our churches, unused to dealing with problems of government finance, have kept silent too long. Academic institutions have not used their intellectual credibility sufficiently in matters of social concern. Groups of all kinds have put their own special interests ahead of the community. There's enough blame to go around for all.

But blame does not build community. Blaming is just a way of excusing oneself. And so, let us turn now to constructive measures which I believe we can take together:

1 We should do everything in our power to convince our federal government to increase its subsidy of welfare and education in our cities. Waves of immigrants for over a hundred years have come to New York, and have been trained here and educated here, to take their place in the mainstream of American life. New York has paid the educational bill for much of the nation. Waves of immigrants from Europe, from the Caribbean, from South America, from the rural parts of our own land, unable to survive there, have come to New York and other cities helpless and weak. These cities have paid for their welfare, their health care, their social needs. New York has been the school and the hospital of America. Therefore, the federal government should subsidize education and welfare more fully. And this would give the sorely pressed economic community a breathing spell in anticipation of tax reform, especially the reform of those city taxes which effect business negatively.

2 The political boundaries of the metropolitan areas do not coincide with the economic structure under which they function. We must move towards greater and greater regional planning, so that each part of the metropolitan area picks up its fair share, so that not only is there equality of opportunity, but equality of sacrifice.

3 We must do all we can to urge our government to improve the business climate of our cities, but we should also ourselves seek to improve this climate. I spent several years in the midwest. There, the chambers of commerce and the city government always were involved in bringing new business to their city. Boosterism has never been New York's forte; we're a little too sophisticated for that. But it's high time that we improve the business climate here.

4 The city speaks a great deal of volunteerism, but measures must be taken to help volunteer groups do what they can. An example is the Urban Homesteading program sponsored by our Cathedral, known as U-HAB. Using this as an example, amidst the wide spread housing crisis, tenants and citizens have banded together in many of our worst neighborhoods, like Harlem, the South Bronx, the Lower East Side, to fight back. And they are now actively taking over abandoned buildings and rehabilitating them in new, cooperatively owned housing. They earn their equity by the work they contribute. Groups as diverse as young gangs, squatters, car strippers and prisoners work together to rebuild our city. However, this program has practically no official public support and is on the edge of floundering. Likewise, in many other fields, citizens could be helped to solve their own problems. Whether it be parents making full school days possible, volunteers cutting back the expenses of hospitals, so that they need not be closed, these are the kinds of volunteer efforts which our city should creatively encourage and support, but to which, so far, not much more than lip service has been given.

5 We should encourage our people to give themselves for some time each week to volunteer jobs. In one of our own churches, the Church of the Heavenly Rest, for instance, there are already over 160 parishioners who have signed

up for voluntary jobs, which the city has had to eliminate because of budget cuts.

These are some of the things which we can begin to do together. I feel an enormous opportunity has been thrust upon us, and although I have had some criticism, the overwhelming response to that Easter sermon has been one of gratitude and support.

I believe this is the way towards hope and life. The other way is the way of starvation of body and soul, and the oppression of the poor, and the death of the compassionate soul of America. Already symptoms of this kind of oppression are coming over the horizon. I was really partly amused, but really deeply outraged to find my name alongside the names of some Congressmen and former Mayor Lindsay in The New York Times, said to be on a secret list kept by the state police and compiled from the files of a very partisan publication. I'm also very deeply concerned over some of the measures of Senate Bill #1, which takes several steps backward in the area of civil liberties and civil rights.

Let us reject these ways of oppression and let us lift up the ways of hope and of freedom, the way of new life. Let us give witness once more to the ancient vocation which God gave the people of Israel and the people of his church—the vocation of ministry and prophecy, the vocation of liberation and salvation.

This is no passing interest on my part, but will undoubtedly change the direction and priorties of my own episcopate, because I am sure there is a better way to be your pastor and to be, together with you, a more active force for good in the communities of our diocese. And so I plan to delegate, or try even to eliminate, some of the administrative duties that have kept me immobilized here so much of the time, because I do feel the need to spend more time with you in your communities. And also, I enjoy it.

Prayer While Eating Macaroni and 2/3 Drunk

Dear God, be as palpable as macaroni and me
at the dinner table.
Not transubstantial
as bread and wine,
and you spooking somewhere
in the crumbs and juices,
but as Thou wouldst be
if Thou were not Thyself but like me,
part Thyself and part Jack Daniels.
First tell some jokes, dear God,
then manifest Thy Divine Essence
in ways that will be clear
in shopping centers,
in bars,
in courts of law,
on street corners where Thou hast not hung out
since Jerusalem.
Dear God, let there be
a macaroni epiphany
that I and all
the undivining world
might know Thee
touch Thee
eat Thee.

— Charles August

Continued from page 6

authority is shown, wherever that capacity is verified, insofar as the Christians live faithfully in the power of the Resurrection, freed from captivation or intimidation by the power of death, they have known, and they know an hostility and harassment on the part of the ruling principalities similar to that which Jesus knew.

The negation of the supposed distinction between the private and the political because of the coherence of death in diverse forms or appearances points to the truth that the Resurrection—far from being a vague or ethereal immortality—is eventful and accessible for human beings in every situation in which death is pervasive; which is to say, in every personal or public circumstance in common history whatsoever.

Unemployment Protest

(At mid-year, the unemployment rate in Michigan stood at 10.2%—highest in the country. Ten states were registering rates of more than 9.4%. Religious leaders in the Detroit area, representing many faiths, issued the following statement underlining the urgency of the situation.)

We, the elected and appointed heads of religious bodies of Metropolitan Detroit and Michigan, join with those of the National Council of Churches, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the National Jewish Community Religious agencies in addressing a widespread evil in our midst, the evil of unemployment...

We find it difficult to believe that the industrial, labor, academic and political leadership of Michigan cannot or will not find ways to solve this problem. We are familiar with arguments for inaction. There are those who argue that we inevitably will have either inflation or unemployment, and because inflation affects more people, therefore unemployment is preferable. The thesis appears false because currently we have *both* unemployment *and* inflation. If we can have both, we can also have neither.

Others argue that it is in the self-interest of business to have large numbers of unemployed to keep labor costs down and to keep working class people under control. If that is true, we condemn such self-interest. If it is not true, then now is the time to give the lie to this argument. Otherwise, Americans must face strong evidence that our economic system is socially and morally a failure...

We address a call to the people of Detroit and Michigan and to ourselves. We speak particularly to the thousands of us in churches and synagogues. It is a call to consciousness of our condition.

It is a call to care, to look up from our secure jobs, from our preoccupations with private life and private consumption, to feel what's happening, to learn the facts, to share and to act.

We call for action to inform ourselves...We call for pastors and rabbis and congressional leaders to engage their people in analyzing our situation. We call for pressure on our unions, businesses and the levels of government to take the needed actions to put Michigan to work and heal the poverty and hopelessness that stands in such contrast to the luxurious new shopping structures that dot our region.

Signers of this statement include H. Coleman McGehee, Episcopal Bishop of Michigan; John Cardinal Dearden of the Archdiocese of Detroit; Bishop Dwight E. Loder, Michigan Area, United Methodist Church; Rev. Dr. Howard Christensen, Michigan Synod, Lutheran Church in America; and Lewis S. Grossman, Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Detroit.

Letters continued from page 2

Paul or Jesus?

I am so tired of what "St. Paul said" being used as proof text for what the Church should be. The Church, which claims to be the Bride of Christ, is more enamored with Paul than it is faithful to its one and only—and that spells adultery in my book.

No man on earth is going to let his wife run his household according to what some other man says—but that is what the Bride of Christ does every time it goes with what Paul says.

Paul may have spoken to his generation—but Jesus speaks to all generations. I do so hope at that Second Coming, surrounded with heavenly hosts, that Paul is one of them. I can't wait to see 20th century woman tie into him. And 20th century man, too, in a few instances.

Let's get with Jesus and leave Paul back in the First Century to rest in peace, where he should be left.

Abbie Jane Wells — Juneau, Alaska

A Matter of Discipline

The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer states that "in every church, what cannot be clearly determined to belong to doctrine must be referred to discipline; and therefore, by common consent and authority, may be altered, abridged, enlarged, amended, or otherwise disposed of..."

In my opinion the proposal to admit women to the priesthood is not clearly a matter of doctrine, and is therefore to be treated as a matter of discipline; then it is unquestionably within the competence of the General Convention to decide upon this issue.

But there is a disturbing factor. Under the current regulations, overseas deputations have full voting rights. This raises two problems. First, it is questionable whether these dioceses should have been given equal voting rights in the first place.

Second, the social and cultural situation in many of these countries is vastly different from that in the United States. The absurdity of this situation is demonstrated in their voting on the Draft Book of Common Prayer which does not apply to them unless they so choose. Their fears as to the possible effect on them of a decision in favor of women's ordination would be allayed if we adopted the "Canadian plan." It is to be hoped that these considerations will be weighed by the deputations concerned and they will see that the appropriate course of action for them would be to abstain from voting on these two issues.

Reginald H. Fuller — Virginia Theological Seminary

Noted Speakers to Appear on C & S / Witness Panels

Church and Society, in cooperation with THE WITNESS magazine, will sponsor three panel discussions on "Sexism," "Racism," and the "Theology of Hunger" on Sept. 13, 14, and 15, respectively, during the General Convention in Minneapolis. Sessions will be held at noon at Gethsemane Church, 905 Fourth Avenue South, two blocks from the convention site.

Among those who have accepted invitations to participate are Gustavo Gutierrez of Peru, noted liberation theologian; Pam Chinnis, presiding oficer, Women's Triennial; Rosemary Ruether, author and theologian; and Bishops Coleman McGehee of Michigan, Paul Moore of New York, and John Walker, newly elected coadjutor of Washington, D.C.; Marion Kelleran, Chairperson, Anglican Consultative Council, and William Coats, Episcopal Chaplain, University of Wisconsin.

Other outstanding panelists both from the Convention and from outside the church will speak at the sessions.

Tickets at $2 (which includes a light lunch) will be available at THE WITNESS/CHURCH AND SOCIETY exhibit booth (No. 122) while they last. For further information and a complete roster of speakers, check booth No. 122.

Also on display at the booth will be a new Study/Action Guide published by Church and Society in cooperation with THE WITNESS. The guide is designed to assist local groups in probing the social mission of the church and to provide clues on how to bring about social change.

Four Provinces Approve Women Priests

The House of Bishops of the Anglican Church of Canada in a recent special meeting reaffirmed its earlier decision to proceed with the ordination of women to the priesthood. The statement released following the meeting read:

> *"Having consulted throughout the Anglican communion and elsewhere about our intention to proceed with the ordination of women to the presbyterate and having carefully discussed several representations requesting the House to change its position, this House reaffirms its collegial commitment to the principle and implementation of the ordination of women to the presbyterate as indicated in the motions passed in November, 1975..."*

This action occurred about the same time that similar decisions were made elsewhere in the Anglican Communion. At its General Synod in Nelson, the Anglican Church in New Zealand overwhelmingly voted to allow women to be ordained. The General Synod of the Church of Ireland took like action recently in Dublin. Of special interest is the fact that at the latter Synod the vast majority of the delegates were men, and less than one-half dozen voted against the motion.

This brings to a total of four the number of Anglican Provinces which have removed all obstacles to the ordination of women priests, the Province of Hong Kong having been the first.

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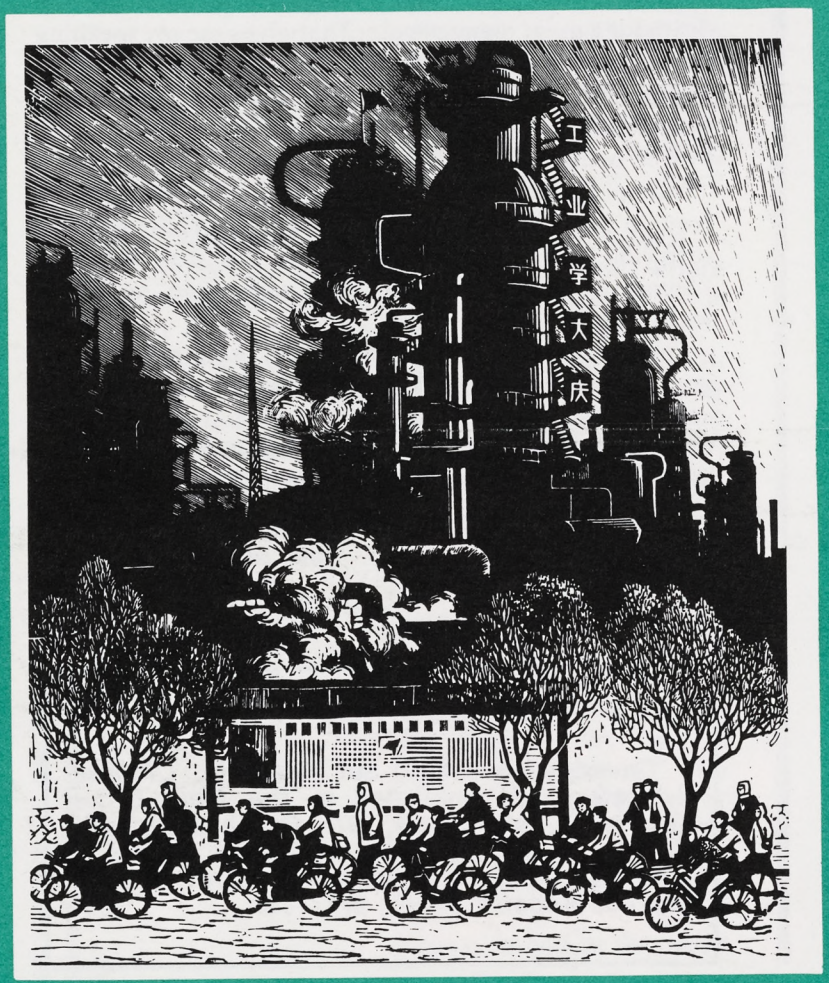

My Encounter With China
Carman St. J. Hunter

The Community, Southern Style
Harcourt Waller, Jr.

'Total Amnesty, Not Shamnesty'
Patricia Reif

Letters to the Editor

(Roy Larson's article, "American Religion in Reverse Gear," (July, 1976) drew two strikingly different responses — one short and one long. They appear below.)

'At A Loss As to Use'

I am at a loss as to the use of such articles as "American Religion in Reverse Gear", by Roy Larson. When the secular press thrives on articles which confute, confuse and disparage the power of the Faith what is the use of including such verbiage in the religious press as well?

Obviously Mr. Larson's priest friend became hopelessly estranged from any experience he may have had of the Resurrected Lord in his life and certainly in sharing that experience with those he was charged with conveying that saving message to.

Rev. David Lounsbury
Eugene, Oregon

'Something Really Jarred'

Something strange happens each time your publication, THE WITNESS, finds me in far away West Coast land. *And,* each time it comes, I think of how I might have written my thoughts in response to the question, "What is it that gives you meaning in your life?"

Finally something really jarred. Roy Larson's article, "American Religion in Reverse Gear", has put my feelings in as clear and succinct terms as anything I have read or discussed in the last seven years. I felt as though he had been interviewing me instead of the Roman Catholic priest. Indeed, the "brain drain" of the 1960s for all church denominations is something to behold, especially out here in "Honestville" where it has been more apparent and predominant. (People are not shocked at the thought of a defrocked or deordained priest living a new and different life-style. We are very common here).

Larson's interviewee is smack-dab-center Jim Guinan! *"Unlike many ex-priests, he has not desired to remain active in the church as a layman . . . staying within might be cowardice, capitulation, entrapment."* I have found, in my pilgrimage to honesty with myself, that to do so would be an awful lie.

This sounds harsh and maybe even judgmental. It is not meant to be. Rather, it is the way I am beginning to see my life now and wish I had been able to see it 20-25 years ago. Somehow I feel as though I have been swindled.

It is a lie for me, and I speak for no other, simply because my belonging to the church fostered my dependency upon some "other" to take care of me. Even now, when I let myself be influenced by my fantasies, I find a tendency to drift back into that old dependency and dream of standing in the pulpit, making a late call on a distressed family, or holding on to a "theological position" which I think makes it all sensible and (ugh) "relevant." Those fantasies don't last long. I have the good fortune to be married to a feminist who cannot tolerate that sort of dishonesty in me.

My witness is simply put: "Quit being dependent. Take care of yourself, James." For seven years I have been trying, with some success, to make sense out of that admonition, and believe it or not, it works. I now have a new life, new life-style, new ways of keeping honest, new friends and associates who are bound together by nothing outside of themselves, and a job that deals with life and death for a great many people. That gives me my meaning today. I also have a much healthier attitude toward the things I can and cannot do, and no longer find myself overwhelmed with grandiosity or defeat in the face of both. I enjoy being me.

I like people more because I have learned to like me. Why I couldn't as a "Christian", I cannot answer. I have a strong suspicion that it is related to my old dependencies: "Somehow mother church will take care of me, no matter what I do."

So, whenever I read THE WITNESS, I am moved to be gratefully appreciative, like the Pharisee, that I am not like some others who may not have been forced to such honesty. Paul Van Buren, one of my old idols who now has clay feet, disappointed me with his new enthusiasm for Marxist-Christian dialogue and Jewish-Christian theology. Without

Letter continued on page 14

CREDITS

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Editorial

Creating History

Robert L. DeWitt

During Epiphany in a middle Atlantic city two years ago a group of suburban parishes combined to hold a series of study sessions on the ministry of the laity.

They focused on one particular aspect of this ministry; namely, that of lay persons at their place of work. At the outset, most of the people in the group had conceived of their ministry as serving on vestries, teaching church school, visiting the elderly, working for organizations concerned about social betterment — such were their images.

But the emphasis here was to be the workplace — where lay persons spend most of their time, where they have real competence, and therefore, where it is peculiarly appropriate for them to bear witness.

The participants were intrigued with the prospect. It promised to be refreshingly different from so many church situations where the laity are asked to explore theological concepts with which they are not familiar.

The first meeting concluded with an assignment: They were to talk with two or three others at their place of work, and prepare a list of things which were not as they should be, and which should be changed. There was a sense of real excitement as they left.

They returned a week later having done their homework well. Lengthy laundry lists of concerns appeared on pieces of paper unfolded by members at the study session. A high level of interest marked the encounter; they understood each other, and a common concern marked the discussions. The assignment for the next meeting was to talk to two or three — preferably the same — persons as before, and return with specific suggestions as to what could be done about the concerns they had previously identified.

There was a markedly different mood at the third meeting. As they shared their ''homework,'' there was a noticeable lack of animation. Finally one young man in a middle-management job rose and said, ''I think the answer is fairly obvious as to why we had difficulty with this assignment. Most of our concerns about our job situations have to do with corporate policy — and what can we do about changing corporate policy?''

Throughout human history many people have expressed their predicament in those words, ''What can *we* do?'', articulating a sense of powerlessness. And time after time that cry has changed into a cry of desperation, ''What can we *do*?'' Because power corrupts. If power does not reside democratically with the people, then it is focused in individuals and small groups who use it tyranically. This is one of the major lessons of history.

But history is always in the making. A study/action guide entitled, *Struggling With the System, Probing Alternatives,* has been produced by the Church and Society Network in cooperation with THE WITNESS magazine. It is aimed at concerned groups that wish to engage in a serious process of appraisal and diagnosis of the social institutions — not God-given but of humn contrivance — which control so much of our life. It is a forthright effort to give expression to the social mission of the church in our time.

Discussion focuses on seeking answers to such questions as: *Why is our society dysfunctional for so many people? How might it be different? What are some forms of group action on the local level which can test our tentative theories, and at the same time make a positive contribution?* Copies at $5.75 can be secured through Church and Society, Box 359, Ambler, PA. 19002.

My Encounter With China

by Carman St. J. Hunter

(Carman Hunter was in China in happier days — long before the earthquakes which rocked the country this year. But she joins us in asking your prayerful concern for the victims of the recent quakes, which have claimed lives in the Philippines as well.)

When my husband and I entered the People's Republic of China in June of 1975 with a group of 22 other North Americans, we each brought with us a particular past which shaped our perceptions. Mine included the experience of living, for periods of four to ten years, in three countries other than my own — China, Canada and Brazil.

It embraced a vocation and ministry, exercised over 26 years in settings ranging from St. Hilda's school in Wuchang, China to positions as chief executive for Christian education and, later, world and national mission of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church. It also included Anglican and ecumenical conferences and consultant work in many countries as well as significant involvement in U.S. dioceses and local congregations. Finally, it encompassed the specific and unique factors which being a woman contributed to my experience of ministry.

Other visitors have detailed the impact of the Chinese people — their vitality, health and spontaneity. Literature describing the substantial changes over the last 27 years is readily available. It is my intention in this brief article to focus on only a few of those changes and their implications for our own country and for Christians.

Values in Conflict

China is not a neutral subject. The glowing reports of those who have been there recently are often met with doubt and suspicion. Win-lose discussions lead nowhere but the reason for the effect on visitors is probably not hard to find.

Sudden exposure to an almost ascetic pattern of communal life where justice, equality and service are preached with evangelical fervor, provides an unsettling contrast to the familiar social disorders, economic contradictions and passive patterns of consumption of goods and values in capitalist societies. The traveler is more impressed by immediate experiences than by social complexity.

Not only are values — such as friendship; cooperation; self sacrifice; rigid honesty; full participation of women; moral persuasion as the means of social control; the breaking down of differences in the treatment and status of citizens; productive labor; trust in the intuition of the masses to embrace the good when the issues are understood — all proclaimed verbally, but they are also internalized as part of a total system of education. Every member of society, no matter what his/her function, participates for part of every year in productive labor and in ongoing lively discussion in a work or neighborhood centered criticism/self-criticism group.

Building a society of 800 million changed persons is a long process. There are those in China who believe that another set of values is more appropriate — competition, centralization, hierarchical structures; trained elites who will lead and teach the masses; efficiency; rationality; profit and special privileges; social control by force. The proponents of these values believe that once technological development has taken place, there may be a return to the original ideals of the revolution. Mao Tse-tung and those who are labeled "radicals" in the U.S. press insist that

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Carman St. J. Hunter is an educational consultant presently working with World Education Inc., New York City.

once a new elite has been formed, it will be just as hard to displace it as the old elites of landowners and capitalists.

China is clearly not a monolithic development model. With varying degrees of intensity, persons and groups come down on one side or the other of the values tension. The extremes on each side become the rallying points for factions.

The Cultural Revolution in the late '60s and the more recent eruptions following the death of Chou En-lai were part of an ongoing process in which excesses are corrected periodically. What is astounding is the attempt to build a social order on the basis of moral principles which are publicly debated by peasants and workers, students and soldiers, as well as by the top leadership.

The same value struggle goes on in our own society but under very different conditions. The dominant values in our public life are part of the set which emphasizes competition, rationality and economic considerations. These are seen as strong, masculine values which govern the "real world" and are rewarded in politics and in the market-place. In contrast, cooperation, intuition and the values from the other set are perceived as weaker, feminine values. They are appropriate for small work teams, voluntary organizations, families and churches.

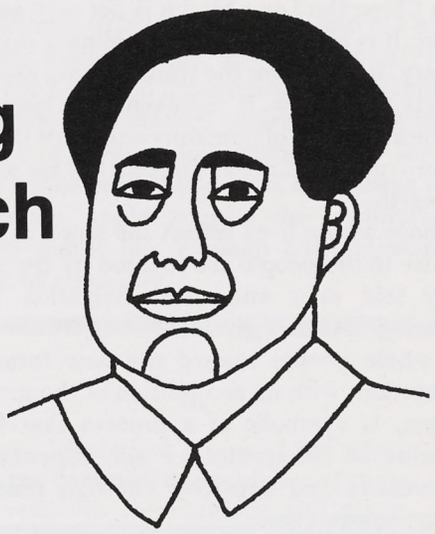
The schizophrenia frequently felt by women and clergy results from this dichotomy. In our society these two groups are the most frequent teachers of the private values. Yet even in their own domain, family and church, they are often forced to live by the public values. When they speak out on the basis of private values, they are denounced as irrelevant idealists, incompetent to judge public issues. China poses the question: How long can we avoid adjustment in the tension and greater openness to interaction between value sets?

Myth as Message

If values are criteria for interpersonal and communal life, beneath them lie the social and religious myths which provide their substance. Every society develops a way, or ways, of understanding and responding to deep existential forces — the mystery and deepest meaning at the center of being; the inevitable nature of human limitation; the inescapability of death; the experience of anguish and ecstasy; the tragic dimension in life. Myths develop from the history and experience of a people. They are an expression of how participant peoples see truth, but they are not truth itself.

In the United States we are seeking this year to rediscover the myths and symbol systems of our origin and

The Long March



After the Communist-Kuomintang split in 1927 (over Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal in Shanghai) Mao Tse-tung and other Communist leaders hid in the countryside where they were constantly persecuted.

In the Fall of 1934, some 100,000 men and 35 women started from different points, joined forces and struggled against Chaing's troops, as well as against the forces of weather and mountainous terrain. There were dramatic river crossings, a struggle across the terrible grasslands. Finally, only 20,000 reached Northern Shinsi Province, some 6,000 miles from where most had started.

This has become religious legend, as well as history. Young people are taught that only after this kind of trial were Mao, Chou En-lai, Lin Piao and the others able to gather, and, through the simple life together — combining study and action — plan "to turn a world of beggars into a world of men (*sic*)"

To have been on the Long March is to be a real hero.

early history. It is clear that no single religious or political myth controls our understanding of ourselves. Rather, the myths and symbols which dominate private beliefs and spiritual experiences are multiform.

In China the Long March is not only an actual historical event, it is also basic to the dominant myth of the present society. It stands for the transforming journey from the old society to the new. It represents the long struggle against all the afflictions of humanity and holds the promise of final victory not only for the Chinese but for all the hopeless of the earth.

Those whose lives reflect the spirit of self-sacrifice and service to the people are revered by the masses and their story told over and over. Salvation is won through suffering. Death is given meaning within the movement of the whole people toward the new future. The Cultural Revolution, with its recognition of the growing dangers of elitism, is symbolic of a process that Christians might describe as recognition of sin, repentance, confession, forgiveness and expiation through reconversion to the ideals of the revolution.

Of Trees Remembered...

In a tractor factory I discovered someone from Wuhan. As we strolled through the park-like grounds, I asked, "Are there trees like this in Wuhan now?" I remembered the dismal, denuded streets and countryside, left bare of all forestation by the Japanese military whose long occupation had used up everything that could possible be burned for warmth and for cooking. "Oh, yes," he said, "there are tall trees everywhere in Wuhan."

"Then the trees I planted with the St. Hilda's students on Serpent Hill must also be tall and beautiful," I mused.

He stopped in amazement. "I worked with you, talked with you, on those days in May 1949 when Boone and St. Hilda's, brother and sister schools, planted those trees together," he said. He went on to tell me how intrigued he and other Boone students had been to see one of the foreign teachers planting trees. Soldiers from the People's Liberation Army were organizing and guiding our efforts.

He had apparently asked about me and been told that I was participating in study groups and in work in order to understand and help build the new China. And so, 26 years later, our conversation became deeper and more trust-filled as we talked of old friends in common.

The myth is more evocative than the actual changes in Chinese society. While it is based on Marxist analysis, it has been considerably enriched and changed not only by the remarkable genius of Mao, but by his ability to build on ancient Chinese wisdom and mystical quality which has always been an element in Chinese humanism. A new note of messianism has emerged since the USSR has been perceived as sacrificing human goals to technology, rapid development and bourgeois consumer values.

Reactions to China are many. There is an alarming tendency to want what is happening there to be either all right or all wrong. Cynics cast doubt on every accomplishment while supporters block out errors and excesses. To take China seriously would mean recognizing her myths and symbol systems as legitimate contributions to the human search for meaning and for a way to live together on the planet.

We might acknowledge the potential for life-giving power as well as demonic destructiveness within all myths, including ours and the Chinese. We would have to give up our exclusive view of history and realize that our future may be more powerfully influenced by the development of thought and culture in both ancient and modern China than by the Fertile Crescent, Greece and Rome.

No people is exclusively formed by its own historic roots. The requirement that we plan together for the wisest use of the common resources of the earth links the destiny of all the world's peoples. It becomes essential to health and survival, that we be able to learn from each other and to know which myths are dangerous delusions, spelling disaster for all, and which are simply necessary human illusions, required by fallible human condition.

Freedom of the Remnant

Americans consistently ask about the Church in China in terms of its institutional freedom. The clearest evidence one can find is that there is no Church organized as Western Christianity would understand it. Our group participated in a service in Chinese for the foreign community in Peking. The life of Chinese Christians is quite separate.

A remnant of theologically trained persons apparently visit small communities of believers throughout the country who study the Scriptures and worship together. Freedom of religion, guaranteed under the Constitution, allows both belief and non-belief. No one may force others to accept his/her creed. Religious affiliation is openly acknowledged and Christians are generally admired locally for their seriousness and the exemplary quality of their lives.

The question of survival in complete isolation is a serious one. Any messages we receive from the Chinese Christians suggest, however, that the experience is important for them. They need time to find the essential elements of the Gospel and to build bridges of meaning to Chinese realities. The ambiguous history of the Church in China, related as it was to political and economic domination by external powers, imposes reticence on all Western desire for new relationships. We can only wait in faith that God is present not merely in the midst of those who acknowledge that presence but also in all the stirrings of spirit in the larger society.

The perception which American Christians have of our calling within our own society may have greater significance for the future of the Church in China than renewed relations at present. In a time when we have lost a sense of direction as a people, when our myths compete with each other and our sense of the sacred is blurred, it is time to discover a new vision.

Rather than seeking to breathe new life into old myths, perhaps a remnant might emerge, sensitive not only to our own past but to the universal experience of the numinous. There seems already to be marked movement from narrow religiosity toward a greater appropriation of the rich resources of the whole human family. A new sense of our calling as a people would require the restoration of wholeness to our public life, through affirmation of the religious ground of all reality.

Visiting With a Chinese Woman

On a Sunday afternoon during my trip to China I took a taxi to visit a woman whom I had come to know very well during a visit she had made to Wuhan in 1950. She was a graduate of a Christian college and had studied abroad, returning after Liberation. She was herself a Christian and an outstanding example of the best of those whose life and spirit of service was formed through the Church and its educational system in the '30s and '40s in China.

The taxi passed through the labyrinth of tiny lanes that make up the many densely populated neighborhoods off the main streets. Finally we found her small house, and I began a three hour visit which proved to be, for me, the most evocative, instructive and deeply personal of all my hours in China. Our talk was free of any need to prove ourselves to each other.

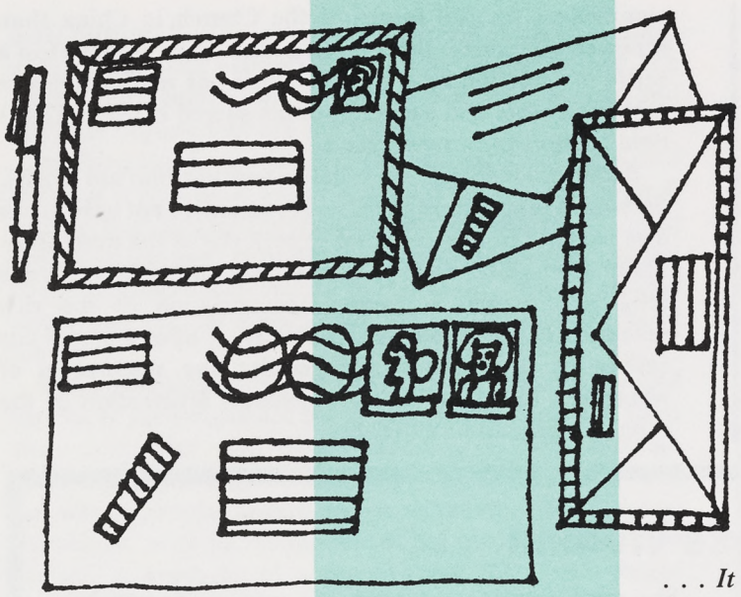
I put many hard questions to her, concentrating on how life had been for her and for those she knew well. When I expressed wonder at the claim we had heard everywhere that there was no sexual activity before marriage and almost no marriage before 25 years of age, she asked, "Carman, don't you remember how it was for Chinese women before the revolution? Of course these young women don't want to give up their present freedom. They don't want to be tied down by families when they can travel about the country, deeply involved in the heady experience of working for the future of the country and for their own future. They are involved with other young people in arts, music and in productive labor. They see and feel the pulse of the country. They know that what they do matters."

She cited examples, described a way of life which sounded much like the committed experience of those young persons in religious communities and movements familiar to me.

She told me how easy her access is to decision-making processes which directly affect her daily life. "I can go any time to the members of the neighborhood revolutionary committee. I know them all. They know me. On any matters related to education, health services, sanitation, relationships between persons and groups which affect our life together, I go in, talk with people, and we plan ways to solve whatever the problem is. Then something happens through all of us working together. It is not like the old days when those who ran our cities were far away and didn't listen, when we couldn't change anything through our own efforts."

I could not avoid thinking of my own dying city and my powerlessness.

I asked about the contrast between what her life as an educated person might have been and what had actually happened to her as a civil servant, responsible for establishing standards of factory safety, the profession for which she had actually been prepared in pre-revolutionary days and followed for the first 20 years of the People's Republic. She indicated her home and said, "I might have had greater luxury. I would have been part of a small, professionally trained group, serving a small portion of my people. I would have been working against the tide. Now the whole society is based on the principle of serving all the Chinese people. Whatever personal sacrifice I have made, it has been worth it."



Two Faces of Sun Moon

. . . It may prove to be one of the most All-American events of this bicentennial year.

On the traditional side there was a hell-fire and brimstone preacher — a recent immigrant — speaking to a very representative and unmelted pot of New Yorkers about God's plan for his chosen country, America.

On the modern side there was that citadel of American baseball, Yankee Stadium — recently refurbished at record cost overruns attributed to Mafia-related contractors; there were rhetoric, violence, laughter, brass bands, balloons, flag-waving, fire crackers and petitions to legalize pot; there were street people, religion addicts, anti-communists, clowns, Lutherans, defenders of the American Empire, hundreds of private police and, in the middle of it all standing tall on a platform by second base, a millionaire industralist/religionist flailing his arms and screaming in Korean from behind bullet proof glass . . .

Rev. Moon and His Bicentennial Blitz
Christianity and Crisis, 7/9/76

Sun Myung Moon and his Unification Church have proved attractive enough to entice into its ranks thousands of Christians — especially youth — from Protestant mainline and Catholic churches over the past few years.

One of these, a young Black Episcopalian (let's call him Matthew) is in frequent communication with our office, and wrote the letter below reflecting on Rev. Moon's appearance this summer in Yankee Stadium.

But the Rev. Moon is a controversial figure on the religion scene. A young Methodist missionary journalist of our acquaintance, Jim Stentzel, attended the Sun Moon festival while on furlough in the United States. The excerpt from an article he wrote (above) indicates he had a different point of view. He set it down for us in counterpoint to Matthew's (below).

If you find the correspondence provocative, we would welcome *your* view.

DEAR BISHOP DeWITT:

As I was selling candy in a parking lot one day, I contemplated upon the value of the God Bless America Festival.

I discovered a new depth of love that Rev. Moon had for mankind, of which I had been incognizant before.

In the Yoido Rally in Korea, of which I was a delegate representing Liberia, some newspapers reported as much as 1.2 million people attending. The rally was anti-communistic. So much of the bulk of work done in the Unification Church is.

Until recently in Korea, and still in America, Rev. Moon has been disparaged because of this position. This defilement, to be sure, is embarrassing. Yet, he has remained inexorably unmoved.

Then, the other day, I understood why. Communism must be converted into Christianity because, by its denial of salvation through the crucifixion of Jesus, it prevents or will prevent billions of people from having eternal life. Thus, it nullifies the crucifixion. How tragic that so many former Christian American youth trade their eternal life for cliches and slogans.

How pitiful that the world and American intelligentsia endearingly embrace it. How sad God must be, and how in vain Jesus must feel his excruciatingly painful death was. How ironic that the very World Council of Churches and Vatican resemble Henry Kissenger in showing compassion for the very foe of the God they serve. What a clouded vision God's elect children have.

As you would expect, I have renewed concern in the success of Rev. Moon's festival and hope American leaders can begin to have a continual partnership with him as he tries to liquidate the ideology of communism and to establish a refreshing brotherhood amongst nations before communism liquidates Christian nations and Christianity.

Should the worldwide and American growth rate of communism continue unchecked in 10 years, Marxism will be taught in American schools and advocated from the White House. Then, the children, grandchildren and descendents of this generation will never know Jesus or salvation. Then all God's work since the creation will be jeopardized.

I truly hope you can investigate a book which can be obtained from the Unification Church called *Communism: Proposal and Counter Proposal.* I also hope that you and those whom you know can find some alliance or coalition with the Unification Church in this work.

May Jesus attend your dreams,
Matthew

DEAR BISHOP DeWITT:

Sitting in Yankee Stadium June 1, I contemplated the value of the God Bless America Festival, and I discovered a churning rage and lingering nausea which I had not known before.

The crux of the matter is that any "defilement" of Moon has been by his own hands — by his condoning murder and torture in his fatherland. In his One World Crusade to crush communism, he supports the machinery of repression that keeps Park Chung Hee in power in South Korea today — and keeps many of Jesus' truly committed disciples in prison.

Those self-righteous, self-elected "children of God" who argue simply that "there is no freedom in North Korea" miss the whole point of the Bible: that God harshly judges any government and any system which would unjustly encage the body and grind down the soul of any person.

Moon is as American as anti-communism and apple pie. We should hope that he is a throw-back to by-gone days rather than a pioneer of the new age, for his movement shows the latent McCarthyism and the potential fascism in the American mood and mind-set.

Moonism also reminds me of the failures of U.S. churches, specifically the blindness of Christendom's uncritical marriage with capitalism. If Jesus appeared tomorrow in any U.S. suburb and in any North Korean farm village, I honestly believe that more North Koreans would recognize and follow him — probably because there have been no churches as we know them in North Korea for 30 years. My message to Matthew is this: let's begin by converting capitalism to Christianity. Let's get off using words like *liquidate* and instead speak of love more often in the context of loving your enemy. Let's recognize that Moon himself "nullifies the crucifixion" by stating outright that Jesus failed. This logically means that his death was wasted. Let's open our eyes to the fact that Moon posturing as the successful Jesus has about as much integrity as (but is much more vicious than) your representing Liberia in South Korea.

American Christianity has laid and is continuing to lay some meaningless trips on its young people. I'm not at all surprised that many of these young people are seeking integrity outside the old structures. Yet it is tragic that so many people who cannot see the light of the Son can neither see the dark side of the Moon.

The tragedy began with the failure of people like you and me — priests, bishops, missionaries and church communicators — and perhaps it can be overcome some way.

May Jesus attend your waking hours,
Jim Stentzel

The Community, Southern Style

by Harcourt E. Waller, Jr.

By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went.
—Hebrews: 11:8

By 8:15 p.m. Sunday, approximately 35 men and women had taken seats in a circle around the large living room. Some were in chairs; some were on the floor. The next-to-last couple to arrive put a bottle of wine and a loaf of homemade bread on the coffee table.

Bob and Betty Joe began leading the singing of rounds. Then I began a prayer — a reminder that though we were always in the presence of God, in a special way we had come together to renew ourselves as a particular group in the midst of that presence. The statement blended into words petitioning the power of the Holy Spirit to cleanse by removing barriers to closer relationships, while giving a clearer sense of the group's mission to the world. Next Mac read from the Old Testament and began a brief discussion. Ginny did the same with the New Testament reading.

Then I announced that Bob had something important to share. Bob said during the previous week he learned that his tumor which had been removed was malignant. He told us of his tortured dreams, depression, terror and loneliness as he began to face the imminent possibility of his own death. In a few days he would fly to a special hospital in Houston for victims of cancer and would probably begin chemotherapy.

Harcourt E. Waller, Jr., is a national board member of the Church and Society Network and C&S convener for the Central-South region.

After a few minutes of shocked response, I spoke briefly about the healing possibilities within the community and, with Bob's consent, asked all to pray for a cure. One after the other each embraced, laid hands upon him, and uttered prayers of healing.

In a few minutes I talked more about the call to be healers in society as well. At that point Pete reported for the Housing Task Force. He and Gene had now secured a house and a mortgage ready to be used by a low-income family not previously able to own a home of their own. The task force needed $3,000 to buy the equity. Ten people volunteered to provide such funds.

Gene reported that a local home counseling service was looking for a low-income family ready to take possession of the house. He also alerted the group to the necessity for organizing a minor repair and clean up operation.

It was then time for prayers, all kinds of prayers. Most offered freely their petitions, intercessions, and thanksgivings. This was followed by *The Peace* which broke forth in joyous pandemonium for about 10 minutes. The bread and wine were prepared. The Community blessed, broke the bread and served each other, then sat down to business. They were especially attentive to the update Kathryn gave them on the Hunger Task Force's continued progress in Food Stamp outreach. Some personal concerns were aired, then the gathering officially adjourned, a few stayed to socialize. The Community of the Fellowship of Jesus had participated in its own weekly act of renewal.

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The Community of the Fellowship of Jesus began in the Spring of 1972. About 40 people entered into discussion,

investigation and planning aimed at discovering how to be a community of Christians who could express themselves freely, creatively and lovingly. They were determined to avoid legalism, dehumanizing customs, and all past institutional arrangements that would inhibit their search for a free and open expression of the Christian faith. A staff writer for the *Charlotte Observer* put her version of the beginning in a recent newspaper article:

THE COMMUNITY was begun as a somewhat embittered church-in-exile by Harcourt Waller, some members of Christ Episcopal Church and other friends who rallied around him after his controversial firing as rector there in 1972.

For more than two years before his ouster, the Princeton-educated priest had launched torpedoes of shame on every American tragedy from the Vietnam war to racism, hunger and poverty, from his pulpit at the 2,500-member church at 1412 Providence Road.

Church leaders charged they had 'irreconcilable differences' with Waller, 53, an independent, wilful man with a passion for Christian activism . . .

The first participants in The Community were middle to upper-middle income people. Most came from an Episcopalian background. They were professionals, business men and women, educators and housewives — "straight" people. They were also unconventional in their common concern for new ways to be Christians. Most of them had been sympathetic, if not active, in the Civil Rights struggle. Some had actively opposed the Vietnam War.

As churchpeople they had been frustrated by their inability to deal creatively with social issues through ordinary parish life. They read books and articles related to their search. The one they liked best was "Call To Commitment," the story of the Church of The Savior in Washington, D.C. They borrowed ideas wherever they could find them. They sent me to visit and talk with innovative persons identified with new patterns of Christian life and action. When they had done a sufficient amount of preliminary study and discussion, they spent a long weekend together at a conference center. Immediately afterward, they took legal steps to organize officially as, The Community of the Fellowship of Jesus. The longer name is seldom used. They call themselves, THE COMMUNITY. As a result of their initial work, they hammered out a statement of purpose with a commentary. Written on the first page was:

In the spring of 1972 a group of Charlotteans began to talk about becoming a flexible community of Christians uninhibited by expensive church properties, outmoded organization, and other financial and psychological roadblocks which make it hard for Christians to be very Christian.

The result was a statement of three purposes:

1) To affirm that God is at work in the city calling Christians to the task of making and keeping life truly human.

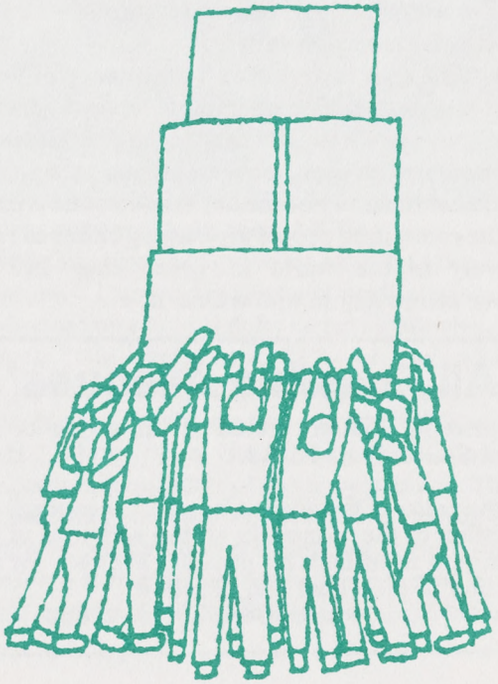
2) To work toward becoming a knowledgeable and productive Christian community.

3) To originate and test new patterns of Christian growth and action.

It was decided to build no churches. At the time of writing The Community has no one place to call home. Places are not important to its existence.

The members next dealt with ways to organize their programs and relate action to liturgical life. They adopted a "task force" method of meeting needs. A task force exists as long as it takes to accomplish a particular goal, then it self-destructs. They agreed not to have long-term standing committees.

As a result of Bob's experience with cancer, the community started a task force called "Dayspring." The goal was to identify, organize and train "recovered" cancer victims for the purpose of cancer counseling. The initial Dayspring group were drawn from The Community. They organized meetings, sent letters to all area clergy and physicians, publicized a phone number, and initiated an around-the-clock counseling service. There is now an extensive network with seminars, meetings, training programs reaching far beyond the city and county. Many of



the Dayspring methods have been borrowed from the techniques of Alcoholics Anonymous. Dayspring has now been "cut loose" to live and grow on its own.

Kathryn and the Hunger Task Force of 14 members of The Community are already a success story nationally publicized. Their work model has been adopted by the National Council of Churches' Task Force on Domestic Hunger for use across the country. The Community's Hunger Task Force did its initial work in local Food Stamp outreach and was instrumental in adding approximately 20,000 eligible persons to the Food Stamp rolls in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Kathryn and several of the original members moved on to help establish a statewide network called The North Carolina Hunger Coalition, to raise participation in the Food Stamp program across North Carolina and to monitor the way the State of North Carolina administers the program.

Lest anyone think The Community is simply a social action agency, the pattern of its life together is rooted in prayer and hard work at deepening faith while raising internal "trust levels." There is a weekly "freewheeling" liturgy and two weekend retreats a year. Consultants have been under contract to introduce and train The Community in problem solving, creative resolution of conflict, methods of meditation for greater internal mind-body control and usefulness.

I had always studied and thought and taught about the quality of life in a genuine eucharistic community. It is invigorating to be a part of one where what is done is the action of the whole body of people rather than something done by the clergy for the laity.

I do not think ours is an isolated experience of longing. On the basis of our search and implementation of what we have been finding, we have in fact become a third force in the contemporary Christian movement, and I suspect there are and will continue to be other examples of new patterns in which the committed people are coming closer to relating redemptively to the world in which they live while ministering effectively to and within it.

'All Possible Avenues'

The Episcopal Church stated in an action of the General Convention of 1913:

...it is the policy of the whole Church to encourage the cooperation of the women in all the activities of the Church, and to furnish all possible avenues for the expression of their zeal and devotion.

—**Journal,** General Convention, p. 345

'Total Amnesty, Not Shamnesty'

by Patricia Reif

September is a significant month in the struggle for amnesty for Vietnam war resisters. A month of ups and downs.

ITEM: Sept. 29, 1973 was the opening date of the last General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. The House of Bishops passed a resolution part of which stated:

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, that general amnesty be granted to all who have refused to participate in the conflict in Indochina; and be it further

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, that this Convention calls upon dioceses and parishes of this Church to include in their Christian education and social concerns programs a serious consideration of the question of amnesty and the needs of returning veterans.

This resolution failed to pass in the House of Deputies. At the time of this writing, the fate of the resolution at the 1976 General Convention is unknown.

ITEM: On Sept. 17, 1974 President Ford proclaimed his Clemency or "Earned Re-entry" program covering about 10% of war resisters. It lasted six months, and evoked a less than 10% response from those eligible. They called it a "Shamnesty" program and effectively boycotted it.

ITEM: On Sept. 5, 1975 the "Vietnam Era Reconciliation Act" (H.R. 9596) was reported out of a House subcommittee to the full Judiciary Committee. Authored by Representative Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wis.), this bill would grant immunity from prosecution to some war resisters, provided they sign a sworn statement that the action for which they seek relief was the result of "disapproval of U.S. military involvement in Indochina." Though often referred to as an "amnesty" bill, it is really a weak and ineffective compromise. To date it is stalled in the Judiciary Committee. On the Senate side several amnesty-

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Patricia Reif, IHM, is coordinator of the Amnesty Action/Information Center (NCUUA West), Los Angeles.

related bills have been introduced, but no hearings have been set. As Senator Philip Hart remarked, "Congress has the power to grant amnesty, but it doesn't have the guts."

National Amnesty Week in February was a dramatic demonstration of the depth of organized concern around amnesty and the progress that has been made among those who hold public office. Over 300 actions were carried out in all 50 states. Governors of 12 states and dozens of mayors and city councils endorsed amnesty resolutions, and hundreds of sermons for amnesty were preached in local churches and synagogues.

Prospects for Republican Party support are dim, but hopefully some positive measures will be taken. In the Democratic Party encouraging signs abound. The Platform took an important step in calling for the complete "pardon" (not amnesty) of all persons who are in legal or financial jeopardy because of their opposition to the war in Indochina. Speaking on "Meet the Press" several months ago Jimmy Carter singled out amnesty as the "most difficult issue" he would have to deal with if elected. Carter has promised that, if elected, he will "pardon" the 4,000 indicted draft resisters and consider case-by-case "pardon" of the deserters still at large.

What Amnesty Means

Amnesty is different from clemency, pardon, or forgiveness. It is a deliberate "forgetting" of past violation of civil, criminal, or military law. It involves no punitive conditions, such as alternative service, and is usually a *class* action, without case-by-case review of individual circumstances.

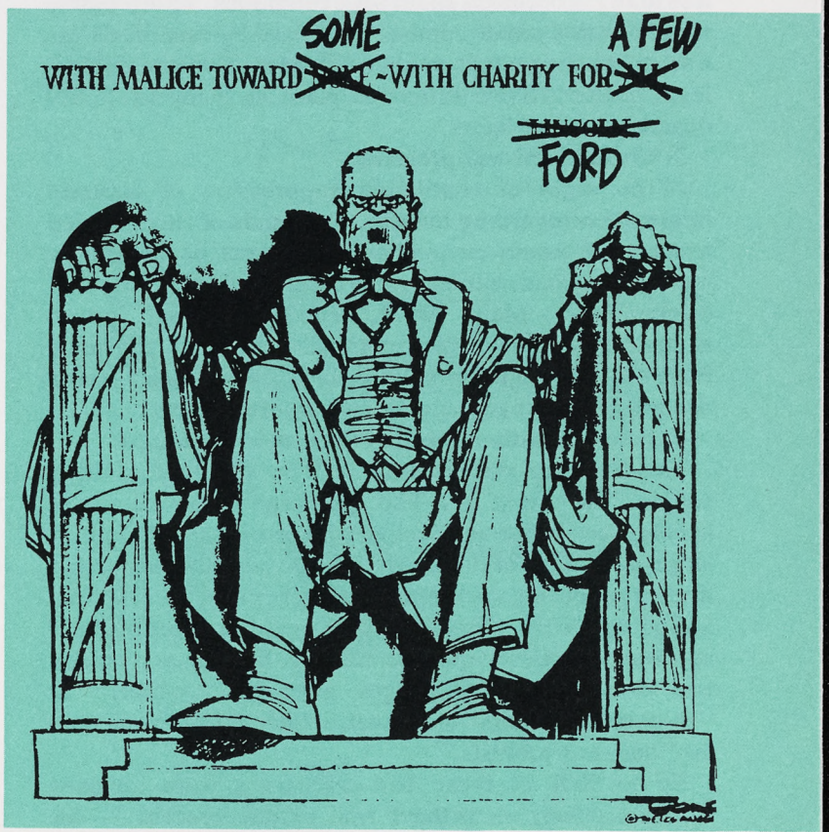
Amnesty is a legal act provided for in the Constitution. It may be proclaimed by the President or legislated by Congress. It is the law's way of undoing what the law may have done unjustly. In the language of our Judaeo-Christian tradition, the granter of amnesty refuses to play God — by forgiving condoning, or condemning. S/he simply "forgets" the alleged offense, for the sake of reconciliation and a new beginning.

Because of media concentration on the 4,000 indicted draft resisters who went into exile or underground, most Americans are aware of this group. What many do not know is that there are at least *one million Americans* who still suffer because of their various forms of opposition to the war. Let us look at four categories or classes of resisters, and some specific reasons why they deserve amnesty.

1. Draft resisters, including non-registrants

Draft resisters were primarily middle class, white, and well-educated. Many applied for C.O. status, but were denied it. For example, in 1970 alone, 100,000 applied, but only 18,000 received it. The inequities of local draft boards in granting deferments and their outright discrimination against poor and minority people are well known, especially to those who did draft counselling.

In addition to the above, according to Selective Service estimates, about 200,000 men per year resisted by simply not registering for the draft. The threat of discovery and conviction is always present. Amnesty would remove that constant threat.



2. Deserters and long term AWOLs

As Fritz Efaw pointed out in his speech at the Democratic convention, "The great majority of draft-eligible men were never drafted by virtue of deferments, loopholes, privilege, and luck." In fact, only 11% of the 15.6 million draft-eligible men actually entered military service. The majority of the 1.7 million who were drafted came from poor families. They often had little education, and a disproportionate number of them were black. They lacked the resources necessary to obtain C.O. status or college deferments. So the burden of serving in the armed forces fell disproportionately on the less privileged.

There were over 423,000 Vietnam desertions — more

than in any war in U.S. history. Some deserters had fought and even been decorated in Vietnam, but came home, dropped their guns, and said, "No more!" Many tried to get out by applying for C.O. status; when this was denied, as it usually was, they decided to go AWOL. The rates of desertions match U.S. escalation and de-escalation in an almost perfect bell curve.

Some people object to amnesty for deserters on the grounds that they left their units on the battlefield, thus endangering the lives of their comrades. The truth is that less than 1% occurred under such conditions. To attempt to weed out this small number on a case-by-case basis (as Carter has suggested) would be an expensive and endless legal process. Some estimates place as many as 25,000 deserters still at large.

3. Civilian anti-war protestors

In the light of continuing suppression of accurate information regarding the war, thousands of citizens tried to alert the American public to what was happening by peaceful demonstrations, marches, and acts of civil disobedience. Many were arrested, served prison sentences, and now carry criminal records as convicted felons. A total amnesty must include them. Their records need to be expunged and all civil rights restored.

4. Veterans with other than honorable discharges

The discharge system is the military's method of firing people. The threat of a bad discharge is the means of keeping men in line and dealing with protest and dissent. A large percentage of the nearly 700,000 less than honorable discharges during the Vietnam era were given for desertion and going AWOL. Often, too, they were the direct result of anti-war activities within the military. But the real reason was camouflaged; discharges given for "apathy" or "character disorders" look much better on the records than for "anti-war protests."

Up to 90% of these bad discharges were imposed administratively — without trial or due process — for offenses which would never be considered crimes in civilian life. The 10% given as a result of court martial have already subjected individuals to sentencing and punishment.

In her talk to the National Democratic Platform Committee Louise Ransom,co-founder of Gold Star Parents for Amnesty, summarized the argument for this category:

> *For the Democratic Party not to include consideration of veterans with bad discharges in a broad general amnesty would give rise to the justified criticism that we are a party that favors the privileged, which is certainly not in our tradition.*

Could we not substitute "the Episcopal Church" for "the Democratic Party"?

Continued on back cover

Letter continued from page 2

appearing to be smug or putting him down, I really want to ask him "who really cares about that?"

For me that thrust is about as relevant as the ones we did in Detroit as we tried to find handles in the urban scene to hook the church into so the church could become more "relevant" to the demands of the 20th century. Our friends in the city administration used to shake their heads and ask, "why should we be concerned with your problem?" They were right. But we persisted as if they didn't really understand, and we did.

Somehow, we thought, we have a secret that they need to ask for and then we'll give it to them and that would justify our being there to make sense out of their lousy lives.

All this is hogwash for me now. I couldn't see it then. This was the biggest dependency: To be the evangelist who tells "them" about their salvation. As they said, "Who needs the church? Who asked you to come into our world? Why do you think your insights are of any value for us?" I think that's really prophetic.

I still have my deep passions, my concerns, my burning desires to see justice done. I am just as feisty as I ever was; I am wrong just as much of the time as I used to be, but now I don't feel the need to apologize for it, only acknowledge it.

I think Women's Ordination is a conundrum. Why encourage women to enter into a profession that is already overloaded with excess clergy by about 5-6,000, especially since it is happening at a time when the excesses are bound to increase as the available positions continue to decrease? So women become priests and even Bishops! Will that necessarily bring about the changes to the church that are necessary? And what does it do for those young women who might be more serviceable in the political arena, in the work world, in the decision-making areas of their worlds — where the church definitely isn't?

Thank you for letting me put down where I find my meaning today. It's not in the pew every Sunday. It's not in my re-reading of Scripture periodically. It's not from my association with "Church people". It's not from being a professional in an institution that tries to make itself wanted by a world that seems not to care whether it exists or not. I find my meaning, my faith, my motivation for living, my excitement in simply understanding me; being responsible for me; taking care of me; and finding my validation of myself in me. No longer do I need to cry "Help" in the sense of making my life worthwhile.

It has been a difficult lesson but it has been and continues to be the best lesson I have ever learned: self-awareness, self-responsibility; self-assertion; and self-validation.

James Guinan
Sacramento, California

PLAIN TALK

Dear Friends,

With this issue of THE WITNESS we celebrate our second anniversary.

Permit us a bit of reminiscing...

When we began publishing two years ago, it was an unlikely time to re-enter the field. Inflation was causing steep rises in postage as well as in all other costs. The sidelines of the periodical path were increasingly dotted with publications — both secular and religious — which had to drop out.

In spite of this, THE WITNESS re-entered the race. Its situation was different from most, in terms of circumstance and objective.

As to circumstance: In October, 1974, speaking of the Rev. William Spofford, former editor, we said:

> *By dint of paying himself a subsistence salary, stinting on costs, receiving many contributions in addition to subscription prices, a small capital fund grew and with wise investment appreciated in value over the decades. At the time of his death over two years ago there were sufficient financial resources to resume publication...*

That subsidy can make THE WITNESS viable for some time, without the burden of running advertising. For this we are grateful.

As to objective: We feel THE WITNESS has been making its mark as an independent monthly — sometimes controversial, always provocative — on the issues behind the issues in church, nation and world. THE WITNESS seeks to provide the kind of analytical reporting which the church sorely needs to be faithful to our time.

But the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company has a fiduciary responsibility to serve the Gospel as best it can with the resources at hand. The question arises: How wide a circulation should THE WITNESS have to justify the expense of publication?

Two years after the re-appearance of THE WITNESS we are approaching the 3,000 mark in paid subscriptions.

Not so bad, considering the brief time we have been back in business, starting virtually from scratch. So our friends tell us. But we have a continuing question about the adequacy of a publication if it continues to reach only one out of every 800 Episcopalians.

If the number of subscribers were doubled, say, one out of every 400, we should feel more confident that THE WITNESS is an effective instrument to carry on the social mission of the church.

This then, is our immediate objective — to double our subscriptions.

The more simple route is for each subscriber to secure one more. But since life is not as simple as mathematics, — would you be responsible for securing *two* subscriptions?

That is, obtain subscriptions from two people in your parish, or of your acquaintance, who would profit from the type of journalism that THE WITNESS provides. Or treat them to a gift subscription — our renewal rate on these is high. Use the form enclosed in this issue.

And we thank you, because we know you care about this mission as much as we do.

Sincerely,

Robert L. DeWitt
Editor

A Lazarus-Like Episcopal Church

The Episcopal Church today is Lazarus-like: we are moribund; unmoving...But God is near! In our midst! Some of us share God's grief for this old friend. Some of us share the faith of Mary and Martha in the Call back to Life. The power of the living Christ quickens us against our will-toward-death: from inertia to liveliness.

Alleluia! There is no turning back. So I share this with you:

Lovesong in the House of Quarrelsome Overseers*

Meditation on John 11:17-44

Jesus wept.
The human side we've failed
to worship,
the side of sweat and
tears and jokes and
righteous rage
and deep, so deep fatigue.

Like a mother longing
over the bricks and stones
of Israel's heart.
Like a mother yearning
over the stifling child
choked on its own
dry tongue and spittle.
Jesus wept.

And two sisters rush to the tasks of faith:
remorse, rebuke, rebirth.
We dead entreat you.
Loose us. Let us go.

Stinking, old, despaired of,
Lazarus, come forth.

*"The Episcopal Church" in Mandarin idiom.

alla bozarth-campbell

Continued from page 14

The National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA), a coalition of over 50 religious, civic, and peace groups (including the Episcopal Peace Fellowship) founded in 1973, supports total amnesty for all the above categories of resisters.

It sets the general case for amnesty within the wider context of the war: how and why we got involved, and the crimes against humanity committed there. More specific arguments based on such concepts as reconciliation, healing of wounds, respect for individual conscience and forgetting the past appear in the dozens of religious statements for amnesty issued since the first UCC Synod statement of 1968. (See *Religious Statements on Amnesty,* published by the National Interreligious Service Board on Conscientious Objection, 1974.)

While the actual fighting ended in April, 1975, amnesty is part of the unfinished business of the war, and should be linked with other related issues: providing reconstruction aid to Vietnam, normalizing diplomatic, trade, and cultural relations with the nations of Indochina, admitting Vietnam to the United Nations, and assuring adequate rehabilitation and compensation to all physically or psychologically wounded veterans.

On the second anniversary of the Clemency Program — September 17 — NCUUA will launch a nationwide postcard campaign to Presidential Candidate Jimmy Carter in Plains, Georgia asking him to grant amnesty, *not* pardon, to *all* war resisters. Attractive "picture" postcards may be obtained from the NCUUA office either in New York (235 E. 49 St., New York, NY 10017) or Los Angeles (5899 West Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90019).

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THE WITNESS

November, 1976
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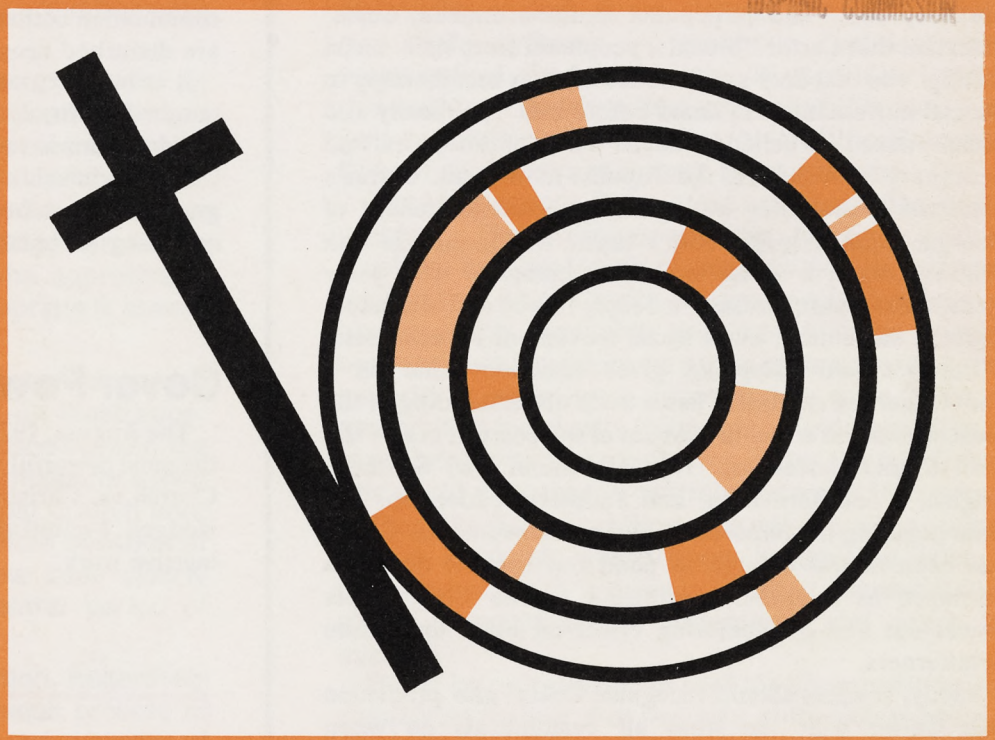
Church & City:

Random Growth, Random Flight

Arthur E. Walmsley



Convention Perspectives

Robert L. DeWitt Roy Larson

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters

Misunderstood Carter

William R. Coats' analysis of Jimmy Carter's campaign (THE WITNESS, August) reflects a basic misunderstanding both of the Carter campaign and of the historical and political tradition out of which it grows.

Carter does not reflect "nostalgia for pioneer America," by which Coats means a society of antisocial freeholders armed with squirrel rifles. In fact, he is a political product of the Deep South and its populist tradition. Indeed, Coats' assertion that Carter "break(s) people off from their social setting", so that they are denuded of their membership in "social movements" to stand before him "politically and socially naked" is belied by Carter's own philosophical and hereditary connection to the Populist movement. Carter's maternal grandfather was a key political lieutenant of Georgia Populist leader Tom Watson, who in the late 19th century forged a social movement complete with party structure and party press — a deeply flawed and ultimately doomed movement, but a social movement nonetheless.

Carter's own campaign gives testimony that as a Southerner the candidate has a deep understanding of the most significant social movement of the postwar era — the Civil Rights movement. This movement had Southern origins, a Southern base, and Southern leadership. Far from negating the importance of social movements, Carter has been honest enough to point out that he owes his existence as a national politician to the Civil Rights movement and its liberating effect on black and white Southerners.

Lastly, readers should recognize Coats' glib prediction that Carter will "do what all evangelicals do when pushed...move to the right" for what it is: an unfounded guess based largely on religious prejudice.

The rise of Carter is a far more complex — and encouraging — phenomenon than Coats suggests. It needs dispassionate analysis. But it should be examined in light of the facts and historical realities.

Garrett Epps
Richmond, Virginia

May We Reprint?

May we have permission to reprint in *The Cincinnati Post* on our op-ed page — with whatever credit you designate — William R. Coats' piece on Carter's politics from THE WITNESS?

Bishop John Krumm (on whose diocesan communications committee I serve) would confirm that our work is careful, our range wide. From Harcourt Brace to various professional journals, we have virtually standing permission to reprint from provocative sources of the day.

David B. Bowes
Cincinnati, Ohio

(*We are pleased that The Cincinnati Post reprinted the Coats article on August 26. — Ed.*)

Not Being Snobbish

The article by William R. Coats states "Jimmy Carter is an evangelical Protestant and a politician. This combination bothers some people. Starched Episcopalians are disturbed because they are snobs."

It is my deep conviction that Episcopalians have been taught and firmly believe that God is the One who can decide "who is to be saved". No Billy Graham, Jimmy Carter, Jehovah's Witness or any other human being or group of human beings is really up to this decision. This is not being snobbish — it is simply the fact of the matter.

Jane B. Greaves
Williamsport, Pa.

Cover Powerful

The August, 1976 issue of THE WITNESS carried one of the most powerful statements I have seen with regard to the Church vs. Christianity. I refer to the woodcut by Robert Hodgell. I would very much like to purchase a print of this incisive work.

Edward J. Getlein
Woodbridge, Conn.

Letters continued on page 15

CREDITS

Cover: Milton Coleman; graphics pp. 4, 7, Dana Martin; photo p. 8, Travis L. Francis. Editor's note: We inadvertently omitted crediting Dana Martin for the October cover of THE WITNESS, as well as for the graphic on p. 12 of that issue.

THE WITNESS

Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; Mary Lou Suhor, Managing Editor; E. Lawrence Carter, Robert Eckersley, Antoinette Swanger, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White Jr. Editorial and Business Office. P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates; $9.00 per year; $1.00 per copy. *The Witness* is published monthly by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Board of Directors: Bishops Morris Arnold, Robert DeWitt, Lloyd Gressle, John Hines, John Krumm, Brooke Mosley and Dr. Joseph Fletcher.

A Convention With 'Class'

Robert L. DeWitt

"We have created our institutions, and by God's grace we can transform them — they are missionary areas."

That statement was made by Henry Atkins of Washington, D.C., one of the panelists at the Church and Society forum on "Racism" at the recent General Convention. Transforming institutions is a large order for the church. True, the church has an instinct for justice, ambiguous though its gropings for justice may be. It has a tendency toward the appropriate, though its realization of what is appropriate is always lagging.

The action taken at the recent Convention which enabled the ordination of women is an illustration. The shock-waves of that action have gone out and the only thing clear is that it will have an impact for a long time to come both inside the Episcopal Church and, more importantly, beyond it. The simple question of justice implicit in the issue has now been clearly addressed, after a too-long and painful period of confusion and evasion of the issue.

The Prayer Book is another illustration. Regardless of the eventual outcome of the arduous process of Prayer Book revision, an overwhelming majority of the people voting at Convention made it clear that they wanted the words and modes of their worship to be more nearly attuned to their contemporary life experience.

Yes, we have created our institutions, and we can transform them. That has been demonstrated. It is good that the church seeks to set its own house in order. But the weightier matters are in the world, where the wrongs to be righted are rooted in its man-made systems — economic, political, and ecclesiastical. And the church will shed little light in this world if it does not take account of this fact — as well as acknowledge the class bias of the Episcopal Church as it seeks to impact those systems.

The Minneapolis Convention was illustrative of the problem. The arrangements for housing, eating, meeting, and the length of the Convention (who can take off that much time?) — were on a typical level of luxury which inevitably and intentionally (though unconsciously) produced a group of deputies the vast majority of whom were upper middle class. Such an assemblage is virtually incapable of understanding or identifying with those suffering under the systems of this world who are the central concern of the gospel.

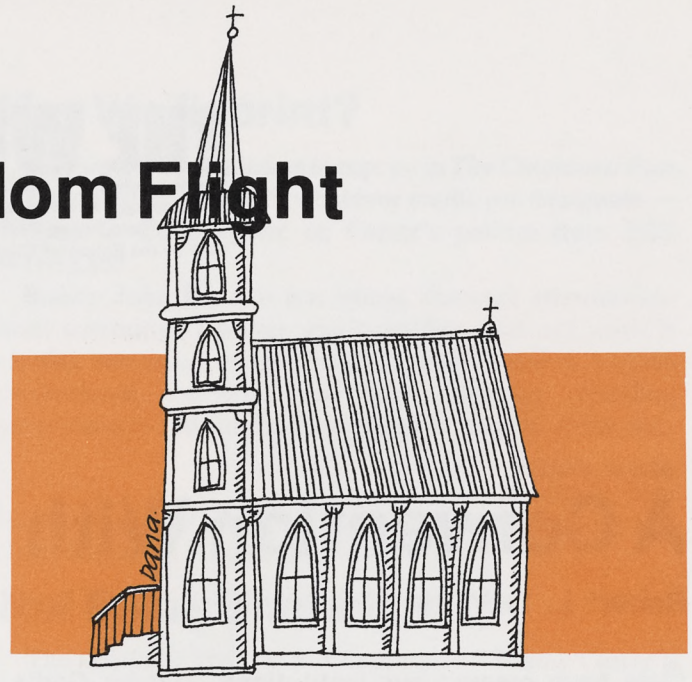
True, the Episcopal Church is not actually as upper middle class as would seem evident at such a Convention. With a more accurately representative group it would better understand and grasp its mission.

But at its representative best the church still needs something further. For the sake of its own mission it needs contact with other groups who often have no interest in that mission, but whose involvements and commitments are consistent with that mission. The search for social justice requires commitment, and the church has much to learn about commitment to social justice. In that regard, our Appalachian, Black, Native American and Latin American neighbors have much to teach us.

Church and City:

Random Growth, Random Flight

by Arthur E. Walmsley



The purpose of this year's Church and City Conference was threefold: to reflect on the history of the Episcopal Church in urban areas, in particular the developments of the last two decades; to look at several contemporary "models" of urban ministry, and to consider the possible roles which the Conference may assume to strengthen the work of the Episcopal Church in the urban centers of the nation. Let us reflect on our church's urban history.

Chapter 1 of a book on this subject might be entitled "Random Growth," and its counterpoint, "Random Flight." The early strategy of the Anglican Church in America was to have a church within walking distance of its members in the city; within riding distance in the country. As the cities of the continent began to grow in the 19th Century, the legacy of this haphazard growth was a constantly shifting checkerboard of churches which leapfrogged over each other as housing patterns changed and residential neighborhoods pushed further away from the commercial centers of the cities.

When I began a curacy in the early 1950s in St. Louis, it was in a parish located about four miles from the Mississippi River, which marked the eastern edge of downtown St. Louis. On the axis between our building and the river there were six Episcopal parish buildings. Six years later, there was only one, the Cathedral downtown. I once made a haphazard exploration of the history of parish locations in the city, and turned up no less than 18 additional and by then abandoned sites on that four mile axis. My own parish, Trinity, was then in its fifth building.

Which is to say that the missionary strategy of the church was no strategy at all; rather a quixotic, thoroughly congregational process of locating churches in the midst of "our kind" of people — however defined — and abandoning buildings and neighborhoods in the face of successive waves of ethnic migration or commercial change.

Parishes tended, too, to be stratified and exclusive, even apart from churchmanship considerations. Fall River, Mass., which was my mother's birthplace shortly after the turn of the century, managed at that time in history to support six Episcopal churches; a principal distinction among them was the county of origin in England of their members, primarily migrating mill workers. A Yorkshireman would find himself as unwelcome in a neighboring parish made up of Englishmen from another county as would a Pole in a French-Canadian ethnic Roman Catholic parish.

To some extent Chapter 2 would parallel Chapter 1. It might be called "The Emergence of a Social Consciousness in the American Church." During the century which begins in the 1830s or '40s, there began to develop a sense of responsibility towards the city, and especially to the poor. This movement had three dimensions.

One was the creation of a matrix of social service agencies. The first Episcopal City Missionary Society was organized in New York in 1864 to care for the neglected people of the city. The second followed in Philadelphia in 1872. At one of its high points, the New York Society served some 350,000 persons in 1920. And at their peak of organization, there were 28 functioning city mission societies under the aegis of the Episcopal Church, and perhaps 350 social service agencies of all sorts working in the cities.

A second development of the 19th century was the emergence of the Social Gospel. The publication in 1907 of Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* is a critical date in the history of the peculiarly American version of Protestant social thought. But there was already, for American Episcopalians, a tradition of Christian social

Arthur E. Walmsley, rector of St. Paul's Church, New Haven, was for 13 years involved in the church's ministry in public affairs at the national or state level. He served as treasurer of the Boston Industrial Mission for three years.

thinking filtering across from England in the writing and organizing work of the Christian socialists: Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice, and in the second generation, Scott Holland, Stewart Headlam, Bishop Charles Gore, and the founders of Fabian socialism. Patterned on British roots, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interest of Labor was founded in 1887 (only a year after the organization of the American Federation of Labor). It later spawned the Church Socialist League, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, and the Episcopal League for Social Action.

A third development in the emerging social consciousness of the Church might be termed the *socially involved parish*. One thread of this development goes back to the expulsion of the supporters of the Tractarian Movement in England from the universities and socially-desirable parishes, and the development of a unique style of Anglo-Catholic inner-city ministry.

I must remind you of one more fact of our history as a church. Prior to 1922, there existed no national entity within the Episcopal Church other than the General Convention. That year marked the creation out of a mishmash of semi-autonomous missionary and other agencies of the National (now Executive) Council, responsible by charter to unify the "missionary, educational, and social work" of the Church.

It was, however, 1952 before the General Convention authorized any body or staff person to consider the needs and opportunities of the church in the city, and to conduct related research and experimentation. Significantly, although the well-financed Division of Town and Country Work was integral to the Home Department and its responsibility for missionary expansion and churchly ministries on a geographical basis, the Division of Urban Industrial Church Work was lodged in the Social Relations Department.

That is perhaps to get ahead of the story, but it underlines a fundamental point which continues to dominate any discussion in official structures concerning ministry in the city: social consciousness and concern for the neighbor who is not an Episcopalian are here to stay; but large segments of the Church continue to see the culture of the city as an alien place, and the ministry to the poor and alienated as secondary to the "real work" of the Episcopal Church.

Let me briefly sketch four more chapters in this history.

Chapter 3 we might call "Revolution in a City Parish." Abbe Michonneau's book of that title was published in 1949. It illustrated the ferment in Europe and this country which insisted there must be a reconstruction of institutions following the great depression and the war. I remember the excitement of visiting Grace Church, van Vorst, for the first time, and working at St. John's, Roxbury, during my seminary days; of hearing from my seminary friend, Scott Paradise, about his work with Ted Wickham at the Sheffield Industrial Mission; of crossing the narrow strand of water to a rebuilding abbey church at Iona; and, a few years later, of seeing the theological writings of Hendrick Kraemer on the laity being fleshed out by Fran Ayres at the Parishfield Community.

I remember going with Arthur Lichtenberger, he a new coadjutor in Missouri and I a new deacon, to an urban conference in the fall of 1951 in Chicago, and next year meeting Paul Musselman, who was the head of the Urban Industrial Division. But I can also remember the remark of Dr. Joseph Nicholson, the acerbic rector of All Saints, St. Louis, on our first meeting: "*Just remember, my enthusiastic white friend, you can always go home to the suburbs.*"

The late '40s and '50s were a time of ferment and experimentation. They were also the time when the national bureaucracies of the mainstream churches began to expand rapidly.

The stage was set for Chapter 4, "The Urban Coup d'Etat." Or, by its mythic city's name, "Metabagdad." The Miami Convention in 1958 voted to expand the work of the Division of Urban Industrial Church Work. Detroit was a natural setting for the next Convention. The Detroit Industrial Mission organized bus tours to industrial sites. And the urban lobby, sparked in large measure by the then leaders of the Church and City Conference, lobbied through a million dollar urban program.

It was to be lodged in the Home Department under Daniel Corrigan, though its existence as a "Joint Urban Program" gave it access to every other department of the Council. Its charge was modest: to create a missionary strategy for a church which did not have one, and whose policy dictated against the creation of one:

> *The staffing, evolving, evaluating, and promoting the execution of a realistic, effective program of our Church, on the national level, which is primarily designed:*
>
> *(a) to initiate, promote, and correlate research indicating the reaction of the rapidly changing work forces and living patterns of our industrial society to the Episcopal Church working through the inner city church;*

(b) to develop leadership and strategy by which the inner city church may more precisely relate its opportunity for Christian witness to these changing forces and patterns;

(c) to train skilled field workers, both clerical and lay, in resolving the problems of the inner-city church in an industrialized society;

(d) to stimulate vocations for work in this field;

(e) to urge upon our dioceses and missionary districts the development of diocesan, district, and parish programs to meet and resolve this opportunity at those levels.

The program lasted six years, under the direction of James Morton and G. H. (Jack) Woodard. To recall some of its accomplishments: the Metabagdad simulation training exercise, an effort to develop pan-parochial planning processes in urban centers; the funding of action training centers, such as the Chicago Urban Training Center (to gauge the scale of this involvement, it might be noted that in the 1968-70 triennium, $499,946 of national Episcopal Church money was funneled to 13 centers); the support of a network of industrial missions, which had emerged out of the pioneer efforts of Hugh White and Scott Paradise in Detroit; the quarterly publication of "Church in Metropolis," complete with original serigraphs by Sister Corita; and the Pilot Diocese program, aimed at structural change and carefully supervised experimentation in a mix of dioceses.

These developments in the Episcopal Church were matched by a comparable growth in budget resources and staff bureaucracies in the national agencies of other denominations, and by a range of ad hoc new ecumenical coalitions, such as the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) and the Joint Strategy and Action Committee (JSAC) designed somewhat explicitly to bypass the ponderous machinery of traditional ecumenical organizations.

On the World Council of Churches level, the major study development of the decade was a complex examination on "the missionary structure of the local church," which, though it did not explicitly reject the parish church as an arena of mission, devoted major attention to experimental, non-parish ministries. Secular theology, pop liturgy, and anti-establishment rhetoric were in the ascendancy. The heady days of Northern white liberal involvement in the Southern civil rights movement found a counterpart in political action in Washington during days of the New Frontier and War on Poverty in Washington.

Then came Chapter 5, "Black Power." Black readers probably have noted that no mention has been made until this point of the presence of black congregations of the Episcopal Church in urban areas. The fact is that no matter how active these congregations were, the urban challenge and urban strategy for the Episcopal Church were defined in terms of the survival and transition of the white congregation, and only minimal funds were deployed for the black Episcopal Church, urban or rural.

The statistical reality of American urban change in the 50 year period between 1910 and 1960 was a complete reversal of the housing pattern of American blacks, from 73% rural to an equivalent percent urbanized.

Yet the image of the urban challenge for the Episcopal Church which preoccupies us is that of the beleaguered neighborhood congregation faced with a dwindling Caucasian congregation and soaring costs, or the downtown church with solid resources forced to cut back on expensive programs in the face of a depressed securities market. In his recent book, *Survival and Mission for the City Church,* Gaylord Noyce, associate director of the Berkeley Center at Yale, offers creative suggestions to downtown churches in their efforts to define role models in the new urban mix.

But the book seems to neglect altogether the need for those churches to seek out changed patterns of relationships to and redeployment of resources with and on behalf of the black church, Episcopal and otherwise.

That issue surfaced in the Episcopal Church during and following the Seattle Convention of 1967. Initially it found expression in the General Convention Special Program. Bishop Hines in part defined the charter of the new program in one principle, that Episcopalians should try to discover

> *...how the resources of this Church, resources human and financial, might intelligently and humbly be enlisted in the service of the people of the cities, and by what criteria this Church might enter into partnership with the indigenous community groups in impoverished slum areas which have been organized by the residents themselves, are run by them, and are seeking to alleviate the conditions which are destroying them.*

That the program essentially bypassed Episcopal congregations in the center city did not go long unchallenged. The recently organized and increasingly outspoken Union of Black Clergy and Laity (now the Union of Black Episcopalians) demanded and received a grant for its own organizational development, and in the six years of its existence, GCSP increasingly channeled funds into

projects sponsored by Black, Hispanic, and Indian Episcopal congregations and agencies.

With the dismantling of the GCSP in 1973, and the reorganization of staff and program at the national church level, it is not at all clear whether the Episcopal Church, nationally and in the dioceses, is even now prepared to take seriously black and other ethnic parishes in the city as essential parts of its urban strategy. One thing is clear, however; the creation of a "black desk" at the Executive Council, the Absalom Jones Institute within the Atlanta University theological complex, and the emergence of strong ecumenical and Episcopal black clergy groups guarantee that there will be no revival of an "urban strategy" which concerns itself only for the beleaguered white congregation in the city.

It is a denial of our history as a church to pretend that the Episcopal Church is not, in the main, a white middle class institution, and it is damaging and psychologically self-defeating to pretend that we are anything else. But it is sociologically and morally as detached from reality to fail to insure that our resources are deployed in such a way as to support and encourage the vital new churches — Black and Hispanic — which are emerging in the cities. All of which leads to the tragic implications of the last chapter.

Chapter 6 might variously be called, "The Myth of the Grass Roots," or "The Lure of Decentralization," or, somewhat cynically, "The Sellout of Urban Mission." In the last decade, most urban dioceses have undertaken a process of reorganization which locates planning and budgeting processes in geographical clusters variously called deaneries, or districts, or inter-parish councils. Central diocesan staff for urban work, mission strategy, and social action have been phased out; the functional distance between center cities and suburban and rural areas of dioceses has been increased.

Although there is a modest resource program for rural and non-metropolitan churches titled "New Directions" in operation under the direction of Boone Porter at Roanridge, there is nothing comparable at the national level, either under "815" auspices or organized on an ad hoc basis among urban dioceses, to provide dioceses, urban deaneries, or clusters of urban parishes with consultation and advice on their strategies for the future.

Institutionally, it would appear the Episcopal Church is at the approximate same spot as it was prior to 1952 with respect to the development of strategy and resources for the church in the city.

But that statement is true in only a partial sense. We have no more organized resources for facing the city than we had 20 years ago. But the plight of the cities is greater, and the erosion of our traditional base proceeds at a rapid pace. It is ironic that the most recent merger in New York City yokes three of that city's most historic parishes: The Church of the Holy Communion, associated with the name of William Augustus Muhlenberg and the formation of religious orders, the revival of liturgical worship, and the seeds of ecumenism; St. George's Church, the seat of Rainsford's pioneer work in institutional parish ministry; and Calvary, the pulpit long associated with the charisma of Sam Shoemaker.

In a word, time is running out for the Episcopal Church in the city. We have no strategy of consolidation and redeployment of resources for our traditional white settings; and no serious missionary strategy for strengthening existing black congregations and looking ahead to the future.

It isn't the task of this article to propose strategies, but let me close with a statement of three needs which are glaringly apparent from this brief survey:

1) A canon, preferably national and therefore binding on dioceses, that permits the Diocesan bishop, under carefully defined circumstances, to move in on redundant or defunct parishes which fail to serve their communities, and at a stage early enough that resources can be productively used within the same community or city.

2) A consulting or idea/exchange function which, though it could not pretend to undertake the ambitious urban programs of the '60s, permits parishes, clusters, deaneries, and dioceses to learn from each other.

3) A program for training and redeploying full-time, part-time, and non-stipendiary clergy, on something of the same model of the "New Directions" project, and making full use of such black-oriented resources as the Absalom Jones Institute.

Court vs. Chavis

Subtle Violence

by Robert Maurer

Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr., has been on a "spiritual fast and political hunger strike" since April 30. He is engaged in one of the oldest Christian tactics against an unjust system. There are many who do not want him to succeed. A great deal is at stake.

Chavis is incarcerated in Central Prison Hospital in Raleigh N.C. An hour to the northeast by car stands Oxford, his home town. He regularly attended an Episcopal Church there. He may not have wanted to go every Sunday, but he was certainly expected to attend: Ben Chavis, Sr. was lay reader and senior warden of that church until his death. Though not officially ordained to do so, Ben's father served often as priest because the church was frequently without clergy. This was Ben's first experience with the proposition that the requirements of the Spirit are paramount to the strictures of the Law.

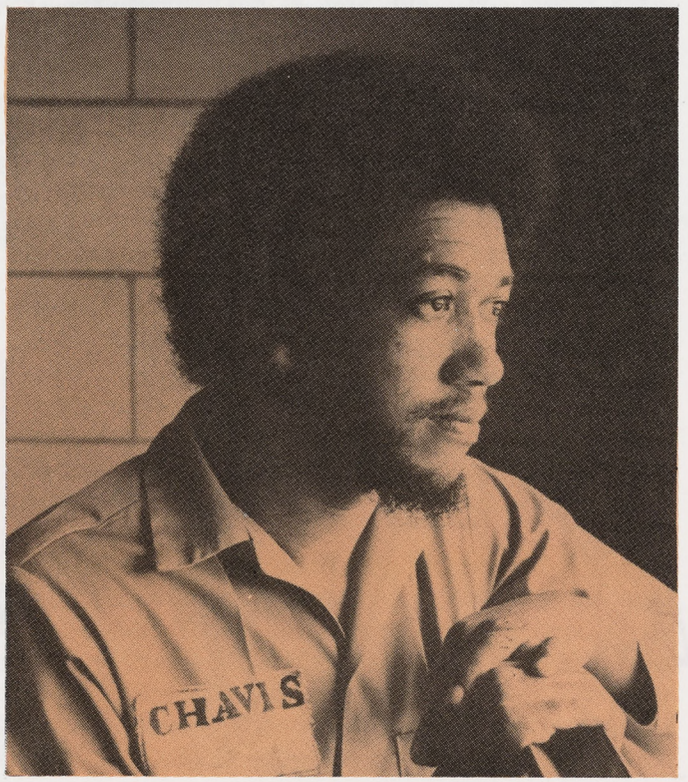
The *Wilmington 10*, of which Chavis is the leading member, are in prisons throughout North Carolina because the United States Supreme Court last Jan. 19 refused to hear an appeal to review their convictions on two counts of an indictment resulting from a racial shoot-out in Wilmington more than five years ago. They surrendered themselves on Feb. 2 to begin serving terms averaging 26 years.

Three days before their peaceful surrender, however, defense lawyers filed a writ of habeus corpus because bond had been denied *The Ten* by Judge Logan D. Howell of the federal district court. Although by law such a writ must be heard within 40 days of filing (and its hearing would automatically mean the defendants were eligible for release on bond), the judge as of Labor Day had yet to assign the case a date on his court calendar. Eight black former high school students, a white woman social worker and Chavis languish in jail.

In moral terms, the case is a classic confrontation between the persuasive advantages of a Christian conscience and the subtly coercive weapons of judicial and other governmental procedures. And yet, behind this moral dimension lies a political clash of two opposing ambitions for the governance of North Carolina.

To put it simply, one ambition would divide black and white to allow the continuation of conservative rule in the Tar Heel state. The other would unite black and white to install liberal rule. That same clash of ambitions caused the 1898 Massacre in Wilmington, N.C. Then the clash of conservative whites and liberal blacks meant death for at least 30 blacks. The Massacre terminated the decisive political gains made by black officeholders during Reconstruction. In 1898 the question of who would govern the eastern portion of North Carolina (and, by example, the entire state) was decided by outright slaughter. Today, the means of violence are more subtle, lodged as they are in the criminal justice system. But the stakes are the same.

Ben Chavis was invited to Wilmington in February, 1971 to organize black high school students — in part to *avoid*



Robert Maurer is a free-lance writer living in New York City.

bloodshed. At the time Chavis was field staff for the United Church of Christ N.C.-Va. Commission for Racial Justice (he is currently director of CRJ's Washington office). He accomplished the task he was asked to do. Chavis organized angry students, whose demands for such things as a black studies program had been officially rejected, to protest through non-violent marches. But the white Wilmington community remained disorganized. White vigilantes and their supporters, (many of whom were members of the Rights of White People who considered the Klan outmoded and milk toast), started a pitched battle which the police and the mayor could not, and would not, stop.

The pattern which the *Wilmington 10* episode presents is an increasingly familiar one. The system of repression initially requires two sticks to ignite the necessary flame. The first stick is "them," the "outside agitator" group. The second, and equally important, is "us," a group of hostile people opposed to "them."

The resulting violent conflict is then managed so that loss of life and property damage does not offend society's already high tolerance for both. But also managed so that there is enough loss of life and/or property damage to warrant an official investigation. (I do not doubt such a proposition will annoy some people, but in Wilmington the mayor doggedly refused to call out the National Guard through three days of armed conflict, and did so, *not* after a black youth was killed, but after a white adult was killed. Chavis was subsequently indicted for conspiracy to murder this white man.)

After the two sticks have ignited the flame, a third group steps in: the so-called defenders of law and order. In the guise of re-establishing stability in the afflicted area, they eventually indict the defenders of non-violence.

What is notable in the pattern of sophisticated repression is an organic link between the group called "us" and the so-called defenders of law and order. On the surface, the two groups appear vastly different in background, education, public utterances. White vigilantes carrying shotguns in their pick-up trucks do not seem to resemble lawyers in their vested suits or judges in their robes. And yet, those who take the law into their hands (and their supporters) and those who lay their hands on a Bible swearing to uphold the law — at least in North Carolina — are blood relatives in need of each other's services to repress black aspirations.

The prosecutors and judges need the majority of the white vote on election day. Every other day white voters (not all of them, of course) need to feel the security which comes with knowing that "their kind" is in office. To be specific, the *Wilmington 10* case has provided, among other things — an opportunity for career development: The local judge who heard the case was appointed by the governor to the state appeals court; and the local prosecutor was elevated by former President Nixon to the post of assistant U.S. Attorney. The successful senatorial campaign of the North Carolina attorney general benefited from his sending a special prosecutor to the original trial.

The Shoot-Out

In December 1970, black high school students in Wilmington requested, among other things, permission to celebrate Martin Luther King's birthday the following month...

The students needed a place to meet, but many church and other doors were shut in their faces. Finally, Gregory Congregational Church provided the meeting space. Many white people were set on closing that door, too. Several bomb threats were made; the minister asked the mayor for police protection but received no response.

On February 5 whites opened fire on the church and its occupants. One white resident, who strongly believed that the shoot-out was the opening battle in black strategy to overthrow the US Government, observed that the chief of police had his hands full keeping his own men from rushing the church and shooting the defenders. The students inside, aided by black Viet Nam veterans, shot back for three days and nights. One black youth and one white adult were killed; stores in the neighborhood were burned down. Early on the fourth morning, the National Guard was ordered to surround the church. When the Guard's major general called out for those inside to surrender, no one answered. The occupants had left the night before.

Fourteen months later, the *Wilmington 11* (one case was dropped later) were indicted on a series of charges including both a conspiracy to burn and the actual burning of the stores in the neighborhood, and conspiracy to assault and actual assault of emergency personnel who tried to put the fires out. For the death of the white adult, Ben Chavis and Marvin Patrick, a student, were charged with conspiracy to murder. The policemen who shot the black youth were exonerated from all charges, and the chief declared the killing "justifiable homicide." Seven whites were charged with being armed to terrorize people and received light suspended sentences.

"The Ben Chavis Case"
Christianity and Crisis, 5/24/76

In summary, then, the flame which is first ignited by "them" and "us" is a source of political energy for putting into office officials who, in turn, consolidate a repressive criminal justice system.

That system has protected North Carolinians very well from the *Wilmington 10*. It put them in jail for four months following their indictment (bail had been set at an exorbitant $400,000); it refused to review their appeal in the state Court of Appeals, and the system has held them in jail again, without bail, for nine months thus far. That system also placed Chavis at first in the McCain Prison Hospital, which held only tubercular and mentally deranged inmates. His physical safety, like that of the others, was (and still is) in jeopardy.

Why Ben Chavis? Why are North Carolina officials after him? Have they seen in him a potential threat to their political system of privilege? After all, his family roots go deeper into North Carolina soil than many of their own. His family name, Chavis, is Cherokee, and his paternal family origins date back to the time of interminglings between African slaves and eastern shore Indians. His great-great-grandfather, Rev. John Chavis, was the first black Presbyterian minister in America.

He earned his Ph.D. from Princeton, and then founded an academy in which he taught Greek and Latin to white Congressmen from North Carolina. In fact, from his academy came the beginnings of the University of North Carolina, from which Ben graduated in 1970. The Chavis family has been distinguished throughout the years and throughout the state in the fields of education, child welfare, and community service. The honor roll is long, including an uncle who managed the construction of some of Raleigh's public buildings and an aunt who was the first woman to graduate from Shaw University. Chavis' mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Chavis, recently retired after 40 years as a school teacher.

Like the King family in Georgia, the Chavis family in North Carolina could not help but be a potential threat to conservative governance if it produced a talented, aggressive, articulate child who interpreted "community service" differently from his forebears.

Chavis has described his protest in prison as a "spiritual fast and political hunger strike." The coupling of the spiritual and political is vital. The criminal justice system, or any coercive system for that matter, will not be fundamentally replaced until the two realms of the spiritual (justice) and political (governance) find expression through the *same* system. Is this not the unique task of the church, to help bring these two realms together?

The People's Choice?

by Lynda Ann Ewen

The election hoopla has ended. *Time* magazine, Walter Cronkite, and the nation's editorial writers went to great lengths to describe the presidential candidates — their views, their personalities, their pasts, and their potential futures. The whole process, of course, was predicated upon the assumption that the average voter had a choice.

Choice in a presidential election is deemed essential for democracy in this country. But was there a choice — an alternative that would make a real difference in the lives of the vast majority of working people, the youth and the elderly, the unemployed and the poverty stricken?

During the period between the Democratic and Republican nominating conventions, I glimpsed two aspects of the American reality which drove home to me the fact that there were no real options. I live in Kanawha County, West Virginia, which encompasses District 17 of the United Mine Workers of America. During July and August I watched and came to understand a mass strike. Over 100,000 working miners who are tough, disciplined, hard-working and typically have large families went on an "unauthorized work stoppage". They demanded that the courts cease issuing injunctions to break strikes and that the Federal judges be investigated for possible conflicts of interest.

The strike began at a mine not far from my home, but rapidly spread throughout the entire Eastern coal region and even reached Colorado. The men had just come back from vacations and wallets were empty. (There is no "strike pay" in the UMWA.) But as one miner's mother put it to me "Those judges are trying to break the union. I'd never have my son work in a non-union mine. Better he lose his car than his union".

At the height of the strike I went to Detroit to visit family for a week. While there I visited a friend who lived near a

---

Lynda Ann Ewen teaches sociology at West Virginia Institute of Technology and is the author of a forthcoming book, *Urban Crisis and Corporate Power: An Analysis of Corporate Capitalism in Detroit* (Princeton University Press).

house we had rented three years earlier. I was astounded by the desolation of the area. What had once been a block of working class single family homes and duplexes was now, literally, urban desert. One-half to two-thirds of the homes had either been razed or stood as empty hulks, gutted by fire. Lawns had overgrown and the street was badly littered.

I stood there several minutes, trying to grapple with the meaning of what I saw. The home across the street had housed, downstairs, an Appalachian White family and, upstairs, a Black family. They used to barbecue chicken together and the aroma was delicious. Now the building was burned out. Two houses down, a house stood boarded, vacant but not yet gutted or razed. An Arab family had lived there, their dark-eyed children joining the multi-national mix of kids that played ball in the street on warm evenings.

I watched Walter Cronkite that night and at least half of his presentation was occupied by the trivial details of the Republican Convention, almost a week away. I was anxious for news as to what was happening with the miners' strike, and still upset at what I had seen in my old neighborhood.

But the mass media never showed a candidate speaking to the issue of the strike. If they had, they *would* have revealed choices. A clear position on the strike would have been a position either in sympathy with the working miners and their interests in decent wages, safety, working conditions, and their union given equal consideration before the courts, *or* in sympathy with the coal companies' position that "Production is the name of the game" (quote taken from a statement made by one of the judges) and that "damages" to profits far outweigh the human factors.

Neither was there a discussion of the urban crisis. Only at the time of urban rebellion or local elections are the tragedies of the city national "news". The candidates weren't speaking about my old neighborhood either. Again, that *would* have revealed choices. A clear position on the urban crisis would have been one that either argued for strict enforcement of housing codes on slum landlords, the massive reallocation of federal funds from a bloated military budget to subsidization of public housing, medical services, education and recreation; *or* a position that somehow the city's problems would solve themselves under the "given" system.

Were this a democracy, and were there a choice, wouldn't one candidate have argued the pro-status quo, pro-business position, and one candidate argued for radical change, a pro-working class position? And since elections are determined by votes, and miners far outnumber coal operators, wouldn't the workers have won?

The fact, of course, is that Carter and Ford both represent the same class interests. Although they may differ on the precise tactics of how to run this country they are in deep and fundamental agreement on the question of in whose interests this country should be run.

This is important, for in order to preserve the facade of democracy, the media tried to make Carter look like a champion of "little people". If one looks at the facts, the view is much different.

During Carter's tenure on the Sumter County School Board, he supported sick pay for white teachers but not for black teachers, and favored raises for white teachers from the surplus sick funds thus generated. He voted against a request by the teachers to come under the social security system. This kind of political behaviour earned him a seat in the Georgia State Senate.

In 1970 Carter ran for Governor of Georgia, receiving major funds from the Coca-Cola Corporation (to the tune of half a million dollars). Coke even provided a jet to fly him to Europe. After his election as governor, Lockheed Corporation paid for his trip to Brazil where he helped them sell airplanes to the Brazilian dictatorship.

In 1970 Carter changed his tune on discrimination. His rhetoric now became "populist" — pro-little people and

Half Don't Vote

Joseph Kraft reported in his column shortly before elections that about half the eligible electorate — some 65 million persons — would not be going to the polls.

Kraft said a study of the country's non-voters by Washington pollster Peter Hart revealed that more than two-thirds gave as the reason for their non-participation, "Candidates say one thing and then do another."

More than half listed as an important reason, "It doesn't make any difference who is elected because things never seem to work right."

The poll revealed that nearly half of the non-voters were young people, between 18 and 34. And evidence shows that those who start off non-voting continue not to vote.

anti-Wall Street. But his politics were only being honed to the "New South" image he was being prepared to represent. In 1973 David Rockefeller (Chairman of the Board of Chase Manhatten Bank) and Zbigniew Brzezinski (of a prominent Wall Street law firm) invited Carter to join the Trilateral Commission, a group of international businessmen from the United States, Western Europe and Japan. As a member of this Commission, Carter associated with some of the most powerful capitalists in the areas of foreign policy and international economy.

With this brief background it is clearer how a relatively obscure political figure of ten years ago was catapulted into public prominence, and could "sweep" the primaries. Those who ultimately are responsible for this system understood that political legitimacy in the upcoming election demanded a face seemingly untouched by the decadence and corruption which had been exposed.

Did this facade of choice fool the American public? Yes, and no. It "fooled" them inasmuch as a false choice was offered in place of a real choice. That is, no alternative was offered to the non-alternative. There were no national media campaigns to expose Carter's links to Rockefeller, to expose the real reasons for military spending, to identify the true sources of unemployment and poverty. Many people believed there was no choice but a bad choice, so they resigned themselves to the "lesser of the two evils".

On the other hand, it did *not* fool the American public. Over half of the Americans eligible to vote do not vote in presidential elections. And the vast majority do not because there is no candidate who represents *them*. Mass media columnists say people are "apathetic", but in reality the non-voters are disillusioned and cynical about the system.

Is there really no choice? Is it really all so hopeless? Those who control our system do not mind if you are critical or cynical, as long as you believe that "no matter how bad it is it's still the best". Critical dissent is allowed, as long as it does not offer an articulate, organized *alternative*.

But it is *not* hopeless. Human beings make creative and independent responses to objective conditions — a capacity labelled "human intelligence". And the working people of this country are strong, disciplined, and intelligent. (One must not confuse misinformation and miseducation with lack of intelligence!) Despite a massive campaign against the union, 100,000 miners stayed out for four weeks and won major gains. Despite gloomy media projections that court-ordered bussing in Detroit would erupt in serious violence, organized working class response to that crisis built a coalition of blacks and whites around the slogan of "Equal *and* Quality Education for ALL Children" that prevented another "Boston". Despite anti-communism and the lack of rich benefactors, a petition campaign to put a Communist Labor Party candidate on the ballot in Michigan obtained over 30,000 signatures.

Those who perceive the alternative may be those who agree with the principles of socialism and have moved past their cultural indoctrination that communism is evil. Or those who perceive the alternative may never have been exposed to a sympathetic presentation of socialism, yet deep within themselves they somehow believe in the fundamental decency of their fellow human beings and hate a system which exploits, oppresses and wages war for the sake of profit.

But this tremendous reservoir of strength exists — although the system will deny it, villify it, and ruthlessly repress its potential organization. We can rest assured that either Jerry Ford or Jimmy Carter would be equally vehement against viable working class movements. We can rest assured that the mass media will not project the alternatives. We can *not* rest assured that the alternative will simply happen by itself.

Our history is made by the conscious actions of human beings. Our alternatives — our choices — are created by our action or inaction.

By God, They Did It!

by Roy Larson

By God, they did it! Not by a wide margin, to be sure. And not with the singleness of purpose that is supposed to characterize the pure in heart. And not without a certain amount of elegant harumphing. But they did it. They, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies, decided that the "canons for the admission of candidates, and for the ordination to the three orders: Bishops, Priests and Deacons shall be equally applicable to men and women."

Some were glad they did it. They showed their pleasure, not in swaggering strides or triumphalistic shouts, but in quiet smiles, warm hugs, salty tears and murmured prayers of thanksgiving.

Some were not so glad they did it the way they did it. Despite the vote, women still will not be ordained as priests in many dioceses whose bishops and standing committees regard femininity as a bar to orders of the priesthood and episcopate.

Some were just not glad at all. As soon as the results of the balloting were announced, a member of the House of Deputies read a "statement of conscience" which subsequently was endorsed by some 200 deputies. It read:

> *"We stand committed to the Episcopal Church, and we are determined to live and work within it. We cannot accept with a good conscience the action of this House. We believe that to do so would violate our ordination vows to be faithful to and to defend the Word of God in Holy Scripture.*
>
> *Furthermore, we cannot acknowledge the authority of this General Convention to decide unilaterally and in the face of the expressed disapproval of our Roman, Old Catholic and Orthodox brethren, a question which ought to be decided by an ecumenical consensus.*
>
> *We ask our brothers in this House to take to heart our resolution. We ask the whole church to take note of our unshaken loyalty to the Episcopal Church, its teachings, its spirituality, its priesthood and sacraments."*

Thirty-eight bishops signed the same declaration the day before when, following the House of Bishops affirmative action on women's ordination, the statement was introduced by Bishop Stanley Atkins of Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

Few who were present will forget the hushed moment late in the afternoon on Thursday, September 16, when the House of Deputies vote was announced.

The bishops having approved the canonical change on Wednesday by a vote of 95 to 61, the deputies on Thursday morning decided to delay their considerations of the revised prayer book until they had resolved, for better or for worse, the question of women's ordination. After their noontime lunch break the deputies spent four hours in debate before the mind of the House was determined.

When Dr. John Coburn, the outgoing president of the House, called the session to order shortly after 2 p.m., the vast convention hall was full. Present in the room was the sense of drama that is felt whenever a collected body moves toward one of the unrepeatable moments in its history. The drama was heightened by the fact that the outcome of the voting could not be predicted with any certainty. Most of the political headcounters believed the canonical change would be approved, but with few votes to spare.

For the most part the deputies' debate was a rerun of what took place Wednesday in the House of Bishops.

The proposal was introduced by Dean David Collins of Atlanta, chairman of the committee on ministry. Carefully setting the stage for the debate, Dean Collins reviewed the way the committee had reached its decision. Eager to convince the deputies that all points of view had been listened to in the 43-member committee, he painstakingly described how the committee had decided against the constitutional route of change which would have delayed implementation for at least three more years.

Roy Larson is religion editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times.*

Conscience Clause Rejected

The chairman went on to explain why the committee decided not to include the "conscience clause" which had been urged as part of a compromise formula at the beginning of the convention by Presiding Bishop John M. Allin. The decision in favor of a "crisp, clear, single motion" was made, Dean Collins reported, after the committee learned that the clause was not even desired by those bishops most strongly opposed to women's ordination. No need was felt, he said, to spell out in explicit form what already was implicit in the existing canon of the church. Everyone seemed agreed that "nobody can require a bishop to accept for ordination a candidate he does not approve of."

In the committee, the chairman reported, the vote to concur with the bishops' action was 28 to 15. Various attempts to override the committee's recommendation were made, but all were defeated. Finally, with all the proposed amendments disposed of, the hour came for final debate. The "hour" lasted *two* hours as 20 speakers made two-minute appeals.

Speakers opposed to women's ordination generally argued that the church must remain faithful to the scriptures and 2000 years of church tradition and not yield to the "secular spirit of the age." Furthermore, they said, the Episcopal Church should not take a "unilateral" step which would jeopardize its ecumenical relationships with the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches.

Advocates of the canonical change, swearing that they too were being faithful to the church's tradition, contended that the tradition must be interpreted anew in response to the "leading of the Holy Spirit." As for ecumenical relations, they appealed for an ecumenical spirit not limited to the pronouncements of hierarchies. They buttressed their case by citing a letter sent to all members of the House of Bishops by Priests for Equality, a new, unofficial Roman Catholic organization that purported to speak for its 1150 members in urging the bishops to take seriously the support for women's ordination that is found among many Roman Catholic priests, sisters and laity. In the end, the delegates appeared to agree with Bishop Paul Moore of New York, who said the Episcopal Church, in its relationships with Catholicism and Orthodoxy, should exercise a "vocation of leadership, not a vocation of consensus."

When, at last, the time came for the vote, the presiding officer observed that the four-hour afternoon session revalidated an ancient truth: "He who endures to the end shall prevail."

Before the ballots were cast, Dean Collins invited everyone in the hall to stand for five minutes of silent prayer. Once the votes were counted, Dr. Coburn asked the deputies and visitors to respond only with silent utterances to God.

Clergy Vote Eked By

The vote was so close that a small handful of clergymen could have changed the result. In the clergy order, there were 60 "yes" votes, 38 "no" votes, and 16 divided delegations whose votes were counted on the "no" side. In the lay order, there were 64 "yes" votes, 37 "no" votes, and 12 divided delegations. Afterwards, a member of the minority bloc read into the record the statement of conscience declaring, in effect, that those who lost "will not bolt the church" though "we cannot accept with a good conscience the action of this House."

Once this was done, the Rev. Massey Shepherd, chaplain of the House, invited the members to join him in a traditional prayer for the church:

> *"Gracious Father, we pray for thy Holy Catholic Church. Fill it with all truth, in all truth with all peace. Where it is corrupt, purify it; where it is in error, direct it; where in any thing it is amiss, reform it. Where it is right, strengthen it; where it is in want, provide for it; where it is divided, reunite it; for the sake of Jesus Christ, Thy Son our Savior. Amen."*

Following adjournment, several members of the secular press corps, who had observed first hand the conduct of countless church conventions, commented on the high level of civility that characterized the debate. One wrote: "At its worst, the Anglican Ethos expresses itself in preciosity and pretentious posturing. At its best, it expresses itself in a level of discourse where the quality of mercy, imbedded in the words of the liturgy, mellows the spirit of the church and reduces the harshness of debate."

What does it all mean? Several things:

- In most dioceses of the Episcopal Church in the United States, women have won their claim to be first class members of the household of God.
- It takes off the hook those bishops, standing committees and seminary officials who have favored women's ordination, but have wanted to work through approved channels.
- It appears that the likelihood of a widescale schism has been prevented as a result of the spirit of

accommodation that generally prevailed. No bishop was left in a position where he could convincingly claim his conscience had been raped.

- Although protected by existing canons from being forced to accept women candidates for the priesthood, those bishops who reject women priests because they are women still may be subject to civil court proceedings although, at the moment, most everyone seems to hope differences can be resolved within the family.

In many ways, as one deputy pointed out, the final result was a form of "typical Anglican ambiguity." Instead of the unauthorized chaos that has characterized the church since the 1974 Philadelphia ordinations, what will now obtain is a form of authorized chaos.

Does sagacity always express itself in audacious ways? "Yes," say those who point to the beatitude which proclaims, "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God." "Purity of heart," they contend,"is to will one thing." In the course of action it has taken, they say, the church either has been doubleminded or else it has wrongly and singlemindedly given a greater priority to church unity than to simple justice.

On the other hand, there are those who would agree with Reinhold Niebuhr that, in ambiguous situations, Christians are called to be responsible rather than pure.

An Election Year Hope

As humankind struggles for survival and a better life, we covet for our country

LEADERSHIP in solving the world's most urgent problems — war, injustice, hunger, disease, poverty, overpopulation, pollution

LEADERSHIP in ending the immensely dangerous arms race, and replacing global anarchy with an equitable system of international order

LEADERSHIP in building a society at home and abroad based on cooperation, non-violence, mutual benefit, and respect

LEADERSHIP in promoting values which stress quality of life rather than quantity of material things

Will future generations praise or curse us for our role in human history?

—Friends Committee on National Legislation
Washington D.C.

Letters continued from page 2

Interior Connections?

Today I received in my mail the August issue of THE WITNESS and am writing to say that I am very interested in the aims and objectives of Church and Society, that I read the issues of THE WITNESS immediately upon getting them, and that I shall pray for the spread of convictions such as I find in these writings.

I am a priest of the Anglican Church of Canada in the interior of British Columbia, and am wondering if you have contact with any Canadians in my area. If you do, I should be delighted to hear who they are so that we might meet and talk further.

My wife and I are active in a local ecumenical development education group and would be pleased to link in to common concerns which reach across our international border.

James A. McCullum
Kelowna, B.C.

Intrigued by Network

Have just completed the reading of Ms. Alice Dieter's article about the Church and Society Network. It intrigues me — in this time when some of us are losing sight of the social imperative of the Gospel.

Yes, I am interested — would like to learn more, and if there is a local grouping which I might collaborate with.

In the event that you care, I am ordained and am a Portuguese Christian (Old Catholic), presently working with youth at the University of Rhode Island.

Phillip B. Avila-Oliver
Kingston, Rhode Island

Definition Fits

After reading your definition of Church and Society in the August issue of THE WITNESS, I was struck by how the Oberlin Community fits the definition of a "Local Chapter". At our last community business meeting I read the definition given in that article to the members of our community. They have asked me to write to you for further information.

Wynona T. Thompson
Oberlin, Ohio

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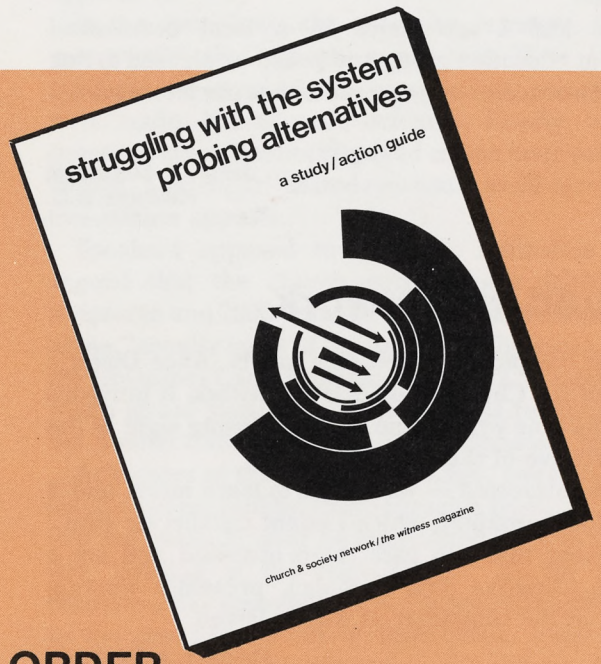

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THE WITNESS

December, 1976
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Sheila Cassidy

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Nicholas Jones

Magnificat and Call
Alla Bozarth-Campbell

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters

Namesake Defends Paul

Ms. Wells' preference for Jesus over Paul (WITNESS, September) was one clearly shared by the apostle (*1 Cor. 1:10-17; 2 Cor. 4:5*). Why, then, does she wish to knock the one to whom she owes that powerful figure of the Bride of Christ and from whom we have that other assertion — revolutionary in its time and still not digested! — that in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female?

The church came clearly to the view that the apostles' witness was faithful and reliable, perhaps the best way to "get with Jesus." And the church from the first agreed with Peter and the others that Paul was an apostle, and indeed *the* apostle to us Gentiles. Is she really suggesting that Paul preached another gospel than that of the apostolic communities which produced the four Gospels? That would be to say that those communities didn't know their own minds.

For 19 centuries Christians have found that Paul has helped them (of course not the only help) to "get with Jesus." If anyone thinks that the church (Paul's beloved term, possibly never used historically by Jesus) is the Bride of Christ, then she or he shows the marks of having learned something from Paul. Or as Paul would have preferred to say it, she or he has learned from Him (Christ) by way of His slave (Paul). May we all continue to do so!

— Prof. Paul M. van Buren
Cambridge, Mass.

CREDITS
Cover, David Bragin;
graphic, p. 8, Dana Martin.

Needs 'Bread' for Sparta

I am hoping that Helen Seager can forward a copy of *Bishop's Bread* to me as soon as possible ("Orgy and Out," September issue).

For some time I have been seeking suitable recipes for large groups of people who choose to eat with conscience while attending conferences, retreats, and other such gatherings at the YMCA camp where I am employed. Our cook is overworked, underpaid, and understandably rebellious at being asked to research new recipes "for a bunch of women-libbers." That is why I am asking for the booklet in a hurry!

Our local Ecumenical Council has a sub committee called "hunger Coalition." With permission from Ms. Seager, I think Sparta Ecumenical Council might very well consider duplicating the contents for distribution through our local congregations.

— Virginia Whitehouse
Sparta, N.J.

'In Your Corner'

I need more activities just as I need a few more holes in the head.

Nevertheless the things I have read about THE WITNESS, particularly Bishop DeWitt's editorial "On Liberating Prophetic Voices," indicate that Church and Society is addressing subjects which need attention.

So I'm in your corner. I'm a parishioner at Emmanuel Church, Boston.

— Jane L. Keddy
Wakefield, Mass.

Food Political Weapon

The quotations in the box, "Do You Care?" in the September issue are misleading. Our enemy in the fight against hunger is not meat — it is nothing more or less than the tastes which the American public have developed. Americans have developed an affinity for grain fed beef — marbled with fat, therefore tender. It is true that beef cattle consume an inordinately high proportion of grain to produce that flesh that American cattle growers brag is so tender. The ratio of grain to flesh is high — the facts in the quotations are true enough.

Letters continued on page 15

THE WITNESS

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'A Woman's Reach'

Robert L. DeWitt

The recent convention in Minneapolis took historic action in approving the ordination of women to the ministry, and in accepting the 15 women already ordained to the priesthood. In the light of that, it is surprising to note the absence of jubilation on the part of those most devoted to and involved in working for that objective. Why is this so, since it would seem that what they sought has been obtained? Three factors deserve consideration.

First, there may be with some a fear that the struggle of the 15 women may have been in vain. The concern that the many women deacons, and the many more women just beginning the process of preparation for ordination, will feel that now ''all is well,'' when in fact all is not well. That they will gladly accept the fact they now can be ordained, will see this as the new mode of the church's life, and not be sensitive to nor concerned about the continuing and much more significant patterns of sexism in the church against which the ordinations of the 15 were actually a symbolic protest.

Only the matter of *access* to the priesthood by women has been established. The matter of their *participation* in the life of the church runs solidly into the myriad manifestations of sexism. Bishops, vestries, conventions and congregations have not even begun to face the questions of placement, preferment, acknowledgement and acceptance. The lesson — that ''in Christ there is neither male nor female'' — could be completely lost on the system as it takes a gulp (as it did in Minneapolis) and then plunges on its accustomed course. The prophetic act will have been coopted, ''regularized,'' and then life can go on much as before, with no clear and significant gain.

A second reason for the sober reaction to the convention action (by those who approved of it) may be not only a growing realization of how ''token'' the victory was, but also a glimpse of new areas of concern. When, in any society, a group gains new access into the community life, this often serves as a breakthrough into wider demands. The civil rights legislation of 1964 heralded by liberals as a great step forward, significantly ushered in the era of racial revolt, the burning of cities, ''black power,'' black separatism, and the call for reparations.

It is too easy and often erroneous to draw parallels between the resistance to sexism and the resistance to racism. But it is true that an acceleration of expectations often follows a dramatic advance. Continuing resistance to the church's authority when and where it shows itself incapable of dealing with legitimate concerns could be a result. Legitimate aspirations are not easily contained by structures, once what seems right also seems possible.

A third factor could be the frustrations and confusion which come to an effort which has focused on a particular goal, once that goal has been achieved. In a sense, this suggests the ultimate dissolution of any issue-centered movement. Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam was a stunning effort mounted against the Vietnamese war. But once armed hostilities ceased, the many good reasons for the continuation of the organization had a hard time withstanding the drag of the popular feeling that ''it is over.'' So with the issue of women's ordination, post-Minneapolis.

The advent of the Christ child was not an ''issue-oriented'' event. It was not in order to focus on the overcoming of the Roman Empire, nor even to open up the insights of Jewish monotheism to the Gentile world. Rather, it was to cast fire upon this earth, to enable the eternal presence of God and of his spirit of truth and love and justice in the ongoing affairs of this world. Mary's song resonates with that purpose when she says, ''*My soul magnifies the Lord... who puts down the mighty from their seat, and exalts the humble and meek.*''

It is to be hoped that those who worked and gave so much for the ordination of women will recognize the eternal dignity and worth of what they were about — will recognize that what they were involved in finds its proper focus in a larger setting; namely, that of the unending social mission of the church. Perhaps their lack of jubilation indicates the beginning of a deeper wisdom.

Prayer Under Duress

by Sheila Cassidy

Until I went to Chile in 1971, I was a rather ordinary sort of doctor, very involved in the rat-race, wanting to be successful — not so much to be rich — but to be good at my work and have a nice house and car and do all the things I like doing. I chose Chile because I had Chilean friends who told me it was a beautiful country.

It sounded very attractive: I visualized myself working shorter hours, living the grand life and marrying some tall, handsome man as I set off to seek my fortune.

Although I knew that Chile had the first democratically elected Marxist government, I did not go out of political motivation. Neither did I go for humanitarian reasons. I had never been interested in missionary work nor concerned myself with the problems of the underprivileged. I went out as a private person, perhaps escaping from the hardness of medical life in England. I arrived in Chile speaking no Spanish and found I could not practice without obtaining the Chilean medical title. I spent the next two years learning the language and doing the exams. During this time I worked and lived among the Chilean people and grew to love them and their country. And for a while it looked as though my dream would come true.

But then came the coup and a dramatic turn of events which led to my arrest.

I was in Santiago on Sept. 11, 1973, when the armed forces overthrew Salvador Allende's government. From my window I saw the house of government bombed by the Hawker Hunter jets and I saw the lorries full of armed soldiers, and the tanks, pass by my door. Immediately after the coup, general conditions were appalling. It was then I came to see another side of Chile.

Sheila Cassidy is a 38-year-old British surgeon who lived in Chile for four years. Her imprisonment and torture after the fall of President Salvador Allendé brought her a deep renewal of Faith. She is presently considering entry into a religious order.

In 1975, two years after the coup, I was working for the National Health Service in a large emergency hospital in Santiago. With the worsening of the country's economic situation, hospitals had begun to change, and the poor and unemployed no longer had the right to free medical treatment. Therefore, I started working for a church clinic side by side with priests and nuns in the shanty towns, and for the first time came face to face with the reality of poverty and suffering and hunger.

Tried to Remove Bullet

It was during this time that I was asked by a Chilean Catholic priest to treat a wounded revolutionary who had been given refuge in the house of the American Sisters of Notre Dame. I operated on his leg in an unsuccessful attempt to remove a bullet. His condition deteriorated, and believing that he would die of blood poisoning unless the bullet was removed, I advised that he be given asylum. He was subsequently given refuge in the house of the apostolic delegate in Santiago. These measures were necessary because it was known that should he be handed over to the military authorities, his life would be in jeopardy.

On the night of October 31, I was arrested after a raid on the central house of the Columban Fathers, where I was treating a sick American nun. The only people in the house were the superior, the nun, the maid of the house and myself. The maid was killed in the first shots, and firing continued for 15 minutes despite the fact that there was no retaliation. I was then arrested and taken blindfolded to one of the DINA interrogation centers.

For the first 24 hours I was subjected to a lot of physical pain, and I thought that I was going to die. From having said in a blase sort of way before, *"Of course I don't mind dying, it'll all be okay,"* I suddenly thought, *"Is it — is it all true? Does God exist? Am I making a frightful mistake? Is it all a fairy story?"* I hung on to everything that I remembered and came to the conclusion that it *was* true,

but certainly I didn't feel warm and comforted by it.

Prayer has always been important to me and during the years before I was imprisoned I had disciplined myself to pray regularly every day and in many situations. During the actual time of torture, I prayed in a very desperate way — just a *"Help me God,"* sort of prayer. It seemed the only thing to do — praying for strength to hold on, because they were trying to make me reveal the names of people whom I thought they were going to kill. I just said: *"Oh God, help me, help me."* It wasn't a particularly comforting prayer; it was more like an anguished cry in the dark.

What was comforting was that I suddenly felt enormously loved by God because I realised that I had in a way participated in Christ's suffering. It was an experience of Calvary.

Subjected to Shocks

I was strapped unclothed to a metal bunk and for three separate periods of about an hour was subjected to electrical shocks to make me devulge the names of the priests and nuns involved in giving shelter to the revolutionary.

To be stripped of my clothes and stretched out in such a defenseless way made me dare to think that I was experiencing in some slight way what Christ had suffered. All during that hard, dark time I felt that he was there and I asked him to help me to hang on. It was then that I understood St. Paul when he said: *"Nothing can separate us from the love of Christ — not nakedness, nor peril, nor sword."*

What I found curious, even at that time, was that I felt no hatred for my torturers. I just felt sorry for them. I could see how Christ forgave the people who tortured him, because it was so obvious they were such sad, sick people. After four days of physical pain, I was transferred to the solitary confinement block of Tres Alamos prison — a new world and a new set of problems.

I was left completely alone in a small room with just a bed, half of the bible in Spanish, an old *Reader's Digest* and a tiny glimpse of the mountains over a high brick wall. I was filled with an enormous fear that I had to keep tightly battened down, because it was quite possible that any moment they could have taken me back and tortured me again, or killed me. On a more practical level there was the problem of actually spending 24 hours a day alone. I think it's the same for people who live alone, who are ill and perhaps afraid of dying. I tried to determine what God wanted of me at this time. And I remembered vividly the prayer of Dietrich Bonhoeffer while he was awaiting execution in a Nazi prisoner of war camp.

O God, early in the morning do
I cry unto Thee.
Help me to pray, and to think only
of Thee.
I cannot pray alone.
In me there is darkness,
But with thee there is light.
I am lonely but Thou leavest me not.
I am restless, but with Thee there
is peace.
Thy ways are past understanding
but Thou knowest the way for
me.
Lord, whatsoever this day may
bring,
Thy name be praised.

I tried very hard not to fight against what God wanted for me, and this is why I didn't pray desperately to be released. I prayed endlessly that if I was to die, then so be it — but that I should have the strength to die decently and with dignity. One of the most difficult times was after my visit to the judge, where I had to face for the first time that I might be spending five or ten years in jail. This was a terrible night. I felt very near to breaking — and I prayed as did the soldier in the trench under fire:

Stay with me God, the night is dark —
the night is cold, my little spark
of courage dies. The night is long;
Be with me, God, and make me strong.
Life with its change of mood and shade
I want to live. I'm not afraid,
But me and mine are hard to part,
Oh, unknown God, lift up my heart.

I lay awake all night fighting with my natural urge to pray to be saved and released. Trying to abandon myself to the

will of God was much harder than the experience of torture. Torture was imposed upon me — I had no option — whereas abandonment is a voluntary act. Hopkins' words came to mind:

That night, that year
of now done darkness I wretch lay
wrestling
with (my God!) my God.

I prayed for strength, I prayed to know what was right. I tried to love God, praise God. I thanked God that I had a bed, that I had enought to eat, that I was alive, that I was well, that I had a book. I thanked God for the birds that came and ate the crumbs on the windowsill and for the grass and for the little bit of the mountains that I could see.

Then I prayed for all the others who had been tortured and who were being tortured, that they should have strength. After three weeks alone, I was forced into another totally different situation. I was moved to a detention camp where there were 120 other women. We slept eight to a room measuring 2.5 by 2.8 meters, in tiered bunks, two people sleeping on the floor. Suddenly instead of thinking about myself all day I had to think about other people and how I should behave to help them.

Loved by Marxists

I was quite overwhelmed by their love and generosity. I would estimate that 90% of them had been tortured, as I. They worried if they thought I was unwell or depressed. I came to realize that they loved me specially, because I, who was not a Marxist, had helped one of them. They showered gifts upon me. Like a cross — of matchsticks and wool — the first ever made in this detention camp. And beads made of bread by a girl who spent many weeks in solitary confinement. Miniature chalices, fashioned from coins, were a special gift sent from the men's section. A bible given to me by the Red Cross in Chile was signed by many of my friends in prison the day I left.

When I lived for five weeks in close contact with the young Chilean revolutionaries I learned many things. I found that although they had definitely opted for violence they were motivated by love for the underprivileged people of Chile and of the world. Their primary option was one of service and this involved discipline, self-denial and risk of death. Their way of life in prison I can only describe as an example of life lived in the early Christian communities: All goods were held in common and those who had two shirts gave to those who did not have one.

In Memoriam

While THE WITNESS was processing Sheila Cassidy's article, Orlando Letelier, Chilean Ambassador to the U.S. under Allende, and Ronni Karpen Moffitt, a colleague, were killed in Washington, D.C. when a bomb exploded in Letelier's car.

The Latin American Strategy Committee, which includes representatives of major Protestant, Catholic and Jewish bodies, said in a statement condemning the "brutal murder": "We view this tragic incident as part of a spreading pattern of violence, torture and assassination in Chile, extending throughout Latin America and Europe and now into the U.S."

Among leads being investigated is a tip from a Chilean that he recognized a high-ranking officer of DINA, the Chilean secret police, on a flight that arrived in New York from Santiago. The tip was first passed to the Rev. William L. Wipfler, Episcopal director of the Latin America Department of the National Council of Churches, who handed the information to Rep. Donald Fraser, whose office informed the Justice Department.

THE WITNESS grieves with Isabel Letelier and her four sons and Michael Moffitt, husband of Ronni Karpen, and joins LASC in endorsing a resolution introduced in Congress by Rep. Toby Moffett calling for a complete investigation of the bombing.

More impressive than the sharing, however, was the spirit of love that reigned. In five weeks, cooped up together with 120 women, I heard no spiteful words but witnessed countless small acts of kindness. Their love was not restricted to their friends, but immediately extended to all new arrivals. The pregnant women and the sick were lovingly attended and small irritating faults of personality were good humoredly tolerated.

I found the majority of these women were Catholics who had lapsed at school or university. They had been disillusioned by a Church which seemed to side with the rich rather than with the poor. They had adopted Marxism as an ideology because it offered a more concrete solution to the problems of their country. Had my vision of the Catholic Church been the same as theirs I also would have been greatly disillusioned. The Church I knew, however, was not one which tried to impose religion as the opium of a desperate people.

Since I was known to be a Catholic, when the first Sunday came, people said to me: "*Are you going to hold a service?*" I was ashamed at how much it cost me to make this public witness, but to my great surprise, 25 people came. We sat down on the grass with a cross in the middle, and I tried to pick bits out of the bible which could comfort people and help them. We prayed spontaneously. We prayed for husbands, families, lovers, people who were lost, and the children. I tried to share the thoughts that I had at the time. One of the things that came to me strongly was the meaning of liberty, as expressed in the poem by Richard Lovelace:

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage;
If I have freedom in my love
and in my soul am free,
Angels alone, that soar above,
Enjoy such liberty.

We came to the conclusion that freedom of the spirit was a very real thing, and although we were surrounded by ten foot walls, barbed wire and chaps with machine guns, really we were quite free. It was the people who held us prisoner who were enslaved. The torturers were prisoners of some unspeakable evil; the rich who were unable to share their goods with people who didn't have enough to eat were also enslaved in their own property. And we prayed for progressive freedom for ourselves, from our own selfishness.

After five weeks in Tres Alamos I was expelled from Chile. I received no official communication as to the reason for my expulsion and I had been found not guilty by a military court.

In sum, over the past four years I have lived and worked as a doctor in a developing country. I have been greatly moved by the first hand experience of abject poverty and hunger, and like Thomas I was forced to put my hand into the wounds and thus to believe. I have also experienced first hand the loss of my freedom and have been subjected to interrogation and torture for an action which I believed to have been right.

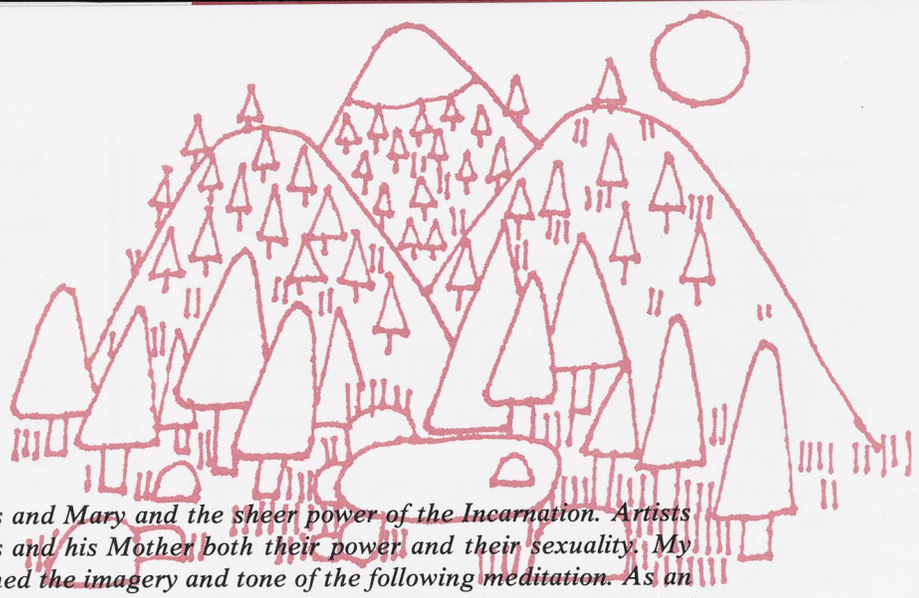
I have spent two months in prison, three weeks completely alone and five weeks in the company of prisoners of conscience, many of whom were revolutionaries. I have had an unusual and privileged opportunity of getting to know a group of people whom I would not otherwise have met.

In Chile and in many parts of Latin America, Christians find themselves working side by side with unbelievers and those who profess ideologies which are at variance with the Christian vision. I believe that in this way a truly productive dialog between Christians and unbelievers must occur. As a committed Roman Catholic, and a believer in a peaceful road to justice and freedom I do not believe in Marxism or communism. I would, however, be committing a grave injustice if I did not say that I have found in many who profess to be Marxists a love for human beings that is far greater than mine or of many of the Christians I know.

Lastly, I believe that the call to share in the poverty, suffering and persecution of Christ in his oppressed people of the Third World as well as the call to dialog with unbelievers of good will can only be answered by men and women of prayer. If we are to be instruments of peace, sowing love where there is hatred and joy where there is sorrow, then we must let go of our own will and allow Christ to act through us. If and when we can achieve this total giving of ourselves to Christ then we will be able to meet the challenge of seeing him in our brothers and sisters.

'We Make God Out of Me'

by Alla Bozarth-Campbell



Christmas is the time we think of Jesus and Mary and the sheer power of the Incarnation. Artists through the years have denied to Jesus and his Mother both their power and their sexuality. My concern for this was in part what informed the imagery and tone of the following meditation. As an artist of words and sound I feel that it's my responsibility to correct this mistake in historical perception.

On October 1 around 3:30 a.m. in Vermillion, S.D., where I was visiting speech expert at the University of South Dakota, this SONG OF MARY came to me.

The last section with the MAGNIFICAT and poem, CALL, has been used liturgically in two ways: By reading the parts antiphonally as written, and by reading them (MAGNIFICAT AND CALL) simultaneously. The latter is quite powerful to hear. I owe the Mother Thunder image to Mother Thunder Mission in New York City.

Song of Mary

In the Age of the Molten Moon, Mary the Beloved gives birth.

My body chosen for Mystery, born to encompass the Holy One. How can this be? I, mere woman, made to form the Very One from the clay of my flesh, bone of my bone, nerve of my marrow, the heartbeat of God in my belly.

O Smallest One, egg of my being, my own bold Maker! Who knows you or who can name you?

When I lived a fish in my mother's womb I was joy to my parents, the pride of their years, faith in a dying age. Early, perhaps too early, they returned me to you: back to the Temple. How could I know you? Yet I was yours, yours only.

A growing girl, a healthy child, I joyed in the sun with the muscle of work and the pride of my limbs. I ran with the wind, walked naked in rain, exulting with wings in my skin. When others laughed I laughed right back: yours only. *I was thine, I was born for thee; what was thy will with me?*

A young woman's voice came out of my body, quick in my days. My hair was black, silvered young by the sun, it streaked round my face, a gathering of lights. I am Virgin: woman-whole-unto-myself, no one's possession. The spirit in my, in my arms and hands, in the feet of my going, will praise thee.

O Hokmah! O Shekina! I am the temple of God, the Seat of the Covenant, the Ark of the Promise, the Lap of Creation. I am the Throne of the Universe, mother of millions. God's covenant with me in all creatures is honored. The uncreated One has shown in my bones. Hear them crack in this birthing! This human form of dust and sun: we make God out of me. Like roots out of trees above ground I myself grow out of me: the honey flows out of me, a festival of bees. O Ruach! O Hokmah!

Wisdom be attentive: I claim thee.

My grandmothers feared to stray from their homes when young girls, lest a spirit creep from the cracks of the earth, under rocks, around weeds, to nest in their wombs. Was it when I bathed in the running river or lay honey-eyed in moonlight on hot summer nights? Did you come down some silver beam or out of the tree trunk beneath me in a flurry of bees? In a shower of gold or when I made love with words in my heart's poem? That time in prayer I saw the angel made of light in a fiery bower? O Being-made-of-motion faster than the earth, a streak, a lightning bolt, pure power in a

moving shell: your gaze in laser, your color beyond the spectrum of our sight.

Behold! I bear Power,
All Power in my rounded shell,
breath of my breath,
being of my bones.
Make room!

Make fire! Strike flame!
Light the earth.
I bear Power.

What made you think me safe-and-humble when I am humble-full-of-Grace-and-Power? Do you not know that my body could go up in smoke and take you, this planet, take all heaven in its thunder? Call me Mother Thunder. I carry lightning in my tender boom.

Magnificat and Call

MY SOUL PROCLAIMS YOUR GREATNESS, O GOD
There is a new sound
AND MY SPIRIT EXULTS IN GOD MY SAVIOR;
Of roaring voices in the deep
BECAUSE YOU HAVE LOOKED UPON YOUR LOWLY HANDMAID
And light-shattered rushes in the heavens;
YES, FROM THIS DAY FORWARD ALL GENERATIONS SHALL CALL ME BLESSED,
The mountains are coming alive,
FOR THE ALMIGHTY HAS DONE GREAT THINGS FOR ME.
The fire-kindled mountains moving again/To reshape the earth.
HOLY IS YOUR NAME, AND YOUR MERCY IS ON THOSE FROM AGE TO AGE WHO FEAR YOU.
It is we sleeping women/Waking up in a darkened world,
YOU HAVE SHOWN THE POWER OF YOUR ARM,
Cutting the chains from off our bodies/With our teeth,
YOU HAVE ROUTED THE PROUD OF HEART.
Stretching our lives over the slow earth,
YOU HAVE PULLED DOWN PRINCES FROM THEIR THRONES AND EXALTED THE LOWLY,
Seeing, moving, breathing in the vigor/That commands us to make all things new
THE HUNGRY YOU HAVE FILLED WITH GOOD THINGS, THE RICH SENT EMPTY AWAY.
It has been said that while the women sleep/The earth shall sleep.
YOU HAVE COME TO THE HELP OF ISRAEL, YOUR SERVANT,
But listen! We are waking up and rising,
MINDFUL OF YOUR MERCY
And soon our sister will know her strength.
ACCORDING TO THE PROMISE YOU MADE TO OUR ANCESTORS
The earth-moving day is here.
OF YOUR MERCY TO ABRAHAM AND SARAH AND TO THEIR DESCENDANTS FOREVER.
We women wake to move in fire/The earth shall be remade.

Prayer After Success:

Jonah's Dilemma

by Nicholas R. Jones

(Nicholas Jones is part of a community which separated itself from Christ Church, Oberlin, over the controversy of the ordination of women. — Ed.)

It is Thursday, September 16, 1976.

I have just heard that the General Convention of the Episcopal Church voted to permit the ordination of women to the priesthood. My friends are jubilant about this victory; for them, it is a triumph of our political action, of our witness, and of our faith. And I agree.

If the women priests had not sought ordination and acted on their callings, if the parishes had not invited them to celebrate the Eucharist, if Peter Beebe had not stood trial, if we in Oberlin had not been the particular thorn in the Church's flesh that we were, if we had not separated from our parish and our Church, would this vote have passed?

Surely the turmoil that we and others raised has pushed the Church to make a decision at last. Should I not thank God with celebration that the procrastination is over, the vote taken and won, the decision now presented unequivocally to every diocese and parish, to every priest, bishop, and candidate, and to every Episcopalian?

Instead I sit paralyzed with depression and anger. I am Jonah now — *"Lord, I might as well be dead as alive."* You told me to further this turmoil, you forced me to leave my familiar, comfortable church and to cry out against the wickedness of Nineveh. You know how hard I fought you, ran away, tried to find easier ways, compromises with your will. And why did I run away? Because I knew even then that you would leave me in the lurch, holding the bag, a sorry fool — as you have done now. Even so, you caught me up and told me to go the hard way — no compromise for *you,* you said.

So I went: I cut myself off from my old life, leaping into all that pain and grief. And in the months of separation, of wilderness, I began to grow used to the new position: not exactly life, not death, but a place of some limited stability, a place I could get to know. Then, just as I said you would, you repented and brought *them* back into the fold; you made *them* your favorites again. You and your blessed mercy! Where does it leave me? Can I go back? Can I stay like this?...

It is three days later.

I have taken another look at the end of the book of Jonah. I *am* like him, the reluctant prophet, the unlikely prophet of God's judgment now robbed of his mission by God's mercy. It took him — and me — so much pain to accept God's call at first, to become the prophet, outcast, exile, fanatic. How much more painful is it to lose the identity of that role, to give up the assurance of a continuing opposition to a sluggish Church.

Jonah feared his mission because of the risk: He knew that God would give him a life only to take it away again. And he was right. Look at the vine over Jonah's head: It grew up, spread out, gave Jonah a comfortable place in the shade; then God destroyed it in a moment. Jonah was angry, of course — the hot sun is no place to sit without shade. But he missed the point of the vine, just as he missed the point of Nineveh, and just as I missed the point of the vote: It is by such that I am set free.

When I was simply an opponent of the Church, I was bound to one role, one very specific calling, one place in the sun. All my other callings were for the moment submerged, neglected; I was imprisoned in my one mission. Natural enough — even comfortable. But what more there is to life! When the vine withers and the mission suddenly dissolves, I am set free to consider that greater life.

What have I all along been hoping and learning? I have been dreaming of a new life — a community dedicated to spiritual and personal growth, to exploring ways of living in the world, to respecting each other in love and honesty, to allowing ourselves space to touch and space to be alone. That which was only a dream has now surfaced as my hope and my goal.

I read today of another angry person, the elder son in the parable of the Prodigal. He has worked zealously for his father; now the dissipated younger brother comes home repentant, and the father orders a feast — for *him,* the prodigal! The injustice of it overwhelms the hard-working elder son — he has always suspected that his zeal was not appreciated as it should be — and he cries out against it. He is furiously angry: if this drunkard of a brother so easily wins mercy and love, what point can there be to a life of mission and of zeal? His life has been lost.

The answer, though, goes beyond his perspective; it quietly asserts the freedom that he has always had and never known before. *"Son, you know that all I have is yours."* Such a blessing — a gift of new life — is not often heard or believed; but I think that I have heard it, and I hope that I believe it.

Women's Ordination: A View Beyond the Vatican

by Patricia Hughes

The setting: A press conference with the Archbishop of Canterbury — F. Donald Coggan — who had come to Minneapolis for the 65th General Convention of the Episcopal Church. A reporter rose to this feet. *"Archbishop, would you comment, please, on the implications for Anglican-Roman Catholic relations of the Convention's decision to admit women to the priesthood and the episcopate?*

As a Roman Catholic woman who is completing studies for the priesthood, I anticipated the response with a special urgency. In the week of discussion and debate just past, bishops and deputies, visitors and exhibitors had expressed clear projections of "the Roman reaction." There seemed to be little hesitancy about the predictions, but, curiously, they were mutually exclusive.

"If you want improved ecumenical relations, vote NO!"
"If unity of the Churches is important to you, vote YES!"
"Ecumenism will be set back centuries, vote NO!"
"Hasten the day of our oneness, vote YES!"

It would seem unlikely that such disparate conclusions could be grounded in common data. Could it be that the pleadings of partisans and non-partisans alike were tangential to a larger truth? In the post-conciliar '70s, there would be not only a "Roman" reaction but also reactions of "romans." The latter would not, of necessity, echo the former.

The Archbishop began his response by referring to a widely quoted communiation from Pope Paul VI in which the possible affirmative action of the Convention had been anticipated. *"Note,"* said the Archibishop, *"that Pope Paul himself was confident that it would not lead to the disruption of relations, though it might prove to be an immediate set-back."*

His Grace continued, *"But anyone who would seek a balanced view of the ecumenical implications would do well to look beyond the Vatican to the remarkable groundswell of support for the ordination of women growing, particularly in the United States, among the clergy and large numbers of their (religious) orders."*

The "groundswell" detected as far away as Canterbury had been duly measured on the ecclesiastical Richter scale, its epicenter recorded as Detroit, Mich. or Mt. Rainier, Md., depending on the perspective of the observer.

On Dec. 14, 1974, a group of 31 women and men representing national organizations, religious communities, and seminaries had begun planning for "Women in Future Priesthood Now: A Call for Action." Their Ordination Conference, as the 1975 Detroit gathering came to be called, attracted over 1,200 people and dramatized the interrelationship between developments in ministry, the expanded consciousness of women, ecumenical solidarity, and an ecclesiology which enabled church members to "BE church" without waiting for an invitation.

Detroit was unashamedly an advocacy gathering. Participants focused on the moral imperatives for the ordination of women as speakers delineated a constructive theology. Effective strategies for action towards a change in church legislation and practice flowed from the ministerial experiences of those gathered.

For many, the most poignant moment of the conference came during a Liturgy of Blessing when 300 women stood to acknowledge their sense of call to ordained ministry and to ask for the supportive prayers of their sisters and brothers. Before that service, the Roman Catholic community had little knowledge of how many, if any, women felt called to priesthood. The lack of data was symptomatic of the marginal regard accorded the issue. But now no longer. THE ISSUE had names and faces, the word was made flesh.

The "event" of Detroit mandated the Women's Ordination Conference, a national organization whose goal is the ordination of women to the priesthood within the context of the renewal of church ministry. The core commission of the conference, 19 lay and religious women, will continue the dialogue initiated with the American hierarchy and will support and coordinate regional activities. Among many cities, New York, Peoria, Boston, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and St. Louis witnessed 1976 spin-off conferences that brought the education/action message of Detroit to additional thousands.

If theological development has its source in the experience of the church, then clearly, the traditional

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Ms. Hughes is completing a Master of Divinity degree at the Jesuit School of Theology in Chicago. She was one of the planners of the Roman Catholic Ordination Conference in Detroit and a member of the press corps at General Convention.

teaching excluding women from orders was being significantly and widely challenged.

While the Ordination Conference was a-borning, Priests for Equality was gathering its current 1,150 members from 45 states and nine countries. Announced in July, 1975, the group sent its invitations from Mt. Rainier, Md. Its charter contains 17 affirmations of the equality of women and men in civil society and church life, and acknowledges that social justice requires an end to priestly silence which perpetuates sexual discrimination.

The PFE stance on ordination of women reads, "Whatever has been our tradition and the cultural conditioning of previous eras in Church life, our present faith and theology and our instincts for justice tell us that exclusion from the priesthood on the basis of sex is no longer a viable position."

And so the myth of universal clerical opposition to the ordination of women is shattered.

The 1973 Ministry Statement of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission recorded the convergence of both communions in a shared understanding of the nature of ordained ministry. The 1975 Anglican-Roman Catholic statement on the Ordination of Women assured members of both denominations that the expressed goal of full organic unity would not be abandoned in the event that either Church came to a fuller self-understanding enabling the participation of women in its ordained ministry:

"Particular controverted issues of Church life may represent different ways of manifesting God's grace, as the Spirit has guided us. Even the things we do not agree with in each other's traditions may have something to teach us about God's will for his people." The ARC statement continues, "We proceed in the faith and hope that the Spirit is leading us into unity."

It is apparent that the Roman Catholic contributors to that dialog were somewhat skeptical about the probability of the ordination of women in the Roman Church. And yet, anyone who follows the growth of the Women's Ordination Conference and Priests for Equality has the opportunity to share what Archbishop Coggan called "the balanced view," and to experience a creating Spirit hovering beyond, as well as within, the Vatican. It is this Spirit, I believe, who has already made us one and who calls us — men and women, lay and clerical, Anglican and Roman, — to gather about a common altar.

Minneapolis was but mid-way on our pilgrimage. May we strengthen and sustain each other in the struggle to move on.

Deadline Daze

Deadlines frequently catch us in an awkward time frame, since THE WITNESS copy must be in six weeks prior to publication. Two cases in point are Carman Hunter's article, "My Encounter With China" in the October issue and Robert Maurer's "Courts vs. Chavis: Subtle Violence" in November.

THE WITNESS was on the press when news of Mao Tse-tung's death was announced. Similarly, Rev. Ben Chavis ended his fast shortly after the November issue went to bed. To update the story, the Civil Rights leader was returned to McCain prison for tubercular and mentally unstable prisoners (although he is neither) after he ended his 131-day "spiritual fast and political hunger strike." (He can receive Christmas cards by addressing Ben Chavis, Jr. McCain Prison, P.O. Box 58, McCain, N.C. 28361.)

By doing our own layout in January, we hope to cut down the lead time for more current reporting.

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Surprise one or two of your friends with a gift subscription to THE WITNESS.

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THE WITNESS wishes you a peace-filled Christmas and a joyful New Year.

REVOLUTION IN GETHSEMANE

by Clement Welsh

Church and Society held its three forums in Gethsemane Church, just to one side of the Convention Hall — a church named for the place to which our Lord went with his disciples to pray, before he was crucified. The analogy could be pushed too far, but it could be reasonably said that the three occasions when our attention was powerfully focused on sexism, racism, and hunger, were in their way moments of intense cognitive meditation on issues that demand the world's devout reflection.

Such issues may lurk beneath the surface even of debates on the canons, yet they resonate oddly with the process of debate, and especially with the element of compromise that those processes require when decisions must be made. That oddness manifests itself as pain in a concerned person. The need is so urgent and the process is so slow. The need is so deep and the process is so tangled in trivialities. For the three forums were not talking about disembodied ideas, but about people and their suffering, and every exchange of resolutions from House to House in the Convention prolonged someone's suffering somewhere.

We have at least two distinguishable needs in a convention of a church: to get some business done, as a rather large house that must be kept in order, and to provide an opportunity for a community of sensitive people to touch base with their ideals and hopes. When we bring these disparate purposes together we put our practical wisdom to a severe test, for it is a mark of our frail humanity that we put our house into an order that only palely reflects our ideals. We have all experienced the cynicism that such a mismatch can so easily produce.

But a church — or a world — should remember that cynicism is an easy euthanasia for sensitive persons who are experiencing the pain of unfulfilled hopes. To take that route is to leave the world to the barbarians, and to the self destruction to which the shortsightedness of barbarians condemns them. We may seem to move from our Gethsemane of reflection and hope to an institutional crucifixion in Convention Hall, but it is worth remembering that crucifixion is not an end, but a beginning. It was, in fact, the beginning of a revolution.

We usually think of revolutions as the tearing down of old establishments and the structuring of new ones. "Struggling with the systems," as the study/action guide of the Church and Society Network says, and "probing alternative" structures. For structures have power, and there is nothing an idealist hungers for more than power. It is the power of institutions, after all, that holds us in its grip: the power of traditional language, referring to God as "He;" the power of tradition and of its provincial expression in western civilization, that makes white humanity the "norm;" the power, above all, of industrial and technical efficiency, that clusters wealth and food in a few hands and mouths. *But the real revolution always begins in the mind.* It is the revolution of ideas that counts

SOLD OUT!

"Sexism"..."Racism"..."The Theology of Hunger" — the three panel forums put on during General Convention by THE WITNESS/ Church and Society — were filled to capacity each day as our booth quickly sold out its tickets.

Because hundreds were turned away and because we were besieged with requests like, "Can we get a copy of the talks" and "Do you have plans to transcribe the tapes," THE WITNESS will print in future issues excerpts from the panel presentations as well as notable responses. Look for Rosemary Ruether, Pam Chinnis, Bill Coats on "Sexism;" Barbara Harris, Chris Cavender, Henry Atkins on "Racism;" and Gustavo Gutierrez and Bill Wipfler on "Theology of Hunger" in THE WITNESS next year.

Meanwhile, Clement Welsh, warden of the College of Preachers, Washington, D.C., offers these thoughts on the Church and Society/WITNESS panel forums.

in the long run, and for such a revolution, a long run is usually necessary. Our ideas are not easily revolved, and especially not in that 180 degree semicircle that would effect the reversal of course that the ship of state seems to need. For we constructed our ideas — our world view — with difficulty, and over many years, and a major change in them may look at first glance like madness. Insanity, after all, is a disease of the mind, recognized by contradicting all that we hold to be true. So the revolutionary appears at first as a mad person who denies what seems to us to be obvious. The general public can be forgiven for not following quickly in his train.

We do not know what it will take, or how long it will take, for a revolution to occur in the areas of sexism, racism and hunger (to select only the three areas that Church and Society brought before us). We do know, however, that the revolution has begun, and may indeed have been underway for many years. It is a revolution in our understanding of what it means to be human (male/female, color/culture) and of what it takes to survive (food/water). Just about all the essentials for the life of our species on this planet are grounded in those issues, and it is no wonder that whatever truth, (or more accurately "truths," for they are our best constructs of what is "real") that we have held to be *the Truth* in our part of the world about such fundamental matters are clutched by us in our anxiety with a death grip.

So the new direction of our understanding will work its way only by way of the death of many cherished beliefs. We may realize that time is running out; before some cherished opinions die, many who hold them may die in some disastrous malfunctioning of the establishment. But what we pray for and meditate on in Gethsemane, whether it be crucified or not (at Convention, or elsewhere) will rise, as Truth always must rise, and become the truth we live by, for in this relentless universe nothing less than the Truth stands a chance.

The revolution of ideas, painful though it may be to all concerned, is on its way. Let's hope we see it prosper, whether we deserve to or not.

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Minatory ululations convey LOVE out of the human holocaust
as redwing blackbirds chattering plangent charivaris
mock the gunfire from autumn's drunken hunters
reminding me how my father flung himself
on the back lawn the afternoon war
went hoist by its own petard
and rat-a-tat-tat with
an imaginary gun
aroused my
LOVE

Anthony Towne

Letters continued from Page 2

However, the implications are all wrong. The first problem is that even if the American public did give up 10% of their meat, the grain saved would not reach the mouths of hungry — there would simply be a cutback on the production of meats by growers which would increase the over the counter price. The second major problem is that the grain used to feed cattle, pigs, and poultry is not fit for human consumption. It is a high yield low grade corn product that carries little nutritional quality in and of itself. It provides fibre, not food. *But* — if we, the consuming public, demanded grass fed beef, a certain percentage of the acreage used to grow that grain would be freed for the production of a more nutritionally valuable food substance.

Unfortunately, even that is not enough. The United States realized a long time ago that food is the most powerful political weapon in the world. Five major agroeconomic firms in the United States control 86% of the world's grain flow — ten times the product power of the OPEC nations oil power. Government policy has used that power to its political advantage. Hungry nations are allotted food and development assistance on the basis of political leaning, not on the basis of need. We have the food and fibre at our disposal *right now* to feed the hungry of the world, and we have the technology to train hungry people how to grow their own food. We do not, however, have the political inclination to accomplish those tasks.

Since the beginning of the Nixon administration, the Food for Peace Program, initiated in the Kennedy years, has taken a desparate plunge. The Pentagon now has influence in the USAID programs, so that much of the assistance funding allocated by Congress goes to underdeveloped nations in the form of rifles and bombers. On the average, the United States has been involved in a covert extra-continental military operation every two years since the close of the second world war, and many of those operations have been directed against nations (such as Cuba, Guatemala, and Chile) that had pledged themselves to long term land reform at the expense of American agribusiness. Right now, the United States ranks 14th among 16 development assistance nations when assistance is determined as a percentage of gross national product. Clearly, some hard Christian stewardship is needed in monitoring government.

— Rev. Douglas G. Scott
Tenafly, N.J.

Confronting Structures

Your September editorial says, "it is the economic and political structures...that are endangering people." William Stringfellow sees death there also. Your phrase, "which have come into being" suggests that these structures are new — and they are not. They have always existed where people have organized.

Stringfellow says — we all say — resurrection is accessible for human beings, even those caught in the structures. But how? Structures have always threatened people, both within and outside them. We speak to those outside but what about those within? What have we to say to those civil servants caught, trapped or willingly serving in the structures? What about bishops, archdeacons, rectors, and laity, too, who serve the structure and minister death? How do we help persons to stand against structures, to reform, cleanse or destroy them? Why must the pressure for change always come from outside?

I enjoyed Helen Seager's article. I understand what she went through, but what did she step out of? What did she leave — as she feels, with the Lord's blessing — and where did she go? Is there no answer to the threat of structures, no response except anxiety, judgement, or departure? I think there is and I think we need to discover it and to call people to it and to do it ourselves in the places where we find ourselves.

— Dustin P. Ordway
Fairport, N.Y.

(*See back cover. — Ed.*)

Praise From Philippines

In the struggle for justice and true development, it is supportive to know that there are, in the Episcopal Church, people and organized work who make the church other than what it appears to be.

The social analysis as expressed in THE WITNESS while it is geared to the American nation, is meaningful to us considering the imperialist hold of U.S. big business on our country and the cultural attachment, often enslavement, especially of Filipino Episcopalians to U.S. Americans. The views on church issues give a deeper and more balanced understanding to what we are ordinarily exposed. The few copies of THE WITNESS that come in are good initiators of discussion.

— Benedict Solang
Bontoc, Mt. Province
Philippines

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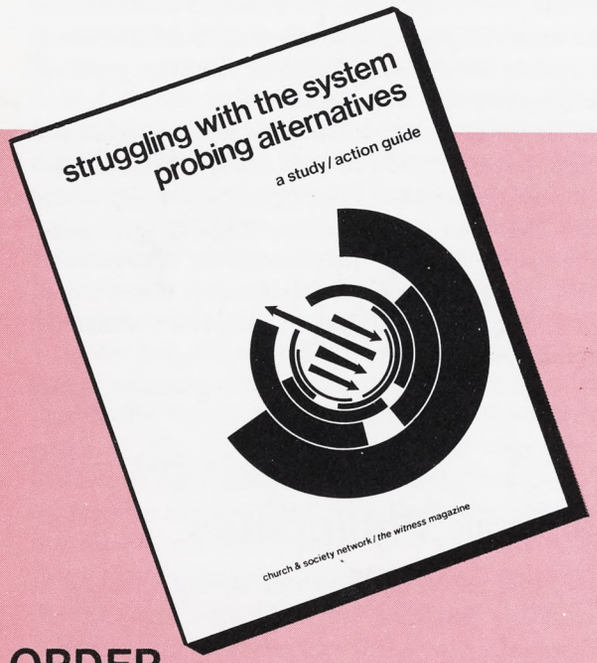

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