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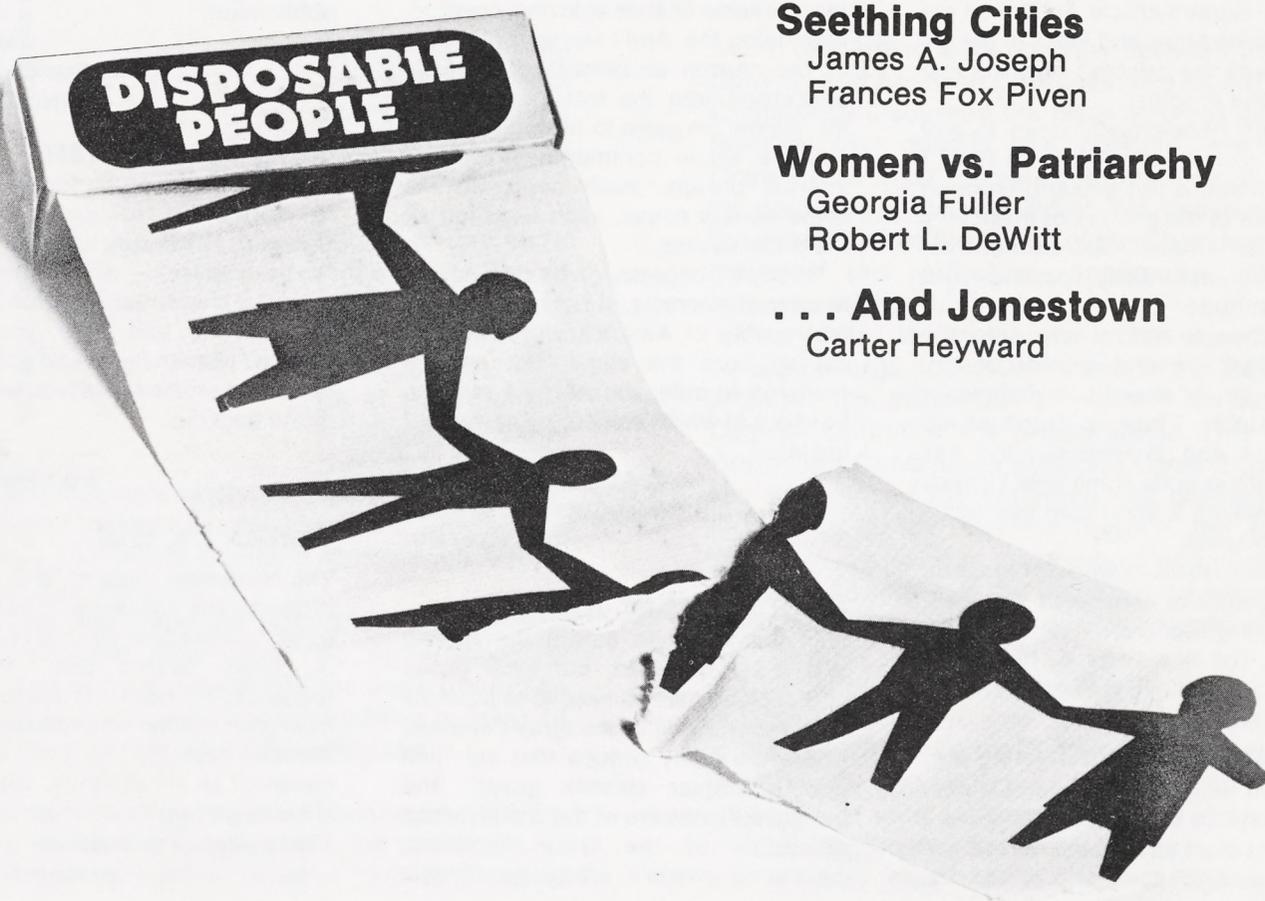
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# THE WITNESS

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## **Seething Cities**

James A. Joseph  
Frances Fox Piven

## **Women vs. Patriarchy**

Georgia Fuller  
Robert L. DeWitt

## **... And Jonestown**

Carter Heyward



### **Mute Man Speaks**

I was greatly impressed and transformed by the recent October issue of THE WITNESS. All of the articles spoke with the freshness of Christ. As a "straight," I was particularly touched by John Hall Snow's article. He forced me to look at the times and areas in my life where I was the rejected one, the lost one and the Prodigal.

Although conceptually open to gay laity and clergy for quite some time, I now see that it is not enough. Through the witness of the authors of these very fine articles, I heard God confront me about this essentially passive and tolerant attitude.

Now I endorse and am actively for the contribution, life and witness of any person — gay or straight or whatever — in the church. I have to laugh at my foolishness and blindness. (God has been laughing quite some time.) Thank you for making a blind man see and a mute man speak.

Also, I want to thank whoever it is, who in Christian love has sent me THE WITNESS for two years now.

**The Rev. Ralph E. Richmond**  
Fort Atkinson, WI

### **Calvary Resolved Gays**

Thank you for your discerning October issue, "Gays in the Church: Is There a Place?" As more and more heterosexual Christians realize their own complicity,

albeit unwittingly, in our suffering, surely our release draws nearer.

Meanwhile, it is extremely important that your lesbian and gay male readers understand that our true welcome does not depend on any of this debate, that it was accomplished for us long ago at Calvary. The next General Convention won't be able to touch that guarantee.

**Louie Crew**  
Ft. Valley, Ga.

### **Moved by Snow**

I just read John Snow's marvelous piece, "Gay People in Parish Life" in the October WITNESS. I say marvelous because it is so intensely humane, so generous and loving. And of course he raises the central issue — that sexuality by itself cannot, must not — be the central issue to preoccupy the church — or society itself.

Far more important is how by God's grace we create communities in which there is some chance of loving, creating, redeeming life. And I see so few people in the church or outside of it really concerned with the totality of human life. Rather we seem to be on the way to being a whole community of special interest groups, each committed to some narrow cause, each negating all the other causes.

Perhaps Congress, given over as it is to special interests, simply reflects the real quality of American life. And the church does the same. But are we prepared to enter the struggle with the Lord out of which something new could come?

**J. C. Michael Allen, Dean**  
Christ Church Cathedral  
St. Louis, Mo.

### **Real Panther Image**

Just a few weeks before the August WITNESS appeared, our local group had decided that we needed to promote the *true* program of the Gray Panthers. There are many groups that are "just another senior citizens group" and people are unaware of the social justice concerns of the Gray Panthers. Lockwood Hoehl's article on Maggie

Kuhn is a good example of that true Gray Panther image and spirit.

We need to attract people who are creative. THE WITNESS article has stimulated me and given me many ideas. Maybe you will reach more people by having an occasional article on aging than by devoting a whole issue to the subject. Ageism is like racism. The people who are against aging, like the bigots on racism, avoid meeting the subject.

**Ruth Haefner**  
Portland, Ore.

### **Brown for WITNESS**

Enclosed is my renewal payment. As a Roman Catholic I can only hope that my church will someday look seriously at the issue of women priests; give something more than token consideration to homosexual priests; and be willing to risk its solid grip on the past for a future with justice. Congratulations on an excellent publication.

**Terry Brown**  
St. Francis Seminary  
Milwaukee, Wisc.

### **Berg for Atheism**

Thank you very much for the invitation to subscribe to your magazine. However, I have very little interest in the "social mission" — or any other mission — of the church (any church). Why not try atheism, and save yourself the trouble? Human rights and social justice can stand on their own feet, without any divine backing.

**John Berg**  
Dorchester, Mass.

### **Wants In, But . . .**

The November issue of THE WITNESS prompts the following thoughts. In a letter to the editor by Dale H. Swanson, Jr. titled "Wants Out," the writer requested to have his name removed from your mailing list because of sharply differing beliefs. As one wise man observed to me recently, the only real sin is to give up — we must keep trying. The sharper the divisions in attitudes

*Continued on page 19*

# THE WITNESS

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## Women of Rome & Canterbury

Robert L. DeWitt

One mark of the rapid changes taking place in the latter part of the 20th century is the irrationality with which many groups in society seem to be traveling without a chart, or without a compass, or both. Lacking these two nautical instruments, and with a heavy wind at sea, it is easy to get off course.

An illustration of this was the Church of England's failure in November to authorize the ordination of women. Although laity and bishops approved it, priests voted heavily against it. Since the concurrence of all three orders is required, it failed to pass. This, despite the fact that in churches of the Anglican Communion in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Hong Kong the ordination of women has already become a reality. And despite the fact that the Lambeth Conference of 1968 found no obstacle to it, and that the recent Lambeth Conference further reinforced that position.

Finally, we might add the incongruity that a month earlier a pastoral letter from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York was read in the parish churches expressing concern over the diminishing number of ordained clergy in the Church of England.

Millions of words have been spoken and written by Anglicans in the last few years on the ordination of women, a goodly portion devoted to how approval

would jeopardize talks on unity between the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches. The recent Lambeth Conference discussed the issue at great length, and resolved that despite that concern, the Anglican Communion must follow its sense of vocation under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Yet, two months later, the debate before the Synod of the Church of England reviewed this objection, apparently with some influence on the final vote.

Meanwhile, the same week the Synod was in session, a large convocation was held in Baltimore to promote the ordination of women in the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. This Women's Ordination Conference attracted some 2,000 people and the spirit of the gathering was dramatized by a procession of participants through the streets of Baltimore, attesting to the depth of their conviction. It was also an index of the gathering of forces on the question within the ranks of that church. (See story this issue.)

It would be naive to think that the issue of church unity was the only, or even the most controlling factor in the negative vote by the clergy of the Church of England. Be that as it may, the vote affords a sorry spectacle of what results when ships attempt to get their bearings from others ships, rather than from chart and compass, especially in a time of high seas. ■

# Toward an Urban Theology

by James A. Joseph



When I was Vice President of Cummings Engine Company, I used to lecture at seminaries and people used to wonder what in the hell does an engineer have to say about theology; and now that I'm Under Secretary of the Interior people are even more confused. Well, I would like to suggest that we need to think about the nature of our theological task in the cities. But in order to do that I want to say a couple of words about the social predicament of the cities.

One aspect of this social predicament is the new opposition which has emerged. When I was organizing demonstrations in Tuscaloosa, Ala. in the 1960s, we were able to identify the opposition with ease. We saw them behind billie clubs and cattle prods crying "segregation forever." But in the present urban context the opposition is often led by our former allies. It is increasingly more articulate and privileged than the poor white folks in Alabama who failed to recognize our common predicament.

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**The Rev. James A. Joseph** is Under Secretary of the Interior of the U.S. Government. The above is excerpted from his talk before a Joint Session of the Urban Bishops' Coalition and the Church and City Conference last year.

The new opposition openly rejects the racism of the past while at the same time opposing affirmative action — opposing "federal pressure" or "judicial interference" and other initiatives which have made progress possible. Some of our former liberal allies in the academic community are now producing the theories and planning the rationale which gives the new opposition its strength and credibility.

Another aspect of the social predicament is the development of a transnational consciousness in the black community, the general concern with "roots." Alex Haley has ignited a curiosity about the past among black Americans. It has led to several forms of curiosity about Africa and I want to refer to those, particularly for you who must deal and minister to black Americans. The first form is an existential curiosity. Many black Americans are asking, "Is there something unique about me as a person which stems from the fact that my historical roots are in Africa?" This is part of a process of answering the age old "Who am I?" question. Many black Americans feel an existential kinship — a special bond of brother and sisterhood.

The second concern with Africa stems from a metaphysical curiosity. Is there a clash of views of reality

between African and Western metaphysics? When the Western world has asked the question "What is a human being?" two answers usually merge. The first description emphasizes *thinker*, as did Descartes and Aquinas. The second approach emphasizes *worker*, as did Marx and Luther. African metaphysics on the other hand has given three very different emphases to the question. The first comes from the concept of *homo festivas*, the idea that people have both the capacity and the need for celebration of affirmation. The second concept is that of *homo fantasia*, the idea that people are visionary myth makers, who imagine radically different life alternatives and set out to create them — the concept of people as dreamers. The third aspect of African metaphysics comes from the concept of *homo cumminalis*, the idea that individual identity is communal. Now those who opt for a black theology are pointing to a marriage of American and African metaphysics as a unique contribution to the understanding of people in this world.

The third form of concern with Africa is an intellectual curiosity. Black Americans have increasingly pointed to the neglect of Africa in the study of world history and philosophy. Many have come to see this neglect as a hangover from the hierarchical view which holds that cultures are divided between higher and lower. That is, the standards, values and customs of one particular group of people are seen as superior to others. Many black Americans therefore see a recovery of interest in Africa as a necessary corrective for a Western culture obsessed with a far too narrow definition of community.

The fourth and final form of concern with Africa is a political curiosity. Some black Americans are examining what Africa now has — all the systems of power, all the marvels of development — in terms of the implications for black Americans. Others ask whether or not there is an African legacy which has influenced the development of a black political culture in the United States.

Having said all this, then, leads automatically from the consideration of the social predicament in the cities to a consideration of the theological climate in the cities. The black and urban poor who inhabit the central cities have always had a certain kind of disdain for abstract theologizing. In fact, there is a clear historical kinship with Soren Kierkegaard's warning that Christianity is not a doctrine but an existence. It seems to me that the central concern for many urban dwellers is that if Christianity is not a doctrine but an existence, then what is needed is not professors but witnesses. The error is not in the study, but that the accent continually falls on the wrong place, on

penetrating and presenting, so that to do something becomes a ridiculous triviality. This may sound like anti-intellectualism, but it does raise the question as to whether or not we need to go beyond the esoteric abstractions which purvey much of what is called theology.

I want to suggest that the legacy of the civil rights movement of the '60s is not only a political and economic rebellion but a metaphysical rebellion against certain theological absolutes. In its purest form it argues with Teilhard de Chardin for a theology of creative evolution in which no creed dare be treated as final, no institution dare be treated as complete, no theology dare be treated as closed, and no ideology dare be treated as absolute. For the God who in the beginning created is the God who now creates.

Theologically this means that like Adam, we are in on the beginning of creation, for creation is not so much a distant event as it is a happening now. Politically this means that the American Revolution was not so much an event as it is a process. It was not simply a time in the nation's past, but a process of fulfillment which continues into the nation's future.

Running counter to this theological orientation is a form of moral theology which gains its credibility under the rubric of lifeboat ethics. While used originally to rationalize social neglect in the international arena, it has come to have serious implications for the urban poor. The only course is to decide who is to be sacrificed for the good of the others. We see this kind of thinking most clearly in the debate on whether our greatest problem is inflation or unemployment. It reaches its heights among those who argue that it is necessary to accept a high level of unemployment in order to maintain the standard of living for those who are employed.

The problem with this new ethic is that no one group is in possession of a secure lifeboat which they alone command. We all share the same boat. Our present predicament is like a cartoon I recall which shows two groups of people huddling at separate ends of a boat which has a serious leak in the middle. One group is saying, "Gee, that's a nasty leak. Thank God it's on the other side." What we need is not lifeboat ethics, but new political and economic standards which recognize our interdependence. The ethical question is how do we deal with the hole in the boat.

Now it is especially in the encounter with this new form of moral theology that the urban minister is uniquely equipped to provide an alternate perspective. I mentioned earlier that African metaphysics understands people as *homo cumminalis* — their identity is communal. This is the understanding which needs to become a part of the theology of the city. *It is not simply the assertion that I am what I am through the other, but I am what I am because of the other.*

Let me conclude with a word about where this theology leads us. Our mission is in fact, conservative. What we seek is simply “to form a more perfect union — to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquility and to promote the general welfare.” I want to look briefly at each of these from the perspective of moral theology. Consider first the mission to form a more perfect union. The future of our cities may be determined by our ability to build a new kind of radical pluralism where sameness and difference are held together in a creative tension which enriches rather than polarizes. This is an egalitarian pluralism — fundamentally different from the hierarchical pluralism we have been practicing.

Our second goal is to establish justice. The problem here is that the 20th century has seen five different stages of consciousness regarding equality of opportunity. The century began with equality of opportunity defined as equality of preparation. These were the days of “separate but equal.” Then we saw a shift in consciousness which was defined as equality of access: From the chance to prepare minorities in separate institutions to an emphasis on gaining access to predominantly white institutions. And then there was a third shift. Equality of opportunity was defined as equality of participation, because we found that access did not mean equality of participation. In the fourth consciousness, we defined equality of opportunity as equality of entitlements. We saw a revolution of rising entitlements — people demanding and arguing that they were entitled to decent health care, to decent education, to decent housing — a vastly expanded understanding of social rights. But what we found was that those with the most power too often transformed their private wants into a political definition of public need. And then we have consciousness five, in which equality of opportunity is now defined as equality of distribution — with emphasis on the redistribution of power.

The third goal to which the theology of the city must speak is the effort to assure domestic tranquility. The problem here is that we have law and order theologians just as we’ve had law and order politicians. They have treated law as the fulfillment of love rather than love as the fulfillment of law. They forget that where people have a stake in society, they’re more likely to work for order in that society.

But even the good deeds of those who wish the urban poor well have often been lost in the failure to affirm and enhance the dignity of those who were beneficiaries of their deeds. The problem is best illuminated by referring to an incident which occurred in Indonesia in the 1940s. According to the story, the British had been asked to leave and while they were packing their bags the Governor General was overheard to say, “When we came here these people had no

roads. They had no schools. They had no hospitals. Malaria and typhoid were everywhere. We built new roads. We built new schools. We built new hospitals. We did away with typhoid. We did away with malaria, and now they ask us to go. Why?” A peasant overhearing this question interrupted to say, “It is easy to understand, Your Honor. Everytime you look at us you have the wrong look in your eyes.” Transfer that to 20th century America.

The final task to which I want to refer is that of promoting the general welfare. And I want to do so by looking at what a genuinely open and informed theology must say to the large institutions which have come to dominate our lives. The corporate charter makes business a trustee to the public good. It is no longer free simply to function as a specialized economic institution, but it assumes a responsibility to consider what it needs to function as a social institution which impacts people in their communities. The corporation is responsible to a wide variety of constituent groups with a stake in its operation. The shareholder is only one of many stake holders. These stake holders include employees, customers, consumers, communities in which the corporation does business and even governments — local governments as well as nation-states. Profit is a reward for producing a product efficiently or providing a service effectively.

Now if all of this sounds like a big order simply remember the message which the Apostle Paul sent to the Christians, “If anyone is in Christ, that person is a new creation. The old has passed away. Behold the new has come.” ■

**I am READY, GOD,  
I am COMPLETELY READY!  
I WILL SING and PRAISE YOU!  
WAKE UP, MY SOUL  
WAKE UP, MY HARP AND LYRE!  
I WILL WAKE UP THE SUN  
I WILL THANK YOU  
AMONG THE NATIONS, LORD!  
I WILL PRAISE YOU among all PEOPLES!**

PSALM 57



## What Can the Church Do?

*The following is excerpted from **To Hear and to Heed**, the report on the public hearings sponsored recently by the Urban Bishops' Coalition of the Episcopal Church.*

John McDermott, editor of *The Chicago Reporter*, gave the Episcopal Urban Bishops' panel a programmatic prescription for the church's role in the urban crisis:

- Be the church — provide a vision of hope.
- Operate from strength, involving the *whole* church, not just the fringes.
- Plan well, institutionalize what you do, so people know you are serious.
- Pick one or two things and do them well. Don't try too much.
- Work for inclusive communities, racially and economically.

Many of these same themes recurred as each subsequent hearing addressed the core question of the role of the church. At times it was a search for a *unique* role — one that no other institution could perform as well or at all. At other times the issue was with whom do we collaborate to do the things that need to be done.

Common agreement existed that the bias of the church should be toward the poor. Liberation theology, incarnational theology, any theology that takes the world seriously must lead to that bias. But perhaps the church is too much a part of the established principalities and powers really to incarnate that bias, said others.

Images of the church abound in the reports: funder of needed action, conscience of the city, embodiment of social justice, beacon of hope, the one institution the poor can trust, catalyst of coalitions, advocate, servant, celebrant of life, witness, friend of the outcast. Each implies a different role.

But there were other images of a less flattering kind,



implying other roles: chaplains of the establishment, a propertied elite, a mirror of classist society itself, cavalier white male club, racist, sexist, obsessed with its own survival, afraid to be openly Christian, permissive, citadel of individualism, incompetent privilege, collaborator in the repression of militants.

Several clear calls emerged.

1. Set the church's own house in order. Rid it of racism, sexism, and other internal inhumanities.
2. Speak with moral authority from a clear biblical and theological framework.
3. Support local revitalization.
4. Use property and investments in socially responsible ways.
5. Intrude in public policy matters on the side of the oppressed.
6. Work ecumenically.
7. Think and plan well.

On some issues the church could work with little internal controversy, e.g., the elderly, mental illness, the physically impaired. For these "throw-away" people raise problems that cut across lines of race and class.

But other issues such as the criminal justice system, unemployment, and homosexuality provoke internal conflict. They require wisdom and courage if the church is to have a role in their resolution.

Thought and action are indeed both required as the church addresses the present condition of urban America, the kind of cities we want and need, how we get there, what particular role the church has in both the seeing and the doing.

The public hearings have provided a beginning for the church's thought and action.

# Private Anger and Public Protest

by Frances Fox Piven

The bottom line of U.S. urban economic policies today is to be found in the actual, tangible experiences of our inner city poor. The bottom line has to do with the persistence of unemployment, so enduring as to deprive the poor of their physical and psychological capacities for work and for normal life. The bottom line has to do with the utter collapse of the low rental housing market with the result that whole neighborhoods have been reduced to rubble. And under these circumstances the *communities* of the poor collapse, so that whatever they have in the way of infrastructure or a capacity for self-help is gone.

At the same time, and as a result of the so-called fiscal crisis, whatever neighborhood services the older cities once provided for the casualties of our economic policies have been cut back. The paltry services, the centers for senior citizens, the drug programs — all these are going. With the opportunity to work and to live a normal life denied, the people of the inner city are forging an alternative culture of their own. It is a culture built on despair — a culture of social suicide, a culture of drugs and a culture of crime, which leads many of us, of course, to castigate and to scapegoat them even more. In short, the bottom line of our economic and social policies is the destruction of the urban lower class in the United States today, and there is no more moderate way of stating it. We are destroying the lower stratum of our population.

The puzzle is that in American political principle none of this should be happening. During the 1960s we experienced what might be called the

blossoming of reform and of plans to implement these reforms. We generated good ideas about how our government could act to secure a more human kind of life for people at the bottom of American society.

The second puzzle is that the toll has been most catastrophic on inner city blacks. In the 1960s black people won an impressive victory. They won the right to vote in the South and the right to representation in the North. But in the wake of the grand promises attached to the franchise, the circumstances of the black, urban poor are worsening.

The reason for these failures is that great profits are made through existing economic policies and therefore, there is powerful resistance to change. In the face of that power, the right to vote is a very weak weapon, indeed. Throughout American history, gains have never been made by poor people simply through propounding good ideas. Rather gains by people who are at the bottom of American society have been won only through mass protests, through large scale defiance and as a result of subsequent institutional and political reverberations.

If that sounds like an outrageous statement, let me suggest some evidence for it. In 1933 the poor in the United States won for the first time a national relief policy which provided for the unemployed a minimum of subsistence in the face of economic catastrophe. It was a victory won only over powerful resistance. How then was it won? In the early 1930s, the unemployed themselves somehow found the courage to make trouble in the cities in which they were concentrated. They engaged in actions called rent riots in which they gathered together and resisted the marshal and refused to be evicted. They engaged in relief riots, taking over private relief agencies or

local relief agencies which gave out coal and food baskets. The institutional impact of this movement of the unemployed was severe. In city after city mayors and local businesses were confronted on the one hand with an insurgent unemployed population and on the other with a circumstance we know now as fiscal crisis. So that in 1933 in the wake of a dramatic electoral turnabout, Franklin D. Roosevelt in the space of 45 days initiated the first major national relief program in American history.

Another victory won in the 1930s was the right of industrial workers to organize. That also was over the opposition of industrialists who had commandeered the courts, the government, their own private police, and the whole community propaganda apparatus in which industries were located. Industry was determined that workers not organize. But in the face of the depression, wage cuts, and with the inspiration created by a New Deal in Washington, workers began to walk out in large numbers; to sit down in factories; to organize their self-defense against the company police and the militia who had in American history always destroyed strikes. And in the face of that massive movement of militant protesting workers, FDR put his support behind the Wagner Act and later behind the "Wages and Hours Act." He then appointed pro labor representatives to the new NLRB. And this was all won by industrial workers through massive protest.

Examples abound from more recent times. In the late 1950s and 1960s black people in the South mounted a massive protest movement. These were people who had been displaced by the mechanization of plantations, a labor intensive form of agriculture that threw out the day laborers, sharecroppers, and

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**Dr. Frances Fox Piven** is professor of political science, Boston University. The article above is excerpted from her talk before a Joint Session of the Urban Bishops' Coalition and the Church and City Conference.

farmers it no longer needed. And many of these people migrated to the Southern cities. There they began to demand some of the Civil Rights other Americans had been enjoying. They found the solidarity first to boycott on a massive scale and then later, beginning in Albany, to fill the jails on a massive scale. They found the courage to engage in freedom riots and marches. And they were helped to find that courage in the late 1950s and the 1960s by their church.

Finally black people were offered concessions which had to do with Civil Rights and ultimately, with the elimination of terror from the arsenal of political controls over blacks in the South. Black people did win the franchise, but only through a vigorous protest movement.

The moral of the actual history of struggles of people at the bottom of American society is very different from the civics lessons we are wont to preach. It is that poor people and working people sometimes do win, but only through protest. They win only when they find the courage to defy the institutional rules and the authorities which ordinarily keep them quiescent. They win only when they create sufficient trouble in the institutions of

American society, so as to make political leaders worry.

Today the inner city poor are quiet. And the economic policies which have generated their poverty and their destruction are moving forward unfettered. Many of the gains that were won in the 1960s are being reversed, and the disintegration of life at the bottom is accelerated. If the process is to be halted it can only be through the development of mass protests comparable in extent to those that won earlier concessions.

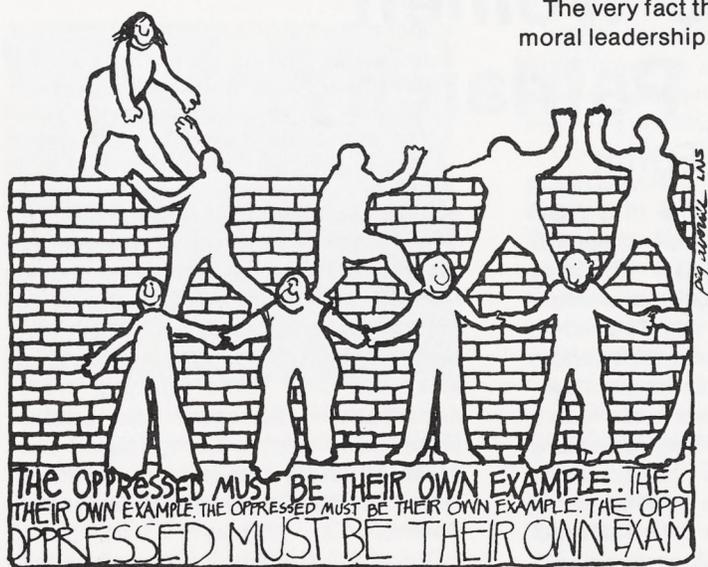
What role then will the church play in all of this? The church provides much of the moral leadership and the community leadership in poor and working class communities. How that role is acted out makes a difference one way or the other. Through most of our history the church has used the transforming power of the gospel to transform low income working people into quiescence. Through most of its history, the church has used its capacity for leadership to teach people to accept state authority and economic authority, and to look for salvation in another life. But sometimes the church has played a different role. It is worth looking backward at what some church leaders did both in the Civil Rights movement and in the ghetto movement, and what the Catholic Church is now doing in Latin America and even in our cities today.

The very fact that the church provides moral leadership to a community means

that it is virtually determining whether the poor and working people think that the grievances, the sufferings which they experience are justified or unjustified; whether they are inevitable or can be changed. That moral role — the capacity to help people turn private anger into public indignation is crucial. Also, the church through its moral authority can help people to define the ingrained prohibitions which deter people from making demands, from asserting rights.

Moreover, the church is in a position to help promote and to facilitate collective defiance and to do that not only by lending the moral authority of the church to rent strikes, to the demands of welfare recipients, to the school boycotts and to demonstrations over employment; but also by lending the physical facilities of the church to those protest movements that do emerge. That also was done during the Civil Rights movement of the '30s and '60s, and in the ghetto movement in the late '60s. This is not to say that the church made those movements emerge. Movements of low income and working people in the United States emerge from forces far larger than even the church can command. What is important is that, as in the recent past, the church not restrain those movements but rather, encourage them.

Now it is also true that the church can do many other things and do them usefully. The church can make recommendations to the American ruling class about how to reorganize the economy. The church can work out policy positions, detailed plans about how that organization ought to proceed. But I propose that the transforming power of the gospel in the United States today is not likely to achieve its greatest effects in its attempts to transform the wealthy. Rather, the transforming power of the gospel, if it is truly to be a nourishing and vigorous force, ought to orient itself to the poor, to the working people who are the victims of wealth and power. And there comes a time when a truly religious mission is a political mission as well. ■





The second Catholic Women's Ordination Conference (WOC) opened with action and song. We pulled an anchor, (symbolizing our hope) from the Baltimore Harbor and marched with 2,000 feet of chain (symbolizing our years of oppression) to the Civic Center. We sang through the streets, that Nov. 10 — priests, nuns and laity — 2,000 strong! "Oh Freedom, Oh Freedom, Oh Freedom over me."

Two years ago this January the Vatican issued its *Declaration* excluding women from the priesthood because only men can "image Christ." "It was the greatest favor Pope Paul could have done the Catholic feminist movement," concluded Dolly Pomerleau, Conference Coordinator. Within eight weeks grassroots Catholic support for women priests had jumped 10 percentage points.

When the *Declaration* appeared, the hierarchy recommended we pray. We met on the steps of St. Matthew's Cathedral in Washington to "pray our anger." We were only 200 then, bolstered by the presence of Episcopal priests Alison Cheek and Lee McGee. We have come a long way since the first WOC meeting in 1975 — spurred by the hierarchy and inspired by the ordinations of Episcopal women. **G.F.**

## 2,000 Catholic Women Challenge the Patriarchy

by Georgia Fuller

**When will women be ordained priests? Sometimes I am optimistic . . . but when I remember the 83 year old woman at the 1975 Conference who felt herself called, then I know it will not be soon enough.**

Not soon enough! Still, remarkable changes have occurred in three years. The international media listed women's ordination as a major issue facing the

recently elected popes. The 1975 WOC meeting was 90% nuns. They called for "bonding" and chose a Core Commission that was 50% laywomen. The 1978 Conference was 61% nuns, 31% laywomen, 3% laymen, 1% brothers and 4% Reverends (including the Revs. Alison Cheek, Alla Bozarth-Campbell and Kathryn Plccard). The new Core Commission has six nuns, eight laywomen and one male priest.

The 1975 Conference featured scholarly critiques of past theology, with

some work on women and priesthood. The 1978 Conference presented Liberation Theology and was explicitly feminist (a characteristic of some controversy and criticism). The plenary sessions included in-depth structural analyses and theologizing from experience. Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, of Notre Dame, based her presentation on the stories collected from the 450 women in WOC's Project Priesthood.

The 1975 Conference was attended

largely out of curiosity. The only act was to mandate a national membership organization. The 1978 Conference discussed actions in their tracks: Priesthood, Strategy and Theology. Sunday's schedule was rearranged so the entire body could affirm or disaffirm resolutions from the tracks. With overwhelming affirmation and applause, a resolution directed to those who had defeated women's ordination in the Church of England for fear it would endanger union with Rome, read: "We are over 2,000 strong. We are here and we do not intend to go away!"

The growing WOC membership, which also met in regions and hired a grassroots organizer, is spawning a feisty, witty leadership. When Archbishop John R. Quinn, President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, declared discussion of ordination inappropriate, they publicly recounted the presence of women — last at the cross and first at the resurrection. "It is our observation," concluded their official response, "that the bishops, like the apostles, always arrive a little late — and slightly out of breath."

The 1978 WOC Conference broke ideological ground in four areas with significant discussions of power, new ministry, sexuality and the conflicts of diversity.

**"If anyone thinks I want to challenge the male clergy on their own turf, they're dead wrong. I'd love to shout from the very dome of the Vatican, 'Hey, fellas! You can have the power and the glory of your carpeted offices and big musty churches. Just give me the street, the home, the lonely, the elderly, the rebellious youth, the dying — The Kingdom!'"**

"Clericalism," said the Rev. Cletus Wessels, O.P., "is the grain which must fall on the ground and die in order to bring out a full harvest." The Dominican priest, past President of Aquinas Institute, opened the Priests for Equality

**Quotations appearing in shaded boxes throughout this article are from personal stories of Catholic women in the tabloid, *We Are Called*, published by the Women's Ordination Conference, 34 Monica St., Rochester, N.Y. 14619. Single copies \$1, postage included.**

Conference which was coordinated with the WOC sessions. PFE, with over 1700 members, began in July 1975. A major action was their sending letters of support to the Episcopal bishops just prior to the 1976 vote to ordain women.

Wessels suggested consciousness raising techniques to enable priests to become aware of the power that oppresses them and the power they have over others.

Sheila Collins, of the Executive Committee, Theology in the Americas, analyzed power from a social and feminist perspective at the first WOC plenary.

Following her talk, Dominican Sister Marjorie Tuite, one of the conference organizers, waved happily to friends in the balcony and shouted, "She moved it!" Tuite was observing that by beginning with structural analysis of the causes of non-ordination of women as linked to racism, sexism, and classism, Collins had added a dimension not present at the 1975 meeting.

WOC organizer Dolly Pomerleau feels that "power is at the root of refusal to ordain women." Much discussion centered around whether to fight the incumbents from a position of powerlessness, or turn to alternative sources. A paper circulated by Rosemary Radford Ruether, resource person for the Theology Track, argued for the base community as an alternative source of power.

"We contend," summarized Ruether, "that despite all the superstructures the church has developed historically in various forms, the basic concept of the church is rooted in the local congregation." She further proposed that Catholics nourish themselves for the long struggle and break the impasse

of unresponsive hierarchial power through recovery of "their own recognition of the community base of all sacramental power."

To many, this meant congregational ordination (a practice reported in THE WITNESS, December, 1977). Congregational ordination is seen as an intermediate strategy, and does not extend beyond the congregation. It looks forward to official recognition "as a part of healing the whole Church of the sins of sexism that presently deprive it of full universality."

The Conference addressed power through resolutions, turning first to visible power. Overwhelmingly affirmed were statements urging bishops to implement their study supporting team ministry; opening the office of preaching; pushing for a feminist columnist in diocesan newspapers; and extending ministerial education. More radical structural challenges passed by slight margins, lacking sufficient consensus for immediate action. These included a financial boycott and a Strike Day, echoing Fiorenza's stirring call for "a spiritual hunger strike." This latter resolution, which urged *women* to abstain from the Eucharist on April 29, was amended as voices shouted, "and men!"

Appeal to an alternative power base was also narrowly affirmed: "We recommend that unless the priestly ministries of women are officially recognized by the hierarchial church in the next five years, we, ourselves, will publicly celebrate the church's affirmation of the call of women to priestly ministry."

**"Reflecting on my vision of ordained ministry, I am aware that it bears little resemblance to the present format. I see my femaleness, my marital status (mother of five) and my living in the world not as liabilities, but indeed as strong assets to the kind of ministry I am called to."**

New ministry means making the desert blossom while calling the Holy City to

repent. Desert situations discussed in my section of the Strategy Track applied to the woman hospital chaplain, the woman hearing spontaneous confessions, the retreat director and the leader of a women's group that suddenly wants to celebrate its work and growth.

Other desert areas now ignored by the church are inhabited by poor and minority peoples, many of whom attended the Conference on scholarships. The gay community was represented at the New Ways Ministry booth. Third World women are also finding themselves called in dramatic ways to perform priestly functions in Latin America, for example, which has only 1 priest for every 7,000 people.

The ministry of these deserts was most graphically described by a young Mexican grandmother who works in a leprosarium. One of the patients, who was dying, asked to be anointed. The grandmother ran to town while her son-in-law kept the man alive through artificial respiration.

"No," said the first priest. "I'm busy."

"No," said the second. "Those people are contagious."

"No," said the last. "People with leprosy look so awful, I'll just throw up."

So the grandmother entered the church alone, respectfully took a consecrated host and stole the oil. She returned in time to anoint the dying patient and give him the host. Later, she told this story to a trusted priest.

"Did you confess it?" asked the trusted priest.

"Hell, no!" responded the young grandmother.

Echoing this sentiment, the WOC Conference overwhelmingly affirmed a resolution recommending "that an invitation be made to the Vatican to send emissaries to this country to experience the reality of women ministering."

An awesome extension of new ministry is experiencing God's presence, especially sacramentally, where the canon says it cannot happen. The small group section in which I participated was organized for those who had experienced themselves as sacramental ministers, wanted to build

networks, and devise a "coming out" strategy. About 12 of the 50 shared their stories. But all were reluctant to put anything on the record, define themselves or be defined. Sacramental power can be frightening, particularly if one's roots say it is a no-no. How great is the price of saying yes to the Holy Spirit? How can one stay Catholic when it looks like the Holy Spirit isn't? The resolution finally drafted by my section and supported by the entire Conference read, "We affirm those who act in obedience to the Spirit by preaching, anointing, reconciling, presiding and serving in a pastoral and/or sacramental way as called forth by the human family."

**"I want to be a lady with a baby, and a priest, was my naive but determined reply to what I wanted to be. I would beg the pastor to let me be an altar girl. 'If only I were a boy,' I thought. But that wouldn't work either. Then I couldn't be a lady with a baby!"**

The issue of sexuality was a major point raised by Wessels at the Priests for Equality Conference. Living up to male stereotyping is as oppressive for men as female stereotyping is for women. Wessels said it is even more oppressive for the Roman priest, who has no wife or children to "prove" his masculinity. So he turns to authoritarian role playing, put downs of gays, crude jokes about women and pursuit of sports.

The Rev. Richard P. McBrien, WOC panelist, said that the ordination of women, celibacy and contraception form an interlocking set of issues. They constitute a perspective that underlies all work for social justice. McBrien's contention is supported by *Are Catholics Ready?*, a social science survey of 5,492 churchgoing Catholics. Support for an anti-abortion amendment correlated strongly and positively with support for priestly celibacy, opposition to artificial birth

control and remarriage after divorce and condemnation of premarital sex by engaged couples. And those supporting restrictive sexual morality were more prone to support the death penalty and the need for U.S. military superiority and more inclined to feel that racial equality had gone too far.

Plenary speaker Mary Hunt, Graduate Theological Union at Berkeley, called for a renewed theology of sexuality.

Hunt began this renewal by redefining the traditional religious vows — poverty, chastity and obedience. Hunt redefined poverty as sharing the earth's resources with the earth's people. Chastity is being responsible for human relationships. Obedience is found in community accountability for decision making. A small step was taken toward a renewed understanding of sexuality with only a "slight affirmation" of recommendation to "establish a task force to facilitate the inclusion of lesbians and gay men in the public ministry of the Church."

Diversity was apparent from the beginning of the WOC Conference. The opening plenary featured an international panel from Mexico, Paraguay, Uganda, India and Belgium, moderated by a Chicana. The closing meditation was delivered by Dominican Sister Shawn Copeland, former Director of the National Black Sisters Conference. A resolution was affirmed for an International Conference in Rome in 1980, coinciding with the Bishops' Synod.

Ideological diversity was also apparent. Most agreed that structural change is necessary. The debate was when and how. Some would enter the priesthood and work for change from within; others would demand change before entering. Aware of this diversity, the Conference planners structured it into the program. The Strategy Track featured a debate, "If the Pope Would Allow the Ordination of Women, I Would/Would Not Be Ordained."

Also anticipated was the dissension over the Saturday evening liturgy. Some, saying they could not worship with a male celebrant, planned an alternative liturgy.



**Kathleen O'Toole, co-director of the Quixote Center, calls upon women in diverse ministries to unite in their desire to be free at the WOC Conference.**

The alternative liturgy was held simultaneously with the planned, and was announced in all regular sessions. About 250 attended, reading scriptures in English and Spanish, a group penance and a group consecration of the "bread that is broken and wine that is shared as we continue to strive to share our lives with those with whom we minister."

Less anticipated dissension arose in the planned Eucharist. The celebrant, William Callahan, S.J., national

**For those who wish to order resources quoted in this article: *Called to Break Bread?*, a psychological study of 100 women seeking ordination to the Catholic priesthood, is \$4.45 postage included. *Are Catholics Ready?*, an 8½ by 11 monograph, the political/sociological study of 5,492 churchgoing Catholics, is \$7, postage included. Both books are available from the Quixote Center, 3311 Chauncey Pl. #302, Mt. Rainier, Md. 20822.**

secretary of Priests for Equality, preferred to consecrate with a "Canon of Equality." Further, he wanted everyone to read the consecration and make the gestures. A hot debate ensued from conservative elements and Callahan was overruled. But several women distributed a few copies of the approved canon and encouraged others to recite from memory. A mini rebellion broke out during the regular Eucharist with enough of us gesturing and belting out the canon to be noticed by all.

The biggest issue facing the new Core Commission when it meets this month will be diversity. How to bridge the debate on "when" ordination? How to approach tactics such as boycotts, strikes and congregational ordination? How to approach the issues of sexuality? Whether to include other women's issues, such as continued support for the Equal Rights Amendment, on the WOC agenda?

Ideological diversity is a source of pain for many. For others it is to be lifted up and shared, symbolized during the regular Eucharist in the call of the spirit of present ministry to the women of the West, East and Third World.

In reviewing my eight years in the secular feminist movement and witnessing the first steps of the Catholic feminist movement, I see three ingredients necessary for success: humor, anger and resolve.

We laughed as we stood during the closing plenary on November 12, singing Happy Birthday to Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Several hours later, as the conference planners collapsed in a restaurant for the first good meal in three days, we raised a rousing verse of "For We Are Jolly Good People." Humor is present in writings and meetings. Hopefully it will grow.

Catholic women will never be short on anger. The hierarchy will see to that! The only problem will be feeling and expressing it within the context of the Gospel of Liberation. An offensive, perhaps even a recalcitrant hierarchy, could resolve ideological disputes. For example, the longer it takes the hierarchy to accept those willing to

enter the priesthood as it is, the closer they will be pushed toward their sisters who demand wide-sweeping change.

Franciscan Sister Fran Ferder, who spoke at the Priesthood Track regarding her book, *Called to Break Bread?*, summarized the situation: "I was impressed by the sense of seriousness among these women who seek ordination. They seem to be acting out of a Gospel call. They currently appear to have a great desire to stay within the present church and to operate within its framework. It is difficult to know how long they can sustain their excitement and hope for the present church in the face of a hierarchy which appears not to take them seriously."

I also see a great sense of resolve in the Catholic feminist movement. It is expressed by leaders such as Pomerleau: "I was raised a religious object. I am in the process of becoming a religious subject — joining hands with other oppressed women and caring men to create a renewed church." ■

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**The Rev. Alla Bozarth-Campbell, Episcopal priest-author of *Womanpriest*, at the Wisdom House booth at the Conference.**

## A Response to Jonestown:

# Looking in the Mirror

by Carter Heyward

*On Nov. 18, five persons were shot to death in Guyana by members of the People's Temple. Shortly thereafter, at the directive of Temple leader, Jim Jones, hundreds of his followers drank a cyanide-laced potion and died within minutes. Most did so apparently without physical coercion. At last count the death toll was over 900.*

It would be easy to write it off as an anomaly, a macabre exception to an otherwise good rule: To feed the hungry, clothe the naked, work for the common good, take seriously the life and teachings of Jesus. Many Christians will declare with an air of certainty that the problem was Marxism; that Jim Jones was a phony Christian, a socialist manipulating Christianity as a recruitment instrument. Jones' wife Marceline said as much in a 1977 interview: "Jim used religion to try to get some people out of the opiate of religion." (*N.Y. Times*, 11/26). Marxists and socialists, on the other hand, may well contend that the problem was religion, an illusion of spirituality permeating the American culture out of which Jones and his people came and which they attempted to purify in Guyana — a spirituality that duped Jones and, finally, more than 900 others, shielding them from the reality of history itself.

There will be much buck-passing. What happened at the airstrip and later in the commune will be lamented as the result of socialism, communism, capitalism, religion, the churches, moral decline in a rootless society, the jungle, the U.S. government, the Guyanese government, the cults, the parents, narcissism, masochism, homosexuality. Or, perhaps most will contend, the psychosis of one person, the Rev. Jim Jones.

Early in Thanksgiving week as reports began to trickle in, I found myself distracted from the work I had intended to do over the holidays — reading contemporary theology. As the news from Jonestown mounted, so too did my distraction. I had difficulty reading or writing, concentrating or looking



Carter Heyward

ahead toward my field exam. I wanted to talk about Jonestown — constantly. Yet in conversation my friends and I would find ourselves nervous about what felt like our voyeurism: Gawking at the scene of an accident; gasping, repelled by what we saw and heard, yet drawn again and again to see and hear.

For the first time, I experienced panic about a friend's involvement in a fundamentalist biblical group centered around one charismatic male leader who champions abundant living in the name of Jesus.

I was also enraged that the People's Temple had defined itself as both Christian and socialist, and was perceived as such, thereby undercutting two complementary perspectives that seem to me critical to ministry in the world.

Moreover I knew that we would begin to hear much about the sexual mores of the commune and the sexual attitudes and practices of Jim Jones himself, thereby feeding into the already hysterical anxieties of Americans about sexual abnormality.

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Related to these concerns was my own sense that it could have been me. Far from distancing the Jonestown affair, I felt aware somewhere in the deep recesses of my own consciousness that Jim Jones and his people had “acted out” my own capacities . . . to participate in destruction, to live into the transformation of good to evil.

Needless to say, through issues raised by Jonestown, I discovered that far from being distracted from contemporary theology, I had been immersed in it all week. Jonestown helped me to confront the issues with which I have been struggling, grouped loosely under two headings: *Dreaming Dreams*, and *Authority*.

### **Dreaming Dreams**

*Some people see things as they are and ask, “Why?”  
I see things as they might be and ask, “Why not?”*

*Paraphrase, Robert F. Kennedy*

What went wrong? How does it happen that a Christian vision of a socialist utopia becomes so grossly distorted? It is inadequate to lay the blame on the inner workings of the leader — to suggest that Jim Jones was all along a power-hungry and paranoid individual suffering delusions of self-deification. All of this may be true, as is often the case with “successful” religious leaders. But it is an inadequate explanation of what happened not only to the 900 others, but also to Jim Jones himself.

We need to take very seriously the “social construction of reality” (Berger) e.g., of ideologies such as Marxism, Christianity, utopia, sexism, racism, classism; and ways of experiencing and organizing reality, such as work, sexuality, worship, leading and following, economic distribution, social/racial relations, male-female relations, and even mass suicide. Jonestown makes clear, if ever there was any doubt, that the vision is neither pure, nor enough.

*The vision is not pure.* The dream is constructed out of pieces of the historical-cultural situations of the visionary and cannot be extracted from the context of social reality. To paraphrase Margaret Mead, the dreamer, the leader, the follower, cannot remain “uncontaminated by any knowledge of the people” in the United States, Guyana, the world, without cutting him/herself off from the possibility of making a constructive difference to the people of that world, including him/herself. Jonestown blows the lid off the illusion of a constructive separatism from the world — be its theoretical impulse that of the Word of God, pure theology, socialist utopia, radical feminism, mythological reconstruction, or psychological-spiritual retreat.

*The vision is not enough.* Jim Jones’ dream, as he articulated it some 20 years ago, is a Christian dream that cannot be surpassed. It is regrettable that it will be rejected by many on the basis of Jones’ inability to persevere toward

its fulfillment. The problem was not his religious/socialist vision, but rather his incapacity to sustain it. The end will not sustain the means. The goal will not produce the methods. The vision is not enough.

The final Jonestown vision — bloated decomposing bodies, layered in circles, linked arm in arm — is dramatic and nauseating witness to the incapacity of either the Christian or the socialist dream to sustain itself in the absence of engagement with historical realities and in the absence of thoughtful means by which to affect these realities from a participatory position. To rely upon the vision to sustain itself is to betray the substance of Christianity and the method of Marxist analysis.

Disengagement. Isolation. Contempt for the people of the world and the realities of opposition and struggle. Passion for one’s own commitment without compassion for others in the society whose commitments are different from one’s own. Within the Peoples’ Temple, this defensive contempt undercut the historical possibilities for the making real of a dream. As such, it rendered almost predictable the mass suicide as the final act — itself a liturgy of defensive contempt for the realities of human life in the world. Perhaps this was the only way the visionary people could opt for the last word. The other option would have been engagement, communication, the taking of responsibility for relationships to those outside themselves.

### **Authority**

*Where the world is understood biblically, that is, as moving toward an end, a goal, an authoritarian obedience cannot adequately express the will of God for the world. It is interested solely in the preservation of order and consequently displays hostility toward the future.*

*Dorothee Solle  
“Beyond Mere Obedience”*

The most *apparent* problem was the manipulation of people by a demented leader. But the most *basic* problem was the willingness of the people to submit themselves totally to the authority of a leader — sane or insane, creative or destructive.

Throughout the “Jonestown week” the media raised the question of authority from a variety of perspectives: The U.S. government was accused of not interfering, undoubtedly by many persons who otherwise have plead, worked, and voted for less interference by government in their lives. Parents were televised lambasting cults and yet lamenting the lack of structured authority in the lives of their children; indeed, some of the same parents who, before the deaths, had spoken of the beautiful sense of purpose and meaning Jim Jones had given their children, were shown

after the fact to be outraged by Jim Jones, whom they called, a dictator, a fascist.

The *N. Y. Times* and other media reported that what began as a commendable and effective social mission in the 1950s and '60s turned bizarre as Jones began to focus on his own messianic role, denouncing all opposition within and without the Temple. Finally, it was reported, Jones claimed to be Jesus, "God's incarnation." And the people were willing to give him this ultimate and absolute authority over their lives — and their deaths.

What is extraordinary about this is that it is not at all extraordinary. Not only are there historical precedents for murders or suicide pacts inspired by religious conviction (Masada, the phenomenon of Holy Wars and smaller scale acts such as those of the Manson cult); but also, and more significantly, the willingness of people to submit totally to the judgment and the worldview of others, is commonplace.

Today it is manifest in Christian cults, where the biblical interpretations of one leader are assumed to be the Truth and are given their legitimation under the guise of the infallibility of *Scripture* (not of the leader, who characteristically disclaims all authority for what he says). Psychologically, it is a small step between humility such as this (even if genuine) and others' perceptions of such a leader as "godlike," perceptions which in turn are bound to affect the leader.

A case can also be made for the expectation of total submission to the church, whether under the guise of tradition, discipline or scriptural authority. Roman Catholics are expected *to obey* the dictates of papal authority. Ordained priests and ministers take vows of obedience to superiors. And baptized Christians are expected to submit to Christ, whose person and will is interpreted by those in authority.

Such submission is manifest also in the many forms of patriotism, such as anti-communism, militarism and defense, national security, the equation of God with country, the capitalist system of economy, the nuclear family, the headship of men over women, and obedience to authority (of parents, teachers, husbands, bosses, bishops, generals) regardless of whether the authority is just or unjust, beneficent or cruel.

Those of us in the liberal contingents of the church are ready to assert the problems inherent in authoritarianism and mindless obedience to a leader, whether civil or ecclesiastical. But Jonestown pushes us further. Because many of us — feminists, black, liberationists, liberals, post-liberals, radicals, democrats and socialists, gay and gay advocates — have shared and struggled within the context of the People's Temple's *anti-authoritarianism*. We too have

been resistant to the policies of the U.S. government; we too have been ridiculed and written off for a lack of patriotism; we too have been denounced as blasphemous and perverse by Christians who have been scandalized by our searches for new ways of living in community, and by theologians who have been scandalized by our "relativization" of biblical authority.

We can despise the People's Temple. We can denounce its methods. We can distance ourselves from its death. But the People's Temple and the Jonestown incident was us. It was not "the enemy." It was not anti-black, anti-communist, anti-gay, anti-social change. It was us, our vision and our values, stripped to the terrifying bareness of our own vulnerability either to manipulate, or be manipulated by, *the madness of our passion for a better world*.

And so Jonestown invites us to reconsider the norms of our authority. From what, or from whom, do we take our cues for the shaping of our values? The positing of our goals? The means by which we intend to move toward these ends? The doing of our deeds? The definitions of ourselves as meaningful, productive, worthwhile people? These questions are fundamental to the doing of theology as well as to the living of life. ■

#### 'Authority' in Retrospect

*Did you miss the July, 1978 WITNESS devoted to the issue of Authority? Articles include "Authority as Nurture," by John Skinner, professor of theology at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge; "Authority as Parable," by William Stringfellow, theologian, social critic, and attorney; and "Authority as Myself," by the late Don Thorman, former editor of the National Catholic Reporter, with responses to all by the Rev. Alison Cheek, psychotherapist and pastoral counselor.*

*Also available from last year is Carter Heyward's meditation on "The Enigmatic God," lead article in the April, 1978 issue of THE WITNESS. The April and July issues are available for \$1 (for both) from THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.*

#### Welcome to Pittsburgh

**With this issue of THE WITNESS we welcome to our circle of new and renewed subscribers 107 clergy of the Diocese of Pittsburgh. This is currently the only diocese to have 100% of the parish clergy receiving THE WITNESS. The cost is being met partially by persons from the diocese, partially by THE WITNESS.**

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It may be that communities do not meet basic issues head on,  
but encounter them only as obliquely expressed in trivial  
concerns . . .  
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# Beyond Triviality

by Alan C. Tull

The triviality of the issues which pre-occupy and divide communities is a common and frustrating condition of human life. Simply to note this triviality is oftentimes to miss that within and under the issue at point are other issues which are central to the very life and self-understanding of the community itself.

It may be that communities do not directly meet basic issues but encounter them only as they are obliquely expressed in particular, more immediate and often trivial concerns. It may be as well that communities cannot directly debate mightier matters but can consider them in a controversial context only when the issues have become trivialized or, to be kinder, domesticated and humanized. "Humankind cannot bear very much reality," T.S. Eliot noted.

We might call this the *foreskin principle* after the issue by which the earliest Christian community determined its relation to Judaism and the Torah of the Old Testament. It was the issue of the foreskins of the male gentile converts upon which Paul argued the place of the gentile in the

New Israel and the total sufficiency of grace apart from law. The fourth century debates on the relation of the Second Person of the Trinity to the First Person found expression in the debate over an *iota* in the spelling of the Greek word used to express the relationship between the persons. The fundamental and overwhelming issue was the relation of the developing Christian community to the Hellenistic religions and philosophies of the Roman world. To have used *iota* and the word *homoiousios* would have made the persons of the Trinity fundamentally two different beings of like substance, two separate Gods. The *homoousios*, ultimately accepted at Constantinople in 381, asserts that the persons are the same substance and that there is only One God in a Trinity of Persons.

One may observe similar instances of this principle at different times in history. And one may also note a corollary of the principle: Communities develop styles or favorite modes of trivialization. Learned communities, such as college faculties, often prefer to debate an issue in terms of the punctuation of the resolution. Similarly Anglicans tend to work out issues in

terms of their liturgical expressions and implications. This seems to be a basic characteristic of Anglican life and is certainly indicative of the importance of liturgy for Anglicanism.

The foreskin principle does not imply that communities are always consciously aware of the implications and other aspects of the issues being debated. It does not mean either that the controverted issues are necessarily without merit in themselves. What the principle does suggest is that communities often resolve profound issues in terms of more superficial expressions. It also suggests that communities in debating seemingly trivial matters are in fact coming to grips with fundamental issues.

It is in terms of this principle that I would like to suggest that, in the controverted issues now before it, the Episcopal Church is also dealing with a matter much more basic. On the top of the debate are controversies over the ordination of women, liturgical reform and prayer book revision, and the ordination of homosexual persons. In and under all of these questions is another issue which is fundamental to the life of the Church.

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The question, to put it bluntly, is whether the Episcopal Church is a religion or a Christian entity. I mean "religion" here in the sense that Barth used it: The human attempt to give sacral and divine justification to the human situation and, especially, the *status quo* of a human society. I use the word "Christian" fundamentally to stand in opposition to religion in this sense, but I have in mind Christian life and Christian community as living freely in terms of grace and faithfulness and perceiving in the cross and resurrection both the form and hope of God's love and kingdom in this world. It is a faithfulness which is always called to creative response in the contemporary world and to bear the hope of the resurrection for peace and justice in the world's particular situations and needs.

Religion, in these terms, seeks a static justification to preserve a static *status quo*. A Christian community, caught up in the judgment and hope of the resurrection of the crucified Christ, seeks to serve the new creation in the possibilities and changes of ongoing historical life. There are other significant differences but, I believe, these remarks delineate the contrast. It is fundamentally a difference between the attempt to create an other worldly sacral sphere which justifies actively, or passively ignores, the social and economic *status quo* and the attempt faithfully to live out in a changing world and society the hope found in the resurrection of Jesus.

The attempt to make the church a religion is threatened by the issues before the church on three levels. In the first instance the mere possibility of change in the life of the community of faith raises implicitly the question of change in the society to which religion would give sacral justification. A sublime and beautiful liturgy of the 16th century raises few questions about obedient and faithful living in the society of the end of the 20th century. For religion, faithfulness is the denial of change in the forms and modes of life in the church; the possibility of change in these areas suggests the need for

judgment and change in other areas. But it must be asked for Christian life whether change is contrary to faithfulness. Is it not the case that faithfulness has to do with an obedience which undergrids and calls into question all forms and modes of life and would see each in terms of its historical context? "New occasions teach new duties" as the old hymn put it.

A second level of threat to religion lies in the fact that many of the changes which are before the church are parallel to changes in the wider society. The use of modern language in the liturgy is a clear recognition that we are a changing community which is related to an historical society. Even more threatening is the perceived fact that the issues involving ordination are parallel to the issues of women's liberation and understandings of human sexuality which are in question in society. Religion realizes that the acceptance of such change in the life of the community threatens the social *status quo*. Religion, therefore, attempts to prevent such change in the life of the church by maintaining that the issues for the church derive from the social questions and are, for that reason, to be ignored. For religion this is a consistent judgment; changes which arise from the world or parallel those in the world are almost by definition excluded from consideration.

A quite contrary and positive attitude towards movements outside the church was expressed by St. Augustine in the fifth century:

*Thus, the heavenly City, so long as it is wayfaring on earth, not only makes use of earthly peace but fosters and actively pursues along with other human beings a common platform in regard to all that concerns our purely human life and does not interfere with faith and worship.*

Augustine does not view the church as a religion but as a pilgrim people "wayfaring on earth" through the history

by which God achieves God's purpose. The pilgrim church is, therefore, free to make common cause with all those seeking human peace.

It is on a third level, however, that the conflict between religion and Christian faith and life becomes most serious. Here it is that Christian faith says that Christian life must take seriously the historical world and live in it with both judgment and creative participation. The actual issues of justice and peace are the terms in which Christian obedience are worked out. For Christian faith so understood the liturgical life of the community will express the historical setting of Christian life. Although much of the debate over liturgical revision seems to take place on the aesthetic level of literary style, the new liturgies offer a far more substantial threat to religion than the use of contemporary language. The baptismal promises, for example, speak of justice and peace among all people and the dignity and worth of every human being. This makes almost specific the Christian concern for these issues in contemporary society. In a similar way the intercessory prayers bring into the concerns of worship the life and needs of the contemporary world. It is typically Anglican that the basic issue between religion and Christian life should find expression in the liturgical controversy.

The threat to religion on this level is less immediately apparent in the questions having to do with ordinations. It is in the form of the various arguments, however, that the larger issue emerges. Religion tends to recognize only scripture and tradition as authoritative and treats each of these in a special way. Against this are arguments which claim reason as a third area of authority for the church. Reason in this sense has two meanings: It is a method for appropriating scripture and tradition as well as a body of data from the empirical sciences. The rational use of scripture and tradition at a minimum insists that each be seen in its various historical contexts and conditionings. This means that neither scripture nor tradition can

become the sacral artifacts of religion but must be understood and allowed to speak from their own position in God's redeeming activity in this world. Such a methodology requires a rational consistency in principles of interpretation. Rationally one cannot demand literal conformity to scriptural maxims in one area, sexuality for example, without making a similar demand for maxims in another area, economics for example. Yet the proponents of religion do just that.

Christian faith must also consider its own historical period, and this means that the material of theological reflection must include the data of the empirical sciences. Contemporary psychological, sociological, etc. study of human sexuality cannot be simply dismissed as profane or secular by

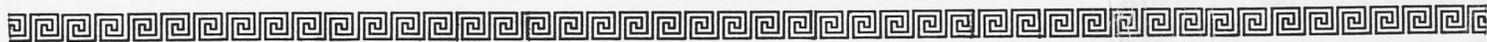
religion. The data of these sciences have to do with the life Christian commitment calls us to live.

The use of concepts of image, symbol, archetype and icon by conservatives in the ordination and sexuality controversies is significant at this point. These notions at their best seem to suggest a static eternal realm to which historical existence must conform. At their worst they derive from cosmological myths whose function was to provide divine sanction for an existing society. The point is that those who wish to prevent change in the church are arguing from categories which deny historical existence and suggest the eternal *status quo* of mythological religion.

Much more needs to be said about the place of reason and the methodology of

our present debates. I am simply suggesting that there is a methodological difference between religion and Christian faith and this difference has an important theological base which in fact expresses to a large degree the Christian challenge to religion.

The Episcopal Church now faces a number of issues, some of which may seem to be ultimately quite trivial. I have tried to suggest that under and in these issues another issue is also being controverted. The point is that we must look at our debates and differences in a larger context and in a more analytic manner. The trivia often rest upon a profound theological difference and we must not allow it to be lost. The fundamental question now is the manner by which we understand God's action in our present world. ■



### Letters continued from page 2

and beliefs in the Episcopal Church, the greater the need to maintain communication between the divided groups.

Also, the November issue, as much of your past writing, deals with racism, generating some feelings and thoughts I wish to share.

- All attempts to load this and future white generations with the racist sins of our fathers will breed continued racism. Christ forgives us our sins as we are heartily sorry for them. Blacks and whites must forgive each other for their present transgressions, not past.

- Lest we forget, racism today is color blind. It exists and is nurtured in black and white minds. We are all capable of this sin. Much of the writing is light on love and understanding for those who commit sins of racism. I am looking for more of the theme of brothers and sisters in Christ, of love of enemy. (If only Christ had not asked us to do that, it is so hard.)

- Our country, our church are imperfect as all man's institutions must

be. May God bless both and continue to give us the spirit to continue the struggle in love.

I want in, even though I often disagree.

**Albert P. Schmitz**  
Kensington, Conn.

### Against Minor Messiahs

After having read several issues of THE WITNESS magazine and having also read your *Struggling with the System, Probing Alternatives*, I was so astounded at the contents of both the magazine and the booklet that I fully intended writing you. Why so-called ministers of the Gospel can't stay within the field for which they were trained, instead of considering themselves minor Messiahs who believe they can cure the ills of the world, is beyond my comprehension.

**Richard W. Hobbs, Esq.**  
Hot Springs Natl. Park, Ark.

### Flout Not Flaunt

Your magazine is so provocative I have to re-subscribe for 3 years. Each issue

(especially July's and September's) makes me think, and, in annoying me, stimulates me tremendously intellectually. But — please — don't confuse "flaunt" with "flout" — as in the Editor's note, September issue.

**David King**  
Elizabeth, N.J.

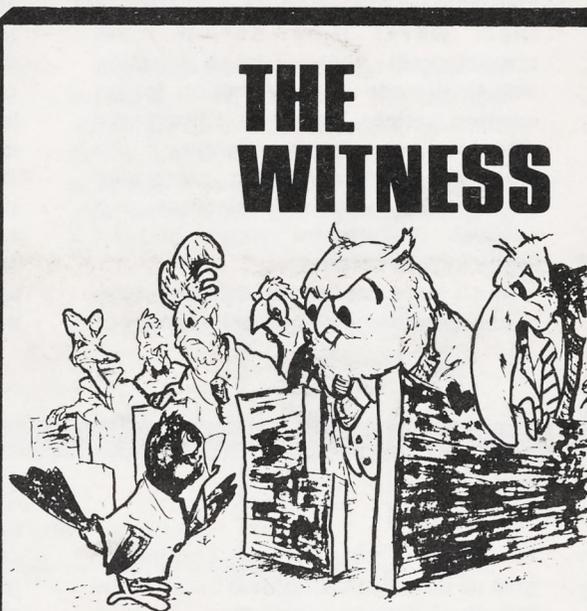
*(Editor's note: We are grateful to reader King for catching the error, and most grateful that he reads THE WITNESS so thoroughly! Thanks to another careful reader, we should also note a mistake in the August issue which stated that Katrina Swanson's bishop "would not recognize her priesthood in the Diocese of Kansas." This should have read, "in the Diocese of West Missouri." Sorry.)*

### CREDITS

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# THE WITNESS

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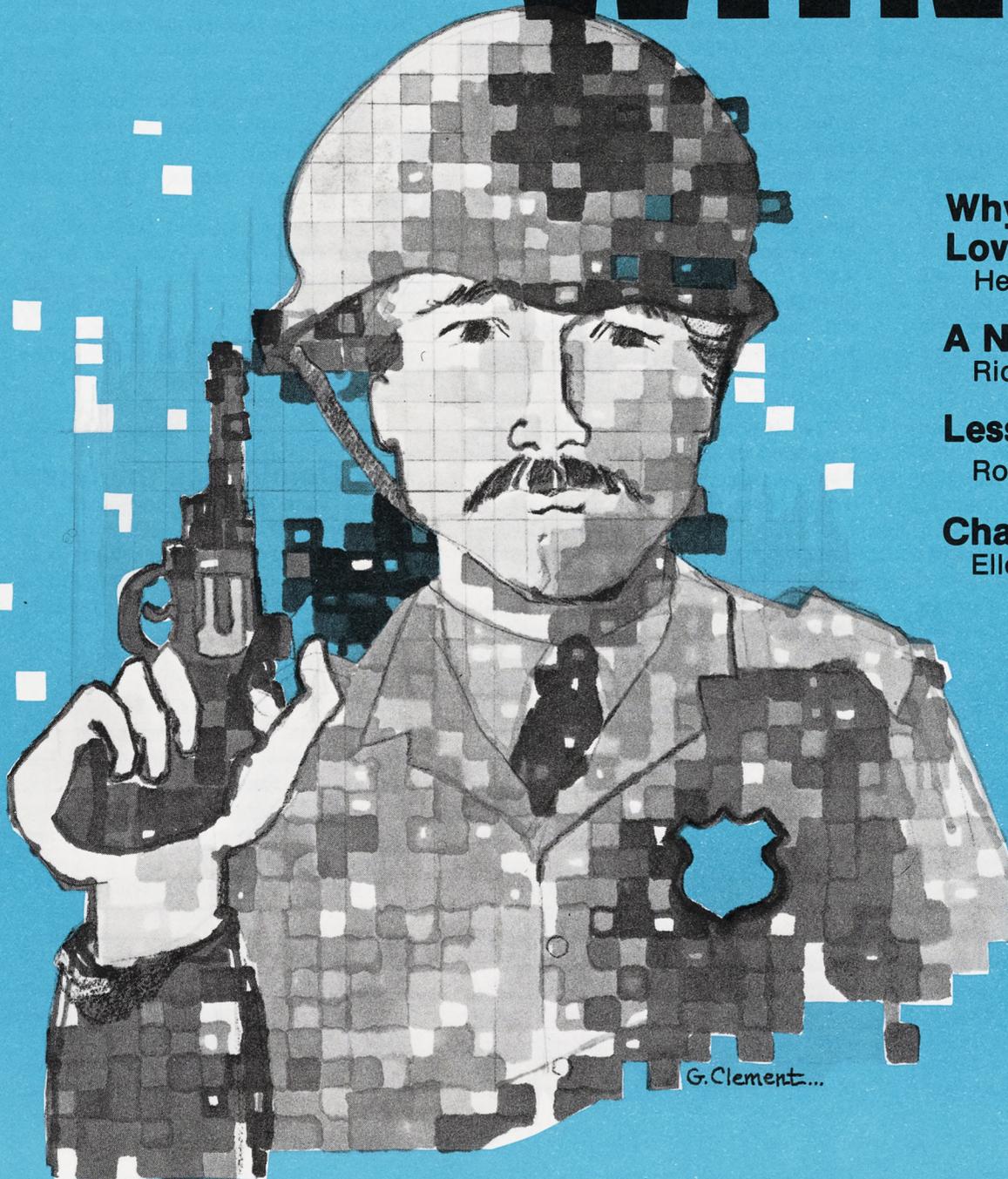
ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL  
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AUSTIN, TEXAS

**Why Police States  
Love the Computer**  
Hesh Wiener

**A New Holocaust?**  
Richard Gillett

**Lessons From the '60s**  
Robert McAfee Brown

**Charismatics & Activists**  
Ellen Wondra



G.Clement...



## DuBois Addendum

The November WITNESS carries an article, "Lessons From a Shabby History," by Reginald G. Blaxton. In the article, speaking of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, he notes that Dr. DuBois was baptized a Christian at the font of St. Luke's Church, New Haven. He then goes on to say, correctly, that Dr. DuBois became disenchanted by the Episcopal Church's refusal to face racial issues, the general withdrawal of white churches from any real confrontation with his main dedicated concern, and even the black churches in their struggle to support their people in a fight for identification. Everything in the article was true, but it left the reader with the feeling that Dr. DuBois had disengaged himself from the world of religious faith because institutional religion never supported the cause of human equality and freedom.

When Dr. DuBois was indicted, allegedly as an agent of a foreign government for circulating the Stockholm Peace Pledge against nuclear weapons, and when he and his lovely wife, novelist Shirley Graham, were able to buy a house on the most exclusive street in Brooklyn Heights, the Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity rallied the clergy and liberal citizens to meet the DuBoises and introduce them to the community.

When Dr. DuBois was acquitted in Washington, he loaned his material, personally involved himself in a whole series of annual "Negro History Weeks"

held at Holy Trinity, and encouraged the participation of the congregation in the whole racial struggle.

Dr. DuBois died in Ghana on the eve of the famous March on Washington, where Dr. Martin Luther King made his most famous speech. When the DuBois will was found and opened, it contained a request that his burial service be taken by the minister of the Church of the Holy Trinity, with Paul Robeson singing his favorite spirituals.

The then-president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, invited me to fly to Ghana to fulfill Dr. DuBois's request. Mr. Robeson was not able to respond and a singer from the Metropolitan Opera, Mrs. Nadyne Brewer Rauch, went with me in his place. The service, which had by reason of time, to be a Memorial Service, was held in the Aggrey Memorial Chapel on the campus of Achimota College in Accra. More than 2,000 Africans attended. The President sat in a chair at the head of the aisle, flanked by Ambassador Huang Hua, who is now the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China.

The Memorial Service, which was broadcast throughout Africa by Ghana Radio, was repeated by tape on WBAI in this country. Now in my possession, it was based on the Book of Common Prayer, a personal re-telling of Dr. DuBois' life and significance in our country, and prayers drawn from our liturgy and the "Grey Book." The point is that Dr. DuBois, christened in St. Luke's, New Haven, died within the enfolding blessing of the church of his initiation.

Others can determine what this means. I simply wish the record to be accurate.

**The Rev. William Howard Melish  
Corona, N.Y.**

## Charismatic Rebukes

When my subscription expires, please do not renew it. I am of the charismatic Episcopal persuasion, so I really feel that most of the articles in your magazine, if not all, are entirely irrelevant. A friend of mine in Tennessee, who gave the subscription to me in hopes of changing my non-

activist stance on so many issues, will probably despair, but I in turn sometimes despair of ever making a charismatic out of him, too, so we are even.

I cannot honestly wish you the best of luck nor God's blessing, because I think you folks are utterly lost and confused in this modern world and indeed will be left behind after God's real children are taken away from the earth on the Rapture; you and people like you will be the Episcopal representatives when the Super-Church (Revelation's "Great Whore of Babylon") is set up to be the anti-Christ's religious arm during the last seven years of history before the Second Coming.

Strong words, maybe, but I cannot help that.

If I misjudge you, and Jesus really is "your personal Lord and Saviour" as the Evangelicals so tiresomely but also truly (unfortunately for *you*, perhaps) recite; if your work with gays, Chicanos, and so on really is the work that the Lord has given you to do . . . then forgive me.

**David Zillmer  
Stillwater, Minn.**

## Sex Dominance the Issue

Please send me two copies of the October WITNESS on "Gays in the Church." Your articles are useful to us as we serve the outcasts of the organized churches, which of course includes gays.

My observation is that rooted in homophobia is the larger hatred of women. Yes, there are Episcopal gay men priests. Some of these gay men opposed the ordination of women. The old English Patriarchy and Boarding School mentality exists there, too. Some gay priests finally related to women as oppressed also.

Could all of us, brothers and sisters in Christ, finally recognize that the root of *all* oppression lies in dominance/submission-type thinking? That *only* as we give up our power over each other in our relationships can we hope to have any justice or mercy in our society?

Straight or gay is not the issue. We

*Continued on page 19*

# THE WITNESS

Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; Mary Lou Suhor, Managing Editor; Kay Atwater, Robert Eckersley, Ann Hunter, Susan Small, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White, Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067.

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## Saints in Caesar's Household

Robert L. DeWitt

When we think of the early church and the people who made it up, we think of ragged apostles wandering the countryside — of little people. Christianity was, indeed, as a contemporary commentator said, “The religion of every poor devil.” St. Paul referred to himself and others as “the scum of the church.” And so they were — slaves, soldiers, shopkeepers, gladiators.

But St. Paul in his epistles many times refers by name to people to whom he wished to be remembered, and then occasionally adds the words, “and to the saints which are in Caesar’s household.”

Those members of the early church, in Caesar’s own household, were doing the variety of things required of such menials — cooking, cleaning, repairing, hammering out swords and shields, polishing armor. Imagine the compromise in their situation. They were getting their very subsistence from the emperor’s household, when their ultimate loyalty was to the God of Abraham, the Lord of hosts. They found themselves working next to people who would say, “We have no God but Caesar,” and yet those early Christians were, themselves, working for that false god.

Was their situation so different from our own?

We are all caught up in, and dependent upon, the complicated and powerful network of economic and political forces which rule this world, just as the entrenched strength of the Roman Empire ruled the ancient world. We have only to think of the insurance on our homes and on our lives, the supermarkets where we buy our food, the automobile we drive (and the bank where we make our payments on it), to realize that all of these entities are local precincts of

*Continued on page 18*



## Why Police States Love the Computer

by Hesh Wiener

“Computers,” said think-tanker Herman Kahn recently “are obviously the supporting device for a totalitarian culture. I’m not saying it will happen, but it is an open issue.”

You’re a bit late, Mr. Kahn. It has already happened.

The largest single customer for computers in every country is the country’s government. All governments use computers for social control. They differ only in the degree of control they exercise via the computer and the kinds of activities they control. Pioneered by the wealthy and technologically advanced democracies, the use of computer systems for police, political, health, medical, and economic administration is now a high priority for every dictatorship.

The problems raised by the use and abuse of information-processing systems are not restricted by national boundaries. The international flow of data, once a trickle, is rapidly becoming a torrent. Files on political activists, potential activists, and even socially concerned clergymen are being exchanged among the governments of Latin American regimes. Dossiers stored on the computers of the FBI, State Department, and other agencies (many of whose files are already linked to state and local police files) are finding their way into the computers of foreign governments — sometimes accompanied by fingerprints or passport photographs.

Private institutions also have immense collections of data, and all the problems associated with dossiers in the hands of government agencies become more severe when private interests are involved. It is difficult to distinguish between

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**Hesh Wiener**, former editor of *Computer Decisions*, is a New York-based journalist who specializes in articles about how computers affect people’s lives. The above is reprinted with permission from the quarterly, *Business and Society Review*, 870 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y. 10019. Copyright Hesh Wiener and *Business and Society Review*.

data that may be used for commercial purposes and data used for repression. Private interests are so powerful in this area that any legal restrictions on the collection, storage, and sale of data by private concerns may eventually be overcome by the establishment of offshore data banks — data havens in a few countries that wish to profit from them.

The companies that manufacture computers are aware of the problems brought about by the misuse of their products. They know that their machines are used to enforce the social policies of reasonable and unreasonable governments alike. In particular, they know that their machines are sought by dictatorial regimes to aid in the roundup of political enemies and by megalomaniacal despots to plan and execute intrigues and wars. The knowledge of the computer companies is extensive and, in some cases, so specific that it borders on complicity.

The computer manufacturers know what they are involved in because large computers are not sold and abandoned. The companies induce customers to purchase computers by promising assistance and a continuing technical presence, which they provide. In fact, even if the computer manufacturers wished to maintain some distance between themselves and their customers, they would fail. Computers and the programs which make them work are so complex that no customer could use them effectively without help from the seller. The most carefully kept secrets of the U.S. government are stored on computers run with the active involvement of the manufacturers.

The level of detail known to a company which installs and services a computer includes knowledge of the kinds of jobs being done, but generally falls short of information about the exact data stored in the computer's memory. For example, a company that sells a computer to a social surveillance agency would know whether the machine will be used for the storage of files, or for computation, or for communications. It would know the size and form of each file and the total size of the data base, but it would not know who or what will be on file. It would know something of the complexity and type of calculations to be performed, but it would not know the details of the calculations. It would know the capacity of the system for sending messages, but it would not know the content of the messages.

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*“Any police state I know of would be much more effective with computers.”*

—Herman Kahn  
Hudson Institute  
Croton, N.Y.

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## NCC Opposes Sales

*The National Council of Churches is definite that computers should not be sold to be used by police agencies of repressive regimes.*

*William Wipfler, NCC human rights officer, said “We called the attention of IBM to the repeated violations of human rights in Chile and asked them to reconsider their plans to install a 145 computer.” The National Council of Churches backed their pleas with proxies totaling 200,000 shares of IBM stock. Some religious leaders felt that IBM's installation of the 145 was “like selling a computer to Hitler.”*

*“But the question is more serious than whether IBM would sell computers to Hitler,” says Wipfler. “It's whether they would sell gas chambers to Hitler. Either way you're giving him weapons. When you know who Hitler is, you can't pretend you don't know what he's doing with your equipment.”*

There is some question about who has responsibility for the way computers are used. The greatest burden must be borne by whoever uses the computer, of course. But there is also some responsibility borne by the government agencies which issue permits for the shipment and installation of computers abroad. The companies which provide data processing resources can be held responsible for their decision to sell or not sell the equipment. And after the machinery is installed, the companies have a responsibility to evaluate their commitments. Having learned the details of the way their computers are used, the manufacturers could cease providing the promised service.

These questions must be addressed most seriously by American computer companies, which dominate the world market for computers. In the non-Communist world, nearly all government computers are of American manufacture. Even the governments of nations with indigenous computer industries own and operate many computers of American manufacture.

Among the American companies one corporation clearly dominates the market for large systems: International Business Machines Corporation. IBM is believed to have between one-half and three-fourths of the large systems worldwide. By virtue of IBM's commitment to excellence, particularly in service and support, its products have become worldwide standards. The computers of many other

nations — Japan, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the Eastern bloc — borrow heavily from IBM's designs, and their manufacturers mimic IBM's attitudes and policies. While IBM did not invent the computer, IBM did invent the computer industry.

This leadership makes IBM the place to begin questioning an industry that has given great record-keeping power to benign and demonic governments alike. And IBM's home country, the United States, is the leader of all the world's governments in matters involving computers. In particular, the most questionable use of computers involves the alliances between the U.S. government and Latin American dictatorships.

Similar situations exist outside Latin America, notably in Korea, Iran, and the Communist world. For example, Iran has an American electronics network called Ibex (a descendant of the McNamara Line across Vietnam), which is said to guard borders, monitor communications, and store the files of the Shah's secret police. The Korean CIA is believed to depend on American computers for its wide-ranging activities. The Eastern bloc, far behind the West in using computers, is said to envy and emulate the facilities of its more advanced competitors.

But Latin America has been a main focus of recent investigations into the ways computers are misused with the help of American funds and know-how. Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil are in virtual states of siege. Persons suspected of harboring adversary political beliefs are systematically kidnapped, imprisoned, tortured, and killed — most often by agents of government. Persons believed to be associates of known political activists are similarly treated. Torture is commonplace, and computers are helping. In Chile, according to one refugee who had served in a high academic position, the government's computer systems store complete information about "the opposition, those considered leftists or suspects. The computer has all the facts." Reports of police roundups in Chile include descriptions of the processing of identification cards in ways that can only be explained by the presence of computers.

About two years ago, the Chilean government wanted to buy a new information system for \$5.5 million from Rockwell International. The U.S. government refused to issue an export permit, because it believed that the computer would be used to terrorize the Chilean populace further. Undaunted, the Chilean government decided to buy the computers directly and hire American consultants to turn the machines into a system capable of storing complete dossiers, including fingerprints, on every citizen of Chile. One executive of an American consulting firm has said that his company was asked to provide expertise, not equipment, to the Chilean government, thus circumventing export

## Everybody Plugs In

*"Two private insurance companies now have a computer terminal on the Social Security Administration Data Acquisition and Response System, despite promises to Congress in 1973 that this would never happen. Soon, 14 more private insurers and several more private hospitals, with thousands of employees, will have terminal access. Auto insurers now have terminals allowing on-line access to state motor vehicle records. The government, in turn, links into the New York Times Information Bank, with its data on individuals from the pages of the Times and 60 other publications. State tax agencies exchange data with the Internal Revenue Service by computer. And the Medical Information Bank in essence links together all of the major health insurers. Banks, with their personal information about customers, will soon be linked with the Federal Reserve Board's electronic funds transfer system."*

—Robert Ellis Smith  
*Computer Decisions*

restrictions. His company, after thinking over the proposal, turned it down. But an official of the Chilean embassy confirms that this contract will be awarded after all — to a company that helped build the fingerprint system used by the FBI. The system, which will be operated by the Chilean government, could be functioning within a year.

Not all the computers used by the government of Chile are in the offices of governmental agencies. According to a former official of the Allende regime, there is a data-processing service called ECOM that does extensive work for Chile's secret police. The chairman of ECOM, which uses IBM and Burroughs computers, is an active general in the Chilean army. The president of ECOM is Rene Peralta, a former officer of the Chilean navy and a former director of computation at the University of Chile. The university also has a computer, and the National Council of Churches claims that the machine is being used by police agencies. IBM disputes the claim, but a company spokesman admits that his firm is aware that "the generals have taken over the university."

One man's ordeal in Uruguay indicates that dossiers kept on computers are exchanged among the governments of Latin America. The man entered Uruguay and was picked up by the police for questioning. His interrogators asked him about a Catholic priest they sought. The man was presented with a computer printout detailing the priest's

career, including all the priest's known addresses, his salary at each, his telephone numbers, and his relationships with persons in Uruguay. What most amazed the interrogated man was that the sought-after priest had never been in Uruguay. The data on the computer printout had been supplied by the police of another country!

Brazil, the largest and wealthiest nation in South America, is also a leader in using computers. IBM has a factory there which makes large System/370 machines and ancillary equipment. It is believed that the police of Brazil use IBM computers to manage large collections of dossiers. Evidence of this practice comes from a document prepared by IBM.

The IBM paper, which came from a survey of IBM's customers conducted by its Rio Governo office in Rio de Janeiro, indicates that in December 1973 the police of the state of Rio de Janeiro (then called the state of Guanabara) were planning to install a pair of IBM 370/145 computers equipped with forty inquiry terminals. These terminals would be placed where they could be used to retrieve files instantly.

The report lists the uses to which the computers would be put. In addition to routine files — such as those containing lists of stolen vehicles, criminals' names, and wanted persons — the computers would be used to store files of "political activists."

IBM has admitted, following publication of the document, that it is authentic. IBM claims that the system was never ordered, but refused to say whether Brazilian police have other, similar systems. At the time the system was sought by the Brazilians, American newspapers were carrying detailed reports of abduction and torture by the Brazilian secret police.

The police in Argentina have a system, built by an American company, which is the most advanced of its kind anywhere. The equipment, sold under the trade name Digicom by E-Systems of Garland, Texas, is a radio communications system connecting police cars with computerized information at police headquarters in Buenos Aires. One of Digicom's many abilities is locating by triangulation the police cars which carry it. Another device being used by the police of Buenos Aires is called Wheelbarrow. Like Digicom it has a radio transmitter and receiver, and like Digicom it can be used to locate the vehicle bearing it. Unlike Digicom, it does not facilitate communications. Wheelbarrow is a self-locating bomb, triggered from police headquarters.

The problems caused by computers in the hands of dictators are compounded by the international flow of dossiers. One important agent for the transfer of police and other government files is Interpol, headquartered in St.

Cloud, France, outside Paris. Interpol is a coordinating agency for the police of its 125-member nations. Each member maintains a national central bureau which serves as Interpol's local anchor. The U.S. bureau, for example, housed in the Treasury building in Washington, sorts out requests for information and sends them to the appropriate agencies. Among the agencies fulfilling Interpol requests are the FBI, which provides criminal records and fingerprints; the State Department, which provides passport information, including photographs; the Immigration and Naturalization Service; the Drug Enforcement Administration; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms of the Internal Revenue Service; the Postal Service; and local police agencies. In addition to information requests, Interpol may ask for services such as surveillance or detention.

The information on the requests made by Interpol members is sometimes sketchy. Because the United States examines each request and only provides data in response to those queries stemming from criminal charges, the Government Accounting Office believes that the American office of Interpol is not being misused. However, requests from foreign countries are also made directly to foreign offices of the FBI, Drug Enforcement Administration, and other U.S. agencies abroad. This less-regulated route is used very often.

These police channels are not the only links among the computers of various nations. Credit bureaus in the United States have extensive records on many foreigners, principally Canadians, and medical records travel along the same routes that tourists and immigrants do. In fact, the linkage of computers to remote sites is so easy today that, according to Congressman Barry Goldwater, Jr., fire marshals in southern Sweden routinely use a data file in Cleveland to plan fire control strategies.

There has been no evidence that these files suffer widespread abuse. But there are also no laws or regulations to limit the flow of data. American and European nations, principally those which have enacted legislation to control data flow within their borders, have expressed concern that any efforts to control the misuse of computerized information will fail unless international conventions are established.

For the most part, the social problems posed by the widespread interchange of computerized records among nations are overshadowed by the problems of computer misuse within nations. But all the problems are growing rapidly throughout the world. While not as dramatic as the threats to human survival posed by shortages of food, energy, and housing, the threats to freedom and privacy may be more pernicious just because they are largely invisible. ■

# Disturbing Signs Of a New Holocaust

by Richard W. Gillett



Make no mistake about it: something fundamental, a kind of seismic shift in the public mood, occurred in 1978, the “year of the tax revolt.” One senses in the nation that the post-Watergate period of quiescence, of withdrawal, has rather suddenly come to a close. And that a public which has for the last few years kept its thoughts to itself has found its voice again. It is a voice that sounds reactionary, highly suspicious of political leadership, resentful of complexity, and receptive in its mood to simplistic solutions.

Another happening earlier in 1978 appeared to affect deeply a substantial number of Americans. It was the compelling television film, *Holocaust*. Sophisticated criticisms of *Holocaust* and its authenticity notwithstanding, I found myself profoundly affected. The film made me begin to face that at a real time and place during my own lifetime, a group of human beings had systematically undertaken to liquidate another group of human beings, identifiable by their racial and ethnic characteristics, which characteristics deemed them expendable. And the Christian churches in Germany and beyond, by and large stood by in only partial ignorance, and let this happen. It began to come home to me that a) human beings are fully capable, given sufficient rationale, of deciding that other human beings are expendable; and b) other, even well-meaning human beings are capable of either

rationalizing such a horror, or of pretending it isn't happening.

My mind returned to *Holocaust* for weeks afterward, until the winds of debate over Proposition 13 began to blow in gale force, pushing these reflections aside. The “13” vote came, with its devastating results for the poor, the public education system, minorities, public health, and public libraries. In trying to assess the damage, and in trying to understand how two-thirds of the voters could have let this occur, I found myself returning in thoughts to the Jewish Holocaust. The two events began to roll around in my mind as comparable.

It is well known that at least since medieval times in Europe Jews have been the objects of persecution and isolation. But by the late 19th century Jews in Europe were seen as a symbol of the new secular industrial and democratic society that was dissolving the power of the old ruling classes of Christendom. As such they appeared to fearful people to be a threat to the power structure. And, since some Jewish intellectuals were also attracted to Marxism, Jews could sometimes suffer the double stigma of being both “Christ killers” and Communists. The year 1919, according to Ernst Nolte, a scholarly German historian, was a critical year for the development of fascism. In that year — one chaotic year after the end of World War I and two years after the triumph of Bolshevism in Russia — a localized, short-lived proletarian revolt, the Munich Soviet Republic occurred in Germany under the leadership of a few

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The Rev. Richard W. Gillett is director of social concerns and Christian education, All Saints Church, Pasadena, Cal.

intellectuals, mostly Jewish and anarchist. At the time, these revolutionaries aroused intense hatred — none more so than in the mind of a young propagandist named Adolph Hitler.

Through the next dozen years, Hitler began to build his national socialist party. They were years in which a nation, crushed by war and deeply disillusioned in spirit, was likewise disturbed by the Communist revolution that had taken place in the monolithic nation to the east, Russia. Hitler's powerful and hypnotic speeches responded to that anxious national mood. Never give the public more than one object of hatred at a time, wrote Hitler. He saw that coupled with the emotional appeal to national pride, hate can be a powerfully unifying force. The Jews became the hate object in the ideology of purifying the Aryan race.

In 1931, two years before Hitler's seizure of power, papers known as the Boxheim documents were discovered in the German state of Hesse. They were written by a Nazi, and contained secret instructions for the Nazi overthrow of the Hessian state government. One feature was a plan for starving the Jews of Hesse by denying them ration cards. The man who discovered the "Boxheim documents" and revealed them to the press was shot soon thereafter. His murderers were never apprehended.

Subsequently, the Nazis polled 46% of the vote in a local election in Hesse — an indication of the hatred building toward the Jews.

The year 1933 was crucial in Germany. Beginning then, writes Nolte, the elimination of the Jews from the body of the German nation was undertaken not by way of mass demonstrations and revelatory speeches, *but by legal measures* (emphasis mine). For example, the Nazi policy of racial health for the nation was officially promulgated that year: A law was passed authorizing the state to sterilize certain elements of the population which were deemed undesirable. Included were those with a wide range of hereditary diseases — and, implicitly, the "inferior layers" (Jews) of the population which showed a very high birth rate. In the ensuing years, Jews saw the legal barriers against their civil and constitutional rights progressively raised, until by 1938, the licenses of Jewish doctors were revoked (remember the doctor in *Holocaust*?) and the exceptions still then existing for Jewish lawyers and patent attorneys were removed. It remained only for a few trumped-up or entirely fabricated incidents the next few years (such as the infamous Kristallnacht in 1938) to set up the machinery and the rationale for the full-scale extermination process which created the camps and the ovens of Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Belsen, and others.

So how does all this compare with our treatment of the poor among us in America over the last several years?

Of course, the history of the isolation and prejudice

*"Trends, public attitudes, and even some of the legal machinery are already settling into place for the occurrence down the line of a catastrophe similar to that of the Holocaust, with the poor, the unemployed and the powerless as the new scapegoats for our collective frustration and cynicism."*

against the Jews in Germany and Eastern Europe is not comparable to the history of our discrimination against the poor in this country. We do not have a madman at the head of the nation, nor do we now (note: *now!*) have any semblance of laws which by definition single out a race or a group as inferior. No one is building any concentration camps for the poor (although we built them back in 1942 for the West Coast Japanese!).

I suggest, however, that there are striking parallels between our recent American experience and that of the Holocaust. *Moreover, I would assert that events in recent years — 1978 in particular — reveal that the trends, public attitudes, and even some of the legal machinery are already settling into place for the occurrence down the line of a catastrophe similar to that of the Holocaust, with the poor, the unemployed and the powerless as the new scapegoats for our collective frustration and cynicism.* I would also assert that "Proposition 13 year" may be the watershed year which has clearly revealed such a trend. And that it calls for extraordinary measures by the churches and others to witness for human wholeness and solidarity. It may be much later than we think.

The ideological groundwork has been some years in the laying, going back to the Nixon era. "Bums on welfare" (Nixon's phrase), the discarding of dissident elements "with no more concern than rotten apples in a barrel" (Spiro Agnew) and — from the present U.S. Senator from New York, Daniel Moynihan — the phrase "benign neglect" as suggested policy toward blacks, all sound remarkably like some of the rhetoric directed at the Jews in Nazi speeches of the 1920s and 1930s. In the California campaign for Proposition 13, rhetoric against welfare recipients flew hot and heavy, fueled by repeated press magnification of a few bizarre stories of welfare cheaters who had "gotten rich on the government." Riding the bandwagon, the minority leader of the California State Assembly shouted after the vote, "this is our chance (to cut welfare). Wow! The people are with us."

But there are also disturbing parallels with the German Jewish experience in the legal area. The Boxheim documents referred to earlier advocated the denial of ration cards to the Jews. How does this compare with the suggested reduction and increased cost of school meals to needy children in California, and the decreased effectiveness of summer feeding programs due to personnel layoffs? What

*Continued on page 15*

## Lessons from the '60s

# 15 Commandments for Liberals

Many of us entered the '60s as political liberals, believing that society could be changed by persuasion, the power of moral example, appealing to our opponents' better side, "rational dialogue," and so forth. We wanted above all to be credible to our middle class counterparts with whom we thought (wrongly) power was lodged. As the decade spun out, we found ourselves, with varying degrees of resistance and compliance, being forced down the road of what might be called "reluctant radicalization."

As I reflect today on some of the lessons learned on that pilgrimage (the *terminus ad quem* of which must be extended at least until early 1973 when we finally got out of Vietnam), here is a list of 15 which I cite in the hope that everyone may find at least one or two with which to resonate, three or four with which to disagree, and enough stimulation to suggest a half dozen more that have not occurred to me.

1. *It is important to get on record as opposing evil. It is also important to be effective in stopping evil. But if you can't stop it, at least oppose it.* It is even possible that in ways you cannot foresee, your attempt to get on record can be effective, although it is somewhat easier to do this in the U.S.A. than in Argentina. Remember that "results" can almost never be measured. Backup consolation: at the very least, things might have been even worse if you had done nothing.

2. *You musn't be too picky in choosing allies, but you must also be willing not to keep them too long.* You can easily be coopted (being the "token liberal" at a rally with distinctly other ends in view for which you too will later be held responsible), but if you opt out of such situations in order to remain "pure," you get nothing done at all.

In looking for allies, never count too much on the institutional church. Individuals, yes; small groups, yes; but rarely the institution as such. Christians can often work better with, and learn more from, secular Jews who still have

prophetic passion in the marrow of their bones (probably inherited from their grandfathers, who always turn out to have been rabbis).

Common cause can be made with people who have a variety of motives: the student who wants to save his skin, the businessman who has decided that the war is bad for business, the pacifist who feels that all wars are wrong. Be prepared for the fact that such alliances may be very temporary; the day after the war you may need to be against the businessman and maybe all the others as well.

3. *Although you must keep some priorities about what is really important, remember that almost all issues centering on social change are interconnected.* You may originally have thought that for those in the civil rights movement to become involved over Vietnam was diversionary; but you probably came to see that the draft was drafting twice as many blacks proportionately as whites and that there was a racial and genocidal component to what we were doing to dark-skinned Asians.

The word here is "holistic analysis."

4. *A variant on #3: Try to be clear who the enemy is.* I felt on my own campus that the real enemy was in Washington, rather than in the university's administration building or at the campus computer center. I was no more than half right. It took me a long time to see that the university legitimated and expedited the war in Vietnam: the Trustees profited from it, the scientists developed weaponry for it, whole faculties were funded by Department of Defense contracts. Very gradually I came to see that the enemy was the whole system. My earlier analysis was too political and too little economic. I am discovering that when the fundamental analysis is economic, that goes a long way toward explaining the politics.

This goes hand in glove with another sort of analysis foreign to most liberals in the sixties. J. Anthony Lukas, reviewing a book on selective service: "America's dirty little secret is not sex. It is not power. Nor is it success. America's dirty little secret is class. It remains a secret even to some of its most cruelly treated victims." (*New York Times Book Review*, 6/11/78)

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## by Robert McAfee Brown

5. *The escalation of moral numbness demands the escalation of moral protest.* As yesterday's unthinkable act became tomorrow's acceptable practice, more radical protest was called for. For many of us, the big step was over the line of lawful protest into non-violent civil disobedience. At the time it was a huge step; in retrospect, one wonders why it did not come sooner.

6. *Further probing of #5: As a technique, non-violence can be useful; as an ideology it can be dangerous.* Non-violence helped to make an important point in the '60s in relation both to civil rights and Vietnam: to be against violence to blacks but to engage in violence on behalf of blacks, or to be against violence in Vietnam but to engage in violence at home, was a surefire recipe for fuzzing the issues. Consistency between what we were doing and what we were urging others to do at least gave clear messages.

The unquestioned success of non-violence in certain situations in the '60s, however, often suggested that it could be successful in all other situations. Proposals to urge non-violence on all third world peoples or on all minority groups at home, could sometimes be irresponsible. White ministers arrested in non-violent demonstrations might not be worked over in jail; black workers surely would. Corollary: No one can propose that someone else become a martyr.

7. *You are called upon to be who you are where you are, not to be somebody else somewhere else.* Dan Berrigan and Bill Coffin and Jane Fonda are signs but not necessarily models. Inadmissible attitude: Everybody to the left of me is rash, everybody to the right of me is chicken.

Rabbi Zushya, contemplating death: "When I approach the divine throne I will not be asked, "Why were you not Moses?" but only, "Why were you not Zushya?"

The final word, however, goes: Ideologically, you had better be somewhere else tomorrow than where you are today.

8. *The maintenance of credibility is difficult but worth struggling for. It can also be a cop-out.* If you want to be heard by the middle class, wear a tie and keep your hair cut. Do not give people the chance to dismiss you for the wrong reasons. But in doing so, remember that you will be tempted

so to temper your habits and speech that no offense will be given and no message of any importance will be heard.

9. *A variant on #8: Cultivate wall-eyed vision.* Keep one eye firmly fixed on tomorrow, the other on the long future.

Variant on the variant: Don't wait until all the facts are in before you act. The facts are never all in.

10. *The worst things our government does in foreign policy are not deviations from an otherwise good policy: they are only examples of a bad policy.* Handy shorthand version of that policy: "If we can do it without bombs we will, but if we cannot, then bombs will do." Therefore:

11. *Learn to distrust almost everything a public official says, even about motherhood,* (though you may believe what Chuck Colson says about grandmothers). Those who struggled in the '60s could all wear buttons with the letters "DBW" (Disillusioned Before Watergate). Johnson and Nixon consistently lied to us. So, probably did JFK. On foreign policy, Carter sounds more and more like them all.

12. *Corollary of #11: Don't trust the "experts"; they usually disagree among themselves:* A great moment of truth: the initial hearings of the Fulbright Committee after the Gulf of Tonkin incident, when the southeast Asia "experts" cited by the Committee turned out to have a totally different reading than the southeast Asia "experts" cited by the White House.

13. *A further corollary of #11: Be more willing to trust the young.* In the sixties they even radicalized their parents. Translation for the 1980s: Be more willing to trust the hurting. Minorities, women, and the unemployed have a stake in a better world for all. They might even radicalize us.

14. *A pair of paradoxes. First paradox: don't overestimate victories, but don't underestimate them either. Second paradox: don't underestimate defeats, but don't overestimate them either.* Even the victories may be instances of co-optation; a battle won in the courts may only have been possible because you were from the middle class; a black or a Chicano would have lost.

But cherish the victories. Never agree that the '60s went down the drain, or that the protest was for naught. Public sentiment did turn against the war. Millions were

conscienticized. At least a thousand will never be the same again.

The system appears to have emerged basically unscathed. But it only appears so. It is creaking. It cannot stem inflation. It cannot cope with minority needs. It cannot tolerate full employment. Things will clearly get a lot worse before they can get any better. Precisely the definition of a revolutionary situation.

15. *Don't try to go it alone. You will begin to believe the things they are saying about you.* You will also become a candidate for early "burnout." To have some kind of community is an absolute necessity. Remember that the community will give you more than you give it, and that your family will pay a heavier price than you for what you do, no matter what happens. A community in the here and now is important, a community with linkages to the past is equally so. To press the point all the way, you need to recognize that your final accountability is not even to your community but only to God. Personal confession, or, an appropriate note on which to end: the thing that got me through the '60s was Luther's hymn, *A Mighty Fortress*:

*And though this world with devils  
filled  
Should threaten to undo us,  
We will not fear, for God has willed  
God's truth to triumph through us  
Let goods and kindred go,  
This mortal life also,  
The body they may kill,  
God's truth abideth still,  
God's kingdom is forever.* ■

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### Study Manual Available

Robert McAfee Brown's article is reprinted with permission from *Is Liberation Theology for North America? The Response of First World Churches*, a 160-page study manual of addresses at a 1978 Theology in the Americas Workshop. Selections also include addresses by James Cone, Vine Deloria, Jr., Rosemary Ruether, Gustavo Gutierrez, Beverly Harrison, Sergio Torres, Lee Cormie, Marie Augusta Neal, and Jim Wallis.

Each address is followed by discussion questions and bibliography. Available for \$5 from Secretariat, Theology in the Americas, Room 1268, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

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## Next: Christian

Recently I received (unsolicited) the newsletter from a local charismatic group. Among other things, the editors asked the readers to supply the names of "born-again, spirit-filled Christian" doctors, lawyers, and other professionals, the rationale for this request being that it is hard for born-again spirit-filled Christians to rely in time of need on professionals who have not had such conversion experiences. That section of the newsletter concluded by asking, "Does anyone know of a Christian used car dealer?"

Leaving aside the humor occasioned by the concluding request, the newsletter—and others like it—are worthy objects of concern and attention. It is obvious that a religious revival of some variety is sweeping the country. Even *Time* magazine has covered it. The generally blasé *Episcopalian* declared recently "Charismatic or Dead in 10 Years" as its leading headline. And campus chaplaincies, long familiar with the previously small numbers of students evangelizing under the auspices of Campus Crusade for Christ and other groups, are now faced with growing legions of born-again, spirit-filled students seeking souls for groups deliberately outside "traditional" chaplaincies.

The resurgence of revivalism inside and outside the institutional church brings to mind some crucial issues in the life of the church. The historical, sociological, and theological approaches of the current revival are problematic for those who are to greater or lesser extent unimpressed with such fervor. The problems are significant not only for what they say about the revivalists of whatever type, but also what they may challenge the more staid to say about themselves.

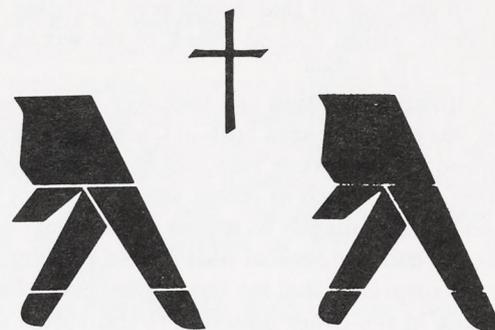
One feature of many charismatic, evangelical, and spiritual renewal groups within the revival movement is their lack of historical analysis. A frequent claim is that God is doing a new thing in our day in filling souls with a new infusion of the Holy Spirit. This claim is surprising coming from tradition-minded Episcopalians, let alone from adherents of evangelical and charismatic denominations of long standing. Nor is it only the revivalists who so conveniently ignore their church history. Theological liberals exclaim in dismay at the crisis for the institution

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# Yellow Pages?

by Ellen Wondra



occasioned by the latest onslaught of conversions in the midst of the faithful. It was ever thus. Even the most cursory review of U.S. church history cannot fail to notice such periods as the Great Awakening, the Second Awakening, the frontier revivals, and the various sectarian impulses occurring with almost predictable regularity at 30 to 50 year intervals in the more than 300 years of Christianity's presence in the United States. As historian Perry Miller has pointed out, the incidence of religious enthusiasm is a "crisis" so continuous as to be a chronic state of affairs. Yet the resurgence of revivalism and sectarianism takes us by surprise every time, despite the essentially sectarian nature of U.S. religion and the reliance of Christianity in general on personal religious experience, including conversion.

Part of what is lacking within both the revival movement and within the institutional churches responding to it is an awareness of the similarities between the current revival and the many which have preceded it. Most obvious is the great variety of groups within the revival movements, ranging from some characterized by emotional excess to others essentially sober and restrained. Also various is the aspect of God's will for creation the many groups claim to be following. While some seek participation with "traditional" churches, others emphasize recruiting those with no religious affiliation, evangelizing on streets, in front of auditoriums, and in other public gathering places. The common threads connecting the elements of the many revival groups — and distinguishing them from most of the institutional churches — are their emphases on individual personal religious experience, salvation, and transformation, and also on personal evangelism of a fairly assertive and direct nature. Also common is the presence of a critique of the contemporary institutional church as having departed from the model of primitive Christianity, and in like vein an exaltation of revivalism as being more reflective of the earliest church as well as more discerning of the current work of the Holy Spirit.

Beyond that it is difficult to characterize any single revival movement, although historical parallels of segments of each are evident. In each period of revivalism some groups are millennialist, some socially conservative, some isolationist. Some rely solely on personal conversion and commitment, while others include social reform as necessary to support

the converted life. Some seek to renew the life of the denomination that gave them birth; others are eager to separate from any previously existing church.

And though many deny it, all find their genesis not only in the movement of the Holy Spirit, but also in the movement of the human society around them. Notably lacking in the present revival is the very social analysis which could inform these groups of the nature and breadth of their own appeal. As the revival of the mid-Nineteenth Century arose from the problems presented by immigration, urbanization, and industrialization, so does the present climate of alienation, powerlessness, and apathy give rise to the spiritual examination and need which may lead to conversion.

But where some Nineteenth Century evangelists responded to a chaotic social situation with the two contrasting yet complementary remedies of individual and social renewal, the majority of groups in the current revival view today's social evils not as worthy subjects of spiritually-based remedy, but as adequate rationale for individualistic evangelism that seeks not the renewal of the world but the removal of newly-converted souls from its grasp. A more societally-oriented evangelism may develop as the movement matures.

However, it is worth remembering that revivalism centers in the soul-shaking, emotion-stirring experience of conversion, the power — if not effect — of which fades in time. The Great Awakening spanned six years, although its effects are still with us. The current revival may or may not last as long; its effects are not as likely to be as pervasive if its adherents continue to ignore the society whose inadequacies have in part produced it.

The ability of the current revival to include social aspects along with its individualist emphasis is hampered by its theology, of which the ark is a worthy symbol. Revivalists — and particularly the more socially and theologically conservative among them — see the faith they profess as an ark, like Noah's, in the midst of the chaotic sea of unbelief,

onto which many souls ought to be pulled. Such a view is in sharp contrast to that which sees Christian faith as leaven working within and on behalf of the world, a view held by the socially active.

Christian tradition and theology, from the apostles' time on, has of course seen faith in Christ as both ark and leaven, although at times one view may be more widely held than the other. The church in recent years may very well have seen itself predominantly as leaven in the midst of the lump of a society badly in need of wide spread redemption. Perhaps it is not surprising that the theological pendulum has for some swung in the other direction to individual salvation as an escape from the afflicted social order. But if, as some claim, the church must be "charismatic or dead in ten years," the prospect is alarming, for then the balance between ark and leaven is lost. Both are important, and without both the power of the Gospel at its fullest is diminished.

It may be true that the church has, in recent years, been more attentive to the world around it than to its members, but its attention has not after all been all that radical, and the vast majority of the faithful do spend the vast majority of their time not in prayerful consideration of the will of God but in worldly activity. A recent Lutheran survey shows quite tellingly that drops in church membership cannot be traced either to ecclesial demands for social awareness, or to ecclesial neglect of social matters. It is therefore inaccurate to pinpoint ecclesial social action as an important precursor to the current revival movement. Rather, general malaise, anxiety, and insecurity across the breadth of American society is a much more likely germinating ground for increased interest in withdrawal from the world as indicated by much of the anti-world sentiment typical of many revival groups. Of these sentiments, the notion of a "Christian Yellow Pages" is highly symbolic.

It may, indeed, be difficult for born-again, spirit-filled Christians to rely in time of need on those not falling into that category. But if that is the case, a crucial weakness in theology and faith is blatantly evident. As Archbishop William Temple observed, to be a Christian is to be a missionary. No evangelical slouch himself, "the people's Archbishop" saw clearly that the duty of the Christian is not to withdraw with others of like experience except for sustenance and nurturing. Once one is confirmed in one's own faith, the outcome ought to be to enable others to meet God, and part of how that is done — and a large part at that — is to bring the world ever more in line with the vision of the Kingdom of God as potentially present in the world.

The public ministry of Jesus the Christ was principally one of healing, spiritual and physical, as an indication of the immediate and pressing presence of God among us. The love of God is for the world as much as for individual faithful

persons. Certainly the knowledge of this love is spread through personal evangelism. It is also spread, and perhaps more effectively, by direct efforts to transform the world into a more transparently loving and Godlike arena for human life.

As some Nineteenth Century evangelicals knew, it is hard for the converted to maintain an active, renewed faith in an environment inimical to meaningful human life. For Christians to devote themselves to rescuing others from the inimical environment and not attempt to change that environment ignores the will of God that the entirety of creation be transformed and saved.

But the lack of world-attentiveness evidenced by revivalists is not sufficient reason to brush them aside altogether, serious as that lack is. Observers of the revival movement note, with some sorrow, the warmth and fellowship of revived and renewed communities, qualities found in lesser degrees in many more institutionally-oriented congregations. Such qualities speak positively of the transformation of lives brought about by intensified faith experiences.

The challenge facing those not involved in revivalism is that of acknowledging the ability of revivalists to encourage renewed faith, and to develop appropriate ways of revitalizing the commitments of the faithful. Without strong and active commitment on the part of individual persons of faith, the church is unable to show forth the transforming light of the Gospel in the world, even as it is if the faithful see the world as redeemable only individual by individual.

Further, both revivalists and "traditional" church people must acknowledge the constant need to reexamine the relationship between church, world, and individual. Human needs change, as does human experience. Not all expressed or felt needs automatically ought to be filled by the church or by religion. While the church as institution generally lags in its response to the material and spiritual world in which it moves, revivalists all too often depend on simplistic and often fragile theologies to assure the needy of the presence of God. Surely there is a balanced approach. But finding it requires that revivalists not see their experience as qualitatively more valuable than that of those who see their baptism as rebirth.

And those who find such sentiments excessive to say the least must set aside some of their aversions in order to understand the hunger for God that makes widespread revivalism a reality. The middle way need not be the lowest common denominator. In the past, American Christianity has been able to incorporate the best of revivalism and let the rest die out until the next resurgence. God willing, and spirit-filled used car dealers aside, this round will be no exception. ■

*Continued from page 9*

about the periodic incidence nationwide of poor mothers, hospitalized for other reasons, who have found themselves sterilized without their consent? How about the post-13 legislative decision in California to deny full cost of living raises to blind, elderly and disabled welfare recipients, and to deny any raise whatever to AFDC welfare mothers? Or the California legislative decision to deny state-paid abortions to poor mothers? Do they not sound like some of the “racial health” legislation of Nazi Germany? And how about the slowing up of Affirmative Action progress, as seen in the Bakke Supreme Court decision?

These and other trends over the last decade have caused several prominent observers and studies to conclude that this nation is well on the way to the creation of a permanent underclass, whose members live out their lives from childhood to death, devoid of any meaning, hope, or purpose.

#### **Intent vs. Effect**

Of course, in making any comparison between the Jewish Holocaust and the progressive isolation of the poor in this country, one must distinguish between the *intention* and the *effect* in each case. In Germany in the 1930s and '40s, both the intention and the effect was to exterminate the Jews. In our time and place, there is no direct *intention* on a national scale to exterminate the poor. *But one must look at the trend of the effect.*

And here, evidence tends to show that the poor are being progressively isolated. One of these criteria is unemployment. Not only do we tolerate a persistently higher rate than in former years, but the government is also now revising the way in which unemployment data are measured, so that the picture will not look so disturbing. Secondly, studies of the distribution of wealth in America show that people at the low end of the income scale are losing ground. A recent study by Douglas Dowd shows up the myth that “a rising tide lifts all the boats.” In 1910 the top fifth of the population on the economic scale received 46% of the national income, while the bottom fifth wound up with slightly more than 8%. Only five years ago the top fifth was still getting more than 40%, while the bottom fifth’s share had fallen to slightly above 5%.

Finally, who can deny that the spreading tax revolt fever nationally is resulting in bigger-then-ever corporate and capital gains tax breaks and drives to reduce income taxes at state and national levels, while the aforementioned cuts in welfare and public health are biting deeper and deeper into the poor?

The *effect*, then, in our situation indicates that an isolation of the poor and powerless of this nation has been

occurring for some time, and that in the closing years of this decade, it is rapidly accelerating. In the rightward, fearful mood we find ourselves in, who can predict what would happen if an artful demagogue should appear on the scene? What if the unemployed and the “welfare bums” in coming years suddenly decide to protest their plight? To what extent might an aroused middle class America willingly follow a demagogue who ordered them transported en masse to concentration camps in Arizona or Nevada, and, say, sterilized — or worse?

The record of the way the churches in Germany reacted as the Nazi vengeance increased is instructive. Writes one commentator: “The ‘confessing church’ did not dispute the right of the state to enforce a system of total discrimination against the Jews in secular life . . . *partly because it feared for its own safety* (italics mine) and partly because of the widespread belief that there *was* a ‘Jewish problem’ which required some action.” Another observer notes that it was the conservative, fundamentalist churches of Germany who were the most anti-Jewish and who sided most patriotically with the Nazi regime while pretending to observe the separation of church and state.

Does this sound familiar when applied to mainstream and fundamentalist American Christendom today in their failure to be champions of the very poor and outcast for whom their Master was nailed to a cross?

#### **Niemoller Prophetic**

The words of Martin Niemoller, the courageous German Lutheran pastor who, along with Dietrich Bonhoeffer and a few others, spoke against what was happening in Hitler’s Germany, are worth quoting.

“In 1933 and the following years there were in Germany 14,000 Protestant clergy and nearly as many parishes. If we had then recognized that in the Communists who were thrown into concentration camps, the Lord Jesus Christ himself lay imprisoned and looked for our love and help, if we had seen that at the beginning of the persecution of the Jews it was the Lord Christ in the person of the least of our human brethren who was being persecuted and beaten and killed, if we had stood by him and identified ourselves with him, I do not know whether God would not then have stood by us and whether the whole thing would not then have had to take a different course.”

Do we dare in our own time, to look at the poor around us and far beyond these shores who are held in shackles by an oppressive system, and see the Lord Jesus? And do we dare join him, knowing that in that union is our only salvation, and — who knows — perhaps the avoidance of another Holocaust?

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# Meditation on Youngstown

by William A. Hughes

Religious leaders from all over the nation met recently to study proposals for the re-opening of the "runaway" Campbell Works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube. One of the speakers at the convocation was the Most Rev. William A. Hughes, Auxiliary Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Youngstown. In his remarks, Bishop Hughes touched upon fundamental religious principles relevant far beyond the Mahoning Valley crisis, which was the occasion for these remarks.

Both the old and the new dispensations are united in the fact that religious people care about their brothers and sisters. The words of the prophet Isaiah remain clear: "Cease to do evil, learn to do good, search for justice, help the oppressed."

And how often have we both in the old and the new dispensations sung the words of Psalm 103: "Yahweh, who does what is right, is always on the side of the oppressed."

In the new dispensation Jesus very clearly identifies himself with the poor and the victims of injustice when he makes as a criterion for judgment, "Whatever you do to one of these, the least of my brethren, you do to me." And who can forget that startling day in the synagogue when he brought both the old and the new dispensations together. Picking up the scrolls, he read from the prophet Isaiah: "He has sent me to bring glad tidings to the poor, to proclaim liberty to captives, recovery of sight to the blind, release to prisoners, and to announce the year of faith in the Lord." Rolling up the scroll, he gave it back to the assistant and sat down. All in the synagogue had their eyes fixed on him

and he began by affirming it and saying, "Today this scripture passage is fulfilled in your hearing."

It was this basic concern for people that motivated the formulation of the ecumenical coalition in the Mahoning Valley. The decision to close the large portion of the Campbell Works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube was done without consultation, without warning, and with little concern for the families who would be affected by it. It was this insensitivity to the needs of human beings that caused the moral response among those who believed in the basic principle of the Judeo-Christian ethic that we do care about one another.

Over 200 clergy of this area signed a statement that reflected our concern approximately one year ago. Our religious motivation was the key to this statement, where we said together that we enter this complex and controversial situation out of the concern for the victims of this shutdown, out of love for our valley in this time of crisis, and out of the conviction that religious faith provides essential insights about our problems and possibly our remedies.

Our Judeo-Christian tradition insists

that economic life should reflect the values of justice and respect for human dignity. Economic institutions, although they have their own purposes and methods, still must serve the common good and be subject to moral judgment. Corporations have a social responsibility to their employees and to the community as well as a responsibility to shareholders. We signed in that statement this sentence: "We deplore not only the decision to close the steel mill but also the manner in which that decision was made, the way it was implemented and the pattern of neglect which led to it."

Throughout the year, the coalition has continued to spread the message throughout the country of the moral responsibility of company to workers. But it has not only spread the message; it has become involved in studying methods whereby the Campbell Works could be reopened, workers reemployed, and the quality of life available to former workers of the plant restored. For those of us engaged in the work of the coalition, this has been a year of learning, a year of clarifying our goals and hopes.

We continue to maintain that it is possible to save these jobs. It is possible for a government that cares to provide the help that is needed. It is possible for all of us to work together so that this kind of decision will not happen again here, or in any community across the nation. It was not by accident that those words from Isaiah were chosen this evening. Those words of love and justice that are framed in compassion but accentuated in action, speaking of release for captives, sight for the blind, good news for the poor, setting free the oppressed. He speaks of *recovery* of sight to the blind, not just of red and white canes and leader dogs. He declares *setting free* the oppressed persons, not just making their lives bearable by easing the pain temporarily.

And so this ecumenical coalition has sought to be the incarnate expression of the old and the new dispensations, showing concern for persons in their circumstances, but attacking those conditions of society — oppression, captivity, sightlessness, lack of involvement — that dehumanize persons, making them less than what God called them to be. Good news to the poor is not simply work and bread today and unemployment and hunger tomorrow; participation in decisions that affect their lives now but manipulation tomorrow. Addressing the basic social and economic conditions that inhibit corporate responsibility,

### This is Communism?

Edgar Speer, chairman of U.S. Steel, spoke recently about the Ecumenical Coalition of the Mahoning Valley, the group attempting to reopen a steel mill and reemploy 5,000 jobless workers around a community ownership and management model.

His speech, before the Chamber of Commerce in McKeesport, Pa., included the following statement: "The whole concept of community owned facilities is the same as Communism — particularly where the profit of a facility will go for the social benefit of the people. This is Communism."

self-determination of people, and the opportunity for work rather than welfare, is what this coalition is all about.

*Love and justice* can be words spoken easily and rendered meaningless or they can permeate the very fabric of humankind — social and economic conditions. Believers strive to improve the latter because they care about their brothers and sisters.

*Let us pray.* Dear God, cities are for needs and wants that cannot be met in isolation. Have we expected too much and put in too little? Stir us to renew our cities as you renew the earth each spring. That families may have decent living space, the poor may have hopes fulfilled, the sick and the aged may be treated as persons, that gainful employment may be open to all, and meaningful life be not a dream but a reality. Teach us to cooperate rather than to compete, to respect rather than to revile, to forgive rather than condemn. May we be open to the share of the divine life that you have implanted in each of your sons and daughters. And please, may we forge a bond of love that will make a living reality the brotherhood and sisterhood which we profess. ■

## Peoples' History



February 14, 1977

Maria Cueto & Raisa Nemikkin refuse to testify to a grand jury investigating the Puerto Rico independence movement.

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Editorial continued from page 3

that vast empire.

The clergy, we like to think, enjoy a privileged exemption from this servitude. They serve only the Lord — unless, of course, they have insurance, or shop at a supermarket, or drive an automobile, or use a bank, or reflect on the stocks in which their church's resources are invested! The whole structure of the society in which we live is a hostage to the principalities and powers of this world, and we have to do our work and live our lives next to people who say: "We have no god but the market," or, "We have to go along with company policy," or, "You can't fight city hall."

Well, that's the way it is. Or is it? That is the way it was long ago in the land of Egypt. But it didn't stay that way. Someone preached some good news. And that good news was: Yahweh knows this is the way it is. But Yahweh doesn't *like* it the way it is. And it is going to be different. Pharaoh, let my people go!

Now, Pharaoh did not immediately agree. The plagues came because he kept postponing agreement. Perhaps he just wanted to be *sure* that Yahweh wanted his people released. Or that the people *wanted* to be released. But finally, satisfied on both counts, he let them go. Well, in a way, he let them go. The good news made a difference. And that was what made possible the Exodus.

Centuries later, in Caesar's time, people also said: "Well, that's the way it is. Caesar holds the sceptre and all the cards. You can't lick them, so join them."

But it didn't stay that way. Someone preached the good news. And the good news was: God knows this is the way it is. But God doesn't *like* it the way it is. And it's going to be different! Caesar, your empire is going to decline and fall. My people will be free to come out of the catacombs, out of the prisons, and rebuild the face of this world.

Caesar didn't really hear these words himself. But history heard them. And God's people heard them. And as the empire crumbled, they rebuilt the world.

But the barbarians who battered the empire ushered in an age of darkness. Feudalism developed, to salvage the semblance of order. Then came a renaissance of learning and understanding, then the rise of modern states, the development of colonialism, capitalism, modern imperialism, and the new empires of corporate conglomerates — which surpass even Pharaoh and Caesar in power. And that power holds millions of

people hostage to poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and hopelessness.

And this is the way it is. And God knows that this is the way it is. But God doesn't *like* it the way it is. And it's going to be different . . .

As in the past, so in our time, there is a need to preach this good news. And the first, beginning press dispatches of that news are released here, there, wherever people remember who they are, and which side they are on. ■

## SARAI (Genesis 18:11)

All my useless seasons  
humiliating years  
moons of pain and blood  
for nothing

Hagar's jeers  
and Abram's sweet tolerance,  
disappointment, half-hidden tears  
loving that brought nothing

and waiting, and waiting  
for the nothingness to go away.

And now some god stands outside our tent  
talking only with Abraham, promising *him*,  
after the fact of the covenant,  
an heir.

I was to wait,  
while my breasts despaired of milk,  
my limbs lost the strength to  
chase and play  
with a laughing child  
and my back was too bent to bear him up

til that child was convenient  
as an adjunct to the bargain.

I did not want nations, or perpetuity  
I have lived out my life without that small love  
disowned as a sister, the wandering pawn

of a god who won't speak to my face.

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*Letters continued from page 2*

must once and for all give up our sexual control over each other. Perhaps if the family could set a model for this there might be hope.

**Doris Bradley, M.S.W.**  
Albany, Cal.

### Balderdash, Says She

I was appalled by the article by the Rev. John Snow in the October WITNESS. Surely we should love gays but not condone their immorality. Evidently Mr. Snow has revised the 10 commandments! Balderdash!

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utilities in his house. There is no screen on his windows, no insulation on his single wall, no brick in his water closet tank for the two-holer out back has no water closet.

Yessir, have a heart I do, for the deprived of the cities. At least there are attempts to help them. But where is the hope for the red neck, the coal miner, the river rat?

**The Rev. Reese M. Hutcheson**  
Fort Smith, Ark.

### Cluttering Mail

It is tragic, sickening and pathetic that you find it necessary to work so hard to overthrow Capitalism, which has made America the envy of the world, and try to

sell Socialism, which has caused Britain's downfall, and Communism, the cruelist form of government ever established, murdering uncounted millions, crushing and dominating more people and countries than any form of government ever has.

It is not possible, necessary or worthwhile to take up each phase of your study guide; it is too tedious and boring to wade through all the critical, negative attacks. But I'd like to point out that in your "Personal Impressions" the experiences related are as false, untrue and childish as to be ridiculous. They

technological solutions for societal problems. Here is where the research is done and decisions are made which effect our whole human future. Ministry in higher education is an integral and vital mission of the church and we need more, not less, of the expertise and Christian witness which Crocker so ably brought to this portion of God's vineyard.

**The Rev. David Ames**  
Episcopal Ministry at Brown-RISD  
Providence, R.I.

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reflection and, I hope, some honest soul searching for our beloved Episcopal Church. John Crocker's article in the November issue is great, but we really miss him on the campus. As one who has been a chaplain for only eight years I hope that his "switching mentalities" will increase his effectiveness at "needling" the church to increase her financial support for ministry in higher education.

We need to be with people "at work" in the universities as he demonstrates so well in his article, and to do that effectively we must have the church — at parish, diocesan, and national levels — solidly with us understanding the struggle and tension of caring for people as prior to and more important than

We have found much comfort, great support, many new ideas and expansions of some old ones, and more than just a few agonizing moments from bringing THE WITNESS into our lives this past year. And we wish to continue into the new year.

**Lynn & Alan Taylor**  
Concord, Cal.

### CREDITS

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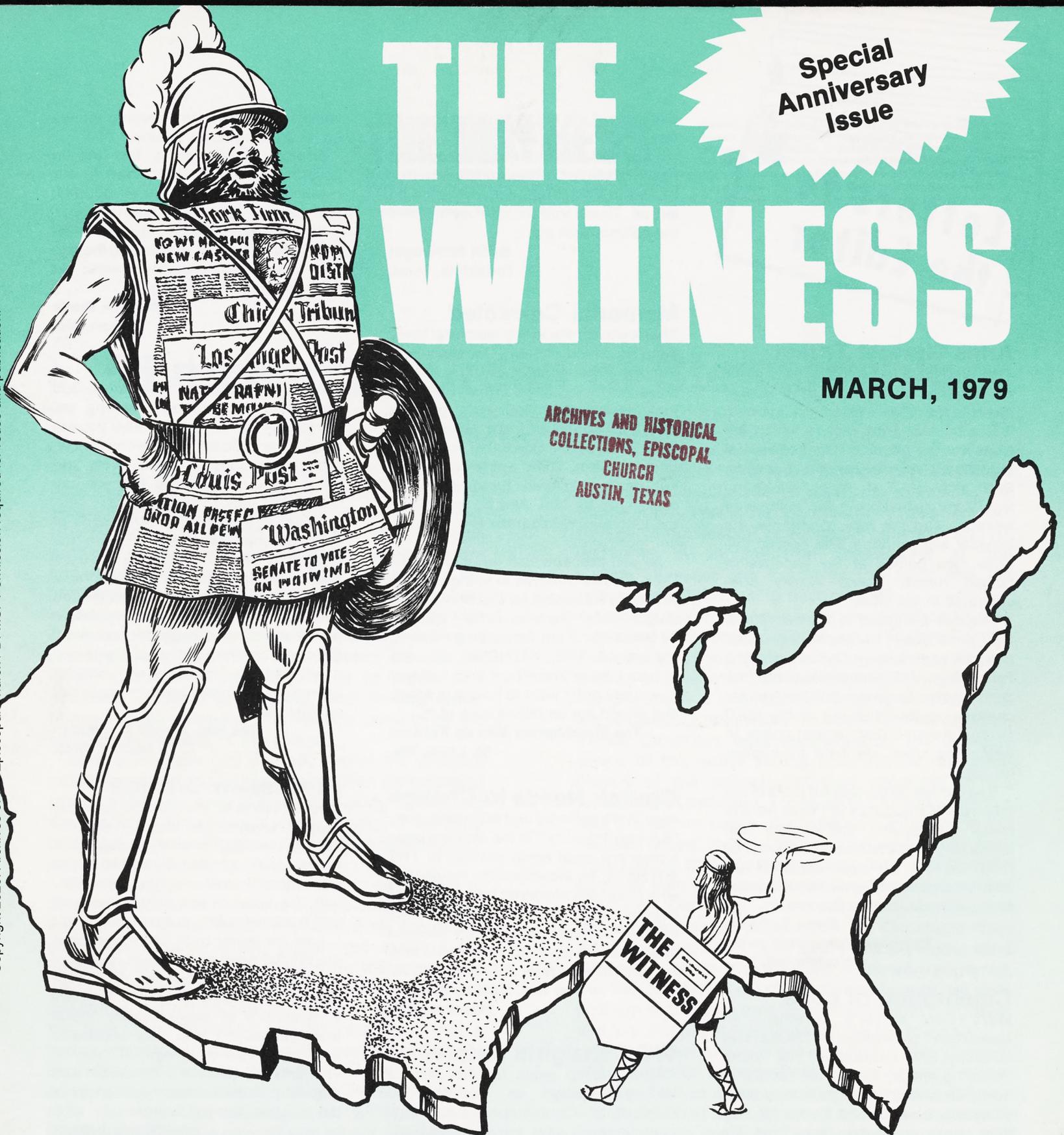
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# THE WITNESS

MARCH, 1979

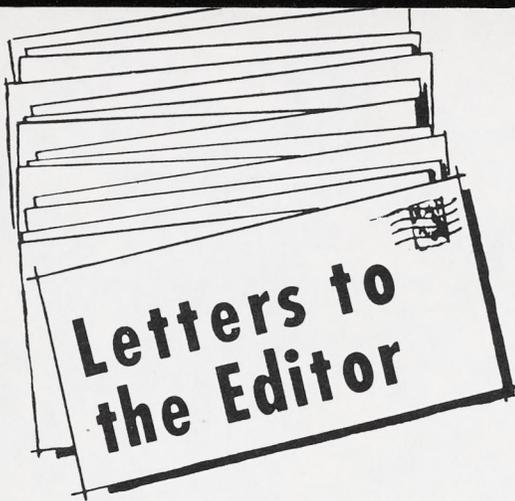
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**WITNESS vs. Media Monopolies** Ben H. Bagdikian

*... Plus ECPC Financial Disclosure: 60 Years of Social Mission*



## Arms Gravest Threat

THE WITNESS has frequent articles on the needs of the cities. But the gravest threat to the cities is seldom mentioned. It is a nuclear arms race in which the cities are the ultimate target of several thousand strategic nuclear weapons. Even with SALT II, there will be no significant reduction in the number of weapons and the race to improve the lethality will continue. The cost of this arms race comes at the expense of human needs, needs largely concentrated in the cities.

There is a witness to the insanity of this arms race to nuclear disaster. Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the denominational peace fellowships are challenging the madness of the MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction) policy, in which the cities are held as nuclear hostages.

It would not be too much if more of the followers of the Prince of Peace were to speak out against the insanity and immorality of this nuclear terrorism. The road we are on now leads to an international suicide every bit as insane as the mass suicide in Guyana.

**Dana S. Grubb**  
Episcopal Peace Fellowship  
Washington, D.C.

## Celebration of Love

Mary Lou Suhor's column, "In Memoriam," (November WITNESS) was touching and meaningful. Her friend "Rafe," perhaps, feared the futility of living. Most of us do from time to time, especially when we feel we are offering little. How could he know that his friendship with a journalist would one

day prompt his life to have meaning to thousands of others?

I am glad that she finally discovered how "Rafe" died. It was good to see that he was in a celebration of love when he left us. Thank you for sharing him and the column with me.

**Brian McNaught**  
Brookline, Mass.

## Memorial Corrected

Thank you for the lovely memorial to my beloved friend, "Rafe," in Mary Lou Suhor's November column. I should make two corrections to the notes she took during our hour-long grieving period by phone after she received the news of his death. One is that, incredible as it may seem, "Rafe" was taking 28 pills not once but *three times a day* as prescribed for him. And he was lost in the jungle in Vietnam for four *months*, not four days.

As you probably can guess, I am the "Mrs. Santini" referred to in the column, who once translated for Eisenhower and taught "Rafe" German. Since I am now 82 years old I am forwarding "Rafe's" picture to THE WITNESS and Ms. Suhor. I never know how long I will be here and I don't want to have it in hands that would not be taking care of it.

**The Marchioness Mila de Zucconi**  
St. Louis, Mo.

## Church Needs to Change

Alan Tull's splendid and articulate essay "Beyond Triviality," in the January issue makes me once again grateful to THE WITNESS. By incorporating the deplorable trivialities of church life into a larger context he has contributed significantly to the current debates on needed change in the Episcopal Church. I look forward to each issue of THE WITNESS.

**The Rev. Noel N. Sokoloff**  
Hanover, N.H.

## WOC Insights Helpful

Thank you so much for the January WITNESS report on the Women's Ordination Conference. As booth chairperson it gave me an insight into the many things I missed that weekend

while I was setting up, keeping an eye on, and taking down booths.

Georgia Fuller did a fine job in covering the WOC, right down to our restaurant meal. We were all pooped; took days to get back to normal.

I'm looking forward to your next issues. After I finish I'm donating them to the Women's Resource Center in Baltimore for others to use.

**Florence Bunja**  
Towson, Md.

## For Ministry to Gays

I am enclosing a gift, with thanks to God that there is a prophet among us. Somebody has to be doing what you are attempting to do for the church; namely, raising our consciousness levels and lifting up our foibles so that we can repent and seek Divine Charity!

Would you send us another copy of your October issue on "Gays in the Church: Is there a place?" You are to be heartily commended for your courage. As a pastoral counselor I cannot tell you what harm has been done to gay people by the mouthing of platitudes over them. Either we are the children of God or we aren't and it's high time we consider exercising a ministry to them instead of against them.

**The Rev. Arnold F. Moulton**  
Racine, Wisc.

## Permission Granted

I would like to share with you how very much I enjoyed the October issue of THE WITNESS. It is encouraging to know that other Christians are attempting to deal openly and honestly with the issue of sexuality, in general, and homosexuality, in particular.

I am the editor of *In Unity* magazine, the official news and opinion journal of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches. We have a readership of approximately 15,000 internationally. I was very impressed with the article by Gregor Pinney, "A Welcome to (Not) All Persons," and request permission from you to reprint the article in our publication.

**Donna J. Wade**  
Los Angeles, Cal.

# THE WITNESS

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## The Heavy Burden of Stewardship

Robert L. DeWitt

The story is told about a small village on the edge of a river. One day a villager, noticing a young child being swept down the river, managed to save the child. Shortly thereafter, another child was seen in the same predicament, and was rescued. As time went on, more and more children were pulled from the river. But the numbers increased and many drowned before they could be reached. The villagers, distressed by this continuing tragedy, organized rescue squads on a standby basis. Lookouts were posted around the clock. Committees were organized to handle the problems of feeding, clothing, and finding foster homes for the children. This mission came to be the consuming concern of the village.

After some time had passed, one of the villagers raised the question of where the children were coming from, and why so many of them were being thrown into the swirling, dangerous current. Finally, a scouting foray was organized to go upriver to determine the root cause of the tragedy . . .

The meaning behind this parable is significant to THE WITNESS. For the many decades of its life it has felt that our social ills arise chiefly from the unjust structures through which goods and services are produced and distributed, and from the insensitive political systems which are dependent upon those structures. It is not enough to rescue the children from the river. THE WITNESS has felt, therefore, that a caring church, and caring people, have an obligation to understand and alter those structures so that they serve as they were intended. It has insisted that this calls also for responsible actions, which must be related to and done in concert with others, in and out of the church, who share this concern.

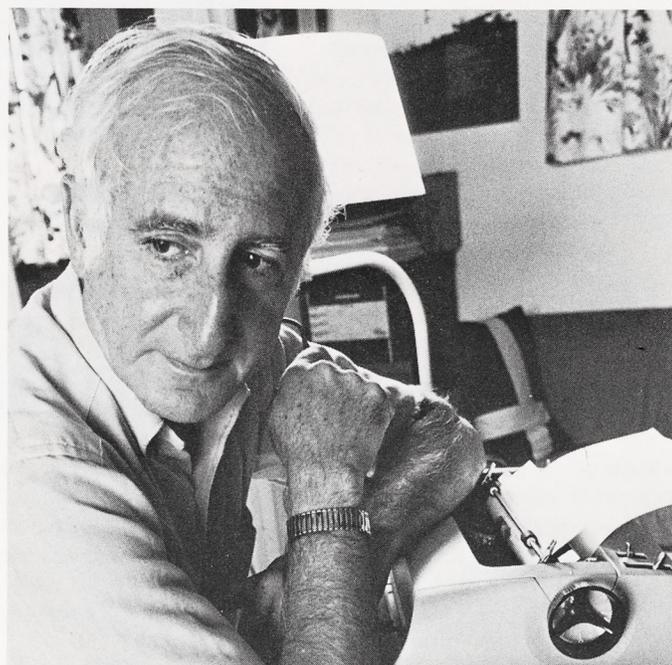
But this talk of "structures" sounds very much like a reference to capitalism, corporations, and stocks and bonds. Right. That is the only system we have here. But how can a publication as adequately financed as THE WITNESS by income from investments in "the system" bespeak the cause of the poor and the oppressed without being hypocritical?

Good question. And one which must be faced by any individual who benefits from an unjust system. For that matter, a question to be faced by any parish or diocese with an endowment. It is a question with a long history. For Christians, it goes back as far as "the saints which are in Caesar's household" to whom St. Paul referred. Those Christians were supported by the supreme power of this world at that time, Caesar, the arch-enemy of the gospel. Yet they belonged to the fellowship of believers. Those early Christians are in a way the patron saints of privileged Christians in the Western world today. Like us, that was where they were placed, that was their calling, their vocation. We can only wish we knew more of how they lived out that vocation. Did *they* offer sacrifices to Caesar? Recurrently under persecution as Christians then were, they walked a tight line. Probably some were subversive, some compromised, some were martyred. But the question they all faced was how could their position of privilege best be used to preach the gospel and live this life in the power of the life to come.

Even modest privilege carries with it a heavy burden of stewardship. In one of his novels, Arthur Koestler speaks of a man at the Last Judgment whose defense was that he had lived on bread and water in order to give all else to the poor. The condemnation was that

*Continued on page 22*

*Ben H. Bagdikian has been referred to by his peers as the "Joe DiMaggio of U.S. Journalism," a characterization more descriptive than his full credentials which appear elsewhere in this issue. In our 62nd anniversary year, THE WITNESS is proud to have this endorsement of what the magazine is trying to do as a David facing a Goliath of conglomerate-controlled media, and to have his accompanying analysis of contemporary U.S. media monopolies.*



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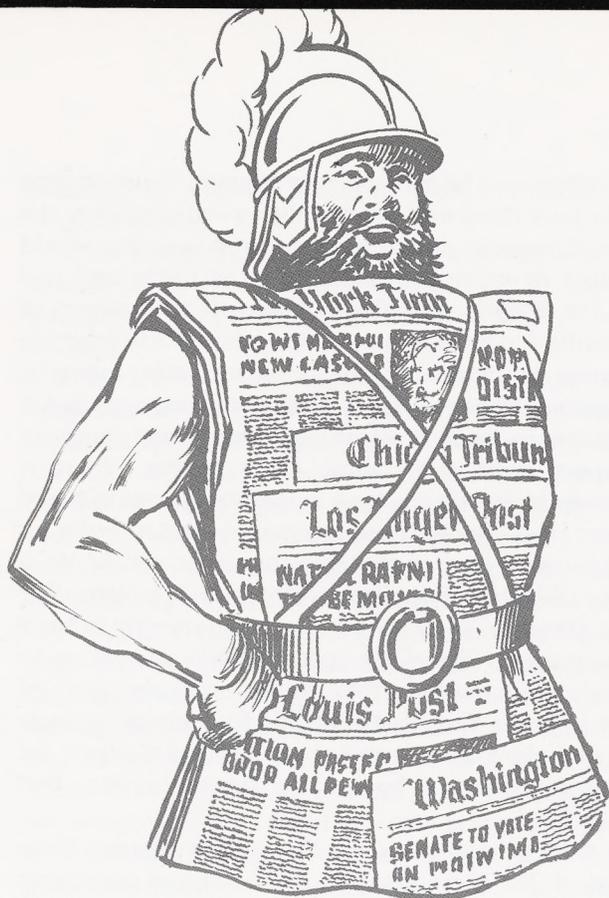
## THE WITNESS: A Carrier of Social Responsibility

There is ironic timing, not entirely accidental, to a flaw of contemporary publishing. The United States, along with most of the Western world, is stumbling toward a crisis of unresolved conflicts and unmet needs. Even more than normally, the public needs information and analyses that address these problems. It is through published knowledge and ideas originating with special groups that the most useful new concepts have always entered the body politic.

But it is precisely during this period that standard media like newspapers and periodicals have come under the control of large national and transnational corporations whose immediate goal is to become carriers of advertising for the affluent. Content, then, is not designed to meet fundamental needs of subscribers, but instead to capture the attention of potential consumers by elementary and superficial articles that will create a "buying mood" for largely marginal goods. The result is avoidance of intellectually stimulating or socially critical material. It is difficult to create between the covers of a single publication equal enthusiasm for ending poverty and for buying \$30,000 sports cars.

This reminds us of the crucial role played by smaller and less commercially oriented publications. Almost by definition, these papers and periodicals exist because they stimulate developing ideas and meet the particular intellectual and social interests of their audience. They become a vital antidote to the narcotic doses of establishmentarian blandness and commercialism. It is publications like THE WITNESS that carry on the honorable tradition of printing as carrier of social responsibility, enlarger of thinking and creator of vision.

— Ben H. Bagdikian



*Our sources of news are increasingly controlled  
by a few conglomerate corporations*

## The Media Monopolies

by Ben H. Bagdikian

If the trend toward concentration of control in the news media is alarming, as I think it is, and if doing something about it is locking the barn door before the horse is stolen, I'm afraid I am writing about an empty barn. All media with routine access to mass markets are already controlled by too few people. If we are serious about preserving maximum practical access to the marketplace of ideas and information, we ought to be deeply concerned.

The 50 largest broadcast chains already have three-quarters of the audience. The 50 largest cable television companies have two-thirds of all subscribers. The 50 largest newspaper chains have more than two-thirds of all daily newspaper sales — and this is particularly troubling because concentration of control of daily newspapers has unique effects on all information media.

Our daily newspapers are still the dominant source for all news in the United States. I wish it were otherwise. I wish NBC, CBS, and ABC each had bureaus in all medium-sized and large cities, that all local radio and television stations spent 10% of their revenues on origination of news, and that the daily harvest was not limited to a dozen items. We would all benefit if we had a number of truly independent and comprehensive sources of daily news. But we do not.

Most news in all media comes overwhelmingly from two wire services, United Press International and the Associated Press. But UPI and AP do not originate most of their news; they pick it up from their local clients and members, the daily newspapers around the country. When there is a

newspaper strike in New York City, not only the individual subscribers suffer: The national media — radio, television, *Time*, and *Newsweek* — originate a small amount of their own news but depend mainly on sitting down each morning and fearlessly reading *The New York Times*.

So when we talk about concentration of ownership of daily newspapers, we are talking about control of the only comprehensive and self-sufficient news system we have. There are more than 1,500 cities in the United States with daily papers, but only 40 with competing newspaper managements. Of all cities with newspapers, 97.5% have newspaper monopolies.

The business trend among newspapers runs parallel to the trend in other industries. For example, there used to be more than 200 makers of automobiles in this country, and now there are only four. But even with this drastic concentration in the automobile industry, General Motors still competes with Ford, which competes with Chrysler, which competes with American Motors, and they all compete with Datsun, Toyota, Volkswagen, and other imports. But in concentration of ownership in daily newspapers, there is no competition even among the consolidated giants.

The Gannett chain, which had 76 papers the last time I looked, does not compete with Lord Thomson's 56 papers or with Knight Ridder's 32 papers or with Samuel Newhouse's 30 papers. They are secure systems of local monopolies, effectively insulated from competition with each other. They are less like Ford and General Motors and

more like AT & T, with its local operating subsidiaries, each an established monopoly in its own region.

This consolidation of monopolies is not something over the horizon; it is an accomplished fact. There are 1,760 daily papers in the country — a number that has remained stable since World War II. Of these, 73% are owned by 170 corporations. And now these 170 corporations are consuming each other, with large chains buying small chains, so that control is gathering with disproportionate speed among the few at the top.

In 1950, 20% of all individual daily papers were owned by chains; by 1960, it was 31%; by 1970, 47%. Today it is 62%.

The same alarming concentration applies to total daily circulation. From 1950 to 1960, chain control of daily newspaper circulation remained at about 45%. But from 1960 to 1970, the percentage of papers sold each day owned by an absentee corporation rose from 46% to 61%. From 1970 to 1977, it went from 61% to its present 73%. So almost three-quarters of all newspapers sold every day in this country are owned by a chain.

Some daily papers are so small — less than 5,000 daily circulation — that their annual cash flow does not interest chains. For all practical purposes, there are 400 remaining independent daily papers with enough cash flow to interest outside corporations, and there are only 25 large chains that can effectively bid for them. Like beach-front property, independent daily papers are a disappearing commodity. So now big chains are buying small chains, multiplying the rate of concentration. Since 1960, the 25 largest newspaper corporations have increased their control of daily national circulation from 38% to 53%. Ten corporations now publish 37% of all newspapers sold daily in the United States.

### Using News to Make War

Newspapers have followed other industries in another form of concentration — the conglomerate. But as with chains, there is a qualitative difference in the social impact of media conglomerates as against companies that make plastics or musical instruments. If an ordinary conglomerate uses one of its companies to further the interests of another of its companies, it may be unfair competition but it is largely an economic matter. If a conglomerate uses its newspaper company to further the interests of another of its subsidiaries, that is dishonest news.

This subversion has happened in the past. William Randolph Hearst used his newspapers, magazines, and movie companies to urge us to declare war on Mexico to protect his mines in that country. The DuPonts owned, until recently, the major papers in Delaware, and used those papers to promote the financial and political interests of the

parent company. The heirs of Jesse Jones in Houston used to do the same thing with their wholly owned subsidiary, the *Houston Chronicle*, ordering it not to run news that would discomfort its other properties, such as banks and real estate. The Florida East Coast Railroad owns papers in Jacksonville and has a history of using the news to promote or suppress information to suit the owners' other interests.

The growth of non-news investment in newspapers is not troublesome in itself; most original investment money in newspapers came from some other source. What is bothersome is that these are no longer single units in which the owner is locally based and recognized. And with chains, when contamination of the news occurs it can be on a massive scale. Atlantic Richfield recently bought *The London Observer*. Mobil Oil says it is in the market to buy a daily newspaper. We might judge Mobil's dedication to independent journalism from its recent withdrawal of support from the Bagehot Fellowship for training business writers at Columbia University because the director of the program once wrote a book about the oil industry that Mobil disliked.

Blue Chip stamps now owns the *Buffalo Evening News* and 10% of *The Washington Post*. The biggest newspaper conglomerate, the Times-Mirror Corp., owner of the *Los Angeles Times*, also owns companies that publish most of the telephone directories in the West, produce maps for oil companies, and operate large agricultural and timber lands — all industries that are continuing issues in the news.

### Dominating National News

Some conglomerates seem to be focused on domination of national news. The Washington Post Company, in addition to its stable of newspapers, television and radio stations, owns *Newsweek* magazine. Time, Inc., another large publishing conglomerate, recently moved to match *The Post's* position astride news out of the Government by purchasing the only other Washington paper, *The Star*.

Finally, there is growing vertical control of information and cross-media ownership, not just between newspapers and broadcast stations, but among magazine and book publishers. RCA, for example, owns NBC and therefore has a lively interest in promoting books or magazine pieces that might make good television programming. A magazine article that leads to a book that leads to a TV series is considered ideal. So RCA also owns Random House book publishers and such subsidiaries as Ballantine Books, Alfred Knopf, Pantheon, Vintage, and Modern Library. CBS owns Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, *Field & Stream* magazine, *Road & Track*, *World Tennis*, and *Cycle World*, plus the former Fawcett magazines. ABC has a big stake in the religious movement, since it owns Word, Inc., a major

producer of religious literature. And, of course, it owns Howard Cosell.

Music Corporation of America, in addition to large-scale control of entertainment, owns the G.P. Putnam book publishing firm, Paramount Pictures, and *New Times* magazine.

Concentration of ownership and acquisition by conglomerates sometimes happen in the business world when independent units begin to lose money and are, therefore, tempted to consolidate for survival. The opposite applies to newspapers: Chains are growing because individual newspapers and newspaper chains are making so much money that it is profitable to pay even exorbitant prices to buy up the few remaining independent entities.

Newspaper economics has always been a trade secret, but since 1963 major newspaper companies have begun to sell their stock to the public, and therefore must disclose their finances in accordance with requirements of the Securities and Exchange Commission. We know from brokers and others in the trade that the profits of publicly traded papers are comparable to those of privately held papers. Available data indicate that the newspaper industry is one of the most profitable: In 1976 — not a banner year for the economy — the publicly traded newspaper companies, which collectively control 25% of all daily circulation, had pre-tax profit margins of 19.4%, after-tax profits of 10%, average return on stockholders' equity of 16%, and return on invested capital of 14%.

A journalist might rejoice at such fat figures. A logical assumption would be that the more money a newspaper makes and the better its chances of survival, the more it will invest in the paper and the community that provides its earnings. But the tendency is the opposite: The more money a paper makes, the more likely it is to attract a takeover or, if it is already in a chain, to use the profits to purchase other properties.

My own impression is that most papers were mediocre before they were bought by chains and remain mediocre after they are bought. With few exceptions, chain operators like to buy medium-sized monopoly newspapers which require them to spend a minimum on the news. Newspapers are a multiple-appeal product — sports, stock reports, comics, news, fashions, supermarket prices, television listings — so it is usually not clear why people buy papers. Many publishers who issue daily junk as news find it easy to believe they are geniuses — but genius in publishing a daily paper consists of having a monopoly in a growing market.

No distinguished newspaper was ever created by a chain. I doubt that *The New York Times* would have been created by Adolph Ochs if the *Times* had been a wholly owned subsidiary of a Texas cement company. Or *The Washington*

## Ten Largest Newspaper Chains

Ranked in order of each chain's combined daily circulation (top bar) and showing total number of daily newspapers in each chain (bottom bar)

**Knight-Ridder** 3,945,615 circulation  
**Newspapers** 32 newspapers

**Newhouse** 3,225,946 circulation  
**Newspapers** 29 newspapers

**Tribune Company** 3,111,729 circulation  
**Newspapers** 8 newspapers

**Gannett Company** 2,987,905 circulation  
**Newspapers** 75 newspapers

**Scripps-Howard** 1,853,069 circulation  
**Newspapers** 17 newspapers

**Dow Jones** 1,838,409 circulation  
**Newspapers** 14 newspapers

**Times-Mirror** 1,790,039 circulation  
**Newspapers** 6 newspapers

**Hearst** 1,407,933 circulation  
**Newspapers** 8 newspapers

**Cox** 1,121,939 circulation  
**Newspapers** 15 newspapers

**New York Times Company** 994,310 circulation  
**Newspapers** 10 newspapers

(As of Sept. 30, 1977)

Source: John Morton, John Muir & Company

*The New York Times*

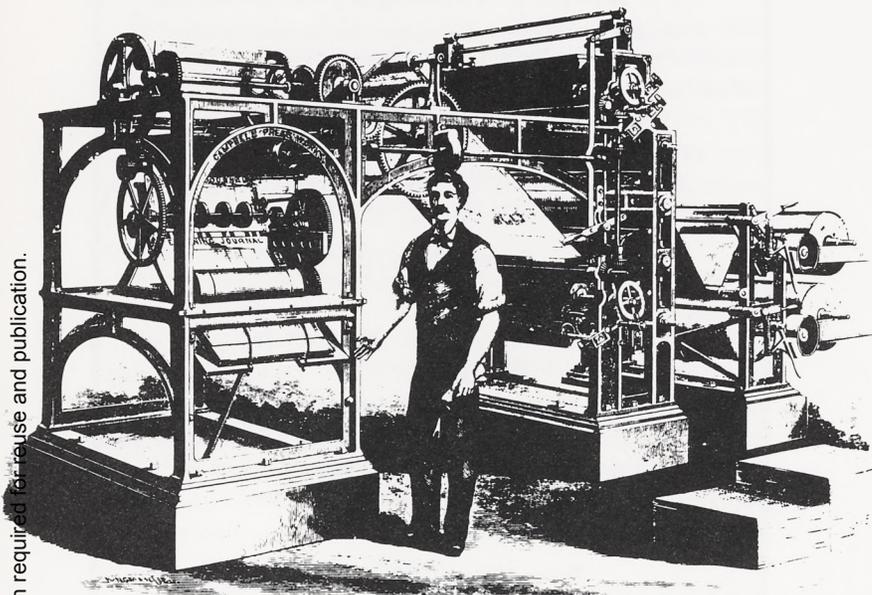
*Post* if Eugene Meyer had worked for Rupert Murdoch. Or the *Los Angeles Times* if Otis Chandler was a hired publisher sent from Rochester to keep the paper out of controversy and collect an annual bonus based on increased earnings.

But let us assume, for the sake of argument, that chain ownership actually makes newspapers better — that every property bought by a chain quickly becomes a first-rate paper. I don't think that eases the problems of narrow control.

At the present rate of concentration, we can expect that in less than 20 years almost every daily paper in the country will be owned by about 10 corporations. There is no assurance that the present trend will continue, but neither is there any reliable evidence that consolidation will stop.

One reason concentration in the media is dangerous is that media power is political power. There is no reason why newspaper publishers and broadcast operators should not

*Continued on page 19*



## ECPC Financial Disclosure

# Rags to Riches . . .

*With a Witch-hunt  
and Lots of Luck  
in Between*

by Robert N. Eckersley

The first issue of THE WITNESS — dated Jan. 6, 1917 — rolled off the press just in time for the editors and their constituencies to struggle through the hard years of World War I. In those days, THE WITNESS was in tabloid form, on newsprint, five columns wide, and the Rt. Rev. Irving Peake Johnson was editor-in-chief. Subscriptions to the eight-page paper were sold at \$1 for 52 issues a year.

Dedicated to addressing the problems of the people and the social mission of the church, THE WITNESS appeared one week after Rev. Johnson had been consecrated Episcopal Bishop of Colorado. He had previously formed

the first Board of Directors for the publication at a meeting in St. Louis. Bishop Johnson early on exercised all powers of editor/owner to assure independence, but later transferred them to a corporation whose stockholders and Board of Editors, in turn, drew up articles and by-laws to retain that tradition of independence.

After the first year of publication, Bishop Johnson wrote:

*"As editor-in-chief, I have received many notes of approval, many notes of critical disapproval. I hoped for the one and expected the other. The success has been no greater, the failure no worse than I expected, for like the Irishman who went fishing, 'I have not caught as many as I expected, and I never thought I would.'"*

As years went by, a young Episcopal priest — William Spofford — was enlisted to produce THE WITNESS and served in various roles: Clerk, reporter, secretary, treasurer, managing editor, editor and chairman of the Board of Editors. The present corporation was formed in Illinois with four stockholders: Bishop Johnson, Spofford, Frank A. Clarke and Benjamin Clarke. The old minutes book reflects the concern and trepidation accompanying financial problems of the worst order during the depression, then a turn for the better, and genuine enthusiasm for the report of April 15, 1937, of a net worth of \$96,900.

Buoyed by special gifts and small but consistent profits (thanks to services of unusually gifted financial advisers), and inspired by the Church League for Industrial Democracy and the dedication of associates and key members of the Board of Editors, THE WITNESS carried on — with limited success.

Now history took a fateful turn, and THE WITNESS came under attack during the McCarthy era. After the death



of Bishop Johnson in 1947, one man was center stage to bear the brunt of the witchhunting and the Redbaiting of the '50s — Bill Spofford.

Wounded but not silenced, Spofford and THE WITNESS rode out the hard times. During this period, Spofford was holding all of the capital stock in his name, living on meager wages, investing and reinvesting in the Episcopal Church Publishing Company any funds available. He was closely assisted in his work by his wife, Dorothy. The two worked as a team, addressing, bundling, stamping, mailing, promoting — and THE WITNESS persevered.

When Bill Spofford died Oct. 19, 1972, his family (Dorothy, their son, Bishop William B. Spofford, and daughter, Mrs. Suzanne Underwood), acting as executors of his estate, assigned the stock of the corporation to a board of seven Trustees/Directors. Members were the then Presiding Bishop, the Very Rev. John E. Hines, and Bishops Morris Arnold, Robert L. DeWitt, Lloyd E. Gressle, John B. Krumm and J. Brooke Mosley, and the Rev. Joseph Fletcher. By April 1, 1975 negotiations were completed with the Spofford estate and the corporation's assets now totaled \$3,411,500.

The 62-year history of accumulation of assets of THE WITNESS is a story of dedication, frugality, purpose and zeal — mixed with a substantial portion of good fortune. This enabled the corporation's assets to grow at a rate of slightly less than 10% compounded annually — with the results that the meager assets reported in 1937 increased to the \$3,411,500 figure as of April 1, 1975. These assets have continued to increase and the corporation's balance sheet as of Oct. 31, 1978 reflects no liabilities and accumulated assets of:

<b>Short term investments and</b>	
<b>Certificates of Deposit</b>	<b>\$ 846,729.00</b>
<b>Securities - Stocks</b>	<b>2,208,479.00</b>
<b>Securities - Bonds &amp; Mortgage</b>	<b>781,134.00</b>
<b>Total - All Assets</b>	<b>\$3,836,342.00</b>

The activities of THE WITNESS, through successive ownership (individual, partnership, and corporation) were repeatedly granted non-profit status by the United States Internal Revenue Service. In 1942, by a letter ruling, the present corporation was granted exemption from filing all tax returns by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. This status has continued and contributions now gifted to the Corporation are tax deductible.

The present Board of Directors has, in keeping with its editorial stance, consciously attempted to eliminate



parochialism and prejudice in selection of its members. The restriction that the managing editor be a consecrated bishop of the Episcopal Church or an ordained priest of said church was eliminated. The present board includes representatives from minorities, women and laymen, as well as ministers and bishops of the Episcopal Church. (See pp. 12-13.)

Operating revenues from the Corporation for the year ended Oct. 31, 1978 follow:

<b>Interest</b>	<b>\$ 95,952.00</b>
<b>Dividends</b>	<b>143,967.00</b>
<b>Subscription &amp; other</b>	<b>48,754.00</b>

<b>Total Revenues</b>	<b>\$288,673.00</b>
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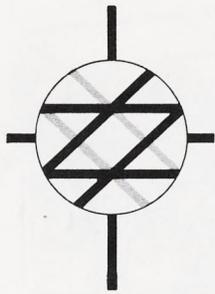
The accumulated assets enable the Episcopal Church Publishing Company to publish THE WITNESS, to assist in organizing groups of concerned individuals into a network of church people concerned with the social mission of the church and to support special projects.

These programs required expenditures for the year ended Oct. 31, 1978 as follows:

<b>Administration &amp; Investment</b>	<b>\$ 61,997.00</b>
<b>Production, Promotion &amp; Circulation of WITNESS magazine</b>	<b>114,911.00</b>
<b>Organization &amp; Communication — Church &amp; Society Network</b>	<b>64,325.00</b>
<b>Special Projects</b>	<b>70,991.00</b>
<b>Total Expenses</b>	<b>\$312,224.00</b>

The audit report of Price Waterhouse & Company listing financial statements and supplementary information for the year ending Oct. 31, 1978, is available. Simply send name and address plus \$5 to cover cost of duplication. ■

**Robert N. Eckersley**, Certified Public Accountant, has been associated with THE WITNESS magazine as friend of the Spoffords and as accountant for 15 years. He is currently serving as controller on the staff of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.



Church & Society

# If Not Well, Alive & Kicking

by Robert L. DeWitt



Church and Society, Inc. was initiated in 1974 to organize a national network of Episcopalians and others concerned about the social mission of the church. Not because they felt there was throughout the church a groundswell of support for such a network. The judgement, rather, was that the trend was so much in the opposite direction that it was strategically important to gather together those who were not a part of the general shoulder-shrugging which seemed to characterize so many Christians on the matter of social mission.

It would be ignoring history to ascribe this indifference — which continues even today — to a lack of moral concern. The chilling atmosphere engendered by the McCarthy era has not yet spent itself. There is a lingering suspicion of anyone or any group which addresses itself to the underlying causes of injustice in our society. Too, the social ravages of the '60s left many feeling bewildered, looking for calm after those storms. And, even more pervasively, rising inflation and unemployment have created an increasing unease in the minds of many that our diagnosis of economic ills failed to dig deep enough. It is one thing to rally support for a specific problem or issue, when redressing that wrong shows promise of correcting a horrendous injustice in our society. Perhaps many felt that way about racial integration in the '50s and '60s, about the Vietnam War in the '60s and early '70s. It

is quite another thing, however, to rally support for social concerns when the number and gravity of those concerns is almost overwhelming.

This sober reading of people's response was reflected two years after the birth of Church and Society by Alice Dieter, board member of Church and Society, in a candid article for THE WITNESS, "A Tale Anxious for the Telling." She wrote: "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 in 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 . . ."

Today, two and one-half years later, there is still much truth in those words. The Church and Society Newsletter sent to members and other interested persons, has a mailing list of approximately 1,000, a very small percentage of the Episcopal Church membership. Two years ago the bishop of a western diocese, encouraging the holding of an organizational meeting for Church and Society in that diocese,

commented; "If you can get anything going on social mission here, it will be the *only* thing going."

Yet, many things have "got going" as a result of the initiatives of Church and Society, both its chapters and its staff:

- The publishing of a study/action guide on social analysis, which recently sold out a second printing. Total copies distributed amounted to 4,000.
- Forums on racism, sexism and hunger at the last General Convention.
- Support for the release from prison of Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, who refused to testify before a Federal Grand Jury, claiming it would jeopardize the Hispanic mission of the Episcopal Church.
- Continued monitoring of issues around Episcopal women in the priesthood, a strong concern of the Network from its inception, when it struggled for women's ordination.
- Diocesan hearings on sexuality.
- Dozens of articles produced by Church and Society members for THE WITNESS magazine.
- A diocesan hearing on the urban crisis.
- A TV viewing of a panel discussion on unemployment.
- Local forums on social mission in four cities.
- Letters to congress from across the country on various sensitive pieces of legislation, such as Senate Bill 1, and the B-1 bomber.

- Resolutions on social issues approved by diocesan conventions.

Further, the staff and C & S members have also been involved in another kind of network. Representing Church and Society, they have established informal contacts with scores of other organizations which share many of the objectives of Church and Society. These contacts thus have been in the pattern of concentric circles, an informal network which augments the work of local chapters, extending beyond the Episcopal Church, reaching into national issues. Illustrative of this is the relationship of Church and Society with the new Urban Bishops' Coalition, which is dedicated to raising up in the church a new concern for its urban mission. Hugh White, C & S Network coordinator, was on loan for nine months to staff the urban hearings sponsored by the Coalition. C & S Network members both testified at the hearings or were instrumental in many cases, in contacting urban ethnic and minority representatives to testify. Further, C & S member Joseph Pelham

was key writer in producing the final document of deliberation at the hearings, as well as the book summing up the proceedings, *To Hear and To Heed*. Another C & S member, Mattie Hopkins, worked at three levels: She testified in the name of the Union of Black Episcopalians at the Washington Hearing, served as a panelist for the Chicago Hearing and was a member of the support group which organized the Chicago hearings.

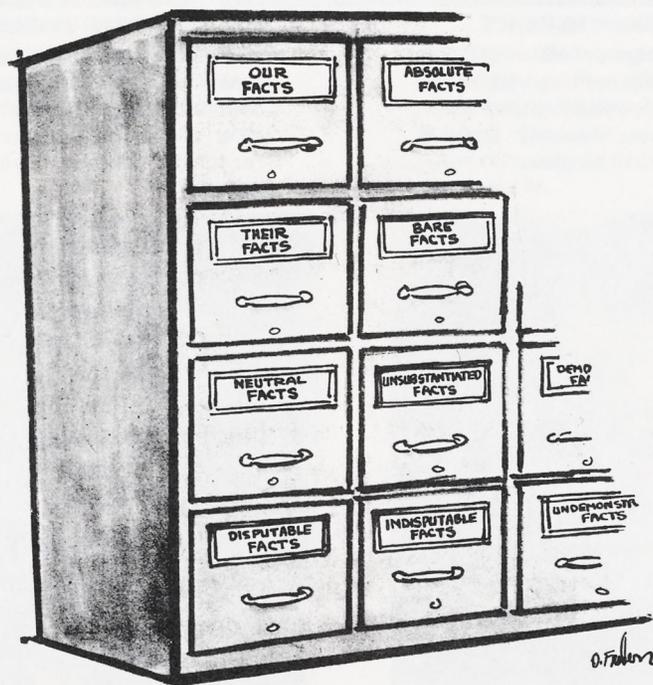
Much of what has been done has been enabled by the relationship between Church and Society and the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. At the outset, Church and Society was funded by grants from the Lilly Endowment, Trinity Parish, New York, and a number of private gifts. The Network is now funded, as is THE WITNESS, by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. This relationship is symbolized by the practice of inviting all WITNESS subscribers and C & S members to a forum on some issue of social mission in whatever city the quarterly meeting of the Board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Co. is being held.

The chronic difficulty faced by the Network has been the failure to find an adequate answer to the recurrent question raised by local groups: "What do we *do*?" This frustration is perhaps in large measure class-determined. These **groups are predominantly middle-class Episcopalians. Their motives cannot be impugned**, but their experience, contacts and political perceptions are limited by that class position.

One of the emphases of Christian theology is that "the poor" are the chief concern of the church's mission. This, of course, is not a recent theological discovery! It is as old as the Gospel, as new as the statements in *To Hear and To Heed*. Another theological observation, however, stressed by liberation theology, is that "the poor" are also meant to be the initiating actors of the church's mission. And this raises a new option for the social mission of the church — to carry out its mission by joining the poor in *their* mission, namely, the search for justice. The Urban Hearings recently sponsored by the Urban Bishops' Coalition have created a new consciousness of this principle. Myriad grassroots community representatives testified in cities where the hearings were held. *They* did not ask what to do. They only asked for the church's involvement and advocacy in doing it. There may well prove to be a fruitful relationship between community organizations and local church and Society groups.

The Network in the immediate months ahead, along with other projects, will be shaping an action strategy. The Network will give particular attention to how the church might become effectively involved with the needs and struggles of the people in the neighborhoods in which our city parishes are situated, develop skills for being advocates for the poor and alienated, and learn new ways of doing theology that will reinforce and sustain the mission.

The Network is therefore serving as a catalyst and resource to the social mission of the church. And, for local chapters, the answer may soon be found to the question, "What do we do?" ■





**MORRIS P. ARNOLD**  
Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts;  
Chair, Episcopal Church Publishing  
Company; member, Urban Bishops'  
Coalition; Joint Commission on  
Program and Budget, General  
Convention.



**ROBERT L. DeWITT**  
Resigned Bishop of Pennsylvania;  
Editor of THE WITNESS; President of  
Church and Society; member, Urban  
Bishops' Coalition.



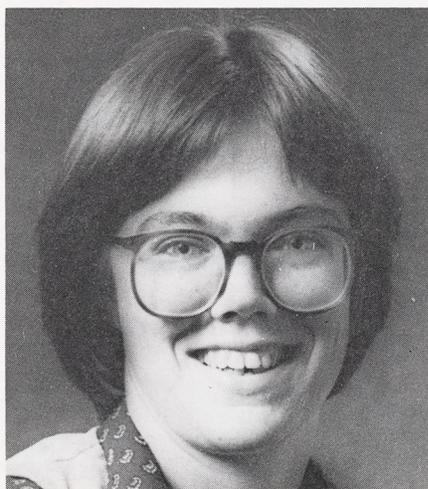
**BARBARA HARRIS**  
Senior Staff Consultant, Public  
Relations, Sun Company, Inc.; Deputy  
to General Convention; Trustee,  
Absalom Jones Theological Institute;  
member, Episcopal Commission for  
Black Ministries.



## Board of the Episcopal

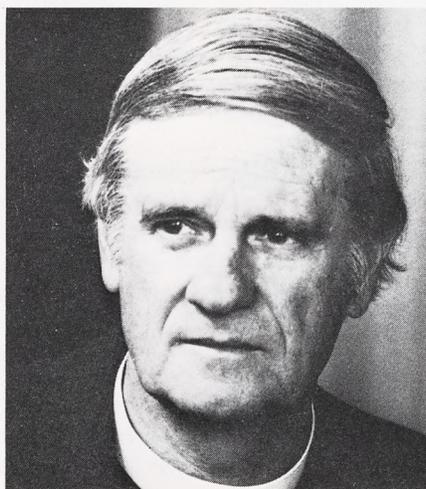
**JOAN HOWARTH**

Law student, University of Southern  
California; staff, National Committee  
Against Repressive Legislation and  
Women Against Violence against  
Women.



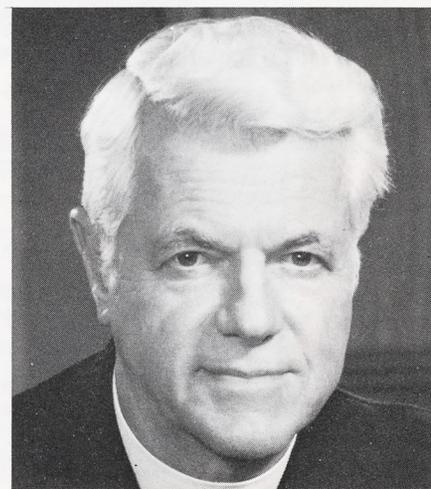
**H. COLEMAN McGEHEE**

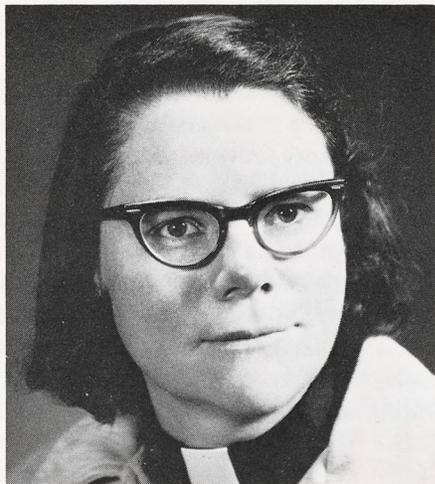
Bishop of Michigan; member of Urban  
Bishops' Coalition; "Feminist of the  
Year" Award, Detroit Chapter of NOW;  
former Assistant Attorney General,  
Commonwealth of Virginia.



**J. BROOKE MOSLEY**

Assistant Bishop, Diocese of  
Pennsylvania; Chair, Policy and Action  
Committee, Urban Bishops' Coalition;  
former Bishop of Delaware; former  
President, Union Theological  
Seminary.





**SUZANNE HIATT**  
Associate Professor of Pastoral  
Theology, Episcopal Divinity School.



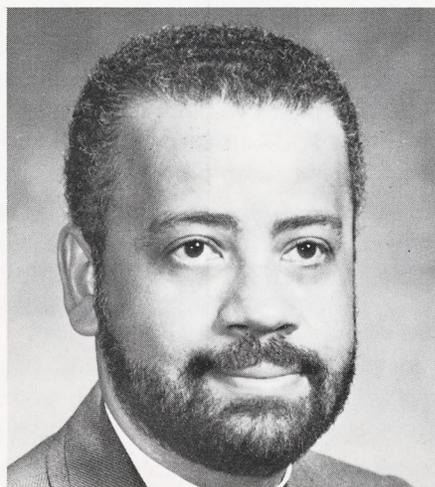
**JOHN E. HINES**  
Retired Presiding Bishop, Protestant  
Episcopal Church in the United States  
of America.



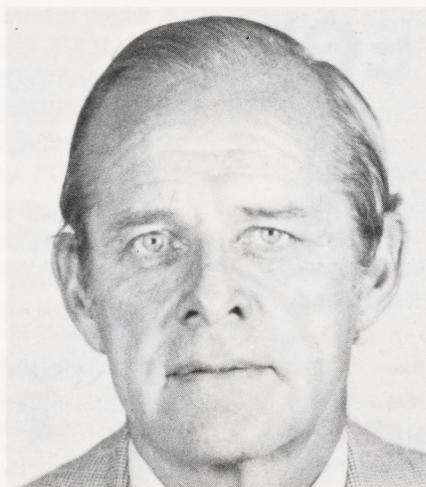
**MATTIE HOPKINS**  
Reading Clinician for Children with  
Learning Disabilities, Chicago Public  
School System; member, Policy and  
Action Committee, Urban Bishops'  
Coalition; Vice President, Union of  
Black Episcopalians.

## Church Publishing Company

**JOSEPH A. PELHAM**  
Dean of Students, Colgate Rochester  
Divinity School/Bexley Hall/Crozier  
Theological Seminary.

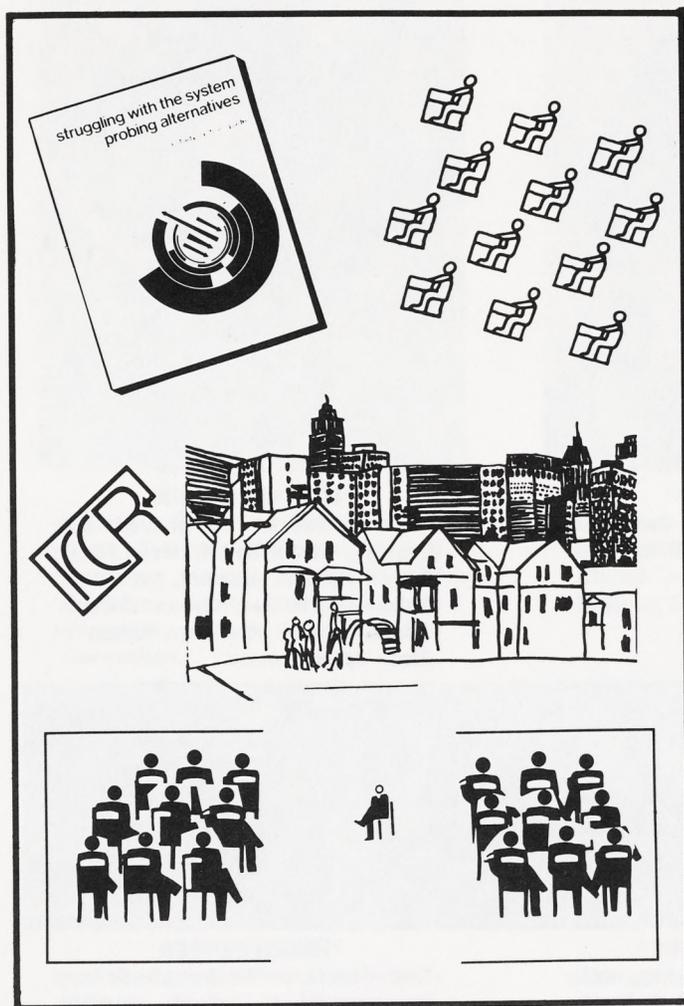


**ROBERT S. POTTER**  
Member of Patterson, Belknap, Webb  
and Tyler Law Firm, New York; former  
Chancellor, Diocese of New York;  
former Chair, Executive Council  
Committee on Social Responsibility in  
Investments.



**HELEN SEAGER**  
Coordinator, Pittsburgh School  
Desegregation Project; member,  
Department of Christian Social  
Relations, Diocese of Pittsburgh;  
member, Western Pa. Policy Council,  
Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights.





## Special Projects Supported by ECPC

In addition to publishing THE WITNESS and supporting the Church and Society Network, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company from time to time has played an advocacy role for social justice by assisting special church-related projects. Descriptions of seven of these follow.

### Study/Action Guide

Ronald Reagan called it a "one-sided venture into political indoctrination," and columnist Jeffrey Hart said it was

"nothing less than a Marxist handbook for the overthrow of the U.S. political and economic system."

On the other hand, Feminist-theologian Rosemary Ruether said it provided "all the resources needed for any group, with only an introductory knowledge of economics and armed with their own experience and good will, to engage in precise analysis of the present capitalist system and to project alternatives and action projects for their own engagement in social praxis," and author-journalist Gary MacEoin commended this publication, which included "questions on each section, major resources for in-depth study, organizing tools, resource organizations; even a liberation liturgy. Editing and production match the high level of the content."

"It" was *Struggling With the System, Probing Alternatives*, the 200 page Study/Action Guide produced in 1976 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. The first press run of 2,000 copies sold out practically within the first year, and a subsequent re-run of 2,000 has dwindled to the final hundred copies. Scores of ecumenical groups across the country, as well as denominations and parishes, have used the book for collective study.

Plans are underway for a totally new study guide to appear in time for the Episcopal General Convention in the Fall.

### Corporate Responsibility

Over recent years a growing concern of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company — as well as many other church-related bodies — has been the awesome responsibility attached to being an investor. ECPC's board membership in the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility enables it to monitor social concerns and policies as reflected in the practices of the corporations in which it holds stock. ECPC has frequently joined others in the ICCR coalition of 14 Protestant denominations and 150 Roman Catholic religious orders and dioceses in waging proxy fights and filing shareholder resolutions.

For example, during 1978, ICCR members:

- Filed more than 60 shareholder resolutions with 48 companies on a variety of social issues, including equal employment opportunity operations in South Africa, community reinvestment, agribusiness, and foreign military sales.
- Settled a lawsuit alleging misstatement of fact in Bristol-Myers' 1976 proxy statement.
- Took part in hearings held by the Senate Subcommittee on Health and Scientific research on infant

formula use overseas.

Four representatives of the ECPC Board of Directors have been assigned to track these issues and attend meetings of the ICCR throughout the year.

## Grand Jury Project

Special funds were assigned by ECPC to enable THE WITNESS to cover the story about the two Episcopal Church staffers, Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, who were jailed in 1977 for refusing to testify before a Federal Grand Jury investigating the FALN, a militant Puerto Rican group. Ms. Cueto and Ms. Nemikin charged that their testimony would be a violation of the confidence they shared with Hispanics throughout the country as part of their ministry in the office of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs. Following her release from 10 months in prison, Ms. Cueto traveled to church and community groups to speak about the excesses of Grand Jury abuse, especially as it applied to harassment of minorities, women and ethnic groups.

## Convention Forums

Three forums flowing from the social concerns of the Church and Society Network and THE WITNESS magazine drew overflow audiences during the 1976 General Convention of the Episcopal Church in Minneapolis.

Topics were *Sexism*, *Racism*, and *The Theology of Hunger*. Participants included Gustavo Gutierrez of Peru, noted liberation theologian; Rosemary Ruether, author and theologian; Pam Chinnis, presiding officer, women's triennial; Chris Cavender, member of the Dakota tribe; Marion Kellerman, chairman of the Anglican Consultative Council; and Bishops Coleman McGehee of Michigan, Paul Moore of New York and John Walker, Coadjutor of Washington, D.C.

## Urban Crisis Conference

Thirty-five persons, mostly members of the Church and Society Network, gathered in Chicago at the (appropriately titled) Four Horsemen Motel on Feb. 16-18, 1978 to explore key aspects of the urban crisis. Supported by ECPC, the conference sought to break down the cumbersome category "urban crisis" and discuss the dilemmas of the cities in terms of the dynamics of growth and decline of urban residential sub-units, or neighborhoods.

Professors Rich Meadows of the University of Wisconsin and Stanley Hallett of Northwestern University suggested some points of intervention in the process of decay which could be made by local groups. The Rev. William Coats coordinated the meeting.

Some interesting dynamics appeared within the conference. The attempt to present a model of the urban crisis as in fact a crisis of specific neighborhoods, while helpful for many, was challenged by others as too narrow. Some argued that an analysis of larger metropolitan dynamics, and indeed, national urban policies and economic relations was crucial. As a component of this challenge, the group was urged to think in terms of national urban strategies for the church and the process by which policies were being formulated for urban monies from the Venture in Mission program. Specifically, conference participants were asked to make input into the Public Hearings process of the Urban Bishops Coalition.

## Urban Bishops' Coalition

ECPC along with other groups and individuals provided seed money to launch the public hearings of the Episcopal Urban Bishops' Coalition last year. The Coalition now includes 50 Episcopal bishops in whose dioceses are located most of the large and medium sized cities of the United States, as well as of Puerto Rico and Panama. Some 150 persons testified at hearings in Seattle, Birmingham, Newark, Chicago, Colon (Panama) and Washington, D.C. and an additional national hearing in Washington.

ECPC also assisted the Coalition by circulating 1,800 copies of *To Hear and to Heed*, the report of findings from the hearings. Other types of collaboration with this project are discussed in the Church and Society report elsewhere in this issue.

## Small Periodicals Meet

Eighteen editors from 16 publications attended a 40-hour conference on the role of religious journals in social change in Yorktown Heights, N.Y. in 1976, a meeting made possible by ECPC support. The first day was spent in sharing of separateness and a discovery of commonality, and the second day focused on practical ways to express that commonality.

Problems taken up by participants included how to express the theological underpinnings of social/political analysis, how to expose the church when it fails to live up to its own theology, how to provide handles on problems and hopes for solutions, and how to raise fundamental questions about our economic system when politicians and mass media are refusing to deal with such questions. Practical matters such as the sharing of typesetting, joint advertising ventures, and promotion efforts were also discussed. Robert L. DeWitt of THE WITNESS and Patricia Gaughan of IDOC Publications were coordinators of the meeting. ■

## Reflections of a Managing Editor

I first met WITNESS Editor Bob DeWitt at the Associated Church Press Convention in New York City in 1975. I was about to participate in a panel discussion around ecumenical trips to Cuba when this chap in clerics entered the room, paging, "Mary Lou Suhor, Mary Lou Suhor."

"Guilty," I waved, then put out my hand and said, "And you are . . ."

"Bishop DeWitt." Then he allowed that our mutual friends Ben Bagdikian (the very same as on page 4 this issue) and Betty Medsger had recommended that I do an article for the magazine. In the two minutes before our panel was to begin, he described that article in words that raced by faster than speeding bullets. Then suddenly he was handing me his card to get in touch with him, and off he went, a veritable study in kinetic energy.

My co-panelist, Episcopal priest Bill Wipfler, said, "Do you know who that was?"

"No, Bill, who was that masked man?" My ecumenical past had put me in touch with many bishops. Like, I had been arrested at the peace Mass at the Pentagon in 1968 with Dan Corrigan and Ed Crowther when I was working at the U.S. Catholic Conference — the Roman Bishops' god-box. But DeWitt . . . the name escaped me.

"He was one of the bishops who ordained the 11 women priests in Philadelphia."

"Oh?" And then it was time for our panel. I guess I was not duly impressed at that first meeting. After all, this guy DeWitt didn't even stay to listen to our program.

Today I *am* impressed. I mean, anybody who within two years can win an ACP award from his journalistic peers for best editorial (subject: women's ordination) and also earn the dubious honor of a second "censure" by

the Episcopal House of Bishops (subject: women's ordination) can't be all bad. But I digress.

Some time later, when THE WITNESS was looking for a managing editor, Betty and Ben again intervened and suggested I interview for the position. I recall saying, "in Ambler, *where?*" But providentially, I do everything Betty and Ben tell me.

Three interviews and several months later, I found myself going as managing editor to my first Solemn High Board Meeting of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. I was the only woman in the room, along with six bishops, one priest and a layman. Other than that, what I remember best is that the Board changed a 1918 by-law which stipulated that the managing editor of THE WITNESS had to be either a bishop or a priest — and I wondered what I was in for.

Followed a glorious initiation of producing not only THE WITNESS but a 200-page book, *Struggling With the System, Probing Alternatives*, and a whirlwind introduction to an Episcopal Church General Convention and three forums sponsored by Church and Society, all within four months. Then there were myriad staff meetings, mini-meetings, maxi-meetings and the accompanying challenge of remembering new faces and the order of those curious Episcopal names. "Now let's see, did he say he was Eastwood Atwater or Atwater Eastwood? F. Sanford Cutler or F. Cutler Sanford?" And the realization that in many circles when folks talked about what "Carter said" they usually meant not the President, but Carter Heyward. Or was that Heyward Carter?

As I read early copies of THE WITNESS, doing homework for my first

year on staff, I must acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude to Sydney Pendleton, wherever she may be, who wrote in a letter to the editor that "*51% of the population are women, 60% of churchgoers are women. Your magazine has a male editor and 75% male staff. All of the authors we can 'look forward to' are men. Actions speak louder than words — sexism lives and your magazine is a witness to it. Needless to say, I cannot in conscience subscribe.*"

Thanks to you, Sydney, my early determination was to enlist more women writers and more writers about women with the goal of having at least one woman author and/or story about women in each issue.

Over the past couple of years, women contributors to THE WITNESS have included Rosemary Ruether, Sheila Collins, Isabel Letelier, Beverly Harrison, Carter Heyward, Pat Park, Suzanne Hiatt, Barbara Brown Zikmund, Georgia Fuller, Pat Reif, Ellen Barrett, Marion Kellerman, Joan Howarth, Helen Seager, Sheila Cassidy, Alison Cheek, Alla Bozarth-Campbell, Barbara Harris, Mary Roodkowsky, Lisa Leghorn, Abbie Jane Wells, Ellen Wondra and many others. I am grateful to my sisters for their contributions to Christian social thought in these pages.

Other steps forward also come to mind: The stabilizing of the magazine from 12-16 to a consistent 20 pages (except for special issues); additions to staff to allow for growth; expansion of the Board of Directors for more democratic representation, a healthy increase in letters to the editor and a doubling of readership to 8,000.

With regard to the Ambler staff, I should footnote that it is one of the finest teams I have ever worked with in my life. Living through the last couple/three

## by Mary Lou Suhor

years and experiencing the courage with which:

- Former staffer Larry Carter faced the threat of throat cancer and subsequent therapy;
- Lisa and Bill Whelan overcame a red-taped bureaucratic process to adopt a baby (Christina, our WITNESS mascot);
- Kay Atwater worked through her first super-productive year with THE WITNESS in addition to bearing the grief of her mother's death and the joy of becoming an aunt;
- Sue Small, even now, carries a second pregnancy with great aplomb, and sees us through layout traumas besides;
- Ann Hunter keeps us sane by her quiet, efficient work presence in between trips to care for her children, one a victim of cerebral palsy.

As I say, working with such folks has provided lessons in valiant living and humility, plus a lot of glue to hold me together in dire times.

Speaking of dire, I must also thank the FBI for contributing to my conscientization over the past year. Covering that *Catch-22* story from the time the Episcopal Church Center allowed the FBI entrance into its Hispanic and other files, until those who were subsequently jailed for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury had been freed, was an exercise in frustration and fortitude. (See Grand Jury, page 15) But we suspected we were doing something right when the FBI showed up in Ambler, seeking information because I had interviewed Episcopal Center staffers Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin in jail. Editor Bob DeWitt's legal stance along with my own, of non-cooperation with

the FBI request, had the full support of the ECPC Board — a stalwart backup.

In the end, no criminal prosecutions resulted from that Grand Jury. It reminded me of the Bob and Ray lines, "The suspect was convicted on three counts of being apprehended and one count of being a suspect. Apprehended suspects are punished under state law by a term of not less than five years in Soledad." And it *might* have been ludicrous had not nine persons spent an accumulated total of six years of their lives in jail, trying to protect First and Fifth Amendment rights and pointing up harassment of the Hispanic community by government officials. Unfortunately, attempts in Washington, D.C. to change the legal structure have not succeeded, and Grand Jury harassment continues.

At times during that Grand Jury story I thought I heard the applause of Bill Spofford from some other world, and I often wondered, during the McCarthy era, whether he, too, might have moved his typewriter closer to the bathroom.

I must close these reflections by stressing that I do *not* believe that the history of THE WITNESS began with my entrance upon the scene. If I have reflected only over the past couple of years, it is because that was my assignment for this column. My respect and admiration abounds for those who went before.

As far as the future is concerned: One modern commentator has said, "*I read small magazines to keep from becoming a statistic.*" THE WITNESS, a small magazine, pledges to you, our readers, that we will do all in our power — as did Irving Peake Johnson, Bill Spofford and other editors — to keep you from falling victim to the media monopolies. And in so doing, we might even save ourselves from that same fate.

### CREDITS

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## GOODS FOR THE PEOPLE

**There is but one solution; the recognition of the Christian doctrine that goods should be made for people and not people for goods. We must have a system whereby the goods we can produce in such abundance are distributed among the people that need them. This can be done only by giving to the workers wages that are the equivalent of the full value of the goods produced, thus enabling them to purchase them all. This means, of course, the end of profits since there will no longer be that surplus of goods which represents profits. However that should disturb nobody these days since our present system has already hopelessly collapsed and is being kept alive only by the government pumping a billion dollars a month into it.**

**We will have no more profits; we will have something much more desirable—a society in which everyone will be decently fed, clothed and housed.**

**Oh, I know there are those who will say that people do not live by bread alone. They don't. Nevertheless I have always noticed that those who minimize the importance of food in the spiritual pilgrimage are pretty well fed themselves. People do not live by bread alone, which is a very sufficient reason for making it possible for them to get such a necessary commodity with a minimum of effort and thought, thus releasing them for more important things.**

**Of course the Kingdom of God will not have been established once we end capitalism. Nevertheless since under this system an ever increasing number are brought to the verge of starvation, it seems to me that the job immediately before us is to put an end to it in order that we may apply ourselves to more important matters.**

—William B. Spofford  
**THE WITNESS**  
Jan. 18, 1934



**KAY ATWATER: Office & Promotion Manager, THE WITNESS**



**JUDI DECKEBACH: Secretary, Church & Society Network**



**ROBERT ECKERSLEY: Controller, Episcopal Church Publishing Co.**

## Staff of 'Witness', Church & Society



**ANN HUNTER: Part time staff**



**SUSAN SMALL: Part time staff**



**MARY LOU SUHOR: Managing Editor, THE WITNESS**



**LISA WHELAN: Bookkeeper & Circulation Control, THE WITNESS**



**HUGH WHITE: Coordinator, Church & Society Network**

*Continued from page 7*

promote their corporate welfare the way other industries do. But it would be naive not to recognize that for politicians there is a difference between being asked to support a corporate bill for the computer industry and being asked to support something wanted by the newspaper publishers and broadcast managers in the politician's home district. Remarkably many members of Congress believe that when a publisher or station manager comes to Washington to lobby a bill or fight some regulation, these are the people who will decide how to treat the politician in their media at the next election. And most of them preface their acknowledgement of this belief by saying it is strictly off the record.

I see no constitutional problem in establishing some limit on how many papers or how much circulation one corporation may control. At the same time, I believe that no one should be prevented from printing or saying anything, any time, anywhere. If there were a legal limit to the existing media any one corporation could control, and Gannett, for example, wished to buy an existing paper in Peoria, it could do it by selling its paper in Pensacola. If it insisted, as it ought to, that it has a First Amendment right to print in both Peoria and Pensacola, then I would defend that right and insist that it could retain its paper in Pensacola and express its First Amendment right in Peoria by starting a *new* paper in Peoria.

I doubt that even the most energetic chain-builder in the business would insist that it is socially healthy to have one corporation control every daily paper in the country. We now have 25 chains that control a majority of all papers sold daily. If one corporation in control is bad and 25 is good, what is the proper number? At what point should someone — presumably the Department of Justice or Congress — step in and say No?

But I don't believe that the Department of Justice or Congress *will* step in. They have not so far, and the pace of concentration has increased in the last decade. And I believe the Department of Justice and Congress do not step in precisely because concentrated control of the media also represents concentrated political and economic power. But I can suggest more modest remedies:

One small gesture would be to end the meaningless ownership statement issued annually to the post office and printed as obscurely as possible each October. Instead, each paper using the second-class mailing privilege should be required to have available for public scrutiny at the local post office the names of all officers, directors, and major stockholders, the precise percentage of their ownership, and all their significant financial holdings. This is the same requirement of disclosure the SEC makes of officers, directors, and major stockholders of publicly traded

companies. Local people should at least know who owns and controls their monopoly media and what other financial interests are held by those who make ultimate decisions about the news.

Another measure that would afford some insulation from potential subversion of news would be the election of editors by professional journalists on the staff of the paper. Obviously, this would require the consent of the owner, but one always dreams of owners with vision. Election of editors would also mean office politics, but office politics in the present methods are not unknown, and staffs as a whole could not make worse choices than managements as a whole. For those who insist this would make for mediocre papers, I suggest taking a look at *Le Monde*, one of the world's great newspapers, whose staff elects its editor.

An irrational decision of the tax courts that for years has fueled the growth of chains ought to be reversed. The Internal Revenue Code permits a newspaper to retain without normal taxation any undistributed earnings as a necessary cost of doing business if the purpose of this accumulation is to buy another newspaper. That makes neither social nor business sense.

Newspaper and broadcast editorials regularly warn against the potential danger of Big Government. They rightly fear uninhibited power, even in the hands of a wise and benevolent leader. But that fear should apply to corporate as well as to political power. We have 1,700 daily papers, 8,000 weeklies, 8,000 radio stations, 900 television stations, and 10,000 periodicals. But we can no longer assume that these large numbers represent comparable diversity in control. We now must fear these numbers; most of our 215 million citizens are reached not by thousands of corporations in the media business but by the relative few that control consolidated organizations.

If we believe in the indispensability of a pluralistic marketplace of ideas and information, we can not be complacent about a narrowly controlled management of that marketplace, whether it is governmental or corporate, benign or malicious. The greater danger in control of the mass media is not, I think, the likelihood that Government will take control, but that the public, seeing little difference between narrow corporate control and narrow governmental control, will be indifferent to which dominates the media. ■

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**Ben H. Bagdikian** is a journalist, media critic, author and professor in the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California, Berkeley. The above article first appeared in the June, 1978 issue of *THE PROGRESSIVE* magazine and is reprinted with permission from *THE PROGRESSIVE*, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Copyright 1978, The Progressive, Inc.

# ECPC Will Present 3 Awards in Denver

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company will present three awards in honor of William Scarlett, Bishop of Missouri from 1930 to 1950; Vida Scudder, prolific writer, educator and social activist; and William Spofford, former editor of THE WITNESS, during the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in Denver.

Candidates for the awards are being sought whose action/involvement has been pointed toward the root causes of oppression, deprivation and need, and who emulate the courage shown by Scarlett, Scudder and Spofford — who were at the cutting edge of social mission during their lifetimes. Awards will be presented at a dinner-event early on during the convention.

Brief biographical sketches of those in whose honor the awards have been named follow.

## Bishop's Ministry on the Cutting Edge

by John E. Hines

Bishop Will Scarlett's entire ministry was spent on the cutting edge of Christianity's response to the issues of injustice, discrimination and oppression in the world of men and women. He was a ceaseless battler against the abuse of power, both in the church and in the social order. He coupled this intensity with a profound devotional life which he shared weekly in the Cathedral with the clergy of the Diocese of Missouri and any others who sought it.

He achieved national attention during World War I when he challenged the legality and humanity of the Copper Queen Mine Company in Arizona, in its effort to break the union in the famous Bisbee deportation case. Some 1,000 striking miners had been forcibly transported to Columbus, New Mexico. His efforts attracted the interest of the Federal Government, and the United States attorney sent to investigate was Felix Frankfurter. The friendship and mutual respect begun there between Scarlett and Frankfurter endured.

His courageous and sensitive ministry

attracted other friends and admirers, among them Maude Rayden, R. H. Tawney, Reinhold Niebuhr and Eleanor Roosevelt. So responsive was the Jewish community of St. Louis to Bishop Scarlett's pastoral concern for them, in a time of anti-Semitism that prevailed, that they donated the great bronze doors to Christ Church Cathedral in thanksgiving for the bishop's ministry.

Bishop Scarlett was a founder of the Church League for Industrial Democracy. He, with others, was a prime target of Senator McCarthy's "Red-hunting" efforts in that outrageous episode in American political history. He served on the editorial board of *Christianity and Crisis*. He was the author of the revised "Marriage Canon" that prevailed at the General Convention of 1946, greatly liberalizing its substance. As Chairman of General Convention's Joint Commission on Human Relations, he edited the influential symposium, "Christianity and the Social Order." As long as he was



Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Bishop William Scarlett

bishop, the Diocese of Missouri was regarded by the most knowledgeable as the bellwether for Christian social awareness and humane action.

Bishop Scarlett was born in Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 3, 1883. He

received his BA from Harvard in 1905, and a BD from Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, in 1909. Prior to his election as bishop-coadjutor of the Diocese of Missouri in 1930, he served Trinity Cathedral, Phoenix as dean, and

Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis. After 20 years as Bishop of Missouri he retired in 1950. His death removed from the ranks of the House of Bishops one of the most durable and incisive of its prophetic voices.

## A Socialist Impelled

by Christian Faith

by Kay Atwater

“For the ultimate source of my socialist convictions was and is Christianity. Unless I were a socialist, I could not honestly be a Christian, and although I was not sure I dared call myself by that name, I could use no other.”

Vida Scudder wrote those words in her autobiography, *On Journey* (1937), and among the several threads running through the story of her life, this is the most persistent. From the time she was confirmed by Phillips Brooks in Boston to her final surrender in 1954, she sought relentlessly to place herself in the arena of social action.

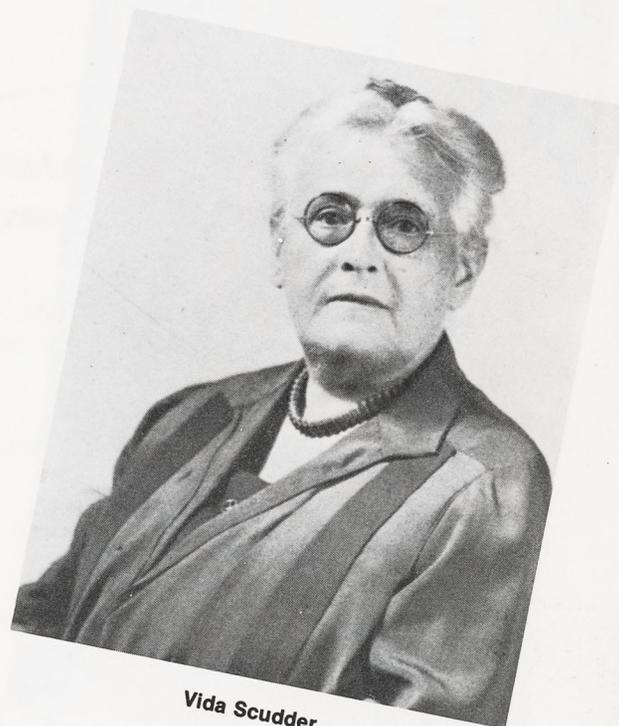
Shortly after her birth in India in 1861, her missionary father was swept under the rushing waters of a dam that had burst. A dream of that huge, overwhelming wave haunted her life—a reminder, she thought, of “who’s in charge” at times of temptation to hypocrisy or pride.

She remained very close to her mother throughout her years. It was an association of deep mutual caring and support, if not of eye-to-eye understanding. When they returned from India, Vida went to school in Massachusetts—the Boston Latin School and then Smith College. A year at Oxford, where she was taught by John Ruskin, opened her eyes to the “realities

of modern civilization, and I did not like them.” She crossed the Atlantic many times, and was well steeped in European art and culture, returning several times to Italy for Franciscan studies.

She taught English literature at Wellesley College for 40 years, and was a central figure in the College Settlements Association, which provided relief services in urban areas in the tradition of Jane Addams of Chicago’s Hull House. This involvement served to direct her energies into work that she knew was vital. Through this shared service, she began to realize that the *poor* were leading her closer to the reality she had been seeking, and through them she discovered her own capacity to love. St. Francis, more than Marx, was her mentor. No longer an intellectual endeavor, her faith became deeper as it was lived out in her work with the settlements and also with the early labor movement.

Teaching, social work, and writing were Vida’s three main competing outlets during her active years. To her credit are at least a score of books on socialism, literature, religion and the saints, as well as many poems. Throughout this threefold career she maintained her strong spiritual leaning. She joined the Anglican Order,



Vida Scudder

Companions of the Holy Cross, and was ever drawn toward a Catholic interpretation of the Gospel, holding intimately to what is permanent and life-giving.

Her association with the Italian Franciscans confirmed her earlier suspicion that God did not intend either private property or socioeconomic classes. In her autobiography she wrote, “Probably the future will judge that today as in the past, the truest life in Christendom is in minority groups, driven by Christian impulse to work for a new day.” (p. 339) Vida Scudder’s later work with the Church League for Industrial Democracy, of which she was a prime mover, was an affirmation of her view that the church must support and foster radical social change.

## A Fiery Passion to be Free, Just

by William Spofford, Jr.

When Bill Spofford signed letters to his children he always closed them this way: *Cheerio — The Old Man*. Since, in his early days, he played a good game of touch football, a curvy left-handed tennis and could hike briskly up the New Hampshire mountains of Sunapee and Kearsarge with us in tow, he obviously wasn't always old. So it must have been a Pauline metaphor which he chose to apply to himself.

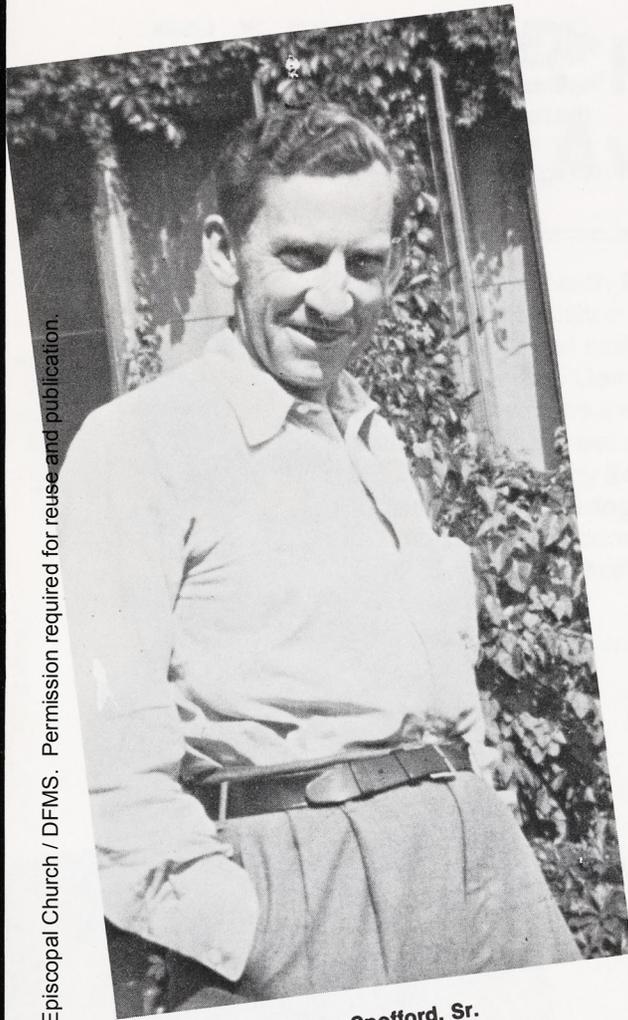
At any rate, his life was dedicated to casting out "the old man" and he possessed a fiery passion for being a free person and, in the words of the Baptismal Covenant in the 1979 Book of Common Prayer, he did "strive for justice and peace among all people, and respect the dignity of every human being."

Always, persons touched him, either in their relationships or through their writings. Those he admired were legion, and their names or books were prominent in our house. His faith was personalist and who he was, to a large extent, was built on whom he knew and what he read. He admired and appreciated Dean William Palmer Ladd, Casey Stengel, Ibsen, Archbishop William Temple, John L. Lewis, Red

Smith, Paul Robeson, Massey Shepherd, Charlie Chaplin, Scott Nearing, "Aunt" Vida Scudder, George Bernard Shaw, Dick Morford, Joe DiMaggio, Heywood Broun, Dean Paul Roberts, Joe Fletcher, Bishop Will Scarlett, Rabindranath Tagore, Bishop Robert Paddock, Dr. William Keller, Mary Simkhovitch, Bishop John Hines and Thomas Merton, among many others.

As a solid investigative reporter, he knew a great many folk whom the world in the church or secular society called great. But a list such as the above was made up of the folk who nourished him, together with some union organizers in various mill towns, some down-and-outers in various urban Skid Rows. And he had a great grace in opening up a friendly, pastoral conversation with guys who served him clams in the Fulton Fish Market or the true believers in the bleachers at Yankee Stadium.

I have a hunch that the Christ he knows wasn't clearly divine but was always a Wanderer in the dusty roads, meeting people and trying to make them whole and healthy, and urging them to await the Kingdom and be actively about the business of building it.



William Spofford, Sr.

*Continued from page 3*

while he was feasting on bread and water, millions were dying for lack of even that. Truly, privilege has one inescapable obligation — the obligation to work against privilege. In our economy, that means to work for the abolition of the underlying factors which create both privilege and its inevitable shadow, deprivation.

The Dow Chemical Company recently received notice that Michigan State University had divested itself of its Dow stock because of its objections to the company's business activities in South Africa. The university shortly thereafter received a subtly threatening letter from the company asking if the university also wished not to receive any *gifts* from the company, since that money would come partly from profits from the operations in South Africa. This serves

to illustrate that Caesar is indeed a potent power, and will not lightly tolerate any opposition.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company is attempting to exercise as faithful a stewardship as possible over how it spends its resources (see page 9), to use its financial assets as a lever to promote corporate responsibility. Indeed, this "disclosure" issue of THE WITNESS is an exercise in candor, resulting from the conviction of its trustees that if, as they feel, it is good for businesses fully to disclose their activities, so is it for the lesser entities in our society. The Episcopal Church Publishing Company invites any and all other penitent participants in our unjust society to join it in the struggle to incarnate the hope that the "Earth shall be fair, and all its people one." ■

# The Witness

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## How Dormant 'Witness' Came to Life Again

Can a feisty religious journal which has ceased publication for more than two years be brought to life again? And, if so, *should* it be revived, given the social context of the times and the tentative nature of the publishing business?

These were the questions facing seven clergymen who met approximately six years ago to ponder the rebirth of THE WITNESS. This issue is devoted largely to an accounting of what has resulted since that meeting.

Those who gathered as the reconstituted board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company to work out the fate of the journal included six Episcopal bishops and a priest. They were Bishops Morris Arnold, Robert DeWitt, Lloyd Gressle, John Hines, John Krumm and Brooke Mosley; the priest was Dr. Joseph Fletcher.

They were duly impressed that for more than five decades, THE WITNESS had borne spirited testimony to the social obligations laid upon the church by the urgencies of the times. For most of those years the magazine had been animated by the fiery-penned editor, the Rev. William Spofford, an astute observer of society, a tireless protagonist for justice. With his death in 1972, the press ceased to roll; the voice of THE WITNESS was stilled. The new

trustees had to make the decision as to whether that voice would speak again.

And *should* it speak again? This was another hard question. The trustees were aware at that time of the vulnerability of publication ventures. They knew also of the flagging interest in the social concerns which had been the breath and life of THE WITNESS. They asked publishers, editors, business people, theologians and students: Should THE WITNESS resume publication? A wide variety of responses came in. An impartial evaluator would probably have judged that the weight of opinion was negative on the question. The trustees, however, were not impartial. The difficulties in putting out a publication, they felt, posed a serious problem; but the declining interest in the social mission of the church was a challenge. They concluded it was an urgent reason for going ahead. The decision was made. Bishop DeWitt was asked to supervise the trial flight. It took place with the special pre-publication issue of Aug. 25, 1974, featuring the "Philadelphia ordinations" — the "irregular" ordinations of 11 women deacons to the Episcopal priesthood on July 29, 1974.

Almost four years have passed, swiftly. Many changes have been made. Mary Lou Suhor was brought in as

managing editor in 1976, bringing with her a wide ecumenical experience in journalism and social mission, and helping to create a journal of high standards both as to form and content. The original trustees feeling strongly that the board should not be so Right Reverently dominated (six of seven trustees were bishops), initiated a policy of rotation which has resulted in a board membership that is broadly representative (see pages 12-13).

Circulation and paid subscriptions have been growing steadily, in considerable measure due to the editorial independence of the journal, which is free to say what it feels needs to be said, and the addition of Kay Atwater to the staff to implement promotion efforts.

In sum, since its first issue of Jan. 6, 1917, THE WITNESS has given a deep and consistent attention to matters of social justice, and to pressing the scriptural and doctrinal warrants for the church's involvement in that cause. Even more, it has consistently held that the church cannot content itself solely with ministering to the *victims* of injustice, essential though that ministry may be. It must also seek out the root causes of injustice. That is the business we are about as THE WITNESS goes to press in March, 1979.

# THE WITNESS

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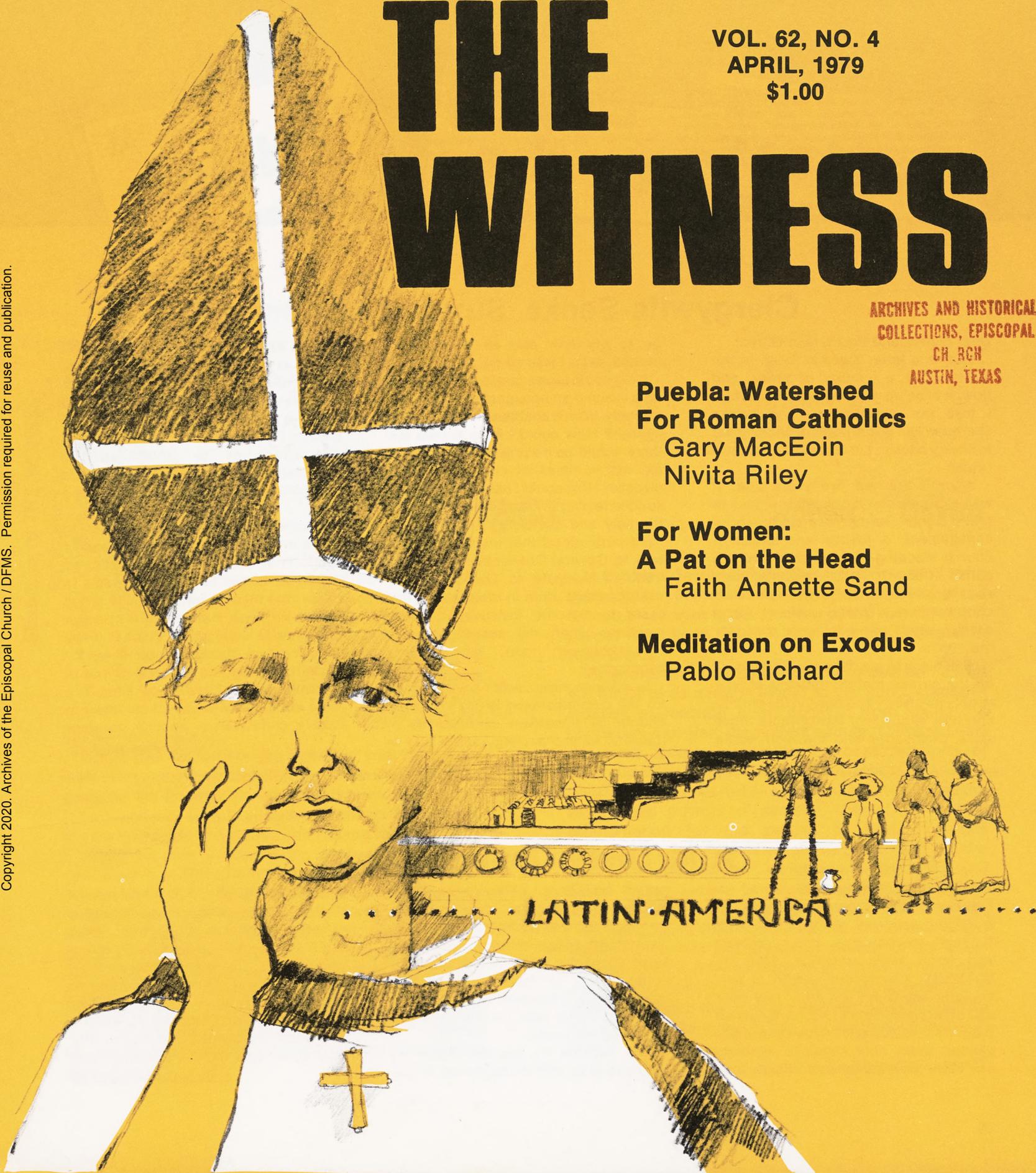
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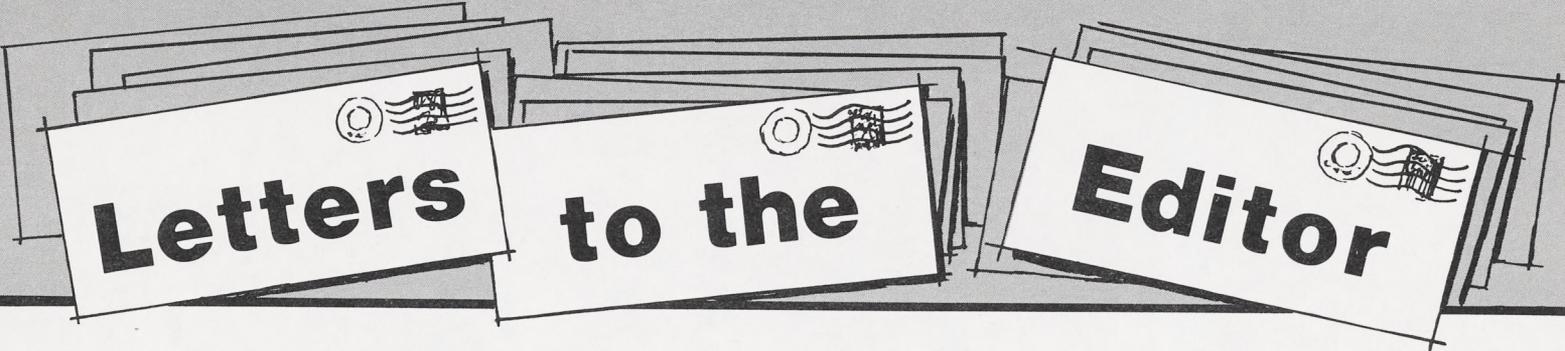
**Puebla: Watershed  
For Roman Catholics**  
Gary MacEoin  
Nivita Riley

**For Women:  
A Pat on the Head**  
Faith Annette Sand

**Meditation on Exodus**  
Pablo Richard

LATIN AMERICA





Letters

to the

Editor

## Clergywife Seeks Support System

Dear Sisters and Brothers in Christ:

This is a letter that has been in the wastebasket a number of times, and now, it is being written hurriedly, before I lose my gumption — and before someone can pooh-pooh it, causing me to scurry back in the corner like a scared rabbit.

When I married five years ago, it was a classic storybook affair — love at first sight, hasty courtship, brief engagement, a joyous and beautiful church wedding. Young priest from a parish in New York City's ghetto marries liberal young writer, devoted churchwoman from another large eastern city. It was a romance made for the 1960's.

How many times did people comment on the perfect match, thinking of how deeply involved I had been in the church and how exquisitely transferable those skills, philosophy and devotion would

be to my new role as clergy wife? Indeed, even I was so deluded.

How could I have guessed that I would now assume an unexpected role, that of a totally disenfranchised woman in the church? How could I have known that there would be no priestly counselor to aid me in times of crisis, sorrow or discord? How could I have predicted the sudden feeling of being on the outside of the laity and the clergy? How could I have understood that instead of being sent to General Convention or being a frequent delegate to Diocesan Convention, as so often in the past, I would seem to become invisible at parish meetings when the search was on, sometimes in vain, for suitable candidates?

In essence, how could I have planned for the circumscribing of my life in the church by unspoken expectations of tradition where a clergyman's wife is

viewed as an appendage of his, useful surely as his right arm but meant to be just as silent.

There was no way to guess. There had been no audible complaints from clergy wives I'd known to heighten my awareness or to enlighten my expectations. I had been insensitive to that telling silence that I now know so well.

I had even been amused at the teasing about my becoming a "dowdy parson's wife." That seemed so unrealistic, so Victorian, it was funny. Little was I to guess that there is today in 1979 a real basis for it. True, there barely is a person who expects a clergyman's wife to dress in dour colors (though my penchant for slacks has raised an eyebrow or two in the small town where I now live). Yet, there are those who expect me never to have a controversial opinion, to steer

*Continued on page 18*

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## And There Comes a Time

Involuntarily I empathize with Dr. Frances Piven's private anger and her frustrated espousal of the oldest of all "voting" mechanisms: mass protests and large scale defiance. (January WITNESS) Ceremonial voting is particularly empty for the inner city poor and others of society's excommunicated third. At best this symbolic exercise has yielded them only symbolic victories and many tangible defeats. Clearly they

cannot influence policy except by "voting" their outrage, their muscles, their cunning and despair. They deeply understand triage though they have never heard the word. In our system's fiscal crises by formulae they are jettisoned by a faceless elite of which many churches and parishioners are subsorning elements.

This then is to ask Dr. Piven or someone else with competence in the

necessarily related fields to analyze the all too credible power of elitism in our society. Her thesis, in "Private Anger and Public Protest," seems to fly in the face of this institutionalized and all pervasive power. Elitism, according to Thomas R. Dye and L. Harmon Zeigler (in *The Irony of Democracy*), asserts that "society is divided into the few who have power and the many who do not;

*Continued on page 18*

# THE WITNESS

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## Praxis Makes Perfect

Robert L. DeWitt

The bible has two great companion stories of God's acting on behalf of people — the Passover in the Old Testament and the Resurrection in the New Testament. Each action was a response to a specific human tragedy: one was the enslavement in Egypt of the people of Israel, the other was the crucifixion. Each signaled the release of people for a new and cooperating relationship with God in the ongoing process of creation.

In the Old Testament the Passover was the spring which released the people from their bondage, making possible the Exodus. But God's initiatives always call for a response. God is determined that people join in the divine efforts of creation and redemption. Praxis — a word we are encountering more frequently — denotes the participation of people in that process of the transformation of society. God is leading the world toward "a new heaven and a new earth", and praxis refers to people cooperating with this historical destiny. The word essentially means action in a reciprocal relationship with theory, faith linked with practice, each informing the other. In this issue of THE WITNESS Pablo Richard presents some arresting historical notes on the Exodus, attempting to identify the praxis which that saving event called forth on the part of people.

In the New Testament the Resurrection called forth the people of the new covenant, and the history of the church since then is the account of the ways in which people have been faithful, and at times faithless, in their praxis.

Whenever the church faces a hard decision about the thrust of its mission in and to the world, stubborn realities of reaction often debar it from taking the courageous course, the faithful course. These realities are such factors as prudential considerations of institutional self-preservation, or an unholy alliance — unofficial but powerful — between the church and the established powers of society. This is not a new phenomenon for the people of God. The Old Testament prophets bridled at this same reality in the life of the nation-church which was Israel of old. And Good Friday recalls to Christians this same harsh reality of a fallen world awaiting redemption.

In the days of those prophets, as at the time of the resurrection, this circumstance called for an "over-against" factor, the intervention of a new force, a new praxis. It required people who would at that time and in that place speak out for and represent what the official church at that time and in that place was not capable of doing.

*Continued on page 17*

# Puebla: Watershed For Roman Catholics

by Gary MacEoin and Nivita Riley

*"Latin America today holds 40% of all Roman Catholics, will hold 50% by the year 2000. A Considerable part of the leadership, perhaps more than half, will follow the Puebla guidelines and retreat to the protective sacristy womb, condemning itself to irrelevancy and sterility. But many bishops, priests and religious will stay with the suffering people and share their trials, hopes and ultimate victory. The church of tomorrow will be as different from that of yesterday as was Constantinian Christendom from the church of the catacombs . . ."*

More clearly than ever before, the profound division within the Latin American Roman Catholic Church was evident at the Third Episcopal Conference, Puebla, Mexico, which ended mid-February. On the one side, those who share the cornmeal soup of the poor; on the other, those who from a distance watch them consume their miserable repast.

The two attitudes could almost be distinguished by country. Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Colombia were overwhelmingly conservative. Brazil led the progressives, supported by Peru, Ecuador and some Central Americans. The Mexicans attempted an unstable balancing act, with two Mexican bishops — Manuel Talamas and Jose Llaguno — openly with the progressives.

The objectives of the conservatives were clear, having been set out in the preparatory documents prepared by the bishops' secretariat (CELAM) headed by Colombian Bishop Alfonso Lopez Trujillo. They wanted an outright condemnation of the theology of liberation because it incorporates Marxist ideas incompatible with church teaching. They also wanted to return the clergy to their traditional function of support of the status quo, abandoning the poor for whom in many countries they today constitute the only voice of protest against ever-growing oppression. And, since an "enemy" is always useful to distract people from their real needs, they wanted to revive the anti-Protestantism that has been dormant and by many believed dead since Vatican Council II.

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Gary MacEoin and Nivita Riley have an academic background in both Latin American and church affairs, and a combined experience of reporting on world events for half a century between them.

The conservatives were moving from enormous strength. Not only had Lopez Trujillo packed the CELAM secretariat with his own people, but he had the support of the Roman Curia, desperately anxious to maintain the status quo everywhere because of its involvement with the beleaguered Christian Democrats in Italy. This alliance was able to exclude all progressive Latin American theologians from the Puebla Conference, putting the drafting of documents in the hands of conservative Europeans identified as hostile to the theology of liberation. It was said they had the backing of Latin American military dictators and of United States policy makers who shared their fear of social and political change. And their publicity was generously funded by such extreme rightwing Catholic foundations as DeRance of Milwaukee and the European-based Aid to the Suffering Church.

Recognizing the conservative trend in both church and society worldwide in the 1970s, the progressives sought mainly to retain the openings gained at Medellin. Their main argument was that Medellin was neither fully implemented nor exhausted. In addition, the conditions it had described had worsened: Peasants exploited; Indians in subhuman conditions on the margin of society; young people frustrated and disoriented; women robbed of their human and Christian dignity; ever-bigger and more fetid slums; growing unemployment and underemployment.

Pope John Paul II's statements on his visit to open the conference tended to favor the conservatives more than the progressives. Indeed, his major speeches echoed — and presumably were written by — Lopez Trujillo and his associates. He told priests and nuns that they were not politicians and should avoid the tendency "to substitute

action for prayer." At the formal opening ceremony, he included only one passing reference to the poor. He deplored interpretations of the Medellin documents that were "sometimes contradictory and not always correct or beneficial to the church." And he also had a warning against "excesses" of which some theologians of liberation were "guilty."

His final talks, to the Indians of Oaxaca and the industrial workers of Guadalajara struck a significantly different note, suggesting that feedback on his earlier statements caused him to throw away the prewritten texts and speak for himself. At Oaxaca there was a ringing condemnation of poverty and a clear support of the demands of the Indians to have their lands restored to them. At Guadalajara, he called on the workers — as he had frequently done in Poland — to stand up for their rights. The Pope's visit did more for the conservatives than for the progressives, yet left the major conference issues unresolved.

As the conference got under way, the conservatives made a grave tactical blunder. They had chosen Puebla as probably the most reactionary city in all of Latin America, a place where the bishops would be isolated from outside influences. They decided to mobilize the reactionary opinion of Puebla and present it as representative of what the Latin American "faithful" believed. The local newspapers labeled moderate members of the conference, including Cardinal Landazuri Ricketts of Peru and Archbishop Marcos McGrath of Panama, as subversives and cryptocommunist. The local businessman's council blamed "Marxism in cassocks" as the cause of inflation,

economic instability and trade unions. Women paraded the streets shouting "Christianos, si; comunistas no." Such tactics brought a strong protest from the three presidents of the conference.

This blatant interference undoubtedly helped to make the final documents less conservative than had been anticipated. But they bear all the marks of compromise — self-contradictory, windy, ambiguous, and dull. Undoubtedly, the most significant point is that they do not attempt to condemn the theology of liberation. That represents an overwhelming defeat for Lopez Trujillo. Besides, what slight credibility he may have had was destroyed by the publication in Mexico City's prestigious newspaper *Uno Mas Uno*, of a private letter he had written to a bishop friend a few days after Pope John Paul II was elected. It reveals him as an intriguer without moral or ethical concerns. It effectively rules him out as next president of CELAM, probably also ends his ambition to be named a cardinal.

The final Puebla document dealing with the *comunidades de base* (grassroots communities) that have sprung up everywhere since Medellin is one of the most constructive. Today there are more than 100,000 of them, according to a coordinating center in Mexico. The Brazilians claim to have at least 80,000. A typical community will have 15 to 20 members, usually poor people and neighbors. Each develops its own internal leadership, its priorities and objectives. Church conservatives and military governments



condemn them as centers of conspiracy and Marxist infiltration.

The fact that the Puebla document encourages them is, consequently, important. However, it hedges its approval with an insistence on hierarchical control — totally contrary to the spirit of these communities. If they have a relationship with a priest or minister (and most of them do), it is based on agreement and mutual respect. The stress is on the development of ministry among their own ranks, thus avoiding “clericalization.” They do not accept a priest as pastor and leader just because the bishop assigns him. Some even avoid using the word “minister” because of its clerical overtones, referring to those who perform community services as “animators” or “pastoral agents.” In spite of the reservations in the Puebla document, it is unlikely that this substantial autonomy and distance from the institutional structures will disappear.

On the contrary, the need for the grassroots communities to maintain their internal leadership and autonomy has increased because of a bewildering volte-face on the issue of clerical leadership of the oppressed masses. Taking off from the Pope’s warning to the clergy not to become involved in partisan politics, the conference made a radical distinction between what “belongs” to the laity, and what is of the “competence” of bishops, priests and religious (nuns and brothers). It defines all these officially identified members of the church institution as “ministers of the unity of the church.” They deal with politics “in the wider and superior sense . . . the common good . . . fundamental community values . . . internal harmony and external security,” and such things.

The activities of citizens who seek to resolve “economic, political and social questions,” however, is declared to be “the proper sphere of the laity.” It is precisely in these areas that the battle for human rights and dignity is being fought throughout Latin America, and in most countries all organized resistance other than that under the umbrella of the church has long been crushed. If the clergy were now to withdraw, as the Puebla document recommends, the people would be left defenseless to their enemies.

Extensive discussion with leaders or progressive Catholic movements from all over Latin American who had come to Puebla to make their needs heard, even though from outside the seminary prison within which the bishops had isolated themselves, has convinced us that those who have shared the cornmeal soup of the poor will continue to do so. As Nicaraguan priest, poet and guerrilla leader Ernesto Cardenal expressed it to a cheering audience at Puebla: “*No ecclesiastical document will stop us doing what the Gospel tells us to do.*”

Puebla is thus a clear watershed. Latin America today

holds 40% of all Roman Catholics, will hold 50% by the year 2000. Some considerable part of the leadership, perhaps more than half, will follow the Puebla guidelines and retreat to the protective sacristy womb, condemning itself to irrelevancy and sterility. But many bishops, priests and religious will stay with the suffering people and share their trials, their hopes, their ultimate victory. We can expect that church of tomorrow to be as different from that of yesterday, as was the Constantinian Christendom from the church of the catacombs. The result, far from being a break with the past, will be a return to Christian roots.

One of the more insidious elements in the advance documentation issued by the CELAM secretariat was the charge that a significant factor in the decline of religious belief and practice resulted from the inroads of “liberal” Protestantism. Although toned down in the Puebla statements, the innuendo remains. Indifferentism, they say, is encouraged by religious pluralism. In addition, they charge that many “sectors” are clearly and stubbornly anti-Catholic. The major Protestant contributions to the struggle for liberation are ignored, and ecumenism is limited to “dialogue” and “human development.” Here again, the bishops only reveal how far removed they are from reality. The Reformation as a divisive issue has ended in Latin America. From here on, what exists are progressive Catholics and Protestants against conservative Catholics and Protestants. No document will change that fact. ■

***“Let me say, at the risk of appearing ridiculous, that the true revolutionary is guided by strong feelings of love.”***

**— Che Guevara**

love  
comes  
walking  
on  
a  
fire  
spun  
tight  
sun  
gold  
high  
tension  
wire  
we  
dance  
or  
die

**— linda backiel**

Women at Puebla:

# A Paternalistic Pat on the Head

by Faith Annette Sand

*“Unfortunately, Latin American bishops need a lot of consciousness-raising as to the role of women in the church.”*

There were 364 official delegates to the third Latin American Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference in Puebla — of whom 23 were women.

What can be said of a church that allows 23 women to speak for 140,000 nuns plus 141 million Catholic women while there are 341 men representing the 47,000 priests and 135 million men in the Latin American church? The officials were quick to point out that it was better than Medellin, the last bishops' conference in 1968, where only 13 women were in attendance. But “better” is still not speaking to the ever-widening gap between the reality and the fantasies of the church's hierarchy.

In a continent where there is one ordained priest for every 6,000 Catholics no one even whispered about the possibility of ordaining women willing to fill in the horrendous gap. A few slight references were made to the role of women in promoting grass roots communities, but it appears that the Catholic hierarchy would rather lose the war than surrender this battle. The only feasible explanation to the male hierarchy's refusal to look at the women's issue with any kind of seriousness seems to be their unwillingness to give up their paternalistic, prestigious status. If women are given even a modicum of power in the church, some men might have to move over. Or some men won't be promoted as hoped.

The sad part of Puebla was that so few Christ-like qualities were shown by these towering representatives of “Christ's church on earth.” Certainly Jesus never ignored or belittled women during his peregrination here on earth. Yet one of the privileged 23 women at Puebla — the mother superior of a large order — told how many bishops mocked the comments any woman dared to contribute to the sessions. She overheard one bishop lean towards another to

**Faith Annette Sand** is a freelance religious writer with 18 years experience in Latin America.



Drawing by Bonnie Acker/WIN.

conjecture who had written that speech for a woman speaking on a theological issue.

Of course, there were some who spoke out for women. Certainly Dom Helder Camara — the man who first suggested forming a Latin American bishops conference and called the first meeting in Rio in 1955 — has long been a strong advocate of women's rights within the church. And the Puebla document, besides asking pointed questions such as “Do we in fact live the gospel of Jesus Christ in our continent?” speaks to the oppression of women in a few passages, admitting that “in some cultural groups the women are placed in inferior positions.” Some, like the

Latin American bishops "cultural" group. And like most every other Latin American "cultural" group.

When speaking of the participation of the laity in the church the document says that "*women merit special mention*" because they "*today enjoy a participation which each day takes on greater importance in pastoral responsibilities, although in some places this participation is still not sufficiently appreciated.*" Like by the Latin American bishops. The document also admitted that when speaking of the oppression of the indigenous people, the workers, and the marginalized in the cities, that it had to be admitted that "*women in these social categories . . . are doubly oppressed and marginalized.*"

That the document was this vocal about the oppression of women in Latin America is due in a large part to a group who came to Puebla under the aegis of Betsie Hollants and the women's documentation center — CIDHAL — in Cuernavaca, Mexico. In Puebla they called themselves "Women for Dialogue." Rosemary Ruether was there with a group from Garrett Seminary in Chicago, where she teaches. The Women's Ordination Conference also sent representatives from the States. Seminars were held examining the historical roots of discrimination against women and how the institutional church has used women in religious orders to maintain the structures of domination.

The conservative organizers of Puebla had tried to exclude progressive voices from the conference and to preclude any threatening exchange of ideas by not allowing the "enemy" to participate. This meant no liberation theologians should be allowed, nor strong women, nor a real ecumenical presence. The working theory was that if the circle was small enough, control could be maintained. The problem was that within that circle there were some voices, such as Dom Helder's, which couldn't be eliminated. Conservatives knew they had to neutralize these. So 117 Curia-appointed delegates were added to the list of the 1975 representatives from Latin America.

But this manipulation was too obvious, too neat. So the bishops invited the liberation theologians to attend and stay "extramurally" and be available to give "counsel." It didn't take long to figure out that most of the action was happening outside those well-guarded walls of the Palafoxian Seminary where the conference was going on. (A conservative estimate says that at least a fourth of the document was written outside the walls by the excluded theologians who kept in daily contact with various bishops.)

And it didn't take newsmen long to discover that a lot more information was available at the "unofficial" news conferences sponsored daily by a local group of "interested lay persons" — CENCOS, a documentation center in Mexico City. The CENCOS conferences not only gave

theologians such as Gustavo Gutierrez, Leonardo Boff and Jon Sobrino plus liberal bishops a chance to meet the press with a freedom of exchange which was prohibited from the "official" news conferences, but it also provided the women in Puebla a forum for their discussions.

It was here that the CIDHAL group got to dialogue with the media and interested liberation theologians. It was here that the mothers from El Salvador who came all the way by bus to appeal to the bishops got someone to listen to them. They are almost without hope in their search for someone to intercede with their government, to discover the whereabouts and condition of their sons — arrested and most likely tortured for disagreeing with the government. Here the women from Argentina came — the women who walk every Thursday in that mute protest at the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires. They brought a computerized list of the 14,000 people who have disappeared in the last 10 years in Argentina. (To the government these people have become "non-persons." But when one looks into the eyes of a mother who has two sons on that list, one knows that no bureaucratic double-talk can ever make her own flesh and blood into a "non-person.") These women came to appeal to the church as the only power which could speak to repressive governments.

Venezuelan liberation theologian, Pedro Trigo, said that the real tragedy of the Catholic Church at Puebla was that she again demonstrated that she is incapable of being truly self-critical. The church is not asking the right questions. For example, instead of questioning the ethics of a paternalistic structure which allows for the exploitation of women within the church, she speaks to women as though they were children, serfs, concubines.

That was the problem for women at Puebla. Women are needed as the submissive servants to the male-dominating class. It might not be too Christian, but it is comfortable. The document drafted in Puebla acknowledges that the Catholic Church in Latin America is losing the intellectual, the youth, the worker. The church no longer is a viable part of their lives. Because the Catholic Church is attended so faithfully by "pietistic" women, the church is probably not aware that it is also losing strong women, intellectual women, working women.

One hopeful sign that the bishops are becoming a bit anxious about the future is evidenced in a joke circulated at Puebla. It allowed that "the prophets are saying that at the Third Vatican Council the bishops will be allowed to bring their wives. At the Fourth Vatican Council they'll bring their husbands."

The laughter was a bit thin. Unfortunately, the Latin American bishops need a lot of consciousness-raising as to women's role in the church. ■

# Asking Too Many Questions

by Roger H. Wood

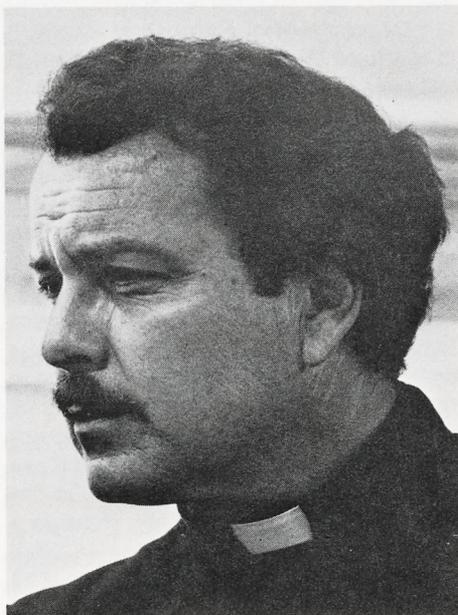
At a cocktail party in Carmel several years ago, I learned not to ask a stranger, "What do you do?" because he might be comfortably unemployed as the heir to a San Francisco fortune. At a dinner party in Chester County, Pa., I learned not to ask the hostess how it came about that her view of fields and woods is so untroubled by houses, roads and power lines, because it might be she owns the land as far as the eye can see.

Many of us in recent years have learned not to ask the parents of young couples who are living together, "Oh, when were they married?" because it might be they never were. In the barrios of East Los Angeles, I have learned not to ask a mother where her son has gone for what she calls a "vacation" because she might be telling me he is in jail.

The Church of the Epiphany, along with 20 Roman Catholic parishes in the United Neighborhoods Organization, recently engaged in a massive voter registration drive in East Los Angeles. We learned not to press the question, "Well, why don't you want to register?" because many are not citizens. We have also learned in recent years not to press the question to those in need, "Well, why haven't you applied for medical — or food stamps — or welfare — or unemployment — or worker's compensation?" because many do not have documents to prove their eligibility for such services.

The fact is that great numbers of people with whom we live and to whom we minister in Lincoln Heights are undocumented. They are not able to prove they are legal residents of California. Such persons are part of the

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fabric of the community and we can only guess as to how many and who they are. Our understanding of ministry is to be the church in the name of Jesus Christ where we are, and we do not ask too many questions.

Our experience living and working with individuals and families that we know or suspect to be undocumented is overwhelmingly positive. That is one reason why we deplore the term "illegal alien." Of course it is a technically and legally correct term, but it is not pastoral. Webster's defines "alien" as "wholly different in nature; incongruous; unsympathetic; adverse." And to label a person "illegal" is a contradiction in terms.

Furthermore, since undocumented persons either work or are dependent upon someone who does, we believe "undocumented workers" is the most appropriate description for this group in our community.

At Epiphany, we try to remember our history in connection with those

undocumented workers who come from Mexico. Any Mexican who received a grammar school education in Mexico is familiar with the details of the Mexican War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Such persons certainly do not consider themselves aliens in a land that by any objective reading of history was taken from Mexico in an unjust war.

Until recently almost everything reported in the media about undocumented workers was alarmist and often hysterical. There were shrill allegations that "illegal aliens" are the cause of unemployment, crime and disease and are draining away tax dollars by their wholesale dependence upon public services. Such charges are becoming less fashionable as their irresponsibility and unsubstantiated factual bases are gradually exposed. Studies from Orange, San Diego and Los Angeles Counties indicate that undocumented workers contribute far more in taxes and fees than they receive in services. Welfare departments report few errors in their screening processes. The undocumented are unable to collect on the deductions from their pay checks for social security, worker's comp, and unemployment insurance.

The Hollenbeck Division of the Los Angeles Police Department serves the major portion of the city part of East Los Angeles where many undocumented immigrants live, shop and recreate. Recent reports show the division has one of the most favorable records of crime statistics in the city. There is no evidence that our streets are any less safe than elsewhere. And Epiphany Church is open and unguarded for prayer and meditation during daylight hours most days of the week.

Nobody seems to be able to arrive at definitive conclusions as to the

*Continued on page 19*

# How War Economy Subverts

For a century, from 1865 to 1965, the United States paid the highest wages in the world in its manufacturing industries. It not only did that — it also produced goods and services that were acceptable and saleable in American markets and abroad as well. But something happened, roughly in the 1960s, that made it impossible for many American firms and factories to hold their former markets.

What happened to change that capability was the introduction of a permanent war economy. By war economy I mean an economy in which the military product is counted as an ordinary economic end product. In any industrialized society two categories dominate the scene in terms of resources. One is capital — that refers not simply to money, it refers to real resources — the personnel hours, the machinery and the power, the plant, the equipment — used for production. The second category is technology, which refers to the ideas, to technique. In industrial society capital and technology control the capability for production.

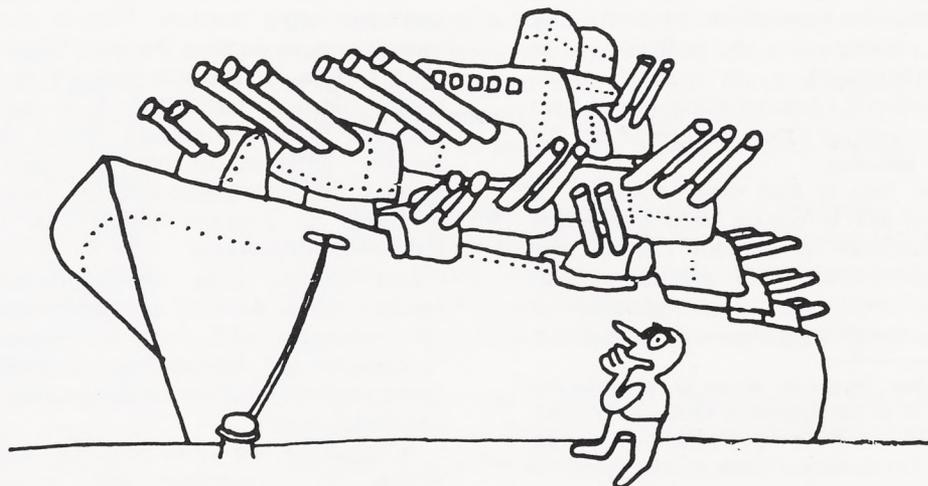
What happens to capital and technology in a war economy? From

1951 until the present day, *every year*, the fresh capital fund made available to the Department of Defense is larger in magnitude than the capital fund that is left over to the managements of all U.S. corporations after they have paid taxes. To say the whole thing differently, every year since 1951, the net profits of U.S. corporations, including the military-serving ones, are less, all together, than the big block of fresh resources made available to the Department of Defense.

The first person to announce this was Dwight Eisenhower, in his last address before he left Washington. A sentence in that address says this plainly. It was as though never heard, and if heard, not understood. So in terms of capital there had been a great transformation in the American economy; namely, there is a sector of control no longer in Wall Street, no longer in the banks. The control of capital has shifted rather to the Federal Government. That is not to say that private capitalism is not there. It is still there, but as far as control is concerned it has been superseded by state capitalism. The Federal Government utterly dominates in the control of resources for technical research and development. There's no

question we turn out the flashiest nuclear submarines and B-1 Bombers of an intricacy that stagger the imagination.

But there is no free lunch. Resources used in one place are not available in another. The manhours and the brains, the material wealth, used up in the military enterprise in the form of capital and technology are not available elsewhere. And the consequence has been that the century long capability of U.S. industrial firms to offset cost increases came to a halt just about 1965. Until 1965 the average annual rate of industrial productivity averaged about 3% a year and that 3% compounded year after year made this country the place of riches that it is. This offset production-cost increases and put a brake on rising prices. But from 1965 to 1970 the average annual productivity growth rate in the U.S. dropped to 2.1%. From 1970 to 1975 it dropped to 1.8% — lower than any other industrialized country. As this rate of growth diminished, the ability of U.S. firms to offset cost increases diminished. U.S. firms thereby proceeded to pass cost increases along to the consumer. As cost increases were passed along, prices rose to an



# National Budget

by Seymour Melman

inflationary rate. As price increases proceeded in the United States, goods produced abroad became increasingly competitive with those produced here, and there was a process of displacement.

Here then is the duality. An inflation mechanism is set in motion which renders important parts of industrial and other firms non-competitive, compelling the closing of factories and firms. So the twin effect of inflation and unemployment is explicable only in terms of understanding the role and the effects of a permanent war economy and the maintenance of this system.

A war economy has a second effect that is crucial today. It has the effect of transferring the location of wealth in the nation. It does not do this through market mechanisms by which private capital accumulates wealth and organized capital for reinvestment. Under state capitalism, the method of capital accumulation is through the tax process. And the tax process has been operated so as to produce a sustained effect now for more than a decade. It was identified in the late 1960s, and proceeds to the present day. The mechanism is this: The states that

include the heartland of the U.S. industrial system, those of the Midwest and the Northeast, tend to pay into the Federal Government much more in taxes than the Federal Government returns to them. In 1965 the Federal Government was extracting from New York state \$7.4 billion more than it spent there for all purposes. The differential has increased, by the way, since that time. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, becoming concerned with the economy of New York, produced a statement on June 27, 1977 which essentially affirmed and restated this same mechanism. Moynihan's response was the conventional one; namely, build the military bases in New York state of in Texas. This in fact would do something for reversing the flow of purchasing power within the economy which had been set in motion towards the Sunbelt for 15 years, but which would do nothing at all to restore productive competence in U.S. industry. Missiles, bombers and nuclear submarines do not contribute to the standard of living. Urban decline cannot be reversed so long as the Federal Government uses its tax system to feed its military enterprise and starve the

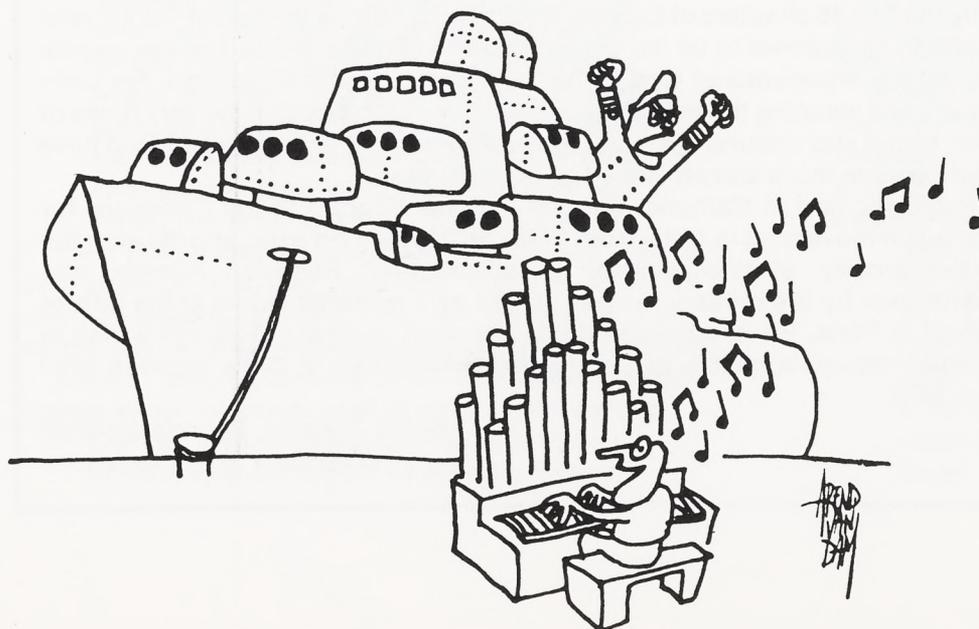
urban economy.

Accordingly it is of crucial importance to address the issue of conversion from military to civilian economy. But I can't identify a single person in Federal Government who is concerned with the reversal of the arms race and the possible release of resources that might be attempted thereupon. Nor do I know how to identify in the entire executive branch any person who's concerned with the problem of conversion from military to civilian economy.

Now I want to suggest three kinds of political-economic moves we could initiate with respect to these problems. The first is to set up in every metropolitan center a planning group for the future of the city. The future of Cleveland; the future of Denver; the future of New York — you name it. It would be the task of every one of these groups to lay out a concrete set of economic, architectural, planning specifications for the revitalization of these cities.

I think such plans have to have two characteristics: One, they have to be serious, that is they all must have price tags and timetables. Second, the plan

*Continued on page 17*





## Liberation Theologian Meditates on 'Exodus'

A renewed interest in studying the Bible has been one of the characteristics of Latin America's theologians of liberation. Concerned as they are with the political, economic and social conditions of Latin America's workers, peasants and marginals, these theologians have found new meaning in Jesus' words of Good News to the poor and liberty to the captives. The families of disappeared prisoners in Argentina, Chile, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Mexico, the unemployed and the politically repressed throughout Latin America have found new hope and direction in realizing that the Bible unconditionally gives priority to the poor and oppressed.

The Exodus story is read with special interest. It is an epic account of the liberation of the Hebrew people and of their struggle against the oppressive power of the Egyptian Pharaoh. Pablo Richard, a Chilean theologian now in exile from his homeland, has captured the spirit of this approach to the Scriptures within the context of the struggle of Latin Americans. Latin Americans are seeking liberation from an international political and economic system based on an unequal distribution of goods, with the power for decision making concentrated in the hands of a few owners generally located in the First World.

Richard's reading of the Exodus, as reproduced in THE WITNESS, covers only the first 15 chapters of Exodus. Basically he follows the text of the Yahwist tradition considered to be the oldest. Richard shows how the Hebrew people placed the experience of God at the heart of their political struggle. For Latin Americans resisting the military dictatorships which threaten the very fibers of their social and cultural systems, spirituality and the experience of God have also become more closely linked to political praxis.

Pablo Richard, a Catholic, was the national director of the Christians for Socialism movement in Chile from 1970-1973. Since his exile, shortly after the democratically elected Marxist government of Salvador Allende was overthrown by the military, he has served as a research fellow at the Centre Lebret in Paris. He is currently doing research in Costa Rica. His works in Spanish include a history of Christians for Socialism in Chile between 1970 and 1973.

*David J. Kalke, Secretariat Staff  
Theology in the Americas*

# Searching for God in the Struggle for Liberation

by Pablo Richard

In the 13th century B.C. the Israelites are in Egypt as a working people. The king of Egypt is afraid of this labor force. It is so large that its members might rise up against his interests. A war would put the system of domination in crisis and the slaves would be able to take advantage of this to rebel. To hinder all possible subversion, Pharaoh decides to exploit this enslaved people:

*And he said to his people, "Behold, the people of Israel are too many and too mighty for us. Come, let us deal shrewdly with them, lest they multiply, and, if war befall us, they join our enemies and fight against us and escape from the land." Therefore they set taskmasters over them to afflict them with heavy burdens; and they built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses. But the more they were oppressed, the more they multiplied and the more they spread abroad. And the Egyptians were in dread of the people of Israel. So they made the people of Israel serve with rigor, and made their lives bitter with hard service, in mortar and brick, and in all kinds of work in the field; in all their work they made them serve with rigor. (EXODUS 1:9-14)*

There is only one step between the exploitation of labor and genocide. The king takes that step and orders all newborn males to be killed. This order exposes the crimes carried out every day by exploitation (EXODUS 1:15-22).

When a people's slavery becomes intolerable the leaders appear whom the people need in order to become free:

*One day, when Moses had grown up, he went out to his people and looked on their burdens; and*

*he saw an Egyptian beating a Hebrew, one of his people. He looked this way and that, and seeing no one he killed the Egyptian and hid him in the sand. . . . When Pharaoh heard of it, he sought to kill Moses. (EXODUS 2:11-12,15)*

Moses is not a slave; by adoption he belongs to the king's family. Frequently in history the leaders of an exploited people belong to a different class. But they do not become leaders of the people until they make a radical definitive break with their own class.

Moses begins to discover the situation of slavery of his brothers, but he does not commit himself to them or break off definitively with his class until he goes into action and kills an Egyptian. The act doesn't mean anything to the people; in fact, it causes a negative reaction. But for Moses personally it has great importance. No leader can demand that the people understand his personal situation, however important it may be.

*And the people of Israel groaned under their bondage, and cried out for help, and their cry under bondage came up to God. And God heard their groaning, and God remembered the covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God saw the people of Israel, and God knew their condition. (EXODUS 2:23-25)*

The cry of exploited people, because of their exploitation, is something that hurts, something we never want to hear. The cries are curses, insults, blasphemies and unbearable groans. When exploitation degrades a person he or she protests like a degraded being, not the way a "decent" person would. The slave people experience the nearness of God. God hears their protest. He is not scandalized by the anger or indignation of the exploited people.

This discovery of the God-who-hears-rebellion expresses a first becoming aware, a first hope: if God hears, liberation is possible. And vice versa, if liberation is possible, it is because there is a God who hears us.

Moses, the leader, also hears the cry of the slaves and this desperate cry leads him to God. But the leader, out ahead of the people, discovers a God who not only hears but who has a strategy of liberation for his people. A higher degree of awareness leads him to a deeper experience of God:

*Then the Lord said, "I have seen the affliction of my people who are in Egypt, and have heard their cry because of their taskmasters; I know their sufferings, and I have come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land to a good and broad land, a land, a land flowing with milk and honey, . . . Come, I will send you to Pharaoh that*

*you may bring forth my people out of Egypt.”*  
(EXODUS 3:7-8,10)

It is impossible for a rich person to hear the God of the Exodus unless he gives up his riches. The mighty of this world will not discover this God who listens to the “rabble” and makes subversive plans against the established order. Only exploited people can discover the God of the Exodus. Nor is it easy to be a leader. In the struggle for liberation a person triumphs or dies. Before leading his people, Moses has to settle accounts with himself.

No leader is worthy of carrying out liberating violence unless he or she has first done liberating violence in their own hearts. Within himself Moses has to subdue the coward, the deserter, the hidden accomplice of exploitation which dwells within him. The more Moses tries to master himself the better he comes to know this intransigent God whose liberating disposition cannot be detained. The better Moses knows this intransigent God the more willing he is to struggle:

*But Moses said to the Lord, “Oh, my Lord, I am not eloquent, either heretofore or since thou has spoken to thy servant; but I am slow of speech and of tongue.” Then the Lord said to him, “Who has made man’s mouth? Who makes him dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? Is it not I, the Lord? Now therefore go, and I will be with your mouth and teach you what you shall speak.”*  
(EXODUS 4:10-12)

Moses can no longer look back. The impatience of the people shows him the impatience of God. When he manages to dominate his personal insecurity, Moses discovers the liberating design of God. The divine experience can only be, Go Forward! Having passed through the crisis of leadership Moses becomes an “agitator for subversion.” He acts in an orderly, planned way, adapting to the social structure of the Hebrew people at that time:

*And Moses told Aaron all the words of the Lord with which he had sent him, and all the signs which he had charged him to do. Then Moses and Aaron went and gathered together all the elders of the people of Israel. And Aaron spoke all the words which the Lord had spoken to Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. And the people believed; and when they heard that the Lord had visited the people of Israel and had seen their affliction, they bowed their heads and worshipped. (EXODUS 4:28-30)*

The struggle begins: An escape plan is drawn up and peaceful conversations take place at a high level. The peaceful dialogue is a useless but necessary gesture. When the time of violence comes, there might be doubt of not

having exhausted first all possible means of avoiding it. Unfortunately, exploited people learn more slowly than the exploiters:

*Afterward Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh and said, “Thus says the Lord, the God of Israel, ‘Let my people go, that they may hold a feast to me in the wilderness.’” But Pharaoh said, “Who is the Lord, that I should heed this voice and let Israel go? I do not know the Lord, and moreover I will not let Israel go.” Then they said, “The God of the Hebrews has met with us; let us go, we pray, a three days’ journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to the Lord, lest God fall upon us with pestilence or with the sword.” But the king of Egypt said to them, “Moses and Aaron, why do you take the people away from their work? Get to your burdens.” And Pharaoh said, “Behold the people of the land are now many and you make them rest from their burdens!”*  
(EXODUS 5:1-5)

The three-day feast in the desert could be a religious coverup for a political liberation tactic. It could also be an attempt to recover, in a religious environment, the people’s identity and thus prepare them for liberation. In any case, the religious feast is clearly linked to a plan of escape and the biblical author has no problem with seeing God mixed up in political tactical maneuvers.

The king’s reaction has to be one of refusal. He is incapable of knowing the God of Israel because he has never heard the cries of the people and the groaning of his slaves. For him to know God would mean that he would have to disappear as an exploiter. An exploiter cannot believe in a God-who-frees slaves.

For the king of Egypt, people and their personal interests or popular beliefs are of no use at all if they do not serve to increase productive capacity. Besides, the king is perfectly conscious that something is being hatched against him. It is dangerous for slaves to have any ideas about life different from their actual condition. The king’s response to the first peaceful dialogue is an order to increase the exploitation. This is the normal way to subdue the minds of slaves:

*The same day Pharaoh commanded the taskmasters of the people and their foremen, “You shall no longer give the people straw to make bricks, as heretofore; let them go and gather straw for themselves. But the number of bricks which they made heretofore you shall lay upon them, you shall by no means lessen it; for they are idle; therefore they cry, ‘Let us go and sacrifice to our God.’ Let heavier work be laid upon the men that they may labor at it and pay*

*no regard to lying words." So the taskmasters and the foremen of the people went out and said to the people, "Thus says Pharaoh, 'I will not give you straw. Go yourselves, get your straw wherever you can find it; but your work will not be lessened in the least'."*

*Then the foreman of the people of Israel came and cried to Pharaoh, "Why do you deal thus with your servants? No straw is given to your servants, yet they say to us, 'Make bricks!' And behold, your servants are beaten; but the fault is your own people." But he said, "You are idle, you are idle; therefore you say, 'Let us go and sacrifice to the Lord.' Go now, and work; for no straw shall be given you, yet you shall deliver the same number of bricks." (EXODUS 5:6-11, 15-18)*

The plan of liberation, which is the first sign of a new awareness, unleashes more repression. The repression seeks a brutalization of the people sufficient to assure the necessary productivity from their work. The exploiter justifies his action by classifying the desire for liberation as a moral vice — laziness. The people's freedom always means a loss of profits for exploiters; and the freedom to exploit is maintained by trampling down the working people.

Oppression and repression always attempt to demobilize the people, discourage their leaders and produce a confrontation between the masses and their chiefs:

*The foremen of the people of Israel saw that they were in evil plight, when they said, "You shall by no means lessen your daily number of bricks." They met Moses and Aaron, who were waiting for them, "The Lord look upon you and judge, because you have made us offensive in the sight of Pharaoh and his servants, and have put a sword in their hand to kill us."*

*Then Moses turned again to the Lord and said, "Lord, why didst thou ever send me? For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he has done evil to this people, and thou hast not delivered thy people at all." (EXODUS 5:19-23)*

What has failed is one form of struggle, not the liberation project itself. When exploiters, by their hardness, exclude peaceful means of liberation, they oblige the people to shift to a higher level of struggle. The people also understand that they cannot show weakness or vacillation in the struggle. Weakness on their part only makes the exploiter more cruel.

The first stage of the struggle is over and Moses learns from the experience. Having gone through the peaceful dialogue stage he moves on to the next level and, at the same time, to a deeper experience with the liberating God.

Now violent acts take place which the biblical author presents as miracles. They are the "ten plagues of Egypt." We might ask whether in actual history the events were miracles or actions by the people against the Egyptians, "guerrilla actions" — destruction of the irrigation system, sabotage in the fields, etc.

We might also think of forces of nature used by the Israelites against their oppressors. The biblical author, in the literary language of the time, tries to exalt divine liberating action and the people almost disappear from the scene. Whatever the real story, one thing is clear. The people's liberating struggle has a violent nature. The biblical message is plain: The people must be liberated at any price. If there is violence, it is due to the hardness of the oppressors.

God appears struggling with his people, involved in the violence of the oppressed people, to overcome the violence of the exploiters and lead the people to final victory. God takes part in the struggle and the will to victory is unbreakable. Persevering in the struggle, the people discover the true countenance of God and their faith impels them to go on. Let us look at some of the events of that liberating struggle and the experience of God which the people of God had in it.

*Then the Lord said to Moses, "Pharaoh's heart is hardened, he refuses to let the people go. Go to Pharaoh in the morning, as he is going out to the water; wait for him by the river's bank, and take in your hand the rod which was turned into a serpent. And you shall say to him, 'The Lord, the God of the Hebrews, sent me to you, saying, let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness; and behold, you have not yet obeyed. Thus says the Lord, by this you shall know that I am the Lord: behold, I will strike the water that is in the Nile with the rod that is in my hand, and it shall be turned to blood, and the fish in the Nile shall die, and the Nile shall become foul, and the Egyptians will loathe to drink water from the Nile'."*

*Moses and Aaron did as the Lord commanded; in the sight of Pharaoh and in the sight of his servants, he lifted up the rod and struck the water that was in the Nile, and all the water that was in the Nile turned to blood . . . But the magicians of Egypt did the same by their secret arts; so Pharaoh's heart remained hardened, and he would not listen to them; as the Lord had said. (EXODUS 7:14-18, 20-22)*

If Pharaoh maintains violence by enslaving a whole

people the people are going to continue the struggle with as much violence as necessary, in order to destroy all violence. The violence of the oppressor generates violence. The violence of the oppressed seeks to destroy all violence; it leads to liberation.

The king will seek recourse in the deceit of false promises in order to stop the people's struggle. The people will fall into the trap, but the experience will teach them never to believe in the promises of exploiters. Read in this sense Exodus 8-10. The king will then try to divide the people, or deprive them of food. The people do not give up; they have the conviction that God will lead them to final victory, cost what it may.

The hardness of the king reached its height when he cut off all dialogue. Normally, the exploiters learn more quickly than the exploited that dialogue is impossible.

*Then Pharaoh said to him, "Get away from me; take heed to yourself; never see my face again; for in the day you see my face you shall die."  
Moses said, "As you say! I will not see your face again." (EXODUS 10:28-29)*

The people, and God with them, do not give up their determination for liberation; neither does Pharaoh give up his will to exploitation. The history of liberation cannot be held back and the violence of Pharaoh will unleash the worst violence anyone could imagine.

*The Lord said to Moses, "Yet one more plague I will bring upon Pharaoh and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence; when he lets you go, he will drive you away completely . . ."*

*At midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh who sat on his throne to the first-born of the captive who was in the dungeon, and all the first-born of the cattle. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a cry in Egypt, for there was not a house where one was not dead. And he summoned Moses and Aaron by night, and said, "Rise up, go forth from among my people, both you and the people of Israel; and go, serve the Lord, as you have said. Take your flocks and your herds, as you have said, and be gone; and bless me also!" (EXODUS 11:1, 12:29-32)*

The oppressors — destroyers of freedom and justice — acted in such a way that the struggle of the oppressed people led to the oppressors' destruction.

The Israelites left Egypt and won their freedom. However,

the oppressor is unable to renounce his disposition to exploit, and this leads him to his own destruction:

*When the king of Egypt was told that the people had fled, the mind of Pharaoh and his servants was changed toward the people, and they said, "What is this we have done, that we have let Israel go from serving us?" So he made ready his chariot and took his army with him, and took 600 picked chariots and all the other chariots of Egypt with officers over all of them. And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt and he pursued the people of Israel as they went forth defiantly . . .*

*When Pharaoh drew near, the people of Israel lifted up their eyes, and behold, the Egyptians were marching after them; and they were in great fear. And the people of Israel cried out to the Lord; and they said to Moses, "Is it because there are no graves in Egypt that you have taken us away to die in the wilderness? What have you done to us, in bringing us out of Egypt? Is not this what we said to you in Egypt, 'Let us alone and let us serve the Egyptians'? For it would have been better for us to serve the Egyptians than to die in the wilderness."*

It is a difficult time; the confrontation of exploiters and exploited is one of life or death for everyone involved. The least aware among the people saw distrust and disunity among the slaves. They have still not learned anything after such a long fight. But Moses the leader has already had long experience and the struggle has revealed to him the will of God. He has to win the confidence of his people and hope against hope. Moses' attitude reminds us of that of many leaders of the people in situations where everything seems lost.

*And Moses said to the people, "Fear not, stand firm, and see the salvation of the Lord, which will work for you today; for the Egyptians whom you see today, you shall never see again. The Lord will fight for you, and you have only to be still." (EXODUS 14:13-14)*

The confidence of winning achieves the impossible and God completes the liberation by destroying the army of the exploiters. The destruction of the army is always the final moment in any liberation process. A people which is conscious and certain of final victory is more powerful than weapons. Once liberated, the people sing about the saving power of their God. ■

*Continued from page 11*

has to corral all kinds of people with common interests — banks, real estate types, department store owners, trade unions, local community groups — everybody who has a stake in economic development. And the formulation and the presentation of such a plan must be in the nature of a political demand: "This is what we want." And obviously, in saying "This is what we want," a series of demands must be made on the local government, on the state government, on the Federal Government, on private sources of capital. So my first proposal is to set in motion economic development planning in every city.

The second proposal is that we set up economic conversion groups for the revitalization of enterprises that are or are about to become decayed and economically incompetent. What is crucial is the establishment of three-part committees there. One, of management; a second, of employees; and the third, of representatives of the local community. It is important to contemplate alternative plans for the development of enterprises that are on the skids. And each one of these three parties can have something to say not only in planning but also in

providing capital. Management has its conventional sources. Unions have sources in their hands or in ready reach in the form of pension funds. And community representatives can tap public budgets.

The third group that needs to be formed is for the economic conversion of military enterprises. When the big B-1 Bomber program was called off, 14,000 people were working in the B-1 division of Rockwell International: 5000 production workers, 5000 engineers, 4000 administrators. Within two months

### **New WITNESS Readers**

**New to our WITNESS forum this month are 377 members of the Catholic Women's Ordination Conference (see January WITNESS) and 176 clergy and lay persons from the Episcopal Diocese of New York.**

**Welcome, and let us hear from you!**

half of them were fired. There was no idea of a plan, no procedure whatsoever by the management, by the union, by the engineers, by the local government, by the Federal Government. The assumption was that the free market would readjust to the work of these people. But free markets don't cope with the shock effect of thousands of people being dumped in a particular locale. So what is desperately needed is the beginning of alternative use committees for these plants. Senators McGovern and Mathias have co-sponsored a bill (S-2279) that requires the establishment of such committees in every military industry, plant, and military base.

Therefore it is of critical importance to organize planning groups that have these three purposes in view. The goal is not simply to pad another library shelf, but to mobilize people to make political demands. ■

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**Dr. Seymour Melman** is Professor of Industrial Engineering at Columbia University. The above article is excerpted from his talk last year before a Joint Session of the Urban Bishops' Coalition and the Church and City Conference.

*Continued from page 3*

The Episcopal Church has recurrently seen the emergence of such groups when circumstances called for a special initiative. The religious doldrums of the church in the post-World War I era were significantly spoken to by the Forward Movement, an effort of renewal spearheaded by courageous spirits such as Henry Hobson. The "task of bringing Christ to an industrialized society" was taken on by the Church League for Industrial Democracy, with Vida Scudder as chair of the executive committee. In the '30s, college and university campuses, regarded by many as a wasteland, were seen as a fertile field for mission by the founders of the Church Society for College Work. The isolationism of the nation and the church in the '40s was addressed by the Overseas Mission Society. The racism of the '50s was challenged by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

The Vietnam War and the growing threat of

monopolistic capitalism gave rise to ecumenical efforts like Clergy and Laity Concerned, and the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility. The radical deterioration of American urban centers may yet be addressed by the Urban Bishops' Coalition, the Catholic Commission on Urban Ministry, the Youngstown Ecumenical Coalition and other concerned groups.

In each instance alluded to above, an alienated and fallen world was demonstrating its power to oppress and to cheapen the meaning of human life. But in each instance interventions contradicted that power. These interventions are more than just intimations of the resurrection. They are earnest of the continuing presence in human affairs of the spirit of a creating God, a suffering God, a living and redeeming God who will not abandon people, and a people who would be faithful to their God. ■

## Letters to the Editor

*Continued from page 2*

clear of politics in the local parish, to remain neutral on community issues. Some also expect me never to take the lead in any part of parish life unless absolutely no one else wants it. In all, I'm always to sit in the back of the bus, except when work is handed out, and then I should be first in line.

So much for the parish. How about the diocese? Now, as far as I can tell (at least in our diocese), there's a sign on the door, saying "No Clergy Wives Wanted Here." Mind you, the sign is elegantly printed in gold leaf Old English script, so as not to offend, but the message comes through loud and clear in left-handed invitations that say, at best, "come, if you must, but you really aren't essential and you're a burden."

It isn't that our diocese wants celibate clergy. It is simply a matter that there isn't time or concern for clergy wives.

Surely the most difficult feature of my life as clergywife is finding myself without a pastor. Not having a counselor to turn to when my mother died or during post partum blues or marital strain — that is lonely terrain. I have tried to seek counseling, but where does one find a pastor if the local clergyman is your husband?

Beyond the fact that there are no

clergymen closer than 35 miles, there are other hindrances. For example, to talk out temporary marital difficulties with another clergyman means discussing very personal material about your husband and yourself with one of his peers. Any loyal wife would be reticent about that, but, predictably, there is a corresponding reluctance on the part of some clergy to counsel another priest's wife. One clergywife I know was told by a clergyman that he would have to discuss her counseling request with her husband before he'd agree to counsel her in a crisis period.

How about the bishop? Isn't he the chief pastor? By his consecration vows, he is, but I'm not sure there is much awareness on the part of bishops that this means serving as pastor to clergy wives, among others. The pattern usually is that the bishop comes for his annual visit; the clergywife is expected to provide the bishop with a cheerful reception, a clean bed, and a fine meal. The bishop in turn is freed to visit sick parishioners, conduct services; and, there generally are a few minutes with the malcontents of the parish and time to check out the clergyman's concerns. How many bishops think of having a pastoral moment with the clergyman's wife?

It is, I believe, simply a matter of being aware that there is a need. Our bishop, who is an open, compassionate man, sees the need for nurturing clergy in a pastoral sense as well as a professional sense. For that reason, he gathers them to his side quarterly in each geographical entity of the diocese. Most of the day is spent discussing pro-

fessional matters, but time always is allowed for pastoral appointments. Yet, never has the invitation been opened to clergy wives to gather collectively at the same time, and also to seek counsel from the bishop, if necessary. Don't get me wrong. I'm not trying to hog in on the clergy's professional time; I'm only trying to suggest that there is a need for bishops to recognize that clergy wives too need access to pastoral counseling.

My husband says I sound like a sore puppy. Maybe so, but am I alone? Are there other clergy wives who feel left out of the community of the church, cut off from priestly counsel and from the opportunity to exercise *all* of their talents in the church? I keep going, being loving and submissive in the local parish, by the knowledge that it is Faith that is important. But, sometimes, I find it hard to keep a balance and to remember that Jesus Christ doesn't share the insensitivity of the church, and that, with Him, there are no limitations. Sometimes I feel like I'm crying out in the wilderness, whether I'm a sore puppy or not.

I would be interested in corresponding with other clergy wives, in the hope of creating a support system for each other and devising non-threatening ways of bringing ourselves into the mainstream of the church.

**"Carolyn Taylor"**

**(Address withheld upon request)**

*(Editor's Note: Anyone wishing to correspond with "Carolyn Taylor" can do so through THE WITNESS, Box 359 Ambler, PA 19002. Mark envelope "Attention Carolyn Taylor," and we will forward.)*

*Continued from page 2*

elites not masses allocate values for society; changes in public policy are incremental rather than revolutionary; mass governance is neither feasible nor desirable; that the responsibility for survival of democratic values rests with the elites; that elite reactions to mass movements may also result in the loss of democratic values."

For the collapse of poor communities Dr. Piven has described one specific (disease) and prescribed one specific (remedy). The specificity of locale and circumstance, I trust, does not foreclose a fruitful examination of a general institutional malaise which in many churches prevents the "transforming power of the gospel into a nourishing

and vigorous political mission" for which Dr. Piven wistfully opines, "there comes a time."

The "buzz" word, of course, is political. Dares THE WITNESS put this scary word on their editorial dissecting table and separate the mythology and pathology of politics from its important saving functions? "Politics", says Arthur

Walmsley (WITNESS November of 1977), "understood as the maintenance of a good society, is an art that is the heart of being Christian." When, I ask, have churches *not* been a massive political force — even in their massive neutrality and acquiescence — thunderous in their silence, massively scrupulous in their fear of becoming "factious" or otherwise offensive to the status quo?

The Founding Fathers, our first elite, shared a consensus that the fundamental role of government was the protection of liberty and property. They believed (even Jefferson) in a republican government by men of principle *and* property — and opposed mass democracy with direct participation by the people in decision making. We have no evidence that this idea does not persist today among contemporary elite and much that it does. Perhaps as the population burgeons geometrically, and the powerful few, gain (if at all) arithmetically, more and more churchgoers will find themselves lumped among the power-deprived millions individually impotent to "maintain a good society."

"One thing is clear," pronounced Richard Barnet (Director of the Institute for Policy Studies, WITNESS, Sept., 1977). "We are in the middle of a real examination of what democracy is about. Our economic system and our political system are out of synch and to many corporations the implication is clear: the political system will have to adapt to the economic system. I suggest that it has to be the other way around."

He also told the urban Episcopal bishops: "The final quarter of this century is going to be less stable than the last and we are going to have to recognize that the price of maintaining life in the United States is the redistribution of economic and political power. We are either going to have much more democracy in the next quarter — or much, much less."

Will the millions of pew warmers in the next 20 years shed their suffocating sub-

elitism and see themselves as also threatened Christian brothers of the urban poor? Or will they opt for less democracy? Much, much less?

**Robert P. Moore**  
Sewanee, Tenn.

## Heyward Saved Sub

I was not going to renew my subscription to THE WITNESS. Not that I don't "approve" of the articles, as certainly the inner city life and its problems need airing, being so unending and multitudinous. But they just don't speak directly enough to me — a nurse in a small New England town — yet somewhat in the world in that I have a full time job and read! And listen.

I was wishing for some clerical rebuttal to the Jonestown "mess" and Carter Heyward did it so eloquently! I have asked to have it reprinted in our diocesan monthly newspaper.

So here is my nine bucks! Is it possible to have more comments regarding what is currently going on in the world from a Christian perspective about Africa . . . hospices . . . criminal justice . . . UN . . . current events?

**Solveig LeBlanc**  
Portsmouth, N.H.

## Everyone Should Read

"Looking in the Mirror" by Carter Heyward in the January issue of THE WITNESS is wonderful — something everyone should read. But all too often it never reaches the right people.

**Charles L. Rolfe, D.D.S.**  
Petoskey, Mich.

## Speaking With Insight

I am ordering Carter Heyward's magnificent meditation on "The Enigmatic God" (April WITNESS) and your issue on authority (July) to be sent to a friend. Your publication is the only voice speaking with insight and perceptive intelligence on the church today.

**Shirley Hatch**  
Dudley, Me.

*Continued from page 9*

economic impact of undocumented workers in the Los Angeles area. It does seem clear that there is no real competition for the low-paying, less attractive jobs usually taken by the undocumented. It would be very interesting to know how big the jump in our cost of living would be if competitive, adequate wages were paid for all such jobs. As an example, my guess is that that the \$50 rate for two nights at diocesan clergy conference would go up about one-third. Although appearances are not proof, my suspicion is that the physical labor at the Miramar in Santa Barbara is mostly done by undocumented workers.

Living in the barrio with undocumented workers as an integral part of community life and one's pastoral ministry does not in itself impart any special wisdom. The phenomenon of the presence of large numbers of undocumented workers obviously must raise many social, economic and political questions, both domestic and international. I do not have any easy answers or recommendations. I also do not know who does. The jury is definitely still out. It makes good sense for the administration in Washington to back off from specific proposals at this time. More factual information is needed, and just as important is the need to explore new policies and strategies.

In the meantime, as Christians we have a mandate to minister to human needs, both sacramental and social, to the whole community — without asking too many questions. Such pastoral ministry also includes the possibility of defending and advocating human rights with regard to undocumented persons when those rights are threatened or violated by public agencies or private enterprise. ■

### CREDITS

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# THE WITNESS

VOL. 62, NO. 5  
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ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL  
COLLECTIONS, EPISCOPAL  
CHURCH  
AUSTIN, TEXAS

**State of the Church**  
William Stringfellow



**Abortion Update**  
Janet Gallagher  
Helen Seager

**Interview: Robert Bellah**  
Lockwood Hoehl





## Poem Is a Lie

In your magazine I have read many truths and many half-truths and distortions of truth. But Christen Frothingham's poem in the February issue of THE WITNESS directly contradicts the Biblical story of Abraham.

That Sarah despaired of having a child is evident. Abraham did not tolerate Sarah, he loved her. If God had given sex to man only as a means of procreation, then obviously the desire and the act would disappear when the family is complete. That is not so. Abraham and Sarah treasured their love and each other as a gift of God and were able, perhaps, to love God better because of it.

Abraham and Sarah both doubted that God would provide them with a child in their old age. Naturally, we do not expect God to work miracles in our behalf, although, obviously He does.

But, *nowhere* in the Bible did it state that Sarah doubted God's love and went so far as to say "some God." (I cannot write a small "g"). Furthermore, nowhere are there any words that Sarah was jealous of Abraham or resented her place. Your beautiful poem is a lie and discredits you. It is worthy of someone who doubts God and Christianity.

**Kathleen Hall  
Trenton, Mich.**

## Ms. Frothingham Replies

Indeed, according to Plato, poetry is usually "a lie" — at any rate a fiction — and it makes few claims to exegetical accuracy. There are few "words" in the

received text of Genesis which tell how either Sarah or Abraham felt.

Throughout the Old Testament, however, women's feelings, women's stories, women's points of view are conspicuously absent. The male-oriented Biblical and church traditions do not do justice to the God who loves — and came to save — all of humankind. (God's action in history is not just "the Biblical story of Abraham"; it is Sarah's story, too, and all of ours.) An interpretation of Sarah's role in our history in terms of sexuality (specifically her desire or desirability) does a disservice to the wholeness of her personality, and of our heritage.

If Ms. Hall wants a cheerier reading-in-to Sarah and Abraham's story, I recommend Frederick Buechner's *Telling the Truth: The Gospel as Tragedy, Comedy, and Fairy Tale*, pp. 49-53. If she wants the text and nothing but the text, she will have to read more carefully — and settle for less than the whole truth.

**Christen Frothingham  
Episcopal Divinity School  
Cambridge, Mass.**

## Frustrated by Power

I am a member of the Women's Ordination Conference. I have all three of the ingredients Georgia Fuller listed in her article in the January WITNESS:

*Humor:* When they put up a sign during Vocation Month, with a Roman collar and an ad, "White collar workers needed," I added a note, "We are NOT an equal opportunity employer. Women need not apply."

*Anger:* In a recent survey, our pastor asked, "Is the liturgy in its present form meaningful for you?" I responded, "It is an occasion of sin for me when I attend and see token representation of women, if any."

*Resolve:* The previous two references and my joining WOC attest to my resolve to work for women in the church.

I must admit, however, as I am frustrated more and more, my commitment to Catholicism is decreasing. My commitment to Christ is

and will always be strong, but as it comes into conflict with the abuse of power in the church hierarchy, my respect for the formal church diminishes.

I wonder if WOC can work towards a nationwide policy of acceptance of women in the lay ministry, either through a bishops' conference or attempting to get Papal permission to allow women everywhere to be able to distribute Communion. I am angry because women 50 miles from me are treated with respect, allowed as lay ministers, and I am excluded. The inequity, the frank discrimination, has me frustrated.

It is not difficult to see that a woman in an area that excludes women from the special ministry just because of her femaleness could interpret that use of authority as abuse of authority when she sees other women acting as special ministers in nearby places. It seems to me that these pockets of discrimination are going to cause much strife and great damage to the church.

My prayer is that my humor, anger and resolve will help to diminish the prejudice against women in our church because my real goal is to be able to share my love of Christ more fully in the church.

**Patricia K. Durbeck  
Mechanicsburg, Pa.**

## Plug for WITNESS

Thought you might like to see a local mailing of our Clergy Association of Utah which excerpts Robert McAfee Brown's article from the February issue and gives THE WITNESS a plug. Keep up your excellent work. We not only need the articles but they help us very much when we become discouraged.

**The Rev. E. John Langlitz  
Salt Lake City, Utah**

## What Are the Limits?

I read an article by one of my heroes, John Hines, titled "Hope in a Handful of Dust" in the December, 1978 issue of

*Continued on page 19*

# THE WITNESS

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## Irresponsible Abortion?

by Helen Seager

*(The editorial appearing in the March 4 issue of **The Living Church** concerning the action taken by the last General Convention on the subject of abortion was of more than passing interest. Because we felt it insensitive to the human issues involved, we asked Helen Seager of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, and member of the Western Pennsylvania Policy Council, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, to respond to **The Living Church**).*

The March 4 editorial page of *The Living Church*, commenting on the abortion rights resolution passed by the 1976 Episcopal General Convention, focused on abortion "for convenience" and "irresponsible abortion." It also mentioned "*preferable alternatives*." (italics, LC).

Any discussion of alternatives must begin with the biological fact that the *only* alternative to abortion is pregnancy. Indeed, the word "alternative" is properly used when exactly two options exist. A woman seeking abortion already knows that pregnancy is not the preferable alternative. Her reasons, which are none of our business, likely have nothing to do with the standard categories (the woman's life, fetal deformity, rape, incest, the woman's health) approved by people who may or may not ever be pregnant themselves. Rather, she is likely to have a reason previously uncategorized.

Women seeking abortion are often, but not always, able to make the choice without researching the strengths and weaknesses of the alternative outcomes

of the pregnancy such as might be done, for example, in choosing a contractor or a course of study or even a husband. *The Living Church's* editorial writers don't seem to understand this, and conclude that the reason is therefore either "irresponsible" or for "convenience."

*The Living Church's* nervousness about "irresponsible" abortion leads the magazine to conclude that people participating in "rallies demonstrations or publications advocating irresponsible abortions for any individual or groups" are acting against the "teaching of this church." No one, least of all abortion rights people, advocates "irresponsible" abortion for anyone, just as no one should advocate irresponsible child bearing. One is left with the question, what "group" might have been the object of such advocacy? Only one group has been discussed widely in recent years in connection with abortion rights; namely, poor women. If this is the group that drew the attention of *The Living Church* to

*Continued on page 13*

*"Theologically speaking, the overruling fascination with institutional survival is the sign of the demonic in a principality."*

## The State of the Church:

When the editors of *The Witness* first approached me about writing a series of articles in contemplation of the next General Convention, I felt hesitant to undertake the assignment. I had, after all, already expressed a sentiment about the present condition of the Episcopal Church in the article, "The Embarrassment of Being Episcopalian" (see THE WITNESS, February, 1978). That piece evoked widespread response. I received an avalanche of correspondence, telephone calls and other communications — which seemed to confirm the anguish and disgust, dismay and anger of many clergy and many laity concerning what has been happening to the Episcopal Church in the last several years. There is a point at which a Christian is called upon to dust his or her feet and move on, and I wondered, when the invitation came from THE WITNESS to write further about the crisis in the Episcopal Church, whether I had

yet arrived at that place.

The truth is that the Episcopal Church is now decadent enough so that it is a serious temptation to repudiate it, as, indeed, some have; or simply to ignore it altogether, as, in fact, increasing numbers do. In the end I decided to write these articles because my esteem for the Anglican genius within Christianity, together with my affirmation of my own inheritance and my love for the Episcopal Church, has — for the time being — proved stronger than such temptation.

*Superficially*, the crisis in the Episcopal Church has become focused in the overwhelming preoccupation of the ecclesiastical establishment and the incumbent church management with the internal problems of the institution and the preemption, by virtue of that obsession, of this church's responsibility and mission in society in the United States and in the rest of the world.

An audit of the proceedings of the House of Bishops, meanwhile, during the past six years yields an astonishing record of theological illiteracy, pastoral indifference, pedantic quibblings, and uncanonical actions, not to mention episodes of befuddlement, outbursts of hysteria, vainglorious indulgences, and prolonged lapses into incoherence. This spirit of solemn chaos which has been reigning in the House of Bishops — but for some occasional interruptions prompted by reason or common sense or faith or concern for the flock — is attributable to the internal institutional obsession and the sustained neglect of mission, though I also suspect there is more to it than that. Theologically speaking, the overruling fascination with institutional survival is a sign of the demonic in a principality.

It is *that* issue which I address in these articles for *THE WITNESS*.

*William Henry Fellow*

# A Matter of Conscience

by William Stringfellow

The ordination of women to the priesthood has much to do, both as symptom and cause, with the Episcopal Church crisis. This was fated as soon as a woman publicly affirmed her vocation to the priesthood. That affirmation required every male priest and, for that matter, every layperson in the Episcopal Church, to reexamine their various comprehensions of the priestly calling and, further, to consider why there is a priesthood vested in the church at all. I consider the articulation of such elementary issues at this juncture in the history of the church to be a service, done by the women who first claimed priestly vocations, benefiting the whole body of the church and every member of it. It is essential to the integrity of the church — that is, it spares the church conformity to the world — to ask and reask rudimentary questions such as these, no matter how threatening that may be to the ecclesial status quo and no matter the tumult or consternation the same may provoke. Thus I greeted the historic ordinations in Philadelphia and in Washington with gladness and with gratitude.

I also considered at the time of these first ordinations of women that there was no canonical prohibition to them. They were both valid and regular, if unprecedented in the tradition of the Episcopal Church in the United States. And I thought that what should be done about these ordinations, so far as the House of Bishops was concerned, would be to allow their recognition by

the diocesan authorities directly affected. There was ample Anglican precedent for that, both in the transition of the church in America from colonial to national status and in the aftermath of the ecclesiastical disruption during the Civil War. I supposed further ordinations of women would happen in other dioceses, and, though some might remain recalcitrant to this change in tradition for quite a while, eventually the matter would settle throughout the church.

I have not changed these views as to what should have occurred, naive though they now might be said to have been. Instead, as everyone knows, there ensued panic and pandemonium. The Presiding Bishop, John Allin, summoned his peers to "emergency" session at O'Hare Airport, having nothing to share with the House of Bishops in the circumstances except his own hysteria. So began the long melancholy turbulence which climaxed at the Minneapolis General Convention when the ordination of women was specifically authorized by the canon law of this church.

Throughout the controversy, those who had been ordained, those who had ordained, and those who affirmed the ordinations took the risk of their position, should it be construed as canonical disobedience in any respect, that they would accept the consequences of acting in conscience. In Anglicanism, these are matters properly determined only in ecclesiastical courts. The ordained



**William Stringfellow** is a theologian, social critic, author and attorney.

women and the ordaining bishops upheld, in other words, the classical stance with respect to alleged disobedience to law on grounds of conscience by which the acceptance of the consequences upon trial and conviction upholds the rule of law, though conscience mandates what is deemed disobedience to some specific law.

None of these putative potential defendants were in fact put to trial, of course, because the church management contrived to avoid that, fearful of the ridiculous publicity that any such trial would have predictably engendered. Thus the weight fell upon two male priests — William Wendt and Peter Beebe — to stand trial in ecclesiastical courts on charges that they had, respectively, invited one or another woman priest to preside in their congregations contrary to admonitions of their bishops. Both Wendt and Beebe have certainly borne the consequences of their acts of conscience!

The Wendt case was lost on appeal in an ecclesiastical court in which at least one of the judges — a young priest — is now known to have been intimidated in his vote on the verdict, that vote being decisive in the result. The Beebe matter was won on appeal, but the defendant, thus vindicated, has yet to receive some gesture of reconciliation from his ecclesiastical authorities and has, it appears, been consigned to limbo so far as the exercise of his own priesthood is concerned.

Meanwhile, the most flagrant and notorious instance of canonical disobedience in the history of the Episcopal Church — the defiance by the Presiding Bishop of the court's subpoena to testify in the Wendt trial — remains an open issue. The ecclesiastical court on its own initiative adjudged the Presiding Bishop guilty of contempt, rendering him vulnerable to presentment for trial. I do not expect that to happen. In fact, I personally intervened to estop his presentment in part in consideration of his health and in part in hope of ameliorating the controversy formulated at O'Hare

Airport. Thus the Presiding Bishop has escaped the consequences of his canonical disobedience, even though he never pretended it to be an act of conscience.

When the Minneapolis General Convention adopted the canon authorizing the ordination of women, certain of the bishops stated that they, in conscience, would not ordain any women as priests. I took their assertion at the time at face value. That meant to me that some bishops would abstain from such ordinations, but do nothing to obstruct or inhibit them. And I realized that it might imply that some bishops would quit the Episcopal Church. Others might resign active jurisdictions. These seemed to me all to be conscientious options.

But, since Minneapolis, something quite different has taken place in a significant number of instances where the ordinations of duly qualified women have been forestalled or precluded. The matter acquired formality in "A Statement on Conscience" at the House of Bishops meeting in October, 1977, wherein the House maintains that the recitation of conscience justifies ignoring or circumventing the law of the church authorizing the ordination of women and purports to excuse disregard of this canon without risk of presentment or other ecclesiastical proceeding. The Statement even attempts to disqualify the women's ordination canon from the canon law: "*It is oversimplifying to demand obedience to (this) canon just as one does for every other canon.*"

What this extraordinary document amounts to is not just an enlargement of

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## Of Bishops and Antibiotics

**Liberation theologian Jose Comblin, asked at an unofficial press conference in Puebla, Mexico, what is the Catholic Church's greatest problem, replied with a single word: "Antibiotics." Only after considerable pressure did he explain: "They keep bishops alive years after they stop functioning."**

— *Latin America Press/Lima*

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the assertion of conscientious objection to the ordination of women uttered at Minneapolis but, much more than that, a unilateral (the House of Deputies was not duly consulted) act of nullification. And that is exactly the way it has been used in certain situations. It makes a mockery of canon law by naming prejudice or eccentricity or retribution as conscience and then exonerating defiance of the law of the church on the pretext of so-called conscience.

I do not think for a moment that the promulgation of this Statement is happenstance. It is wholly consistent with the behavior and apparent intent of the church management on the issue of the ordination of women. Throughout the public controversy, the Presiding Bishop was, at best, coy and evasive and supercilious as to his own persuasion. After Minneapolis he became more candid when his opinion was leaked to the press that he could abide a woman as priest no more than he could imagine a man bearing a child. What more emphatic encouragement could be sponsored by the titular head of the church to those defying the law of the church?

In any case, some of the recent schismatics have a more colorable claim to invoke the name of conscience than that furnished in the Statement wrought in the House of Bishops. And the matter goes far beyond the sham of the Statement and the immediacy of the ordination of women. If its implications are pressed, it would radically revise the polity of the Episcopal Church, rendering congregational — or even individual — autonomy in place of episcopal authority. There is, traditionally, a strong presumption that when the House of Bishops acts it knows what it is doing, but here the presumption seems facetious, for in this position on conscience, so-called, the bishops are beheld dissipating their own authority, along with that of the General Convention. Ironically, it was that same authority that so many bishops supposed had been threatened when the first women priests were ordained.

*(To be continued next issue)*

## **An interview with Robert Bellah**

# **'We're in the Lull Between Two Storms'**

**by Lockwood Hoehl**

*Robert N. Bellah is Ford Professor of Sociology and Comparative Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. He is considered to be the authority on American civil religion. His most recent book on the subject is **The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial**.*

*Dr. Bellah spoke to the Fosdick Ecumenical Convocation on Preaching recently at Riverside Church in New York City. Following the address, free-lance writer Lockwood Hoehl interviewed Dr. Bellah for THE WITNESS.*

**Dr. Bellah, in your book, *A Broken Covenant*, you said, "The 1960s appeared as a great awakening, and then prematurely withered." Where do you think all the energy of the '60s went?**

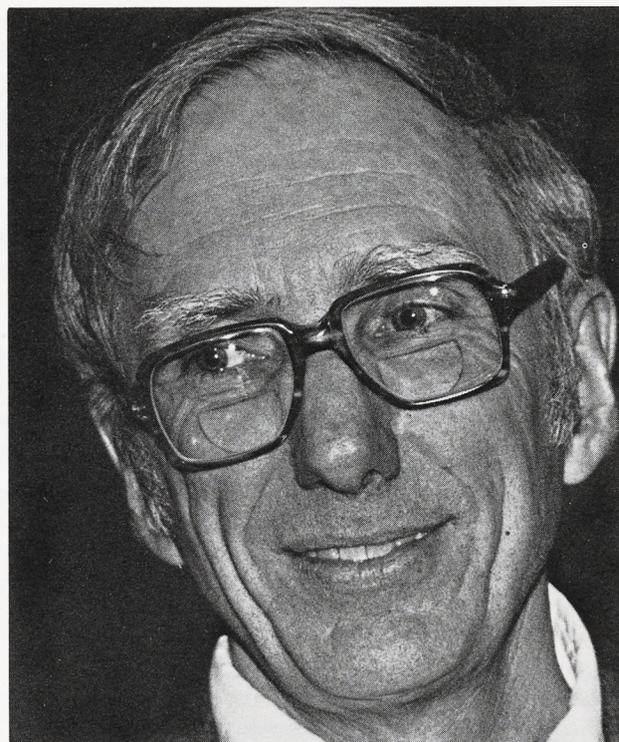
Well, with regard to the cultural revolution phase of the '60s, when all kinds of things seemed to be possible — history just smashed that.

I think a great disillusionment set in on the part of the people who had gotten the notion some how that it was going to be easy to effect change. I also think that much of the religious, symbolic effervescence in the late '60s was fairly shallow, and even, to some degree, self-serving. The doctrine of Original Sin suggests to me there was no corner on purity on the part of youth, that the various destructive impulses were working there too.

But on the other hand, I don't want to put down what I think was, in many respects, a groping for a new symbolic conception of reality, with its possible attendant social forms that would be more fulfilling, and that would get away from some of the narrowness, restrictiveness, and the overly aggressive and violent features of American life.

That came to a screeching halt, and the '70s have been characterized by a kind of cynical return to normalcy.

But the themes of the '60s are still around — in the consciousness of people whose lives were permanently



**Robert Bellah**

changed by the experiences they went through, in the imagination of many college youth today who have a nostalgic envy of that period. They see themselves as a far fall away from a greater day, cheated, anxious, ambivalent. They see their present situation as terribly mediocre compared to a more exciting moment, and since the basic problems that created the upheavals of the '60s have not gone away, my feeling is that we're in the lull between two storms.

**So the "spiritual energy" of the '60s is dispersed, but you see it coming back?**

Yes. And anything we can do to keep alive a sensitivity to these issues is vital — any effort we can make to create centers of reflection through journals or study groups or church activities or universities — these are the seedbeds, so to speak, when the challenge comes. And we never know when that's going to be.

For instance, Martin Luther King would never have been projected onto the national scene had not Rosa Parks refused to move back in the bus. We know not when there will be a Rosa Parks who lights that tinder and the spark starts burning.

On the other hand, if we hadn't had a Martin Luther King, with his particular formation, his sensitivity, his having read

Gandhi, his linkages to the Social Gospel, his experiences in Boston, together with his deep piety, we wouldn't have had the results. I don't think we can engineer history. History is not a conspiracy in which a few people arrange things to happen, so there's no point in trying to second guess the specificities. But we can do everything possible to make the resources available, and to have sensitive human beings around so that when the challenge comes we can respond as Martin Luther King did instead of in some ineffectual or negative way.

**Robert Altman, the film maker, said in a recent interview that 10 years ago students would criticize his films, challenge him, and make him contemplate what he was all about. Now, they ask him questions like, "Who is the most beautiful actress you've worked with?" Do you find an analogous situation in your classes?**

Yes. I would say it was much more exciting to teach in the period from 1968 to 1972 than it is today, because students were challenging, full of ideas, and desperately wanted to be creative. Today, they come in and say "How do I get an 'A' in this course?"

But, although the average student now is about the worst mediocre grade-grubber I've seen in 20 years of teaching, the very best students are as good as I've seen. They ask deep, philosophical, moral questions, and they are willing to work incredibly hard. That is very encouraging to me.

**Many educators say students are mostly interested in employment. Seems that you'd agree with that.**

Young people today, instead of being concerned with apocalyptic visions, are mainly concerned with, "Am I going to get a job?"

The fact of the matter is that three-fourths of them are not going to get the job they hoped for. But, at the moment, they're more concerned with, "I'm going to be the one who does, and those other three the ones who don't." They aren't asking, "What kind of society is it in which only 25% of the people have any chance for a fulfilling job, and can we do anything to change it?"

So, the privatism, the egoistic self-interest thing is in again. And yet, everybody knows that something is wrong. It's not a naive reassertion of baseball, mother, and apple pie. We know there's something very wrong. And, at the moment, we just want to make sure "we" get our own, because "they" will get it instead. It's not a very nice, a very positive thing.

**That's not a very pleasant or hopeful description of our condition.**

Well, we're not going to see just an endless prolongation of this present mood of privatism and cynicism.

I wouldn't say when it's going to change. We won't see a return exactly to the atmosphere of the late '60s. But, there will be some return towards a more public involvement — a more activist, a more questioning, and a less privatistic response to our problems.

I just don't see that it can be avoided — we're going to have it. Society is creating sufficient problems that it will stimulate a renewed radical critique of itself.

**Has your training in Far and Middle Eastern languages affected your development as a sociologist of religion?**

Yes. The kinds of questions I ask are large, comparative questions, and the work I did on civil religion in the United States has a little bit of the quality of an anthropologist from another culture coming back and looking at this one. I was able to ask questions about how religion functions in America because I know how it functions in China, Japan, the Middle East, primitive society, and so on. And what seemed to me a fairly obvious sociological analysis of the place of religion in America was actually very upsetting to a number of people either who were specialists on America or simply intellectuals who didn't care to think about religion in that way.

**Has your objectivity with regard to religion in the United States caused you problems in worship?**

I'm not sure I like the word *objectivity*. There are various places to stand and one gets what one can out of that. But everywhere one stands is somehow in the human condition, and in my view there is no "objective" social science because we're not Martians, drifting on some other planet looking at this one. We're all human beings dealing with other human beings. It is true that getting a sense of the relativity of one's culture by deeply immersing oneself in another calls into question certain naive ways of accepting the validity of the society in which one lives or the religion in which one has been raised. But today I don't think that's *exclusively* the problem of the intellectual. Everybody knows that there is Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, etc. and no one can live in the religion of their parents or Sunday School and just imagine that's all there is and that everybody outside is a bunch of heathen. We all know at some level or other that to choose a religion means there are other options that quite profound, sensitive, moral human beings have chosen that we have not chosen. That's a new situation. Only in the past few decades have large numbers of people understood that.

**Then autobiographically, how has the Bible affected your life?**

At a certain period in my life, Biblical symbolism became very important for making sense out of the world to me. It

was a kind of return to my roots. I certainly did not think of myself as a Christian, for example, when I belonged to the Communist Party.

And I would also say that while I think Christian symbolism is very determinative in terms of my own personality and the way I look at the world, I have also been deeply formed by my long immersion in Buddhism and Confucianism. Not that I try to make a synthesis, but there are certain ways in which those Oriental traditions look at reality that have been most illuminating to me, without replacing the meaningfulness of Christian symbols, but adding a different dimension.

**You said after your talk at Riverside church, in response to a question on the sexual revolution, that the connection between the acceptance of women and the acceptance of our bodies is important. Would you elaborate on that?**

I think that the tendency to derogate women and to consider women to be inferior beings is linked to the fact that women are alleged to be more emotional, less restrained, and less self-controlled. The stereotypical male image is of someone who is more in control of his emotions and his body — less at the mercy of the whole somatic complex.

This need to look down on women really is saying something about the male personality too. It's an effort to reject whatever is viewed as feminine in the male, and, therefore, is linked to a repressive attitude toward one's physical self.

For instance, it's taboo to cry, and often to express physical affection except under very, very narrow constraints. So that, one relates to one's body as an instrumentality in a highly repressed and controlled way. Often that instrumentality is viewed chiefly for the purpose of aggression. And military discipline, if you will, is a prototype of a body that is an instrument in the service of some kind of abstraction.

Now what I'm suggesting is if you don't need to look down on women, and you don't need, therefore, to look down on any part of yourself as a man that you might think of as feminine, you might be able to accept your own impulsive and emotional life.

All that means the male can accept more of a totality of his bodily being, if he is not so threatened by femininity that he has to keep down women out there and anything allegedly feminine inside himself.

**How does this affect sexual relationships between men and women?**

Men are supposed to be — in a stereotypical culture — very powerful sexual beings, instantly potent, and all of that.

The woman is viewed somehow as the temptress, as the one who calls forth these sexual feelings. Therefore, sexuality is linked to this.

Sometimes, of course, male sexuality is linked only to a certain kind of woman — not a "nice woman." Sometimes, some men can only have sex with a woman they can look down on. That's rather sick.

So, to accept a woman as a more total human being, and not to feel threatened by a woman, would mean one could accept more of one's sexuality. One would not need to view sexuality so much in the context of dominance and submission.

And, one could accept a whole range of emotions and feelings — not just in sexuality — but in the areas of pain, of the ability to express grief, to express compassion, to express affection.

So, I think the liberation of women sociologically is linked to the psychological liberation of an overly controlled male personality that's controlled too much for the end of aggressive dominance.

**How does this tie in with our society's attitude toward homosexuality?**

It is linked to the question of homosexuality, because one of the deepest fears of the traditional American male is "Am I a woman?" The meaning of homosexuality in that context is to be like a woman. That would mean you're not dominant, you're submissive; you don't screw, you get screwed.

All the contempt that's felt for women is felt for the homosexual side of the male. Therefore, if we have any suspicion or doubt at all — as all males do — that there may be a little teeny piece of us that's part homosexual, that is very upsetting, very threatening.

Keeping that under control strengthens this whole repressive character structure that, again, emphasizes dominance and aggression, rather than a polar range of emotional response.

My own guess is that if less anxiety about homosexuality were possible for the American male, it would probably actually reduce the number of people who choose homosexuality. People wouldn't be caught in that bind of either renouncing it totally or adopting it exclusively.

**That's exactly opposite to what Anita Bryant and her people are saying. If you put a homosexual model in front of children, they say, then you create homosexuals.**

Yes, exactly. The hidden assumption behind the Anita Bryants of this world is that homosexuality is really so exciting, thrilling, marvelous — you know, intensely sensual

*Continued on page 13*

## Waiting Through Bruises

Colorado is a most peculiar place. Our Lt. Governor is a woman. The Equal Rights Amendment passed years ago. Denver has a reputation for being wide open to professional women. In a July 1978 popular woman's magazine article, entitled "Where Do They Love You the Most?," Denver ranked third out of 10 cities chosen as good places for women to live and work. Recent as some of these developments are, in the secular world, women are included in the human race.

It would take a sociologist to explain why, but the Episcopal Church here is not quite convinced. We have a bishop who claims he finds no theological reason to oppose the ordination of women to the priesthood; yet is the only bishop who voted yes, and then no, on the issue at the Minneapolis Convention in 1976. He has repeatedly said that while the issue of women's ordination is important, the unity of the church is more so.

The theology preached here, with a few welcome exceptions, is essentially masculine in perspective. Certainly, the language used to convey it is masculine: God is in His heaven, and God is definitely Male. Many persons who serve in positions of authority on Diocesan Committees and Commissions have acquiesced to the paternalistic tenor of theological thinking here.

My family and I moved to Colorado from Arlington, Va. in mid-January, 1977. I arrived still in a state of euphoria. Minneapolis was behind us and we had won a great victory for our church with the canonical change allowing women to be ordained to the priesthood. On January 2, 1977, with bells and music, and great joy, my friend Pat Park was

ordained to the priesthood. We rejoiced for her and our church. It was a grace-filled moment which I carried across the country to Colorado.

I cried all the way through the first church service I attended in Colorado, and the next, and the next. I sang hymns like *Onward Christian Soldiers* and *Faith of Our Fathers*. I heard numerous sermons which spoke of God the Father, and never mentioned God the Mother. Women, when they were mentioned, were addressed in terms of "God bless the ladies, or mothers, or wives." It was three months before I heard a female voice read as a lector in a service.

Nevertheless, I began to attend the church closest to our house rather than drive 15 miles across Denver to a "liberal parish." I joined the women's Bible study group, and promised myself that I would leave the church if things got too hurtful — and I made it clear to God that such was my intention.

Lent was a bleak time. I raged, screamed, cried at God. And read Jeremiah. I had seen the vision of shared male/female ministry work, and I knew the wholeness arising from that ministry. I felt cheated, hurt, to have it taken from me. To be in a church in a diocese which not only had not experienced the reality of shared ministry, but also was not even sure it recognized the validity of it, was extremely painful.

If Lent was bleak, Easter was death. The gap between the Eschaton symbolized in the Easter service and the reality in which I found myself was almost too much.

Above the sanctuary in our church hangs a large, empty, wooden cross. It is a powerful symbol to me of the final liberation, the risen Christ — indeed an Easter symbol which applies to me as a child of God, who happens to be female. That Easter though, there was a poignancy about its symbolism. The

message conveyed in Scripture readings, the Gospel, and liturgy was one of wholeness, of shared witness. The persons conveying that message were all male. I understood, for the first time, on an experiential level, the sense of what Letty Russell calls "prolepsis" in her book *Human Liberation in a Feminist Perspective* — the knowledge that we live in the now and the not yet; that the Kingdom is both here and not yet here.

Well, God wasn't talking to me that spring; or to be more accurate, I didn't hear God. I read a lot of Psalms, as I often do when life becomes hurtful. Somehow, I kept returning to Psalm 46, and the verse which says, "Be still, and know that I am God."

I saw a lot of rainbows that spring, and like Noah, I, too, clung to the Covenant.

Thirty years ago, Dorothy Sayers posed the question, "Are women human?" She concluded that although the Scripture indicates God responds with an unqualified yes, the church has been reluctant to endorse God's opinion. Certainly, the "record" of this diocese corroborates Ms. Sayer's observation.

On Jan. 25, 1860, a committee of 13 "ladies and gentlemen" (according to a *Rocky Mountain News* account cited in Allen Breck's *The Episcopal Church in Colorado, 1860 - 1963*) was appointed to find a place to hold their church services the following Sunday. Four days later, the congregation held their services in the Union School House on Cherry Creek McGaa St. The moment was important because that group became the founding congregation of what became Denver's cathedral: St. John-in-the-Wilderness, so-named because it was isolated. (The nearest church was 700 miles away in Topeka.) It was also an important moment because that was the last time women were involved officially in the decision-making process in the

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# for Blessings to Come

by Margaret F. Arms

church for over a century.

A mission diocese until 1887, isolated by its geography, Colorado saw change come slowly. The knowledge that historically the diocese has resisted change becomes the rationale, and sometimes the excuse, for continuing the pattern. For example, it was one of the last dioceses to allow women to serve on vestries. The first woman was not elected to the Diocesan Standing Committee until 1972, five years after the Constitution had been amended to allow it. Colorado did not send women to General Convention until 1973. It has ordained only one woman (the Rev. Betty Noice) to the diaconate and has yet to ordain a woman to the priesthood. On Feb. 12, 1979, the Standing Committee rejected the application of the Rev. Kay Ryan for ordination to the priesthood. No reason was given, but no one doubts that the deciding factor was that the Rev. Ryan is female.

"This is a conservative part of the country, and we may be even slower," said Nancy Lodge, Acting Director of Theological Education in the Diocese. Although she sees no insurmountable problems, and is encouraged by the attitude of the bishop, she believes change will be a slow process.

The Diocesan Episcopal Church-women help to a certain extent. They provide a structure which is acceptable to the institutional hierarchy and which gives some women a legitimate outlet for ministry. Kay Harlan, newly elected Diocesan ECW President, indicated that her Board will encourage "valid" ministries for women, which include active participation of women on vestries, in Diocesan Committees and Commissions, and community ministries. She did not envision the Board issuing an official statement on the ordination of women to the priesthood: I don't see our Board as a pressure group." She personally is not

convinced that the priesthood is a valid ministry for women.

Returning to Ms. Sayer's point: This diocese doesn't quite want to say that God is wrong — that women aren't human — but it doesn't quite want to agree and say, "Yes. Amen!" either. So, it does what people and institutions often do when they are afraid to disagree. It hedges. Many clergy, who tell me that they are not opposed to the ordination of women to the priesthood, continue to say that they consider it too divisive for Colorado at this time, or that the unity of the church is at stake.

One priest told me that when God shows him it is possible to ordain a woman to the priesthood, he will support it. Until then, all these studies, and reports, and commissions are useless, he said. I asked if the fact that there are women who have been ordained priests in the Episcopal Church indicates anything to him about God's Will; his response: "No."

Other clergy (and many lay persons, including not a few women) have other variations on either "Yes, women, but . . ." or "No, women, but . . ." Usually, the "but" ends with a statement to the effect

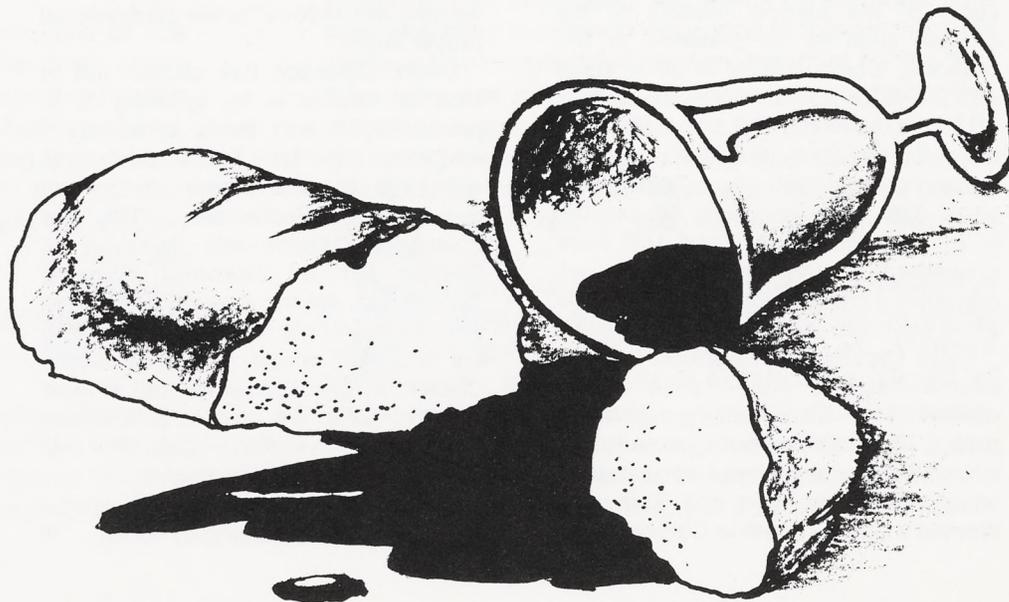
that this is all quite interesting, but it isn't very important when compared to the "real" work of the church which may include among other things, feeding the poor, being a good shepherd to the Body, unity, fighting injustice in the world, etc.

Which is, of course, a way of saying that women don't matter very much — unless they function in roles which men have determined are suitable for women.

"I feel like a non-person," one woman said. Another confessed, "I am finding it increasingly difficult to remain in the Episcopal Church here." Pat Washburn, who was the Province VI regional coordinator for the National Coalition for the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood and the Episcopacy, says: "For myself, pushing for ordination would interfere with my ministry. And that's a tragic statement about the church."

So, back to square one — and why do I stay?

I am by heritage, tradition, and belief an Episcopalian. During the first dry, painful months the Eucharist brought me back again and again. The



affirmation that I felt lacking in the "official" persons of the church was present in the liturgy. It was at the altar, during the sacrament of Holy Communion, that I knew: Yes, I am a child of God, a co-heir of creation. If this particular diocese feels a need to put stipulations and limitations on who I am, God defines me.

Hopeful signs are few within this diocese, but there are some. In conducting a survey of 50 out of a total of 53 Colorado Episcopal parishes in January, 1979, I discovered that although the issue of women's roles in the church may not be settled, it is not as bleak as I had suspected. In fact, my suspicion is that we have been duped. The impression given by clergy and lay persons who would keep women "in their place" is that they reflect the thinking of the majority of the diocese. The data from my survey indicates otherwise, at least among the clergy.

All parishes have women serving on the vestry; most have, or have had, female acolytes; most have women lay readers. Slightly more than half of the parishes do not have women administering the chalice, although that figure changes as more parishes allow women to perform that ministry.

The most unexpected discovery concerned the clergy stand on the ordination of qualified women to the priesthood. I expected an overwhelmingly negative figure, given the stand of some of the clerical leaders of the diocese such as the president of the Standing Committee, and other vocal opponents of women's ordination.

I found, however, that of the clergy in the parishes I contacted, 43% supported women's ordination for qualified persons, 34% were opposed, 9% refused to commit themselves, and 14% were unavailable for comment. Those figures represent a change from three years ago when sentiment was definitely negative.

I stay because of the caring persons who minister to me — such as the women in the Bible study group in my parish. They often do not agree with me, but we have grown from knowing each other. The women in the Episcopal Women's Caucus, both in Colorado and

on the national board, provide an invaluable support system for those of us who believe that we are also human.

Finally there are the women deacons in Colorado — three in number. The Rev. Betty Noice has exercised her ministry as a deacon with quiet dignity and courage. Her retirement in July leaves more than a slot to fill on the staff of the Christian Education Committee. The Rev. Kay Knapp is a member of the Order of the Holy Family in Denver, and fulfills her ministry as Oblate Sister Katherine in that Order.

The Rev. Kay Ryan is the only one of the three who feels called to the priesthood. On Feb. 12, 1979, she went before the Standing Committee to be approved for ordination to the priesthood. She went with the full support of the vestry in the parish where she is an assistant, and the approval of many others in the diocese. Many of us were saddened by the decision of that committee not to approve her ordination.

There is a feminist song entitled "*Face the Music*." It deals with the fears, loneliness, and scariness of coming to grips with who and what we are:

*Hoping for blessing to ease  
the bruising*

*And still you know you  
choose to face the music.*

The song is about judgment. It is about those moments when we see with clarity who we are — "what we have done, what we have left undone" as the confessional prayer states.

Often, Colorado has chosen not to face the music — by ignoring it, or pretending it isn't there, or saying it really isn't important. Soon, this diocese will have to face "those things left undone." In September, 1979, the Episcopal Church will convene in Denver for its triennial General Convention. Among the clergy-deputies will be some of the 100-plus women who are ordained priests in the Episcopal Church. And one assumes that at least some of these will expect to exercise their priestly functions. Colorado will have to face the music, then.

In the meantime, we wait, through the bruising, for the blessing to come. ■



## If I Gave the Wafer

The poem below is from *God Still Calls: The Testament of Winefred Marcus*, a song-cycle in progress. The persona of these poems is a Roman Catholic woman who received a call to the priesthood in 1960, but died before having it recognized.

If I gave the wafer back to him

(it's only bread)

And closed my hands and said

"I thirst" instead,

What is the worst that he

would do?

He'd casually stop me over tea

with, "Winefred,

My girl, what has come over you?"

And, I could say, "I'm born,

as you are, too,

To claim my given name, God-known.

In mine, 'bread' is corrupted:

'Fred' I'm shown. But 'win' and 'wine'

are first, and clear to me.

Can you not see?"

From antiquity we become  
what we are named.

There, it is, I stake my claim,  
to that quality

Which, by God's grace, I am  
from birth: thirsty.

—Ann Knight

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*Continued from page 9*

— that, if anybody really had that as an option, why, they would madly choose it.

That's what happens when you have to work too hard to repress something. Then it gets all this secret, hidden over-evaluation. My sense is quite the opposite. If it were demystified and accepted as one of the possibilities of human life, it would have less impact. If some people choose that as their option, OK, but it's not something one needs to get hysterical about.

In any case, I do think that contempt, anxiety, and fear about homosexuality is directly linked to contempt, anxiety and fear about women. And, I think lessening the anxiety about it would be healthy all the way around.

**So far you've described a huge shift in our consciousness. How do we accomplish it?**

Of course, there are still objective social and political structures that have to be talked about. But in terms of psychology, I would say that much of this hinges on changes in child rearing patterns. By that I mean a more egalitarian kind of marriage, in which the father takes a more active role from the very earliest days and weeks for the care and nurturing of the child.

**Did you participate equally in the rearing of your children?**

I did, but I was a rather aberrant case. It actually had to do

with the fact that when I was in college I was a member of the Communist Party. It had a very strong teaching about, what was called then, male chauvinism instead of sexism, and a very strong sense of feminine equality. Women should not have to do all the housework and all of the child rearing. So, really, a generation before all this hit, my wife and I had a sense we should do all these things together.

Given all the sociological realities of our society, I think it's very important for a woman to have a firm sense of her own identity as an economic, political participant in the society, and that she have a sense her father was there somehow at a very deep emotional level from very early on.

That men won't touch a diaper, or even feed a child, is saying from the very earliest experience of the child that there's a hierarchical thing here: Dealing with these issues is somehow beneath the dignity of men. And, people who do deal with them — namely, women — are not supposed to be involved in achievement in the larger public sphere.

Equally shared responsibility for child rearing would make the inner split between male and female sides of ourselves — for both men and women — less extreme. It would enlarge the range of options, so that we could call on both the maternal and paternal traits that have been deeply internalized from early on. ■

*Continued from page 3*

the non-issue of "irresponsible abortion," it is not the first time that free choice for the poor in a matter affecting their own lives has made editorial writers nervous.

More disturbing than the editors' analysis of the General Convention resolution is the crass insensitivity and further class bias revealed in the flip query, "Does a healthy young wife, whose husband, other children, and parents all are looking forward to a new member of the family have a right to terminate pregnancy . . ." (any list of bad reasons for staying pregnant has pressure from relatives at or near the top!) The query continues, offensively, ". . . because a lecturer at a club to which she belongs promotes this as a liberating experience for today's woman?"

We would like to challenge *The Living Church* to produce first hand evidence that any serious lecturer of either sex ever promoted among any group the idea that having an abortion was ever vital to the liberation

or fulfillment of any woman, or the idea that abortion was in any way a good which every woman ought for her own good to practice. We have often heard of such promotion of childbirth, but never of abortion. The overwhelming number of abortions in this country are performed on unmarried women pregnant for the first time who are unhealthily ignorant of contraceptive techniques, and whose "reasons," since they do not fit the categories described above, *The Living Church* would list as "irresponsible." Irresponsibly, *The Living Church* would rather see these women become unwilling mothers.

The final point of the General Convention resolution is "unequivocal opposition to any legislation which would abridge or deny" the right of an informed individual to decide to have an abortion. Denial of abortion for any reason, even frivolous reasons, amounts to compulsory pregnancy. Childbirth is too profound a natural event to be undertaken frivolously or under compulsion. Ask anyone who has given birth.



Abortion Rights:

## Critical to Women's Freedom

Abortion has not been an easy issue for some of us. As a religious if unorthodox Catholic who came into the movement through the pacifist direct action community, I had gratefully managed to avoid the whole debate and uproar around the liberalization of the New York State law in 1970. I was preoccupied with the struggle against the Vietnam war and had been part of a newly formed consciousness-raising group for exactly three whole months. Basically, I didn't know what my own position on the legislation was until one State Assembly member, George Michaels — from a conservative upstate district — took his conscience and his political future in his hands and cast the single vote by which the reform bill passed. It was my physical reaction of relief and thanksgiving when I heard his vote that informed me of my gut position on the issue.

I continued to have some pretty grave and probably self-righteous reservations until I came to know more and more women who, at one point or another, because of their immediate and very particular life situations, had felt obliged to end an unintended pregnancy. In the face of these women and their realities, my whole relationship to the issue changed.

I've also learned over the years that many of my misgivings about abortion emerged much more than I had realized from my Catholic background — with its particular set of attitudes toward sexuality and toward women — and were simply not felt by most of the Jewish and Protestant women with whom I shared my politics and some of my deepest values. My recognition of these changes had been sharpened during this past year by my involvement in work on the religious argument in the *McRae* case mentioned in the article which follows.

There's more, however, than just religious backgrounds and attitudes that complicates our thinking about this issue. All of us bring a set of intricate, deeply personal experiences and emotions to questions of sex and pregnancy. I sometimes think that some of the enormous psychic energy that some anti-choice people invest in this issue arises from a fierce sense of identification with the fetus, a deep and anxious questioning of their own early and present "wantedness." That possibility sets off some of the bursts of empathy that mingle with my rage at the Right to Lifers, and sometimes makes my work around this issue so conflicted and draining.

And all of us, no matter whether we've experienced it directly or not, have particular and highly charged feelings about pregnancy. *The* defining issue in our feelings about our own or another's pregnancy is whether it is wanted or unwanted. It is that distinction, and the incredible *particularity* of each woman's situation, that I think we must bear in mind if we want to develop a loving and human way of approaching this issue.

*Janet Mallegre*

# The Bottom Line Feminist Issue

by Janet Gallagher

Women have always used (or sought to use) abortion to end unwanted pregnancies just as they have always used some form or another of birth control in an effort to forestall them.

Before the 19th century, no laws existed prohibiting an abortion done in the first few months of pregnancy. Between 1860 and 1880, at least 40 states and territories enacted criminal penalties for abortion. Among the reasons urged were protection of maternal health; Victorian concerns with morality and the role of women; the need to establish the dominance of "regular" doctors (invariably male) as legitimate practitioners of healing at the expense of "irregulars" (frequently women); and fears of a diminishing birth rate among WASPs in the face of a growing immigrant population. Last, and least emphasized, was concern for the fetus.

It's hard sometimes for people to understand why so many women regard abortion as *the* bottom line feminist issue and why we fight the anti-choice people so fiercely over a question that some find paralyzingly complicated. Abortion is not, for us, just an issue of women's health or even of women's right to privacy or to religious liberty. The right to decide whether and when to bear a child is absolutely basic to a woman's control of her body, her sexuality, her life choices.

Campaigns to restrict birth control or abortion have frequently been efforts to ensure the containment of women's sexuality within marriage. They have, on occasion, also reflected women's attempts to force men to take responsibility for the consequences of their sexual relationships. Indeed, this the rationale put forward today by the so-called left wing of the Right to Life movement. But *involuntary* motherhood precludes self-determination. Within the economic realities of our society, it almost

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invariably forces women into economic dependence on husbands, relatives or welfare.

Abortion is a necessary supplement to the unreliable and unsafe contraceptive technology presently available. The drive to eliminate abortion is inevitably linked, no matter how it may be justified, to a set of beliefs that regard pregnancy as a punishment for sexual behavior. It reflects and reinforces the patriarchal attitude that procreation is the only excuse and motherhood the only redemption for women's sexuality.

The assumption that unwanted pregnancies happen only because women are "careless" about birth control is simply not true. Contraceptive information and devices are not always easily obtainable. For many women, there are family, religious, legal or social obstacles to seeking out birth control information and devices.

All of the currently available methods of contraception have some rate of failure. Even the pill's actual *use* effectiveness is only 90-95%. Most methods of birth control are much more dangerous to a woman's health than an early abortion: The methods heavily pushed by doctors and family planning professionals and described as most "effective" — the pill, the IUD and sterilization — are also the most dangerous. Women using the pill subject themselves to heightened risks of cancer and blood clots; and IUD complications can include perforation of the uterus, pelvic inflammatory disease and heavy menstrual bleeding.

In June 1977, the Supreme Court announced three decisions that rekindled the fierce and emotional public struggle over a woman's right to choose abortion. While the cases did not overturn the 1973 decisions that had recognized women's constitutional right to abortion, anti-choice forces viewed them as opening the door to legislative and administrative efforts to cut off funding and drastically limit the availability of abortion services. The issue has surfaced in a diverse number of contexts. There has been a renewed burst of harassment against abortion clinic patients and staff; incidents of vandalism, firebombing, and threats of violence have occurred in a number of localities; and public officials throughout the country vie with one another

to develop new ways to impede access to abortion.

One Missouri case, *Poelker v. Doe*, authorized public hospitals to refuse to perform abortions. This decision simply legitimized what had already been an intense problem for women in many parts of the country, especially in rural areas, where no clinics existed. The technical *legal* right to choose to end a pregnancy has very little relevance when there is no medical facility nearby, especially for the poor and others less able to travel long distances to seek assistance.

A second set of decisions, however, set off the greatest furor and has had the most serious impact. In *Maher v. Roe* and *Beal v. Doe*, the court declared that the states were not required to pay for poor women's "elective" abortions under Medicaid. Congress had already tried to cut off abortion services to poor women by amending the Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Departments' budgets with a rider that forbade all abortions except in pregnancies that actually endangered the life of the woman. Enforcement of arch-conservative Illinois Rep. Henry Hyde's budget rider, which had been halted temporarily by order of a Federal Court Judge in Brooklyn, went into effect in August of 1977. By then, however, the term of the budget and its restrictive rider had almost expired, and a new Labor-HEW budget was being debated. Congressmen — many of whom had voted for the original Hyde amendment because of heavy anti-abortion lobbying, but had assumed that the courts would disallow it — wrestled with their consciences and their mail to try to come up with a "compromise" version.

Eventually, a Conference Committee composed of 18 congressmen and senators was chosen to hammer out the terms under which poor women would be "allowed" to terminate an unintended and unwanted pregnancy. The group, which did not include any women or any doctors, debated just *how* life-endangering a pregnancy must be and whether rape or incest were really sufficient grounds to warrant permitting poor women a personal choice in the matter. The stalemate between the more "liberal" Senate and the rigid House positions continued for five months and totally stymied approval of the budget of the two federal departments which provide for society's most basic social and welfare needs. The Conference Committee itself finally became so deadlocked that the House and Senate leadership had to step in and work out the final language through a series of alternating "compromise" votes in both houses.

The final "liberalized" version allowed Medicaid funding for abortions in cases in which the woman's life would be endangered if the pregnancy were carried to term; in instances of rape and incest (but only those reported to law enforcement or public health officials within 60 days); or in cases in which two doctors were prepared to officially

"certify" that "severe and longlasting" physical health damage would result if the woman were forced to carry the pregnancy to term.

As of this writing, 39 states (the states not only administer, but also provide a share of the cost of Medicaid) have adopted restrictions on abortion funding. In 20 of those states, the legislation is actually more severe than the federal restrictions. In eight states, the new laws are not being enforced because of federal or state court orders which require the funding of "medically necessary" abortions; and one other state is under court order to fund at least those abortions covered by the "compromise" Hyde Amendment.

By the summer of 1978, government figures revealed that the number of Medicaid funded abortions in states affected by the cutoffs had dropped 98%. It is clear that doctors and clinics have been so intimidated by the new regulations that they are failing to certify even those cases which fall into the "compromise" categories.

The attempts to eliminate funding have been resisted in the courts, with varying degrees of success. One of the hardest fought and lengthiest legal battles is the Brooklyn case, *McRae v. Califano*, a class action suit brought by poor women who need abortions, doctors who want to be able to provide Medicaid abortions for their poor patients, and the Women's Division of the United Methodist Church. Much of the evidence in the case has dealt with medical issues surrounding unwanted pregnancies and emphasize the staggering implications of the cutoff of funding and of access to abortion, especially for poor and young women.

If anti-choice forces have their way, we will return to the pre-1973 situation in which women were forced to seek out unsafe, back-alley abortions. HEW studies indicate that if all Medicaid funding in the United States were eliminated, we could expect 250 to 300 women to die each year and as many as 25,000 to suffer serious medical complications from self-induced or illegal abortions. Before legalization, for example, 6,000 women every year were admitted to New York City's public hospitals for incomplete abortions. After legalization — and with Medicaid coverage — the number of yearly deaths from illegal abortions fell from 40 to zero.

The health dangers of cutbacks and restrictions go beyond the problems of death and back-alley abortions. Pregnancy and child-birth always impose health risks; inadequate nutrition and health care make these risks even more serious for poor women. These risks are readily assumed by women for *wanted* pregnancies. But it is an unconscionable violation of the bodily safety and dignity of poor women to force them to carry an unwanted pregnancy to term.

Government funding for Medicaid coverage for poor women is only one of the targets of the anti-choice

onslaught. They are chipping away at every woman's right to exercise personal choice in this area. During the last two years, Congress has: (1) cut off abortion funding for armed forces personnel and dependents; (2) gagged the U.S. Civil Rights Commission by forbidding it to study or publish anything connected to women's constitutional rights in regard to abortion; (3) passed a long-awaited pregnancy disability bill that specifically excluded any employer obligation to cover abortion under employee sick leave or insurance plans; and (4) denied abortion coverage to Peace Corps volunteers.

There is another and even more threatening level of legislative attack on abortion rights. A serious, well-funded and well-organized campaign is underway to force a constitutional amendment that would make abortion illegal. The "Human Life" amendment would define the fetus as a legal person from the moment of conception (fertilization). It would probably make use of the IUD and some birth control pills illegal, since they are thought to prevent implantation of the fertilized egg.

Strategy around this constitutional amendment takes two routes. One method relies on getting it passed by Congress and sent out to the states for ratification. The other strategy, favored by the more rightwing elements of the Right to Life movement, has been to push state legislatures to adopt resolutions calling for a national constitutional convention to draft an anti-abortion amendment.

The constitutional convention ("con con") route is particularly ominous. While the provision for such a convention is in Article V of the Constitution itself, we've never had one before and no one quite knows how or what it could do. It's not at all clear, for example, that such a convention might not be able to propose the elimination of key constitutional safeguards — like the Bill of Rights. Resolutions calling for a convention have, in fact, already been passed by Right to Life pressure in 14 states. Recently, 26 states have been spurred by Proposition 13 fever to pass similar "con con" resolutions in order to adopt an amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. If 34 states adopt such resolutions around either one of the proposed amendments, Congress would have no choice but to set up such a convention.

Pro-choice activists fear Congress will panic as the "con con" resolutions mount and will pass the "Human Life" amendment on to the states like a political hot potato to avoid the uncertainties posed by the convention. That would force the women's movement and its allies, still hard-pressed to win passage of the ERA, to begin another bitter round of state by state struggles.

Not all of the attacks on abortion rights have been on the national or state levels. Municipal governments have come

under intense pressure to adopt all sorts of procedural requirements that subject clinics or hospitals to administrative harassment, from deliberately over-stringent building regulations to demands for burdensome record-keeping. One of the more offensive trends has been the demand, on the part of local Right to Life groups, for the names of those doctors who have received reimbursement for Medicaid-funded abortions. The names are then printed in local publications, sometimes the Catholic newspaper in the area, to create social or economic pressure on doctors and discourage them from making abortion services available. A number of places around the country (Akron, Louisville, and Niagara County, N.Y.) tried to impose regulations, under the label of "informed consent," that requires doctors to force women seeking abortion to read or listen to a litany of mis-information that refers constantly to the fetus as "your unborn child" and is deliberately geared toward making abortion a traumatic and guilt-laden experience.

The anti-abortion pressure on Congress and state legislatures is extremely well-organized and heavily funded. The National "Right to Life" Committee, which includes most of the anti-choice groups, claims a membership of 11 million and has a \$3 million annual budget. The Committee has affiliates in all 50 states. Minnesota alone has some 200 chapters of "Citizens Concerned for Life." Since they generally operate as a single issue pressure group, the anti-choice forces can exercise influence on politicians far beyond what their mere numbers would seem to warrant. (In N.Y. State, for example, the new Right to Life party won only 2.6% of the total votes in the race for governor, but their ability to swing — through endorsements or by running a "spoiler" candidate — even that small percentage of voters in close races gives them real clout with professional politicians.) Anti-choice groups make use of direct mail expert Richard Viguerie, who orchestrates grassroots fundraising and letter-writing campaigns on behalf of a wide range of conservative causes.

Ultra-conservative leaders are making a systematic and well-funded attempt to build a base for a new right wing by playing on people's genuine fears and confusion over changing values and life styles. They use the "pro-family" issues (anti-abortion, anti-ERA, anti-gay rights) as an organizing vehicle to defeat liberal legislators and push for a return to a more "traditional" society.

At last summer's Right to Life convention in St. Louis, observers noted that the "new right" element had taken a much stronger leadership role in the national movement. Despite claims of being a "new civil rights movement," the convention featured nuts and bolts workshops led by associates of Joseph Coors (of Coors beer), whose

Committee for a Free Congress works to support candidates who oppose busing, gun control, abortion and other liberal legislation.

The political struggle around abortion has been deeply affected by religious forces. While there are several religious denominations which officially oppose abortion — the Mormons, Orthodox Judaism, some fundamentalist Protestants — none have been as active or as influential nationally as the Roman Catholic Church. Evidence presented during the *McRae v. Califano* trial indicated widespread and intensive church involvement in the legislative battles. In fact, some 15 different religious groups and organizations filed a friend of the court brief in support of the *McRae* claim that the Medicaid cutoff represented an establishment of religion and a violation of the religious and conscientious freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment.

The Catholic bishops, and many of the more conservative laity, base their opposition to abortion on the claim that the fetus is actual human life from the moment of conception or fertilization. It is that claim of "personhood" on behalf of the fertilized egg or fetus or embryo that requires continuation of the pregnancy despite the conscientious choice and the health and the well-being of the woman and her family.

The religious community as a whole is deeply divided over the question as to when human life begins and on the issue of the morality of abortion. Most Protestant and Jewish groups reject the doctrine that the fetus is a human being and believe that the woman must make a conscientious decision, in accordance with her faith or deepest convictions, about whether to end a pregnancy. Even religious groupings like the Baptists and Jehovah's Witnesses, who view abortion as posing a serious moral and spiritual problem, oppose government intervention on the question.

The 1973 Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* that affirmed women's right to choose abortion recognized the deep divisions on the issue and observed that, "When those trained in the respective disciplines of medicine, philosophy, and theology are unable to arrive at any consensus, the judiciary at this point in the development of man's knowledge, is not in a position to speculate as to the answer."

One does not have to be a member of a specific religious group with an official pro-choice position in order to demand the human and constitutional right to make such a deeply personal decision without government interference. The *McRae* brief likens the decision to bear or not bear a child to conscientious objection to military service and declares, "Pregnancy presents for every woman ultimate questions of life and death, in both a physical and spiritual

sense. . . . The suffering and damage inflicted by forced childbearing, whether it be described as psychological or spiritual, is one which a woman can never escape either during pregnancy or thereafter . . . (T)he state must stand back."

The feminist/left wing of the abortion rights movement differs in some basic respects from the more "establishment" supporters (Medicaid providers for clinics, doctors, Planned Parenthood, National Abortion Rights Action League) and from the radical groupings that worked around this issue when legalization was being sought in the late '60s and early '70s.

The most striking change is in the heavy public emphasis on *choice* — on a woman's right to choose when and if to bear a child and on her right to be free of conditions and pressures that limit that option. The Medicaid funding cutoff has created even more pressure on poor women to undergo irreversible sterilization procedures rather than risk an unwanted pregnancy. The women's movement had become increasingly aware over the last several years of how heavily sterilization abuse was already affecting black, Hispanic and Native American women.

While most groups, like the New York City-based CARASA (Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse), have chosen to concentrate their emphasis on maintaining abortion funding and access and on doing educational and organizing work against sterilization abuse, they have been open and responsive to a whole range of other issues that can broadly be labelled "reproductive freedom." CARASA, for example, has a principle of unity that states:

*Reproductive freedom requires: abortion rights; guarantees against sterilization abuse; safe, well-designed birth control; sex education in the schools; good and accessible health care; and the right to conduct one's sex life as one chooses, regardless of marital status or sexual preference.*

*Reproductive freedom depends on equal wages for women, enough to support a family, alone or with others; welfare benefits for an adequate standard of living; decent housing to provide a comfortable secure place to live and rest; reliable, skilled child care and schools to enable our children to become healthy adults.*

Further information about CARASA's work and goals can be obtained from CARASA, P.O. Box 124, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

*(The above article is reprinted from the March 8 issue of WIN magazine, 503 Atlantic St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217. Subscriptions, \$15 a year.)*

*Continued from page 2*

THE WITNESS. I think Bishop Hines is still more in touch with what is going on today than most of the active clergy in the church.

In that same issue I came across the article, "Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves" by Bill Yon, a priest whose thinking I regard as highly (almost) as I do John Hines. It is a fine article which avoids belaboring the problem and offers specific solutions. What was helpful to me was that Yon valued those who work from the "Innocent as Doves" position. I am basically and increasingly a gap filler and though I know that that is not enough, I have resented people, some of them even writing in THE WITNESS, who make me out as the enemy.

I recall experiencing my powerlessness a good many years ago with a run-in with our mayor. The city's only big swimming pool had been turned over to seals rather than let integrated swimming go on. A group of us powerful clergy, most of them from First Churches, met with the mayor to warn him of the long, hot summer ahead and of our concern for black children who had no place to swim and for black anger. The mayor assured us he would do something. Early the next morning the pool was drained, blown up, filled in with dirt and a rose garden planted. I have since come to understand that the mayor did not do this because he was powerful and we were weak. His action rather reflected his own sense of powerlessness. Within the parish there are many days when I can sit at my desk feeling that there is nothing I can do to implement and enrich the programs going on in the church. Many believe that power begins at my office door, but that is never my experience. The vestry and I will reflect upon both Yon's reflections.

I did have some problems with the article, too. The idea that a diocese might plunk down a million dollars for work outside of itself first and then see how it can meet its own needs is exciting, but is it achievable? Is it a

realistic goal? Further, what are the limits to the outside needs? I see people willing to support a few parish staff, willing to be quite generous in mission work and giving, where there are quite specific goals, because that's the size job that they can handle, that they can evaluate, in which they can see results. I see many of the same people resistant to taking on great social problems, such as hunger, precisely because it is so overwhelming that there is no way of telling if sacrificial work and giving is of value.

I remember thinking in seminary that by the time people got to be my age, they would have lots of answers. I have an abundance of questions.

**The Rev. Robert Riegel  
Greenville, S.C.**

## Rev. Yon Replies

My self esteem took a quantum leap at being mentioned in the same sentence with John Hines. I had been sufficiently flattered by being included in the same issue of THE WITNESS with him.

Bob Riegel's question about whether or not the goal of giving away our money is "realistic" is rather insistently being asked by many people. I am becoming increasingly frustrated with the question. What I said in the article was that it could not be done if people decide first what they want to spend on themselves, and then and only then look at what is left over to give away. I said that it would become possible if one first decided what to give away and then went to work on how to do what has to be done at home with what's left over.

I have been struggling to understand what people mean by "Is it realistic?" The best I can do is when we decide to do something and do it, it becomes realistic. When we decide not to do something and don't do it, it becomes

### CREDITS

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unrealistic.

Example: In December of 1977, our Diocesan Council proposed a budget for 1978. Diocesan programs had been cut to the bone. A month later, through a considerable amount of effort by the Department of Church and Society, \$33,000 had been transferred from "inside" programs to "outside." That budget was adopted by the Convention and the diocese lived on it for a year. I have not heard anyone say that we were living on an unrealistic budget.

To the final point: What are the limits to the outside needs? They are, of course, for all practical purposes, unlimited. The final comment from a council member before the vote was taken on this year's diocesan budget was, "There is no end to worthy causes." The great social problems, such as hunger, are immense. The question I would raise is: Why do even a little? If a million dollars would be wasted, would \$10 be less wasted? Is the church's operational philosophy: Problems are so great that we should do at least, but no more than, a little?

**The Rev. William Yon  
Chelsea, Ala.**

## Coming Up . . . in THE WITNESS

- How does the nuclear crisis at Three Mile Island in Middletown, Pa. relate to judicial censorship of *The Progressive* magazine's story on the hydrogen bomb? Sam Day, managing editor of *The Progressive* and former editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* will tell you next issue.

- Robert McAfee Brown, Carter Heyward and T. Richard Snyder will explore new theological perspectives, and William Stringfellow continues his analysis of "The State of the Church."

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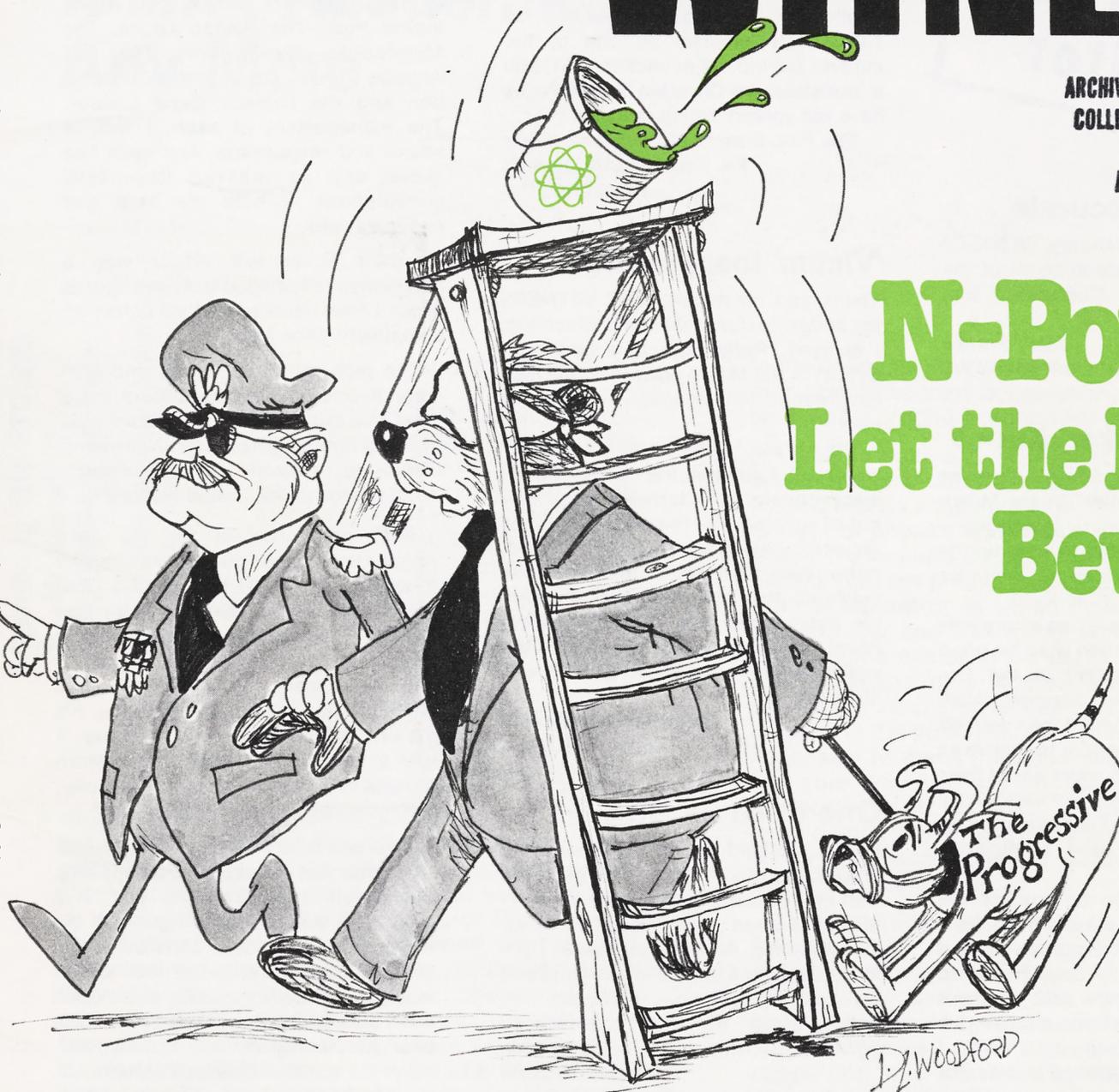
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WM. STRINGFELLOW: State of the Church ■ THOMAS GUMBLETON: No on SALT II



### WOC Most Accurate

Your article in the January WITNESS was the most accurate account of the Women's Ordination Conference that I've seen so far!

**Mary Franke**  
Norfolk, Va.

### 'Catholic Worker' Kudos

I appreciate Ben Bagdikian's story on "The Media Monopolies" in the March issue. I am going to show this to many people. I am also going to look up the works of Vida Scudder as well, for further study.

My own interest is in co-operatives and it began in 1950 when I had the good fortune to be a student at the Co-operative College in Stanford Hall, Loughborough, England. I then worked in Sweden and England for two years as a brickmason to learn more about their method of construction work and about co-operatives. Now I do small contracting work and have a Michigan builder's license.

I used to write on co-ops for the *Catholic Worker*. I was once on their editorial staff and still communicate on occasion with Dorothy Day. Therefore you can understand how easily I accept your journal and have special regard for it. I wish you good fortune.

**William B. Horvath**  
Rochester, Mich.

### Christian Yellow Pages

Thanks for the article, "Next: Christian Yellow Pages?" in the February issue.

Christian Yellow Pages are an unhappy reality. In Pennsylvania, editions have been published in the central part of the state.

The Pennsylvania Equal Rights Council in a statement last year urged Christians not to support such a publication. The Council saw not too subtle anti-Semitism as one of the motives behind the publication. At least in our state, the Christian Yellow Pages have not spread during the past year.

**The Rev. Donald W. McIlvane, Chair**  
Pa. Equal Rights Council  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

### 'Victim' Inappropriate

Thank you for making THE WITNESS the cudgel to our sensitivities which it is. I enjoyed "Reflections of a Managing Editor" in the March issue, but one item caught my attention which prompts this note.

The phrase, "victim of cerebral palsy" was used. I suggest the connotation is inappropriate, and furthermore surely out of keeping with the emphasis today on identity being primarily personhood, rather than a variety of attributes. We celebrate the "differences" but affirm the personhood. We, the able-bodied, (there, an attribute again!) may be the victims — but surely not the person with disability!

**James Loran Cockrell**  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

### One to Grow On

I had decided to do without THE WITNESS in my attempt to keep an even keel in this costly world. But how can I resist you when you come out with such a resounding Anniversary Issue! I am forwarding my \$10 (one to grow on!) and my candidate for your 6 months' free subscription offer in the March WITNESS. Thanks — and keep eager!

**Martha Falcone**  
Bloomfield, Conn.

### Critiques March Issue

With regard to the March issue of THE WITNESS, which dealt with your 62nd anniversary and financial disclosure:

Ben Bagdikian's piece was a honey — great research, well written. I, too, am concerned about the proliferation of most of the newspaper chains. But I'm not worried about the basic ownership of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Atlantic Constitution* and the *Orleans Cape Codder*. The management of each, I feel, is sound and responsible. And each has made and is making important contributions at both the local and national levels.

Robert Eckersley's article was a masterpiece of detailed facts and figures which I have never seen done before so completely. Nice job.

The pictures of the board and staff were A-One. Customers should know what the purveyors of a product look like. But how long has Hugh White been disguising himself as the French Ambassador to the United Nations?

With great respect for the main articles in the issue and others I haven't touched on, I would have to give Gold Medal with Three Palms to Mary Lou Suhor's "Reflections of a Managing Editor." That piece will, I would wager, get you more subscriptions than anything else in the March edition. It's the kind of thing that makes a guy say, "I wish to hell I'd written that," and makes a prospective subscriber say, "By golly, that's my kind of managing editor!"

One last note — a slightly sour one. The cover was dramatic and compelling, but it left the impression that THE WITNESS was picking a fight with the national media. And I don't think you are. I haven't the slightest idea what I would have done instead, but I don't think the excellent contents of the issue bear out the implications of the cover.

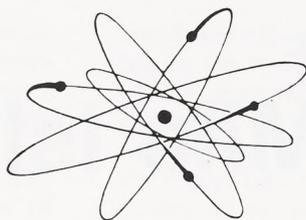
**Charles F. Moore, Jr.**  
Orleans, Mass.

# THE WITNESS

Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; Mary Lou Suhor, Managing Editor; Kay Atwater, Robert Eckersley, Ann Hunter, Susan Small, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White, Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067.

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## It Isn't Academic Any More



Robert L. DeWitt

Al Smith once said "The only cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy."

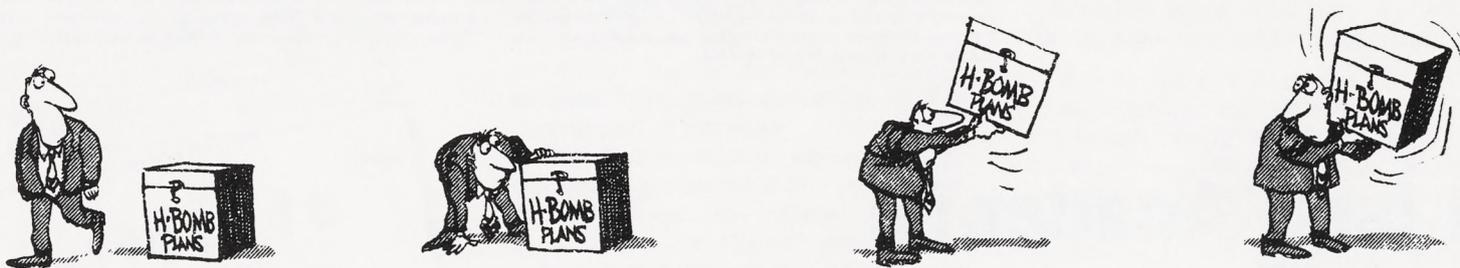
But the book, *The Crisis of Democracy* (1975), published for the Trilateral Commission, suggests that applying Smith's cure of "more democracy" at the present time "could well be adding fuel to the flames." That opinion is being translated into policy in the United States today. Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's National Security Adviser, is former director of the Trilateral Commission. And President Carter, Vice President Mondale, four members of the cabinet and David Rockefeller, dean of the U.S. financial establishment, are or were all Trilateral Commission members.

The concept of democracy for most of us, much of the time, is perhaps just a slogan eliciting strong emotional reactions but devoid of any practical content. The experts, of course, discuss it. In the field of political science, as in medicine, music and art, they set forth their learned theories, understood and discussed largely by other experts. To you, to me and to most people it makes little difference what they say or write. (Have you read *The Crisis of Democracy*?) They live and think in a different world. That is, until their theories impinge upon *our* world, the real world of people and poverty and kids and schools and food and safety and jobs and our futures. It is then that the discussion of democracy is no longer an academic matter. It becomes an issue of prime political concern in the literal sense of that word — a concern

to the *polis*, the city, the place where people live. It is then that democracy becomes more than a slogan. It becomes a crucial question for all of us.

Today is such a time. Atomic energy is such an issue. The near-runaway reactor at Three Mile Island indeed had its academic side. There were principles of nuclear physics and fission engineering involved which the experts discussed, disagreed over, concealed from the public, misrepresented to the press. But the laboratory in which these issues are being puzzled over and where the experiments and near-catastrophic mistakes are being made is the world, your world and mine. Nuclear energy is distinctly in the public realm, it is dangerously in the public domain. Is the public entitled to have the knowledge necessary to make informed decisions about it? Is the cure for this evil of our democracy "more democracy," as Al Smith maintained? Or would more democracy simply "add fuel to the flames" — surely a macabre series of words in the context in which we now speak.

THE WITNESS welcomes to its pages in this issue Samuel H. Day, Jr., managing editor of the embattled *Progressive* magazine, former editor of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. The *Progressive* is in court over the issue of freedom of the press. THE WITNESS has joined other editors and publications in supporting this effort to fight against censorship and prior restraint (See box, Page 6). ■



## THE U.S.A. v. THE PROGRESSIVE

# H-Bomb's Three Mile Island?

by Samuel H. Day, Jr.

Reading their newspapers, listening to the radio bulletins, watching their television screens, Americans shared some agonizing moments with the people of south-central Pennsylvania, in the last three days of March waiting to know whether a runaway nuclear power reactor would bring disaster.

The Governor ordered the evacuation of children and pregnant women. Police and fire sirens alerted people to the presence of a danger they could not see, smell, feel, or hear. Emergency planners spoke of evacuating tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands to who-knew-where and for who-knew-how-long.

The public mood of anxiety and incredulity — of not knowing what to do or what might come next — reflected the mood in the control room of the reactor itself, where panic and confusion fed on one another.

In an act which epitomized the trauma of Three Mile Island, a Catholic priest in a small Pennsylvania

church granted general absolution at Sunday mass to all who might require it, as if to the passengers on a crippled ocean liner.

A combination of luck and skill eventually saved the situation at Three Mile Island. The hydrogen bubble was dispelled. The reactor was finally cooled. The engineers averted the ultimate disaster of a full meltdown of the radioactive fuel core, which could have laid waste, in the language of an oft-cited reactor safety study once conducted for the Atomic Energy Commission, "an area the size of the State of Pennsylvania."

But the soothing official reassurances with which such warnings were dismissed in the past are not likely to work any more. There is a big difference between risks, dangers and vulnerability in the abstract and risks, dangers and vulnerability in the immediate. At Three Mile Island, America came face to face for the first time with its vulnerability to the unforgiving technology of nuclear power. As a result, the national commitment to continued development of nuclear power may well have reached a turning

point.

The ultimate disaster at Three Mile Island didn't have to happen to drive the lesson home. It came close enough.

If confrontation with the reality of nuclear power can give America traumatic second thoughts about its deepening commitment to nuclear power, what will it take to loosen our commitment to the nuclear weapons technology from which the nuclear reactors sprang?

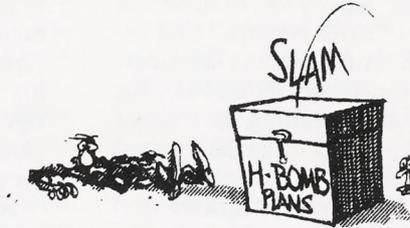
There can be little doubt that the ultimate catastrophe of nuclear war — bringing the death of hundreds of millions and the decimation of human society — would sever the commitment just as surely as the meltdown of Three Mile Island Reactor No. 2 would have closed the nuclear power industry overnight.

But is there some lesser price that Americans and others can pay to learn the reality of nuclear weapons; to learn it not in some back corner of their minds but in their gut? Is there a Three Mile Island for the hydrogen bomb?

The possibility of that may be evolving in a legal case that went to court only three weeks before the Three Mile

---

**Samuel H. Day, Jr.** is Managing Editor of *The Progressive*.



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LOS ANGELES TIMES SYDNEY CAPE

Island reactor ran amok. It involves an attempt by the United States government (successfully so far) to suppress a magazine article entitled, "The H-Bomb Secret."

United States of America vs. *The Progressive* presents the question of whether the First Amendment ("Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom . . . of the press . . .") should take precedence over the Atomic Energy Act, a 33-year old law which restricts what may be published or broadcast about nuclear weapons and the materials from which they are made.

It is a classic First Amendment test case. Only once before in the 203-year history of the republic has the concept of "prior restraint" been invoked. That was in 1971, when the Justice Department took *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* to court to prevent publication of the Pentagon Papers. The Supreme Court, acting with lightning dispatch, said no.

Underlying the First Amendment issue in *The Progressive* case is the question of H-bomb secrecy itself, and the purpose to be served — as *The Progressive* sees it — by opening up the nuclear weapons program to unfettered public scrutiny. Short of nuclear war itself, such public scrutiny may offer the only real hope of producing a fundamental appreciation of the consequences of continued production of weapons of mass destruction.

Should the First Amendment survive this test, and should the public thus be freed from the self-imposed restraints

which have thus far kept it from holding up the hydrogen bomb to the light of day, then the nuclear weapons program (like the nuclear power program) may meet its Three Mile Island. Should the effort fail, then we may well have to depend on nuclear war itself for the object lesson.

It is of course no secret that nuclear weapons are incredibly powerful instruments of destruction and that the United States alone has enough of them to wipe out human civilization. There are 25,000 to 30,000 in our stockpile, some of them powerful enough to destroy a city the size of Moscow.

Nor is it a secret that our capacity to wage nuclear war grows steadily as we continue to improve the speed, accuracy and versatility of our delivery systems. (The cruise missile, our newest delivery vehicle, can drop a nuclear warhead almost anywhere with almost absolute invulnerability.) Or that the use of nuclear weapons has become an inseparable part of our military doctrines, making it increasingly difficult for our armed forces to engage in major combat without resorting to nuclear war. Or that the proliferation of nuclear power technology around the world has brought a growing number of nations to the threshold of membership in the nuclear weapons club.

It is well understood, too, that the driving force behind all these tendencies has been the United States, with its design laboratories that have constantly pressed the outer limits of weapons technology, with its vast nuclear

weapons production program (\$3 billion a year for the warheads alone), and with its supreme and unchallenged confidence in the use (or threatened use) of nuclear weapons as an instrument of national policy.

Nor is it a secret that the net effect of all this, far from achieving the "national security" which serves as the rationale, has been to undermine the nation's security and the world's security by threatening both with extinction. There has been no dearth of dire warnings about this; every president since Harry Truman has admitted as much.

Still, the nuclearization of America has proceeded at an ever-quickening pace. Americans have known all along about the consequences of what they were doing — and yet they have not really known.

It was the desire to drive home the knowledge that led *The Progressive*, a monthly political magazine, and its author — free-lance writer Howard Morland — to report "The H-Bomb Secret."

As a serious journal deeply concerned about the nuclear arms race, *The Progressive* has made a point of raising the consciousness of its readers about this problem. A landmark article by Sidney Lens in 1976, "The Domsday Strategy," challenged the Cold War concepts which rationalize the projection of American atomic power around the world. As an author for the magazine, I toured the nuclear weapons production complex of the Department of Energy in 1978, noticed how thoroughly the laboratories and

factories had become interwoven in the country's economic and social fabric, and wrote an article entitled, "The Nicest People Make The Bomb." Many months ago *The Progressive* concluded that "arms control" had become a fraud and that the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), for all its rhetoric about halting the nuclear arms race, was really a means devised by the super-powers for perpetuating their nuclear weapons programs and thus should be opposed.

As a young man who had grown up near a hydrogen bomb factory (Union

Carbide's Y-12 plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee), served as an Air Force pilot in the Vietnam War, drifted into the anti-nuclear movement at Seabrook, New Hampshire, and begun making connections between "atomic power and the arms race" (the title of his slide show), Howard Morland was thinking along the same lines when he came to *The Progressive's* attention in the summer of 1978.

He agreed to undertake a research and writing project which he summarized in a letter to the magazine last July 7:

## Statement of Support

The following statement supporting *The Progressive* and the First Amendment was endorsed by the editor or publisher of *The Witness*, *The Nation*, *Columbia Journalism Review*, *Society*, *Village Voice*, *Harper's*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Ms.*, *Scientific American*, *Seven Days*, *Working Papers*, *The New Republic*, *Mother Jones*, *Inquiry*, *Win*, *In These Times*, *Texas Observer*, *Science for the People*, *Dollars & Sense*, *The Black Scholar*, and *Politics Today*, and by organization spokespersons for Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy, Critical Mass Energy Project, War Resisters League, Friends Peace Committee, and American Friends Service Committee:

"In 1971, the Government of the United States moved against *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* in an unprecedented attempt to assert a right of censorship and prior restraint. This gross violation of the First Amendment was promptly and unequivocally rebuffed by the courts.

"Now the Government has mounted a similar attempt

against a small publication of political commentary.

"We believe that *The Progressive* is fighting to protect the First Amendment rights of every publication in America, including those with which we are associated.

"In a time when military policy is closely linked with technological capabilities, debate about military policy that uses technical information is part of a vigorous system of freedom of expression under the First Amendment. The Government's tendency to hide widely known technical processes under a mantle of secrecy in the national interest and prevent press commentary on these matters can only result in stifling debate, not in protecting the physical security of Americans.

"The facts at issue in the Government's dispute with *The Progressive* will be determined in the courts, but the principle of freedom of the press is one to be vigorously safeguarded by all of us. That is why we are pledging our full support to *The Progressive* in its fight against censorship and prior restraint."

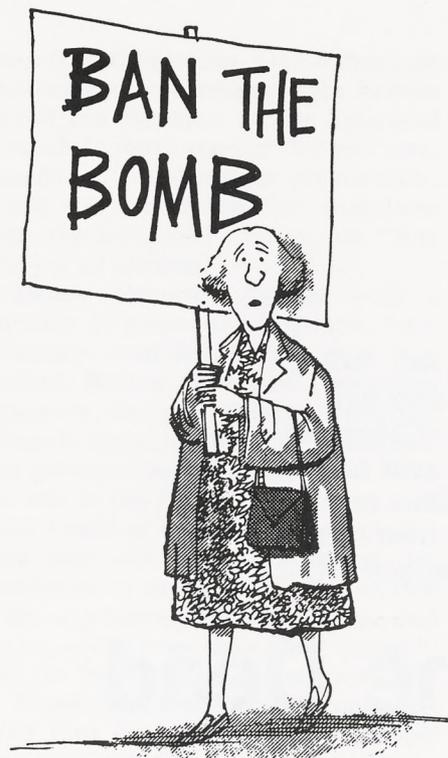
"We agreed that nuclear weapons production has prospered too long in an atmosphere of freedom from public scrutiny. *The Progressive* should raise the visibility of the nuclear warhead assembly line, which stretches in a great arc across America from Tampa, Florida, to Amarillo, Texas. Corporate connections should be explained. The Bomb should be described in sufficient detail to allow readers to see nuclear warheads as pieces of hardware rather than as score-points in a contest . . .

"By the end of August I hope to know as much as it is legal to know (and possible for a layman to understand) about thermonuclear warhead design. I will then trace each major component through its fabrication process, starting with the mineral ore and ending with final assembly of the warhead.

"Much of the research for this part is already completed but my preliminary findings must be verified. I have yet to learn what components determine the shelf-life of a warhead and, consequently, how often each warhead must be returned to the factories for overhaul.

"Some of the needed information is classified, of course, and holes in the story will have to be filled by educated speculation. It is important that this speculation be as close to the truth as possible in order for the narrative to be credible to knowledgeable readers. Speculation will be identified as such. Without revealing military secrets I should be able to describe a hypothetical warhead containing the known components of warheads in some plausible configuration and thereby tie the production plants to their product."

Six months later Morland's assignment was completed. Working and identifying himself as a writer for *The Progressive*, touring the plants of the Department of Energy, talking with scientists in and out of the weapons program and reading the voluminous literature on the subject, Morland had



finished his first major article about H-bomb secrecy.

His point was that there are no secrets except those which the Department of Energy keeps from the public for the purpose of shielding its weapons program from public examination and debate. As an illustration, he included a description of the Department's ultimate "secret" — the design principles of a hydrogen bomb — to show how they could be openly deduced by a resourceful and diligent investigator. (Morland himself had had only a smattering of science education in college.)

Morland's article has yet to be published. When the Department of Energy learned of its existence — through a draft copy passed on by a colleague of one of *The Progressive's* editorial advisors — it demanded deletion of the author's hand-drawn sketches and about 20 percent of the text. When the magazine refused to do this, citing its First Amendment right, the Government went to federal court in Milwaukee on March 9 and obtained

a temporary restraining order. The order, subsequently converted into a preliminary injunction, is now being appealed — an appeal in which the American Civil Liberties Union and other publications have joined. It is expected that the U.S. Supreme Court will ultimately decide the question.

In affidavits signed by three cabinet secretaries and a host of lesser federal officials, the Government claims that publication of parts of the Morland article — the parts it calls "secret/restricted data" — would gravely harm the United states by giving other countries clues about how to build a hydrogen bomb and thus contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

*The Progressive's* response, backed by the sworn affidavits of several nuclear weapons designers and other knowledgeable scientists who work outside the Government, is that there is nothing significant in the article that cannot readily be deduced from the open literature, including the encyclopedia writings of Dr. Edward Teller, the "father of the hydrogen bomb." (In rebuttal, the Government has classified some of the very exhibits, from scientific journals and popular magazines, introduced in court by *The Progressive* in its defense!)

What could have led the Government of the United States, manufacturer of the most devastating arsenal the world has ever known, to come down so vigorously on a small political magazine which plainly has no interest in teaching others how to make the H-Bomb?

Is it really to protect national security?

While many in the press and in the liberal community are genuinely disturbed at the thought of a magazine spilling state "secrets", a fear that the Government has been quick to exploit, knowledgeable scientists are incredulous at the notion. They know, as the Morland article itself points out, that in the principles of thermonuclear fusion, as in all science, there are no secrets, and that the ability to build an

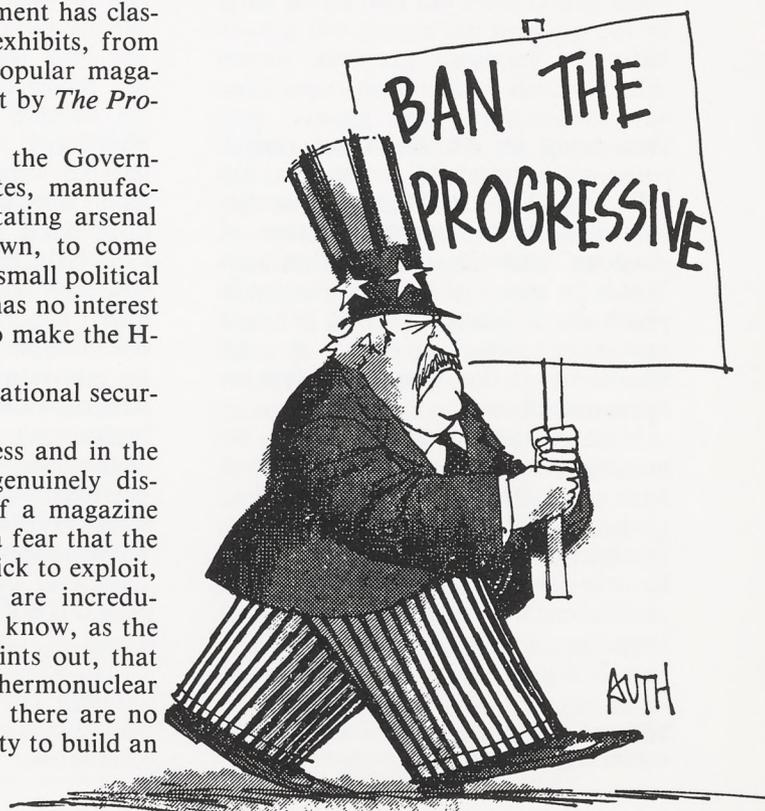
H-bomb depends not on the mastery of scientific knowledge but on the mustering of gigantic physical resources: Several thousand scientists and engineers for the designing and manufacturing, several billion dollars for the factories alone. A design group with that kind of backing would have little difficulty duplicating Morland's feat.

Is it really to prevent proliferation?

Those who share *The Progressive's* abiding concern about nuclear proliferation know the real proliferators are not political magazines but the agencies of Government itself. For a generation they have been the world's leading salespersons of atomic diplomacy and nuclear technology.

We at *The Progressive* don't claim to know the real reason for the Government's assault on Freedom of the Press. But we suspect, as others do, that it arises from the fear that the piercing of the veil of secrecy presents an imminent threat to an enterprise that cannot survive the light of public examination.

And that gives us hope. ■



Auth, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

## THE STATE OF THE CHURCH Part II

*And a scribe came up and said to him, "Master, I will follow you wherever you go." And Jesus said to him, "Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head." Another of the disciples said to him, "Lord, let me first go and bury my father." But Jesus said to him, "Follow me, and leave the dead to bury their own dead."*

Matthew 8:19-22

# Let the Dead Bury the Dead

by William Stringfellow

One irony in the American church scene at the moment is the recession afflicting the traditional churches coincident with a gross inflation of religious curiosity and enthusiasm. This is an aspect of the predicament in which the Episcopal Church is found nowadays, though it has a broader implication in the culture than just the Episcopal Church.

Most of the so-called mainline denominations of American Christendom — Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, United Church of Christ, Disciples, American Baptist — the historic churches of the Protestant establishment, along with the Roman Catholic Church, have suffered

significant statistical attrition in the past few years. Thousands of clergy have dropped out; the young are disaffected and no longer replenish church members who have died; attendance at church services is diminished; deployment of missionaries has been curtailed; fewer seminarians intend ministries in parishes and congregations (many do not even seek ordination); there is widespread discontent among laity exasperated with perfunctory consignment and some wander elsewhere; church funding is nowhere near keeping pace with the economic inflation. Yet, meanwhile, religious publishing — especially in the genre of pop religion — flourishes; cults abound; huckster preachers saturate television; private religiosity and idiosyncratic pietism have become alternatives to the churches for mul-

titudes; the fads and fantasies of the occult prosper; religious studies in colleges are popular electives, and many who have quit the conventional churches — both clergy and laity — can now be located in homes and communities extemporizing churchly life.

One suspects that the present disaffection with the established churches would be translated into more departures if it were not for either nostalgia or inertia among people who remain nominally church members, because the sort of privatism and pietism and religious diffusion, so manifest in sects and cults outside the churches, is also evident inside the churches, if with more muted enthusiasm.

In the Episcopal Church — schismatics aside — the depletion of the ranks of the church measures more

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**William Stringfellow** is a theologian, social critic, author and attorney.

than 500,000 persons. One bishop, on the verge of retirement, sighs heavily about the "malaise of the Episcopal Church," but another bishop succumbs to it and resigns prematurely, while still another publicly complains that the Episcopal Church has "lost the joy of mission."

(Some bishops, together with a number of priests and laypeople, have wistfully confided in me that they wished Bishop Pike could somehow reappear on the present Episcopal Church scene, despite the hullabaloo his presence usually occasioned when he was in the House of Bishops, as if *that* would at least bring back vitality and relevance. I have consoled this sentiment by saying that I am sure that Pike — wherever he may now be said to be — was more than likely researching the feasibility of his return to us).

Meanwhile, I have devoted considerable time lately to visiting Episcopal parishes, specifically in the South, Midwest and in the Northeast, and I hope to see more elsewhere in the country prior to the General Convention in Denver. My finding, so far, concurs with the bishop who mentioned malaise. The people of the church seem demoralized. The life of the Episcopal Church — with some noteworthy exceptions here and there — seems banal and literally mundane. Though some churchpeople are outraged (many of those outraged have already left the church), most seem bewildered. Others are simply overwhelmed in boredom.

Some clues about what prompts such feelings can readily be found in the local church press. I have also, lately, been reading diocesan newspapers from around the country. What redundant journalism! Attention is claimed in most of these, month after

month, by money pleas and pitches for ecclesial loyalty with an inference attached to both that they can be transliterated as devotion to Almighty God or as sufficient fidelity to the gospel of Jesus Christ. Neither is put in persuasive syntax. The incessant theme of money-raising is obscene *per se*: The gospel is concerned with disposing of money, with spending and expending money (and similar property, imminently), in straightforward response to evident human need. The gospel is offended and contradicted by the amassing, investing or hoarding of money and other property to endow the survival of the ecclesiastical institution or otherwise embellish the ecclesiastical fabric. Money is significant theologically insofar as it facilitates and, indeed, sacramentalizes the servanthood of the church for the world.

At the time that the so-called \$100 million Venture in Mission (VIM) campaign was originally foisted upon the church, I received a message from a high-ranking national officer of the church, who knew that I regarded the effort as sham, stating that VIM was not merely a fund-raising device but had, he said, a "spiritual" purpose. He never did elucidate what "spiritual" meant. (It is, anyway, a vague and ambiguous term which arouses the suspicion that it means nothing at all and is invoked to fill a void.) Still, VIM does have heavy *political* implications. The sums of money required to fund VIM are such that policy conditions are morally certain to be attached to contributions and, to the extent that happens, the General Convention of the church, already much diminished in its historic and canonical prerogatives by the present style of the church bureaucracy and management, will be

further obviated. Moreover, the commitment of VIM funds to endow the ecclesiastical status quo is apt to render the church management even less accountable to the people of the church because the offerings of the laity will be less significant. VIM, in principle, foresees a maintenance of the ecclesial apparatus whether or not the church retains a constituency of human beings ready and willing to support the institutional status quo.

I am aware, of course, that some of the urban bishops have disrupted, to some extent, the original design of the promoters of VIM. I only hope they, and others, press the issue at Denver to the point where responsible alternatives, including divestiture and expenditure of existing church endowments, together with the renunciation of tax privilege, can be considered so that there might be a recovery of the servant vocation of Christ's Church in the Episcopal Church.

At the same time, on the matter of money and priorities, one learns of the quiet purge that has been taking place among the clergy; the weeding out of priests who are suspected of social conscience, prophetic tendency or ministry among the dispossessed, the neglected, the rejected, the unpopular, the imprisoned. The excuse for coercing or terminating such clergy is, commonly, an asserted shortage for funding their salaries, or, as it is sometimes put, a surplusage of clergy. There is, in truth, neither. If anything, there is a shortage of clergy to fill vacant or abandoned positions and there is a plethora of new ministries for the ordained waiting to be undertaken. But there is a refusal to reallocate funding to support such ministries, and there is a practice of manipulating clergy compensation to conform clergy or eliminate those who do not conform.

The pitches, in diocesan newspapers and similar venues, for a simplistic and uncritical loyalty to the churchly institution provide a convenient atmos-

**If you missed** the May issue of THE WITNESS, which contains the first in the series of articles on the state of the church by William Stringfellow, you can get a copy by sending \$1.00 to THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002 — while they last!

(Please turn to Page 19)



Raisa Nemikin



Maria Cueto

### **The Vida Scudder Award**

Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, former director and secretary, respectively, of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, who spent more than 10 months in prison (1977-1978) for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury investigating alleged FALN bombings. The women claimed the FBI investigation was harassing the Hispanic community and therefore had a chilling effect on their ministry and that their stance was based on First and Fifth Amendment rights. They were strongly supported by the National Council of Churches.

### **The William Spofford Award**

The Rev. Paul Washington of the Church of the Advocate, whose major ministry has been 17 years of service to the Black community of Philadelphia; a ministry extended to the national church by his many years on the Executive Council and his serving several times as a Deputy to General Convention.

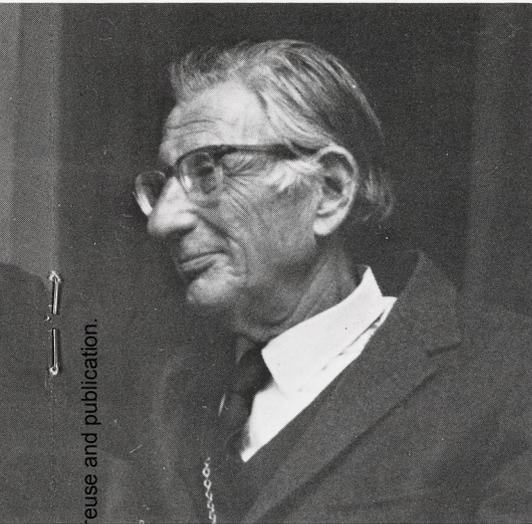
Paul Washington



Elizabeth and Daniel Corrigan

### **The William Scarlett Award**

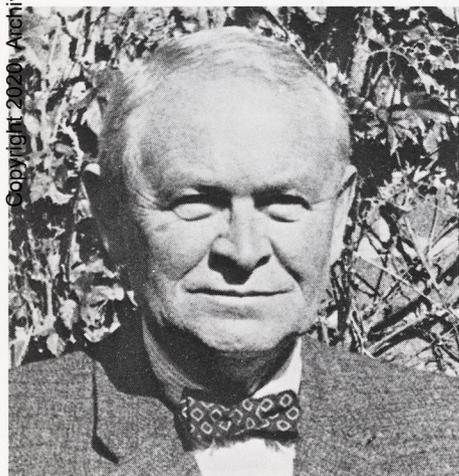
The Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan, Suffragan Bishop of Colorado, 1958-1960, and Director of the Home Department of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, 1960-1968. Under his leadership the Joint Urban Program was fashioned, responding to the social unrest of the 1960s and anticipating a major concern of the Church today.



### A Special Award of Merit

Dr. Joseph Fletcher, visiting professor of biomedical ethics at the School of Medicine, University of Virginia and Senior Fellow in the same subject at the University of Texas Graduate School of Biomedical Sciences. He is author of the influential book *Situation Ethics* and of the recently-published *Humanhood, Essays in Biomedical Ethics*. He taught at the Episcopal Theological School, 1944-1970 and was Dean of the Graduate School of Applied Religion, 1936-1944, a pioneering effort at continuing education for clergy.

Joseph Fletcher

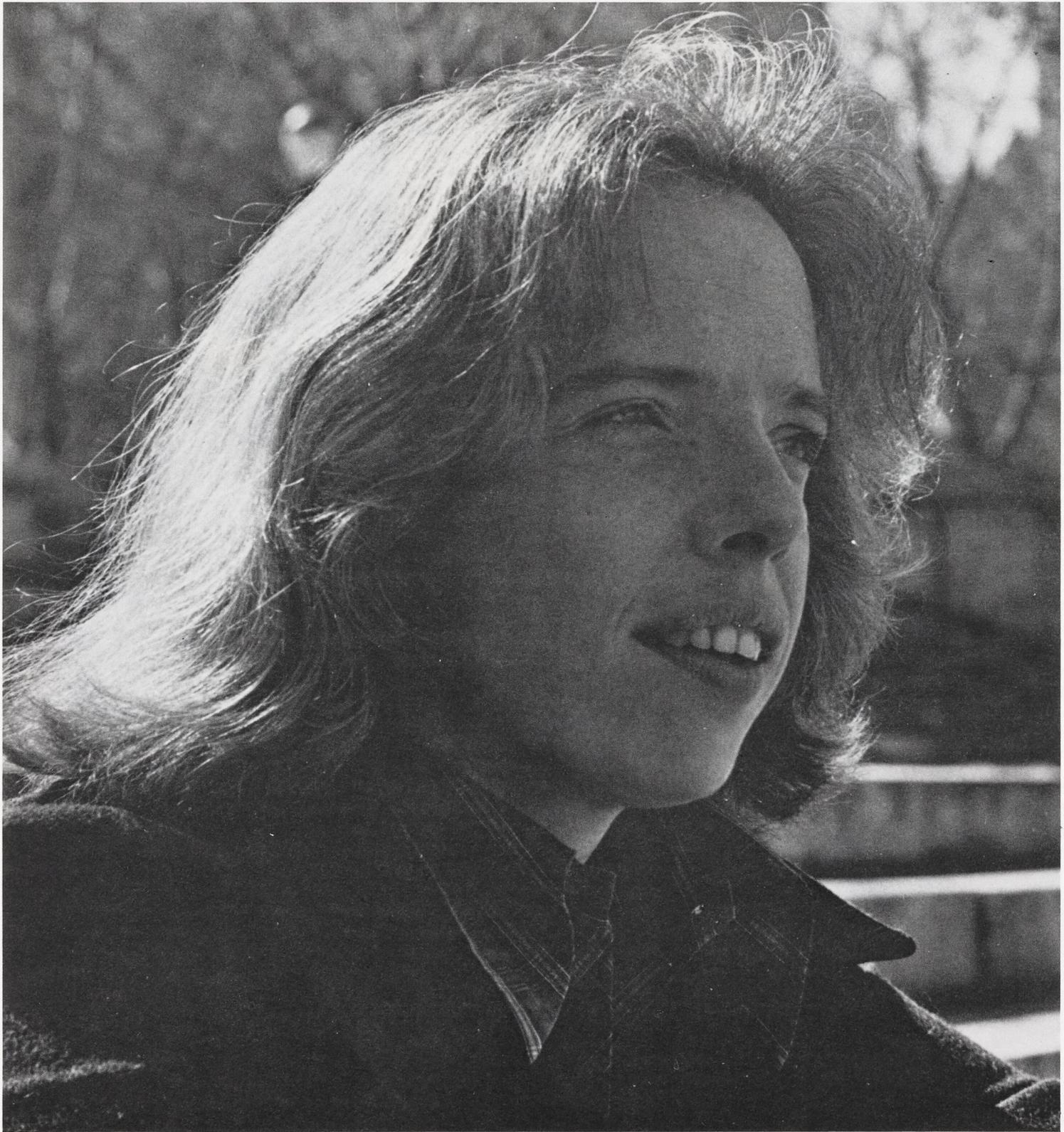


## Convention Dinner Honors ECPC Award Winners

One of the most noteworthy events at the General Convention in Denver this September will be a banquet/celebration sponsored by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company early in the first week of the convention. The purpose of the occasion is the presentation of the awards for outstanding service to the social mission of the Church.

The awards are given in honor of **William Scarlett**, Bishop of Missouri, 1930-1950; **Vida Scudder**, educator and social activist; and **William Spofford**, former editor of *THE WITNESS*. In addition, there will be a special award of merit given this year.

A nationally-prominent speaker will keynote this occasion which will celebrate the social mission of the Church and honor five persons who have contributed significantly to that mission. The next issue of *THE WITNESS* will give full detail of date, place and how to secure tickets for this outstanding event.



Photos by Tom F. Driver

# Theological Explorations of Homosexuality

by Carter Heyward

In the beginning, I AM WHO AM created everything that lived and grew and changed and wondered and tried and stretched and cuddled and recoiled. Every plant, every rock, every animal, every person. Everything created was to realize itself in organic relationship to everything else that was created and to realize the relationship of all created things to I AM WHO AM. The process of realizing oneself in relationship to other human beings, people began to call "sexuality." The process of realizing oneself and all creation in relationship to the Creator, people began to call "spirituality."

The Creator, I AM WHO I AM, could find no adequate word for any of these processes except *love*. I AM WHO I AM realized that loving means changing and becoming something new, and that in loving, the plants and the rocks and the animals and the people were changing and becoming a new creation, and that it was good. I

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**The Rev. Carter Heyward**, Assistant Professor of Theology at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, is currently on sabbatical at Union Theological Seminary. The article above is excerpted from a talk she gave in October 1977 at a seminar on homosexuality sponsored by the Massachusetts chapter of the Church and Society Network and the Diocesan Commission on Human Sexuality.

AM WHO I AM began to realize that even Creators change and that, in loving, I AM WHO I AM had become I AM BECOMING WHO I AM BECOMING.

Carter Heyward — an all American type of girl, good student, leader in extracurricular activities, president of this and that, active in drama, music and journalism, most likely to succeed, debutante, a young person with assorted ups and downs, run-of-the-mill problems, many dreams and pipe dreams, goals, fantasies, sexually and spiritually potent, a well-adjusted and intense child and teenager — I did not experience my *sexual adolescence* until my early 20s. This was not atypical among my female peers. What I mean by "sexual adolescence" is that I had no active sexual relationship even of a "petting" variety until I was 22. Prior to that, I had experienced only mild anxiety and curiosity about sex. I wasn't sure what it entailed. I imagined it to be rather disgusting and not something to which I should look forward. Theoretically, I had surmised that sex was basically wrong, except maybe in marriage, and I wasn't even sure about that.

During these teen years, when sex was for me a non-issue, I moved into what I would characterize now as my *spiritual adolescence*. I loved "God!" And even more than God, I loved the church and its priests, the vestments,

the smells and sounds and silences in the church. I prayed the Rosary. I made Confession. I was immersed in a spirituality that despises physicality. If I could not be a priest I would be a nun, and for several years I planned towards this vocation.

What spirituality had been for me as a teenager — *a yearning for meaningful relationship of deep significance* — sexuality soon became for me as a young woman. In both instances, my adolescence was marked by my needing to locate and secure an object for my yearning as quickly as possible and as indiscriminately as necessary. So, what the "God" of my spiritual adolescence had been — a wholly Other, magical, beautiful Superman, manifest in ecclesiastical splendor — so too did a variety of men and women become in my sexual adolescence, objects of adoration, of projection and of a complete absorption of my being.

I do not now look upon my spiritual and my sexual adolescence as unfortunate, but rather as necessary steps along the way in my own becoming. In fact, I consider with gratitude these experiences. What they taught me is that the yearning within me for meaningful relationship to help me validate my own being is, in fact, simultaneously a sexual and a spiritual yearning for relationship and that this yearning is not only good, but that which brings me to life, to risk, to courage, to com-

mitment, to passion, to vocation, to feelings, to sisters and brothers, and yes, to God!

The experience I can cite as an initiation into coming of age, spiritually and sexually, was my ordination to the priesthood in Philadelphia. The integrity in which spirituality and sexuality are realized as one flow of being relating me both to God and to my sisters and brothers has something to do with *self-validation*. It is "God with us" as opposed to a dependence upon validation by ecclesiastical mandate or by persons to whom we have given over the power and authority to tell us who we are, be they lovers, spouses or institutional leaders.

Coming of age, I find that I am resistant to "categories," including sexual categories like "homo-, hetero-, bisexual." I resist categories not primarily, I think, because of what may happen to me when people realize that I yearn for and find relationship — spiritual, sexual relationship — with people who are women; not because I believe my sexuality to be my private business (sometimes the opposite of "private" is not "public" but rather "communal responsibility"). Rather, I resist categories because, to quote a friend and student, "Being human — being sexual — is not a matter of 'qualitative analysis'" in which relationships of highest value become genital equations: Woman plus woman equals gay; woman plus man equals straight.

God's being is in loving; that is, in involvement in, immersion in, in passionate relationship to God's own creation, respecting, cherishing that which makes each member or aspect of creation uniquely who, or what, it is and is becoming. God is Godself defiant of categories and qualitative analysis.

God is not alone as lover — the one who loves. Fundamental to the doctrines of creation and incarnation is the human capacity to love. Being human means being self-consciously (not necessarily rationally) able to love and be loved: Involved in, immersed in,

related passionately to God and to human beings, respecting, cherishing that which makes each loved one uniquely who she or he is and is becoming — be this loved one male or female, black or white, old or young, sick or well.

Loving is one flow of being, stirred within us by the power of the Holy Spirit. One has only to read the prayers of Christian mystics like Julian of Norwich, Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross to encounter the *eroticism of agape*; the sexuality of spiritual love.

But what of the separations we have made between *eros* and *agape*? between sexuality and spirituality? between the flesh and the spirit? and, derivative of the same, between sexual orientation and sexual behavior?

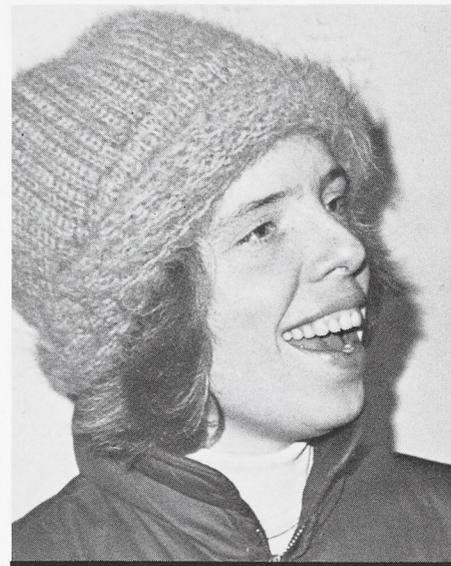
What I believe to be the theological root of the problem is this: Today we still labor under a *dualistic* world-view in which lines of demarcation are drawn between the sacred and the profane, the religious and the secular, heaven and hell, God's realm and the arenas of this world. One example of this dualism is manifest in a press release by the Evangelical Catholic Congress, in which its leaders decry "the invasion of the church by the world," the implication being that the church is "good" and the world "bad."

Whether our Incarnational theologies are finally focused on Jesus as the unique and singular revelation of God to the world, or on Jesus as the representation of our own possibilities to bear Christ to the world, in Christ we perceive that that which we believed to be "divine" (out there, far away) and that which we believed to be "human" (us, here, now) are together in one real-

### Welcome California

With this issue of THE WITNESS we welcome to our forum of readers some 1500 Episcopalians from the Diocese of California.

The dualism is shown for what it was all along: A delusion. And the value-laden schism between sacred and secular, spirit and body, are seen to be false.



ity. In Christ, God and humanity are in a single glance, through a glass darkly, perceived to be in unity. The dualism is shown for what it was all along: A delusion. And the value-laden schism between sacred and secular, spirit and body, are seen as false.

To speak negatively of sexuality, which the larger body of orthodox tradition has indeed done, is to speak of a cosmos in which God and spiritual things exist "up there" and creation/humanity and physical things exist "down here." Spiritual things are above and are intended to overcome physical things. The Creator and the creation are seen to be at odds.

Historically, sexuality has been the living symbol of that which is physical, of this world, of the flesh, uncontrollable, orgasmic. Within the Judaeo-

Christian tradition, heavily influenced by Hellenism's Platonic dualism, sexuality has been posited as the enemy to spiritual development.

But theological propositions such as this do not fall out of the sky. They are rooted in experiences of sexuality and of spirituality. And one is left wondering what experiences prompted Jerome, for example, to say that since angels have no sexual organs and that since we are someday to become angels, we ought now to model ourselves after angels and act as though we have no sexual organs. I find myself wondering if sexuality is experienced as non-spiritual because God is experienced as non-physical. And, if so, how seriously did these early Fathers really take the Incarnation? Or is perhaps the fear of sexuality a fear of losing control? Ultimately of losing *all* control (dying)? Or again, is the rejection of sexuality built by these men upon a rejection of women? Indeed women are held, theologically, to be nearly synonymous with that which is "not God": Evil, tempting, uncontrollable, seducing men into "fall" and bringing men to death. It is hard to know which is cause and which is effect.

But it is not hard to know or imagine why homosexuality has been considered such an anathema. It is sexual. It is not in marriage (held to be the only possible legitimating parameter for sexuality). It is for pleasure in companionship rather than for the duty of procreation (seen to be sexuality's theological justification). Moreover, homosexuality is seen to be orgasmic, wild, uncontrollable, hedonistic. It is viewed by men as men's attempts to be "like women" (read sexual, physical, non-spiritual) and as women's attempt to reject men (read that which is good).

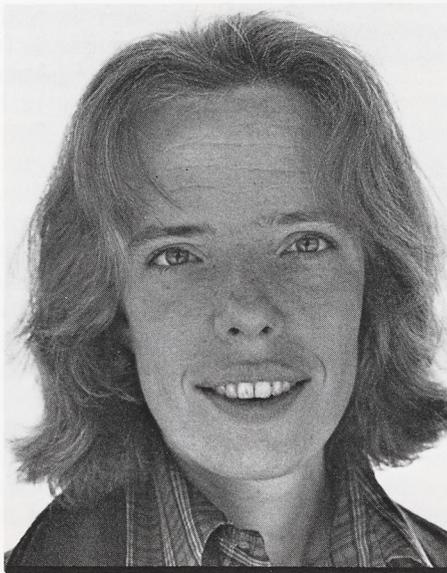
I would characterize homosexuality not as a matter of sexual preference nor simply as "sexual activity between persons of the same sex," but rather as a way of being in relationship to persons of the same sex that is rooted in one's yearning for relationship that is

meaningful. Like heterosexuality, homosexuality may find expression in acts of relationship that would naturally include touching and being touched by one's friend, one's lover, whether the touch be a physical expression as in an embrace or in genital contact; a matter of emotional vulnerability; an essentially spiritual affinity, or all three.

It is possible, of course, to deny one's homosexuality just as it is possible to deny one's heterosexuality, so that homosexuality would involve an aversion to, avoidance of, refusal to touch or be touched by, persons of the same sex — whether the touching be physical, emotional, spiritual. This denial, or refusal to be open to one's own sex, or the opposite sex, I believe to be unnatural, unhealthy, unholy.

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**Or is perhaps  
the fear of sexuality  
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. . . Or, again, is the  
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The fundamental ethical questions regarding sexuality — questions of commitment and loyalty between people, of mutual responsibility in relationship and of participation in the shaping of a society in which people can be nurtured with justice as individuals in community — are rooted, I believe, not in people's refusals to touch, to make contact with one another. Whether one's experience is homosexual, heterosexual or both, the immorality in relationship results primarily from a fear of really being known by and knowing another. Hence, the inability to make commitment; to be vulnerable to another; to be honest either in conflict or at peace; the inability to sustain interest in loving relationship once it is found; or to actively realize that loving does indeed involve fear and loss and death, and that these experiences within relationships are givens. They are reality to be entered into and experienced, not to be fled from. Loneliness, separation, promiscuity. The boxing off of genitals from really touching and being touched. These things are more often than not the results of our alienation from ourselves as lovers — of God, of each other, of creation itself.

We have a long way to go. It is a frightening time of spiritual and sexual transformation in which our consciousness of who we are — individually and collectively — is expanding. We must be careful. We must be tender. We must be open to new discovery. We must keep our courage, which is to say, we must keep in mind that God is with us. Whenever we believe that we are right, we must claim no authority over others, realizing that those who make no claim to authority over others are those in whom some true authority is perceived. We must not forget that we — like the lilies of the field — are becoming who we are becoming in the image of a God who is becoming. Finally, in this present crisis, we may find it helpful to remember that the Chinese ideogram for "crisis" is "a dangerous opportunity." ■

# SALT II: Is it Worth Supporting? No!

By Thomas J. Gumbleton

*Although the United States Catholic Conference reportedly voted last November to support the SALT II Treaty, it does not preclude individual bishops from stating strong exceptions to that position. On a matter of public policy of such magnitude, upon which the objections commonly voiced are purely pragmatic and procedural, THE WITNESS feels it is important to hear from a bishop who has principled objections to SALT. The Most Rev. Thomas Gumbleton, auxiliary bishop of Detroit and president of Pax Christi, USA, took the negative side in a debate recently in The Commonweal (the affirmative was upheld by the Rev. J. Bryan Hehir of the U.S. Catholic Conference in Washington, D.C.). The full debate is available from The Commonweal, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. The article presented here is reprinted with permission.*

When I was invited to a briefing session for religious leaders at the State Department on Oct. 18, 1978, I went readily, because I had implicitly assumed I would support the signing of the SALT II Treaty. I was pleased to have an opportunity to learn more about the proposed treaty and to join with other religious leaders in the effort to build a base of support for SALT II in the churches and religious communities throughout the United States.

At the end of the morning session, after the facts had been carefully laid out about the incredibly large arsenals

that the Soviets and the U.S. would have under SALT II, one of the participants asked a question. "Do you mean that you expect us as religious leaders to support the kind of arsenal you are describing? That we should offer religious legitimacy for weapons outlined in your presentation?"

The government representative who had just been speaking, indicated his awareness that support for such weapons might be troubling to a religious leader. But his response was that the Arms Control Agency and the State Department could not make moral evaluations. Their responsibility was to guarantee the "security" of the United States by making sure that even with a SALT II agreement, our arsenal would not be inferior to any nation's.

The impact of that response for me was immediate and challenging. The more I thought about it, the clearer the situation became. The government expert indicated that he and his colleagues would not deal with the kind of concern raised by the questioner. In fact, he was saying that that was a moral problem, a religious question — not a political one — and religious leaders had to be concerned with such questions. He understood that.

But who really was asking that kind of question? We had been brought together to be briefed and we were already devising a strategy to form a Religious Committee of Support for SALT II. We were going to help "sell" SALT II. The very religious leaders who should have been raising the challenging questions about the rightness of our arms policy were simply being "drafted" into an army of support for the treaty. Those in government were not going to ask such questions. And it seemed that those in positions of religious and moral leadership were not going to ask them either.

But such questions must be raised. In my own reflection on the role of a religious leader and my responsibility to help people to face the moral implications of our government's decisions, I began to think again about that most fateful day in the history of the world: Aug. 6, 1945. Hiroshima. One bomb exploded over that city and incinerated 80,000 to 100,000 people in 9 seconds — men, women, children.

I remembered Pope Paul VI in his Peace Day Statement of 1976, describing that bombing of Hiroshima as "a butchery of untold magnitude."

I began to ponder the fact that SALT II would legitimate the destructive power of 615,000 Hiroshima bombs, the present American arsenal.

I began to wonder how I, as a religious leader, could offer support for an agreement that would sanction that kind of destructive power in the hands of any government. I was especially troubled when I recalled that President Carter, within the last year in speaking before the United

Nations, ruled out the use of nuclear weapons by the United States only against nations that do not themselves have such weapons. That statement left no doubt that we *do* intend to use them. And what is more, we intend to use them first.

On June 30, 1975, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger publicly stated: "Under no circumstances could we disavow the first use of nuclear weapons. . . . If one accepts the no first use doctrine, one is accepting a self-denying ordinance that weakens deterrence." That statement put the United States clearly on public record as being ready and willing to be the first nation to use nuclear weapons in a confrontation with another nation. This policy has not been modified.

I remembered the pastoral letter of the American Bishops "To Live in Christ Jesus." This letter clearly states the moral position that Catholics are to be guided by regarding not only the use of weapons of indiscriminate destruction, but also concerning even the possession of such weapons:

"The right of legitimate defense is not a moral justification for unleashing every form of destruction. For example, acts of war deliberately directed against innocent non-combatants are gravely wrong, and no one may participate in such an act. . . .

"At the same time, no nation, our own included, may demand blind obedience. No member of the armed forces, above all no Christians who bear arms as 'agents of security and freedom' can rightfully carry out orders or policies requiring direct force against non-combatants. . . .

"With respect to nuclear weapons, at least those with massive destructive capability, the first imperative is to prevent their use. As possessors of a vast nuclear arsenal, we must also be aware that not only is it wrong to attack civilian populations but it is also wrong to threaten to attack them as part of a strategy of deterrence. . . ."

I was among the bishops who overwhelmingly voted approval of that statement. Am I now ready to repudiate that stance? Am I now ready instead to seek throughout the religious community support of a policy of our government that so recently has been clearly judged immoral?

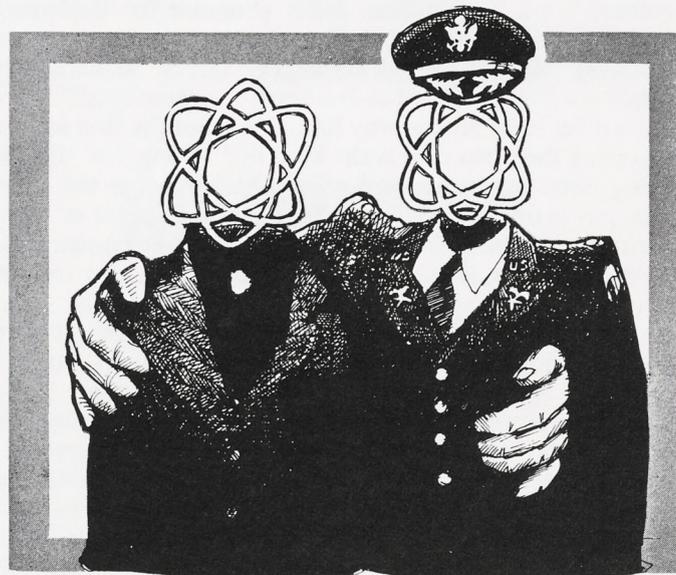
The argument has been raised that at least SALT II puts a "cap" on the permissible number of such weapons. Yet as I thought about that, it seemed that supporting such an agreement would be like supporting a "cap" on the number of torture chambers permitted to governments. I can't accept that anyone who firmly believes that torture is immoral would be ready to support such a position. Torture is wrong, and we could never give our blessing to the maintenance of even one such facility.

"But can't you support SALT II as the first step in the right direction? Here we are, deeply implicated in an immoral situation. We cannot extricate ourselves with one decisive action. It will take time, and we must do it one step at a time. SALT II is the first step in a journey of a thousand miles."

If only it were a first step. It is not.

Consider this report in the *New York Times* as recently as Dec. 13, 1978:

"George M. Seignious II, the Carter Administration's new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, told reporters today that even if Washington and Moscow succeeded in working out a new strategic arms accord soon, the United States would



still have to press ahead with modernizing its nuclear arsenal.

"While noting that he 'wholeheartedly' supported the proposed arms agreement, he said that Moscow would be able under the accord to make improvements to its nuclear forces that would 'doubtlessly propel' the Carter Administration into some form of military response."

Business as usual under SALT II. The arms race goes on. This is really the failure of SALT II. It is not the beginning of the reversal of the arms race. It is not the first step. The simple reason is that the arms race is no longer a matter of numbers. When our arsenal can already destroy every major Soviet city 36 times over, it is at least irrelevant, if not ridiculous and perhaps even deceptive to talk about a "cap" on numbers as though this begins the process of reversing the arms race.

At this point in the arms race it is a race in technology and sophistication. It is a race to increase the destructive capacity of the weapons we already possess. It is a race to increase the accuracy of these weapons. As noted in the *New York Times* (Dec. 24, 1978), "In the view of many analysts, new arms agreements do not really limit arms competition, they only push it down different avenues."

SALT II will be no different in this regard from any past agreement. The Soviets, even with SALT II, will continue to plan five new land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, a new strategic submarine and long-range bomber. And the same day that Secretary Vance went to Geneva to conclude the SALT II talks Zbigniew Brzezinski told reporters that the United States would soon have to embark on a multibillion dollar program for deploying mobile intercontinental missiles.

Clearly SALT II is not a first step out of an evil situation.

Another clear reason why SALT II is not the first step in reversing the arms race is the kind of "selling job" that is being done for it. Instead of emphasizing that the arms race has brought us to the most dangerous point of insecurity for all nations that the world has ever known, our political leaders are still trying to convince us that we can have security and peace through nuclear arms. The arguments made for the treaty strongly emphasize that we are not lessening in any way our dependency on nuclear weapons. Einstein put it accurately when he said, "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything but our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe." A genuine first step in reversing the arms race would require some change in our thinking. Without that, a mere "cap" on numbers and even some slight limit on technology will be meaningless. We are still hostages with the nuclear gun pointed at our head.

It is very late in the history of the arms race. Very serious people indicate that nuclear war before the year 2000 is not just a possibility, it is a probability. Religious leaders, I think, have a major share of the responsibility for this situation. Before 1976 what pope or bishop referred to the bombing of Hiroshima as "a butchery of untold magnitude?" Until 1976 — while the arms race had been going on for almost 30 years — where did we find that clear moral guidance from Catholic bishops in the United States, or very many other religious leaders, similar to the statement in "To Live in Christ Jesus" quoted above? It has been pointed out in a National Council of Churches pamphlet that Karl Barth, who was a leader in the German churches' resistance to Hitler, once declared the most vital issue facing Christianity has been the inability of the churches to take a definite stand against nuclear weapons. He compared it to the churches' inability to take a stand

against Hitler. By our failure in moral leadership we have acquiesced in that "drift toward unparalleled catastrophe" deplored by Einstein.

The call for us to support SALT II is "a moment of grace" when we must begin to give strong leadership and clear moral guidance. We must indicate to the President and to our people that we cannot in good conscience support SALT II.

There are some who will ask how can you align yourself with the opponents of SALT II who do not want any limitation on strategic arms whatsoever? The answer is simply that we are not in any way aligned with these opponents of SALT II. We do not agree with their understanding as to what will bring genuine security to our nation. Furthermore, I do not see any reason to engage in a debate with them over SALT II. We could win such a debate, but we would not have made any real progress toward reversing the arms race. I am convinced that a much better answer is simply to end formal negotiations and rely on unilateral demonstrations of arms restraint. Not only would this be in accord with our present moral teaching, but it would also be the most expedient thing to do — in the opinion of many specialists in and out of government.

If religious leaders and religious communities can be persuaded not to support SALT II, what can they offer instead in the effort to bring about genuine disarmament? I would suggest the following as an outline of a carefully-conceived effort to reverse the arms race.

First, the religious community should pledge itself to undertake a massive effort of education and conscience formation. We have a responsibility to begin to develop in ourselves and the whole community "a whole new attitude toward war," as Vatican Council II has called for. And we must really share the conviction of that same Council that "the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap . . . it is much to be feared that if this race persists, it will eventually spawn all the lethal ruin whose path it is now making ready." We must also share with others the moral judgment of the Vatican statement to the U.S. that "the arms race in itself is an act of aggression against the poor."

This is only the briefest sampling of the clear statements giving moral guidance on the arms race. Besides sharing these teachings we must pledge ourselves to seek out in prayer and faith what God has revealed to us, especially in Jesus, about the use of violence. Pope Paul in 1976, even appealed to us to consider as an example for our own time "what can be done by a weak man, Gandhi — armed only with the principle of non-violence." In 1978 Pope Paul urged us "to say 'no' to violence, and 'yes' to peace." We could prepare the way for the reversal of the arms race if we took very seriously our responsibility to teach and form

## State of the Church

(Continued from Page 9)

phere for purging unconformed and imaginative clergy. But the spread of such an ethos also risks an elementary confusion between the church and God which fosters idolatry of the church (which is truly pagan) and that renders the Christian faith merely religious. In one diocese, recently, I heard quoted something I had written about this peril in *A Private and Public Faith*:

"The religious suppose that only the religious know about God or care about God, and that God cares only for the religious. Characteristically, religion is precious and possessive toward God . . . and conducts itself as if God really needs religion, as if God's existence depends upon the recognition of religion. Religion considers that God is a secret disclosed only in the discipline and practice of religion. But all this is most offensive to the Word of God. The best news of God is that God is no secret. The news of God embodied in Jesus Christ is that

God is openly and notoriously active in the world. . . . (It is this news which the Christian Church exists to spread. Where the Church, however, asserts that God is hidden in or behind creed or ceremony . . . (or) confined to the sanctuary, then . . . the Church, forsaking the good news of God's presence in history, becomes a vulgar imitation of mere religion."

This religionizing of the gospel is, in fact, a form of secularization. The evidence is that it is a process very advanced in the Episcopal Church now, as well as some others, and that it furnishes the basis for the endemic disenchantment of Episcopalians with the Episcopal Church and its incumbent management. I would not overlook the similarity between this situation and that which can be found in virtually any (other) worldly institution at the moment. Nor would I deny there are impulses for the renewal of the integrity of the church, but, at the same time, I would want it recognized that the current Episcopal Church malaise

has a far broader context which is traceable as far back as the Constantinian Arrangement. That is when the church acquired such a deeply-vested interest in the status quo of the worldly regime and culture that it began to be preoccupied with its own institutional survival to the forfeit of its servanthood in the world. The Episcopal Church now needs poignantly and desperately to be freed from this Constantinian attitude. The rubric, for that, is the caution of Jesus to let the dead bury the dead while we follow Him. ■

(To be continued next month)

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Managing Editor Mary Lou Suhor is on vacation. The editor wishes to thank Brian McNaught, a Boston-based editor and freelance writer, for his assistance in the final preparation of this issue.

The front cover art is the work of David Woodford, a first year student at St. John's Seminary in Boston.

consciences in the light of this ever more urgent teaching about non-violence.

The second step the religious community can take is to promote a national effort to build a climate for conversion from an arms industry to exclusively peace production. The churches could join in a community effort to prepare for such conversion of our industrial capacity by educating our people to understand the interrelationship between the arms race and unemployment, and many other social problems in the United States. And very concretely we could actively support the "Defense Economic Adjustment Act," a Senate bill (S2279 in the 95th Congress) intended to move us from an arms-based economy to one based on peacetime civilian-oriented priorities.

Thirdly, the religious community must take the lead in positively building peace. Vatican II stated: "Peace is not merely the absence of war. Nor can it be reduced solely to the maintenance of a balance of power between enemies. . . . Instead it is rightly and appropriately called 'an enterprise of justice' (Is. 32:7). Peace results from the harmony built into human society by its divine Founder, and actualized by men (and women) as they thirst after ever greater justice." (*Gaudium et Spes*, #78)

There is not the space here to go into detail on the program of justice we could develop, starting with changes in our own lifestyle and our use of this world's goods, but there surely is no lack of steps we could take in the struggle to assure that every person on earth begins to have enough to eat, decent shelter, adequate education and health care, and all the things necessary to meet basic human needs. Instead of forming a religious coalition of support for SALT II, we could form such a coalition to pass the World Peace Tax Fund Bill. This bill would provide an entirely new resource for peace programs. It could be the first step in assuring that our resources are used in the "enterprise of justice" rather than the continued escalation of the arms race.

In 1963 Pope John XXIII, a few weeks before his death, published his widely acclaimed letter, *Pacem in Terris*. In it he reminded us that "there is an immense task incumbent on all men (and women) of good will, namely, the task of restoring the relations of the human family in truth, in justice, in love and in freedom." (#163)

We must stop the arms race now and undertake this task with the greatest sense of urgency because the finish line in the arms race is not peace but holocaust. ■

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# THE WITNESS

VOL. 62, NO. 7  
JULY, 1979

**Women Priests**  
Sue Hiatt  
Dan Berrigan

**Priests & Sexuality**  
Wm. Stringfellow

**Liberating Liturgy**

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## Yea for 'Carolyn Taylor'

Yea for "Carolyn Taylor," one of us frightened rabbits called clergy wives who are not sure that peeking our heads out of our holes will be worth the hassle we or our husbands may receive should our identity be known! Praise God she had the courage to write her letter. (March WITNESS). I have written a long letter to her, but I also wanted to announce, "Yes, that's the way it's been for me too." It sounds like I've met with a little more acceptance than she — including being elected a deputy to the Denver General Convention — but it doesn't change my fear that on the local level especially, anything I say or do as a person in my right could have detrimental effect on my husband's ministry.

For myself, I am trying to figure out to what extent my fears are well-founded or how much of that fear is plain paranoia. I have had experiences where my husband got screwed for my words or actions, and I have had experiences where, overcoming my fear, my words or actions have been openly received as coming from my own person — not from my husband. Lay people, please analyze your heart-felt expectations for clergy wives. Are we appendages to the priest — or are we lay persons in the church who have ministries, like yours? Can you help enable us to overcome our fears? My sisters in the Women's Movement have been greater enablers for my growth than my brothers and sisters in Christ.

Male clerics, what are your expectations for your wives? What are your heartfelt fears about your wives

growing out of their circumscribed roles in the church? When we decide to reclaim our opinions and our skills and to exercise them in the community, parish, diocese, and national church, we need you to take ten steps back and say, "She is being who she is and neither I nor any other church member have the right to invalidate her." If you receive flack from the parish we need you not to come running back to us with the criticism, but to say, "She is doing what she wants to do. If you have any problem with that you have to talk to her about it. It sounds like it's between the two of you, not me." Then we can answer for ourselves as we please and we all can grow out from under the presumption that you are responsible for our behavior.

Clergy wives, write to "Carolyn Taylor" in care of THE WITNESS. Priests and lay persons, write to me or to "Carolyn." She and I will be in touch. My questions are not rhetorical. Women clerics, what lessons can male cleric/wife learn from female cleric/husband?

**Ms. Carol S. Hosler  
1137 8th Street  
Rupert, Idaho 83350**

*(Editor's note: The letter to the editor by "Carolyn Taylor" which appeared in the March WITNESS has drawn more response than any other single article or letter which has appeared in THE WITNESS over the past three years. We have asked "Carolyn" to do a roundup story for the August issue of THE WITNESS, giving her reaction to the responses, and, of course, protecting the confidentiality of those who wrote to her.)*

## Jonah House Invites

Knowing THE WITNESS' concern about nuclear issues, Jonah House community is writing to inform your readers about a series of summer sessions from Aug. 1-10 and Aug. 27-Sept. 5 at St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church in Washington, D.C.

The emphasis is on community building toward nonviolent resistance.

Each group strives, with the help of the spirit, to grow into being a community — at least for the time it is together. Thus, in the first days of each session, people will usually spend much of their time in a process of life-sharing. Following this is a time in which the community tries to look hard at the nuclear threat and then to determine the individual and collective response to that threat. If an act of peace witness is decided, the group moves into planning and preparation for direct action, then to execution and finally evaluation of it.

The spirit in which we seek to sponsor or to enter into these sessions is one of hope and trust in the seriousness of people who come to look at and respond to the reality that surrounds us as honestly and faithfully as they can. It is fair to say that we do have a hope that each group will engage in some kind of peace witness (vigiling, leafletting, bannerng, etc.), though it is not a foregone conclusion nor an expectation that each group will plan an action that will include civil disobedience.

People are asked to let us know to what session they can come and to bring their personal effects (sleeping bags, towels, etc.) and some things to share with others — food items (2), ideas, hopes, and lives — perhaps in reverse order. We hope to see many of you in the coming months. Write to Jonah House, 1933 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21217.

**Liz McAllister  
Baltimore, Md.**

## Root Cause of Tragedy?

Bishop DeWitt's editorial, "The Heavy Burden of Stewardship," (March WITNESS) shows the theological confusion between absolute love and absolute justice. Surely it also shows that he never really absorbed the thought of Reinhold Niebuhr, the 20th century Christian prophet who struggled with this issue more than just about anyone.

Niebuhr pointed out that if justice can be achieved, it is the nearest

*Continued on page 18*

# THE WITNESS

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## Hard Times for Authority

Robert L. DeWitt

Some years ago a speaker at a national Roman Catholic conclave was handling a question-and-answer period following his lecture. The audience was comprised largely of members of religious orders and younger priests. At the conclusion of the session, which was marked by sharp questionings evidencing skepticism and disagreement with many of the official church positions, the speaker commented, in private, "Magisterium is dead." (Magisterium is the official teaching authority of the church.)

That was a statement for our times. Authority in human affairs, in all of its manifestations, has undergone a dramatic erosion in recent years. Political authority, from Pretoria to the Pentagon, has been met by open defiance, despite harsh and sometimes cruel reprisals. Traditional academic authority, both administrative and intellectual, has been challenged by students, sometimes joined by faculty members. Governmental pronouncements about the state of the economy, about the probity of bureaucratic procedures and personnel, about the nature and intensity of national crises, are widely met with skepticism and disbelief.

For example, the authority of the president's office announces a gasoline shortage, yet perhaps a majority of the people of the country don't believe it. Official reports on the extent of radioactive release from the

Three Mile Island near-catastrophe are greeted with hostile, fearful disbelief. Said one observer, "It may be that for purposes of public relations, or other reasons, they are misrepresenting the truth to us. But what I find even more threatening is that they really don't know, themselves." And this is perhaps the central clue to the meaning of the erosion of authority in our time.

Elsewhere in this issue of THE WITNESS Suzanne Hiatt refers to some successive judgments made by the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church on the "irregular" ordinations of 11 women priests in 1974. With the traditional assumption of their theological competence and therefore presuming to speak with authority on a theological question, the House of Bishops in retrospect was nevertheless in error. This does not inspire confidence in ecclesiastical authority.

Who, then, are the experts to whom we can look for authoritative truth in the realm of politics, or theology, or economics? We look in vain. And the pathos is that those placed in positions of traditional authority — in education, government, or religion often with the best of intentions find themselves in an institutional structure which demands of them a competence they can no longer provide.

For many, the reality afforded by the foregoing illustrations is grounds for despair or panic. For a

*Continued on page 6*



Five Years Later

## More Women Priests, Bishops Still Angry

by Suzanne R. Hiatt

**F**ive years ago this month — July 29, 1974 — the long grim siege of the nation against its embattled president was relieved by a “human interest” story from another quarter. In Philadelphia, three retired and resigned bishops of the Episcopal Church ordained 11 women deacons to the priesthood. The storm touched off in that small, elitist denomination was as earth-shaking to it as Watergate was to the nation at large.

Then followed another ordination of four women deacons in Washington in September, 1975; two ecclesiastical trials of male priests for “disobeying” their bishops; the citation by an ecclesiastical court of the Presiding Bishop for contempt; countless guerrilla-type celebrations of the Eucharist by women priests; and unending ecclesiastical hand-wringing. In September, 1976, two years after the first ordinations, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church made it possible at last for women to be ordained priests regularly and canonically.

What is left to be said about the Philadelphia ordinations? Much has been written, beginning in the pages of *THE WITNESS* which resumed publication in August, 1974 with a special issue devoted to the event. The participants have

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**The Rev. Suzanne Hiatt** is associate professor of pastoral theology at the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge. She was among the first women priests to be ordained in Philadelphia in 1974.

been vilified in some quarters, canonized in others. The church has lost and gained members because of it, vocations have been both renounced and renewed in its wake.

At this writing, the Episcopal Church in the United States counts about 340 women (160 deacons and 180 priests) among its 17,600 ordained clergy. The women are canonically resident in 73 of the 93 domestic dioceses. That is true in spite of the so-called — “conscience clause” enacted by the bishops unilaterally at their 1977 meeting. The clause is intended to assure bishops who “in conscience” cannot ordain women that their brothers will think no less of them for not conforming to the canons. Standing Committees in some dioceses have also shielded themselves with this clause in their refusal to ordain women. Clergywomen work at a variety of ministries, though most of the priests are curates or assistants in parishes. About 20 women are in charge of parishes or missions, a few jointly with their clergy husbands.

If the church can be said to have an attitude toward women priests five years later, that attitude seems to be that it hasn't hurt as much as we thought it would. In a guest editorial in the 1979 edition of *The Episcopal Church Annual*, The Rt. Rev. Alexander Stewart notes with relief and a lingering touch of hostility that, “Where mature, godly women are exercising their priesthood and not using it as a provocative issue, their ministries are accepted and received with thanksgiving, and yesterday's skeptic becomes today's advocate.” He adds, with an optimism the current church employment statistics for women does not support, “Now we shall enter the period when they will be considered in normal process as potential rectors and chaplains and for administrative assignments.”

Bishop Stewart notes that women priests seem less provocative than they did, and indeed the situation of women with priestly vocations has changed so that the need to be provocative in order to be allowed to answer one's calling is no longer as universal as it was five years ago. As institutions will, once they have bowed to pressure to change, the church now seems to take the attitude that it has always encouraged and respected the vocations of women and that once women expressed a call to ordination they were graciously welcomed into the clergy. There is a strong desire to forget the late unpleasantness and get on with the task of ministry. So the 1979 *Clerical Directory* lists the women ordained priest before 1976 (with a few exceptions they didn't catch) as having been ordained in 1977 by the bishops who finally recognized and accepted the earlier ordinations. It is as though the church is saying their priesthood did not begin before it was generally accepted. That would be too disorderly. Clergywomen, too, want to

put a stormy past behind them and hope against hope (and against the experience of their sisters) that Bishop Stewart's rosy view of the future will prove correct.

But if the ordinations of 1974 and 1975 have faded into the pale (and apparently revised) pages of church history, the effects of those events are harder to be rid of. Five years later it seems to this observer that the most pervasive effect of the Philadelphia ordinations is not that they hastened the day when women would be ordained canonically, although they did do that. More significant may be the devastating effect those ordinations have had and continue to have on the way the bishops of the Episcopal church view themselves as a body and their leadership in the church.

At a hastily called meeting in August, 1974, the bishops assembled declared the July ordinations “invalid,” a position that was (and remains — they have never modified that judgment) theologically untenable, but more than that politically disastrous. As a number of them individually have admitted since, they acted in anger and in haste and made a pronouncement neither they nor the church could ultimately live with. Again in 1976 they declared that the 15 women ordained before 1976 would need to be “conditionally ordained” or have their previous ordinations “completed.” While 14 of the women have now been recognized as priests, none was, in fact, “conditionally ordained” and “completion” proved to be such a theological tar-baby that the word was quietly retired.

Thus having twice tried to deal with the Philadelphia and Washington ordinations in a definitive way and twice coming up with less than satisfactory solutions, the bishops in assembly still harbor a great deal of residual anger and frustration about those events. The anger came out most recently at their 1978 special meeting, where they found it necessary to “remind the church” that they had previously voted to “censure” and “decry the action” of the bishops involved in the pre-1976 ordinations. They also sent notification to the offending bishops that . . . “it is the mind of this House that they betrayed the trust that the church placed in them in their consecration and have broken their fellowship with the House of Bishops” and instructed the Presiding Bishop to raise with them “questions concerning their continued participation in the deliberations of the House, and report the results of such discussion to the next meeting of this House.” The final resolution does not totally capture the angry tone of the deliberations that preceded it. Five years later the rage the bishops seem to feel toward their brethren has not dissipated.

It seems to me this rage is a symptom of a larger malaise troubling the bishops. The world has changed dramatically, rapidly, and mostly for the worse in the brief period of the

episcopates of most of them. No longer can the bishops in assembly, "the House" as they fondly refer to themselves, rest easy with their self-styled image as "the most exclusive men's club in America." "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers" are harassed on every side as individual bishops. In the old days they could seek comfort and relief with their brother bishops. Now, even "the House" is unpleasantly divided.

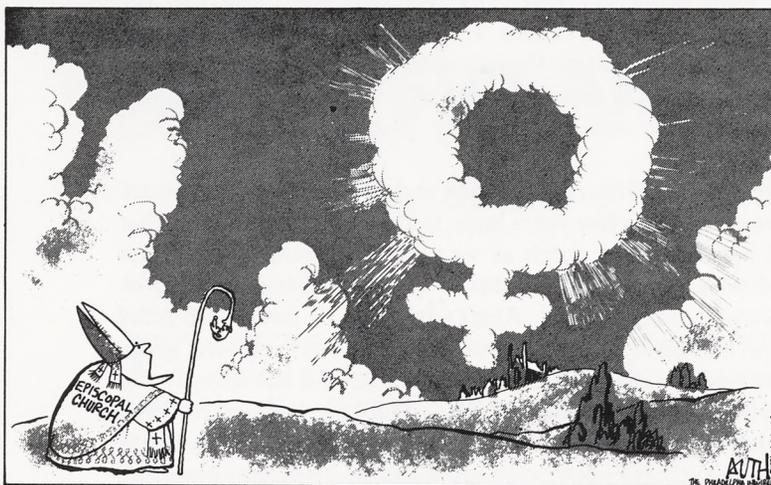
The unforgivable thing the bishops who acted at Philadelphia did was to bring the message that the world was changing — even the church was changing — right into the heart of that happy band. When another bishop participated in the consecration of schismatic bishops in 1978 he bore the same message, though his way of addressing the changes was different. He too was censured and included in the 1978 resolution quoted above.

The bishops in assembly have been struggling for the last five years to keep their grip on the church in spite of the bad news. They want to steer a middle course, to preserve the unity of the church as they used to know it. But their brother bishops, including the consecrator of the schismatics, bring them a common message and they persist in bringing it. The church and the world are changing and the old ways of running things no longer serve. The happy band must, as a body, expand its understanding. It must also call on the rest of the church to share the leadership and provide it with help and counsel.

The messengers are calling on their brothers to *do* something, though they might never agree on what is to be

done. At the least they are asking their brothers seriously to address the modern world and try to discern the church's mission and to exercise some leadership. Philadelphia and its aftermath have demonstrated all too clearly that the bishops in assembly have been unable to do that.

Five years should be long enough for the anger and grief that follow massive change to be worked through. The church looks to the bishops for direction and sees only compromise and pre-occupation with holding together what already exists. It is time the bishops heard the messengers and took the message to heart. ■



*Continued from page 3*

person of faith, however, there is a quite different analysis and response. The prophet Isaiah, in one of the more familiar passages from the Old Testament, said, "In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord . . ."

The poignancy of that passage arises from the inordinate confidence and expectations which Isaiah and other political activists had placed in King Uzziah. When he died, they were compelled to face the larger reality that one's confidence, finally, cannot be placed in people, nor in the structures, mandates or machinations which they originate. Our confidence and trust, finally, can only be placed in God. A living God, who inhabits eternity. A God, therefore, not only of the past but also of the future, who is constantly beckoning people into deeper perceptions of the truth. A God who has little patience with the posturings and pronouncements of human authority, political or theological. Reinhold Niebuhr once wrote, "History

inevitably confounds the pretensions of sinful man." The Lord of History, in the death of King Uzziah, and in the attrition of human authority in our time, is not being punitive, but is trying to lead us into a larger arena, an ever-broadening perception of the scope of divine truth.

And whom, then, does God appoint to be the proclaimers of truth? God selects whoever has the grace and wisdom to perceive it. As with the prophets of old, the truth may come from strange and unexpected sources. For this reason there is a perennial — and, today, an urgent — need for both church and state to be more open societies. They must allow more access by their constituents to the information and control of the processes by which the life of the institution is ordered. Because a faithful church, a responsible government, a just economy, can only be what they are intended if they are open to the promptings of justice and mercy, from whatever source those promptings arise. ■

*But if you are led by the Spirit you are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are plain: immorality, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness, dissension, party spirit, envy, drunkenness, carousing, and the like. I warn you, as I warned you before, that those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control; against such there is no law. And those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires.*

Galatians 5:18-24

## Sexuality and Priesthood

by William Stringfellow

The question of whether or not homosexuals can appropriately be ordained as priests will be dealt with — ostensibly — when the General Convention of the Episcopal Church gathers in September in Denver. Whether the convention, in the name of the church, will be capable of coping with this issue with honesty or common sense or grace awaits the event, and peradventure, intervening events. But right now the portents are not particularly promising, despite the enlightened conclusions offered by the Spears Commission.

---

**William Stringfellow** is a theologian, social critic, author and attorney.

For one thing, circumstances in the life of society have thrust the matter upon the Episcopal Church, along with other churches of American Christendom, and there is an enormous reluctance to face the question even superficially. Societal attitudes concerning homosexuality have been changing significantly lately. The churches lagging along, as seems so often the case, are under secular pressures to clarify their positions, ambivalent as they have been, toward homosexuals as human beings. All of this comes to sharp focus in whether or not homosexuals are ordainable.

There are, of course, some other factors currently contributing to the

articulation of this ordination issue. One is the emergence of the Metropolitan Community Church, a sect (in a classic, but not pejorative connotation of the term) gathered as a homophile community sharing a very self-conscious sense of rejection by the conventional churches. Paradoxically, this further division in the Body of Christ has occasioned little repentance concerning the inhospitality of the mainline denominations. I know of one bishop who financially supports the sect in the conviction that the existence of the Metropolitan Community Church will help keep homosexuals out of *his* church. Less conspicuous are several house churches within the ethos of the Episcopal Church and similar traditional

churches composed of folk, many homosexuals among them, who feel unwelcome in regular parishes and congregations.

Moreover, three years ago, when the ordination of women to the priesthood commanded the attention of the General Convention, there were voices notably among the hierarchy saying (or, more precisely, whispering) that any woman who desired ordination must *ipso facto* be a lesbian. This gross *non-sequitur* gained further currency when attempts were asserted by the Presiding Bishop, among others, to analogize the male sexual role to the function of the priest in argument for the exclusion of women from the priesthood. I thought this to be a truly weird confusion, but nonetheless revealing, if only in exposing a pathological aspect of the hard core opposition to the ordination of women. Later on, that was vehemently confirmed in the vilifications and defamations that poured upon the Rev. Ellen Barrett when she was ordained as priest and in the turbulence and hysteria which her bishop, Paul Moore, has endured over since. (I commend, by the way, Bishop Moore's remarkable book, *Take a Bishop Like Me*, as a candid, sensitive and sensible account of what a conscientious bishop is up against these days in the Episcopal Church).

Well, this is enough to indicate how volatile the subject of ordained homosexuals is. And if the other churches have proved to be both theologically incompetent and temperamentally incapacitated in dealing with it, the chances of its being deliberated in Denver with theological insight or compassion — or even just with common sense — are slim indeed.

That prospect, melancholy as it may be, is related to how much there is to suppress as well as repress when it comes to sexuality and the priesthood. If the convention asks serious questions about homosexuality and the priesthood then it opens Pandora's box to disclose all those *other* queries about sexuality and the priesthood:

- If homosexuality is categorically reprehensible and a



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disqualification for priesthood, why has the church, in truth, ordained so many homosexuals over the years and, indeed, centuries?

- If the General Convention censures or bars the ordination of homosexuals in future, what is to be done about those already ordained? Shall they be exposed and defrocked?

- Similarly, what shall be done about bishops who are homosexual?

- How many clergy homosexuals have been induced or coerced into marriages in order to feign heterosexuality?

- If, at the same time, homosexuality is deemed a threat to the married priesthood, is not celibacy — which St. Paul counseled — a greater threat? And is not heterosexual promiscuity

also a direct corruption of the married priesthood?

- Is bisexuality incompatible with priesthood?

- And what of other items, apart from homosexuality, to which the New Testament sometimes caustically, calls attention, which may have pertinence to the ordained ministry, like love of money, drunkenness, vanity in performing priestly functions?

In short, the temptation besetting the General Convention is to dwell on homosexuals because where they become visible, they become vulnerable and easy targets. The temptation is to render them scapegoats not only for clergy who remain in the closet, but also for promiscuous priests, adulterous priests, alcoholic priests, vainglorious priests. In the circumstances, for the convention to act categorically to forbid

the ordination of homosexuals amounts to a punishment for candor and honesty while at the same time upholding the notorious hypocrisy which has, for so long, allowed the ordination of homosexuals who have not been — or have not dared to be — candid and who suffer the continuing anguish which that hypocrisy of the ecclesiastical authorities entails.

The situation is aggravated, as much for homosexuals who have been ordained as for homosexuals who avow a vocation to be ordained, because the simplistic question — shall the church ordain homosexuals? — is the wrong question. It is wrong because it cloaks a stereotype of homosexuality which ignores the scope and varieties of homosexuality. The question is wrong because it invites the rejection of all homosexuals whether passive or active, faithful or promiscuous, consenting or coercive, motivated by love or compelled by lust. More than that, it ignores or denies the far broader context of the mystery and gift of all human sexuality, apart from which the particular sexuality of a person, whatever it may be said to be (though any designation such as “homosexual,” “bisexual,” “heterosexual,” is never conclusive) cannot be comprehended. There are as many species of human sexuality as there are human beings, and it is only when that is taken seriously that it becomes possible to consider whether the specific sexuality of a person is relevant to the ordination of that person to the priesthood. The Spears Commission sensibly recognizes this.

The matter will be more significant in one instance than in another. The trouble with stereotyping sexuality, so far as an issue like ordination is concerned, is that the stereotype inflates the prominence of sexuality, which is after all but one aspect of a whole person, and for some not nearly as dominant or important as for others. The sexuality of a candidate for ordination, whatever it be and whatever meaning it may have for that person's

## Straight But Sensitive

**I feel pain when people accuse me of being a liberal do-gooder. I have a personal stake in gay rights. On the political level, I have spent eight years as an active feminist being taken for a dyke — a scare tactic used to intimidate any assertive, therefore deviant, woman. In the long run, it is selfishly safer for me to take the negative power out of that and related words. The only other options are unacceptable: 1) stop sticking up for myself; 2) flaunt my husband and son. The last choice would be exploitive of my family. It would also be a futile waste of time and energy if someone's mind is made up!**

**On a social level, homophobia can separate me from my friends. It can also make me afraid to enjoy close, intimate relationships with other women. Further, it can separate me from sharing and learning about new types of unions — ones free of the old, power-role models and ones that are more individualistic and egalitarian. Liberated marriages are both an infant and an endangered species. I have often found more support for the struggles, risk and pain that is involved from gay couples than from straight ones.**

**On a personal level, homophobia separates me from myself. Sexuality is**

**a mystery. One of the greatest mysteries God has given us! Because it can't be pinned down, I truly believe that when anyone's sexuality is attacked, mine is, at the very least, threatened. I also believe that sexuality is on a continuum, both among us and within us. Homophobia can keep me from recognizing, owning and enjoying the gay dimensions of my life. I read in my son's *National Geographic* that a man who is 5/16 White Plains Indian is considered to be an Indian. Five-sixteenths isn't much. If we applied that to homosexuality, then at least 70% of us could say, "We are everywhere!"**

**But that's not the real point. It is not that "we are everywhere". It is that we are IN each other. If we can recognize ourselves in each other, we enrich our own self-understanding. If we can recognize ourselves in each other, then we can powerfully respect each other's choice of a loving life-style — be it heterosexual, homosexual, single, celibate or bisexual. I believe that a lack of recognition causes self-hatred which produces homophobia.**

**Jesus commanded us to love ourselves — all of ourselves — and to extend this love to our neighbors — all of our neighbors.**

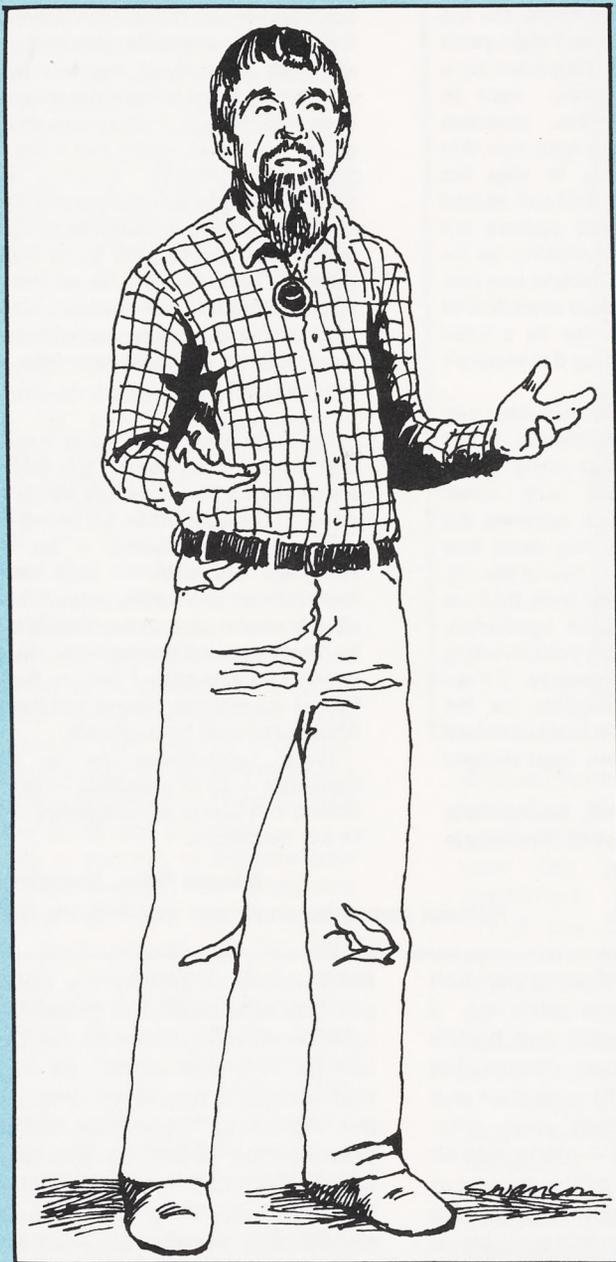
**— Georgia Fuller, Coordinator  
National Committee on Women and Religion, NOW**

life and style of life, needs consideration both by the candidate claiming a vocation to the priesthood and by the ecclesiastical authorities responsible for ordination, along with education and experience, temperament and gifts, foibles and weaknesses — along with all else that can be known of this person at this point. Where it appears that the sexuality of a person is prone to violence or manipulation, to dishonoring one's self or another as an object, to compulsion or ostentation, ordination, in my view, ought probably to be denied. But that is an issue as much for non-homosexuals as for homosexuals.

Meanwhile, it is indispensable both to the deliberation about any aspirant to

the priesthood and to the continuing pastoral relationship of those ordained to the ecclesial authorities that the truth can be told, that candor be welcome, that honesty is respected. Only then will the ridiculous hypocrisy which has prevailed be ended so that the guilt which it incites for priests and their bishops can be absolved, and incidentally, the sexual permissiveness it tolerates can be mitigated.

Let it be hoped, when the question of ordination of homosexuals comes before the General Convention, that it will be remembered that the church has no office to judge homosexuality, or any sexuality. That office is reserved in Jesus Christ. ■



The Rev. Daniel Berrigan is a noted Jesuit author, poet, and war-machine resister.

# Priests, Women, Women Priests, & Other Unlikely Recombinants

by Daniel Berrigan

The dominant mood, in public and private, in church and state, is something deeper than depression; a stupefaction. People go in circles, sleep walk, blank faced. There are no maps. Most plod along in the old track, interminably. Or they go where forbidden. The old taboos fall in the name of freedom, sexual or psychological, a kind of mauve scented slavery. And Big Bro grins his wolfish grin.

Women who want to enter the priesthood, or who are already ordained, have at least some inkling of the stalemate within the ranks. The truth of being woman is a good boot camp for being a nobody; in culture, in church. And "nobody," "non-person" is a good definition of a priest today, female or male, given both church and culture. Properly, soberly understood. Some say the scripture says that's where we belong.

A non-person. You don't signify. They look you over, but you don't meet acceptable standards. Or the big boys meet, make big decisions, plans, projections. You aren't invited. Or rather, you're disinvented. World without end.

Priesthood? One could huff and puff about mystery, sacrament, sign, moments of grace. These I take to be realities. I am also consoled that they are out of our grasp, control, consuming.

And this is the Day of the Consumer. The Day of Seizure; Don't Forget It. Above all, don't forget it, women. The caste implications, the control units are humming. If you come in and join up, the machos will know how to deal with that too. Which is to say, the penal implications of the penis ought not be misread. To be deprived is to be a "case," a patient, a freak, an example. It is To be Dealt With.

When something is working badly for those it was designed to work for, what solution? Commonly, culturally speaking, do more of the same. Multiplied mistakes cancel out the initial mistake; the sublime logic. What then to say to women who want to join the Early Mistake? Mistaken identity? One has to think of starting over. But whether women can correct the massive and multiplied misservices of the Hippos On High — this seems to be matter for valid questioning.

We do well in a bad time not to multiply the bads. Men I respect in the priesthood aren't particularly happy in thinking male. They feel miserable under the weight of life today, just as

women do. That "just as" needs of course to be treated carefully; women are outside, men in, the difference is not slight.

At the same time, it's worth saying that spite gets us nowhere. And on the question of priesthood, the "in" male and the "out" female meet on a ground that's fairly familiar to each; one barely making it meets another not making it. To say that life isn't offering a great deal to any of us, doesn't heal the long untended wounds.

A better beginning might be the common admission of a common plight, male and female, in the effort to be faithful to a human vocation; violation, insults, jail, the beetling brow of the law. Each has the right to kick and scream until we have 1) a common share of our common patrimony (matrimony) — which certainly includes equal access to ministry, pulpit, sacraments, right up to bishoprics and papal tiaras (for those who feel called to such bric-a-brac), and 2) a vote on where and how our lives get lived, used, spent, given.

Please don't wash us in hog wash. A big case is made in anti-priest-women-polemics, of the huge shift in symbols required if women are to stand at the altars. This is to say the least, reading history through the rear view mirror. Such scholarship is always late, always after the fact, invariably in service to special interests. It loves to act as though those in command just arbitrarily appear there, wide eyed innocents, open to every prevailing or contrary wind, nothing on their minds except disinterested service of the truth. Thus the scholars become apologists, indifferent to injustice; and the

apologists become ideologues. They prefer historical jousting to a simple look at manifest injustice. A fascist stalling tactic.

In such matters it helps to stay with a few simple ideas and see where they lead. But some critics make history (in this case male history, a bad start) into the enemy, adversary, obstacle to a better human arrangement. They also mistrust people, including their fellow Christians; the majority of whom do not sit in endowed university chairs announcing the facts of life to those below. (A little like life guards scanning the sea beaches from chairs the height of the Empire State building.)

Would Christians accept the ministry of women alongside men? My experience is that immense good will is available; people adjust quickly, even with excitement, to new arrangements, especially when these are presented as forms of requital, righting of wrongs. "How sensible; I never thought of that before" is a common reaction in such matters, from the pew or the church door. But from pulpit or podium, the process is infinitely more tortuous, the minds inverted, lost. Out of touch.

Ours was a church of outsiders, from the start. This is often said. The implications are just as often ignored or sidestepped; because the "outside" character of our beginnings is of course, taught by insiders.

Still, a cold comfort is better than none, considering common shortages. We might ponder Jesus; who, it could be argued, is still shivering on the lintel of this or that sublime chancel. He cannot

be washed hands of, he will not go away. A perpetual embarrassment to grand and petty inquisitors alike.

In all this, it won't do to comfort ourselves with "Well in any case, it's psychiatrically verified that sons (daughters) always kick out the old man in order to come into their own . . ."

Their own? The old man? But Jesus didn't come on, in the first place, as big daddy at all; but defenseless, otherworldly, an artisan, a worker, a friend, a ne'er do well, ambitionless really, empty of hand and pocket, a non-belonger and non-joiner.

It seems to follow; all who wish to meet him must do so on his ground. He won't come in. Won't be assimilated. A Jew is a Jew, take it or leave it. You want to meet him? Step outside, into the dark. But who wants to hear such talk?

There's little doubt that when the gospels got written, people leaned quirkily, stormily, on charisms, resonances, right speech, a passion to serve, the ictus that went further than plod, wisdom and wisdom's outreach. And not to forget in a spineless time, courage, raw as a wound. Jail experience and savvy, street smarts. The range of eye was wider then, the understanding more worldly, they had more news to call good. Passion was in the air, firm claims, symbols pushed hard. It was faith erupting into history, not airlifted; the underground was surfacing, not lava.

I believe we were created for ecstasy. And redeemed for it, at considerable cost. Certain vagrant unrepeatable moments of life tell us this, if we will but listen. Such moments moreover, are clues to the whole native structure and texture of things; not merely are such glorious fits and starts meant to keep us going, a fairly unattractive idea; but ecstasy fuels and infuses us from the start, our proper distillation and energy of soul. One could dream the world, the poet says, and one could even dream the eye; but who can imagine the act of seeing? We will never have enough of

this, we will never have done with it.

If tomorrow or the day after, women stood toe to heel with men at the altars of the church, and in the pulpits — what then? Would we have the same old church? We would probably have the same old world. And that, in the old phrase, ought to give pause.

If all those destructive cuts and thrusts had disappeared in Christ, as Paul says they were meant to; if all those divisions and hatreds and put downs (a few of which Paul helped along, on the side) — if these disappeared tomorrow, and if this vanishing of the old disorder of things were made clear beyond doubt, were reflected in service, worship,

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*"What is to become of us, when this mechanized macho spirit infests the church and turns on us, claw and tooth? We go hoarse, talking to statuary with chipped ears; we lose spirit, we give up."*

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office, dignity, — why, what then? We would probably have the same old world.

Probably. But at least one element of that world, which thinks of itself as drawn forth from the world, differing from that world, opposed to that world's rule and conduct — at least that element, that yeast, that little flock, that tight knit unfearing witnessing knot of trouble makers — at least this would once have spoken and been heard, would be something to turn to. Would, take it or leave it, be something else than the fitful, selfish, death ridden world. And in this sense the world would no longer be the same. It would have lost all claim over us.

There is nothing more crushing in fact, and most revolting to the moral nostril, than a church which ignores the

outcry of the disenfranchised. We've all suffered under it, our flesh torn asunder with the sense of nightmarish unreality, the wound in the very nature of things. Let the world act in such a way, let the megacorporations or the armed forces or the state departments act this way, it is the way of the world, dog eat dog, devil take the hindmost. But what shall we do, what is to become of us, when this mechanized macho spirit infests the church and turns on us, claw and tooth? We go hoarse, talking to statuary with chipped ears; we lose spirit, we give up. And we bring home bad news, too often for our own good; we begin to look as though it were true.

Those who are lucky (my own luck is good) find a few friends who help cut the knots, free up the soul. And try as best we may, to do good work ourselves; that news gets around.

I wish someone could draw us out of trivia, where many are trapped. I wish someone could draw us out of trauma. I wish someone could help us get sane, or stay sane. I wish someone could cleanse and heal our eyesight, help us turn our wooden heads away from non-questions, false questions, destructive questions. I mean the questions that a straight-faced straight-jacketed culture keeps pushing like crazy. Like, how many millions can we kill and still get away with it. Or, why not a bit more experimentation on prisoners. Or, let's go back to capital punishment, that'll show those muggers, crooks, killers once and for all. Or, let's cut the welfare system, there are too many chiselers among the poor . . .

The question of alteratives today. People ask, with varying degrees of despair, where they might go. The question is all the more grievous, as voiced by people of stature, merit, intelligence; who love the church, long to give of their lives. And they witness the imbecility, connivance, wheeling, base politics, neglect of the poor, defamation of Christ's spirit. Where to go, when in good conscience, one can

hardly stay? Up till recently, it was publicly titillating, news, when one "left the church." Now the meaning of the phrase is clouded, the act brings yawns of ennui.

Part of the trouble is that so few who walked out landed anywhere. Frying pan to fire, they left the church and the culture swallowed them whole. It seems better as a rule, to hang around where one was born, trying as best one may, to make it with a few friends, family, to do what one can in the common life; instead of launching out in the wilds, by and large more savage and unresponsive than the church.

Unless of course, there is manifest injustice, against one's person, one's convictions. In which case, one is advised to take chances, yell, loud and clear, and walk out yelling. (But have a landing pad as well as a launching pad!) But the weight is in favor of hanging on, I think.

I'm struck that the women are battering at the church doors, just when everything in church and culture is announcing an "end of things." Not the end of the world maybe (though that could be argued too, soberly discussed as it is by the nuclear bandits.) But certainly the end of the culture as we know it, as we were born into it, and came to self understanding by resisting it . . .

Women have always washed corpses and prepared them for burial. Women are in charge of delivery rooms — in more ways than one. A metaphor for today? Women will make the death decent and birth possible.

Sunday at St. Stephen's in Washington. This is one of very few parishes that took in street people during the cruel winter months, housed and fed them. They also welcomed the peace community from Jonah House, when they sought a place to pray and plan for Holy Week. So it was quite natural and moving and befitting that I be invited to preach; a homecoming.

The Eucharist was conducted by

women. And they invited me to serve communion, along with several others. Black, white, young, old; and women orchestrating, setting the tone, announcing with authority, reverence, verve, the Lord's body and blood.

It was overwhelming. (Most worship today is crashingly underwhelming.) It was like a quiet expedition of a few friends to the other side of the moon, from this clamorous and polluted side. *Solvitur ambulando*. The absurd sexist knot of the centuries, tightened by macho muscle and muddle, was cut.

And all so naturally. The children wandered quietly about, the folk prayed, talked up, sang, took communion. No one seemed to think of anything that

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*"Hope is something else; a gift Paul calls it, a grace. Its highest expression is an irony: 'Hoping against hope.'"*

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moment, beyond the sublime faith and bread and death and hope that were on the air, was taking place. I wondered if a bigger stir would have gone through us, if Jesus had walked through the chancel door. I doubt it.

How did all this come about, how did great changes get proposed, accepted, even rejoiced at! One could note the absence of hyperpsychologizing, expertise, sensitivity session, expensive gurus imported for hot and heavy breathing, shrinkings, touchy feely follies, inflations of spirit — all that plague of self indulgence. No, the people met with their pastor, they prayed together, struggled, things were worked through. One notes something else. Liturgy here is no fetish or idol; the god is not fed on the hour, Enshrined, to deplete and suck off life energies. The same parish that welcomes women ministers, feeds and houses the

homeless and hungry. The parish also blesses and helps those who prepare for non-violence at the Pentagon, in defense of life. The main business of the parish is not maintaining a nest, womb, space station, esthetic cave for the middle class. It is stewardship and service, up close, day after day, blow hot, blow cold. Such conduct I think, accords with, and confers sanity.

Thus what might be considered audacious, innovative elsewhere, is taken for granted here. I saw no boasters in the assembly; people had the look of those who work at their faith. And the media were absent. Two good signs.

On despair; it is utterly rational, it can offer 50 perfectly plausible reasons why it should be in everyone's better home and garden. Beginning with this one; Made In America. Hope on the other hand, offers no reason for its existence, no come on, no commercial. It has no goals, no five years plans, no assurance it will be around tomorrow. It is (like God) essentially useless. Hope will not ease life nor make money while you sleep; it is neither an energy pill nor a (non-addictive) sleep inducer.

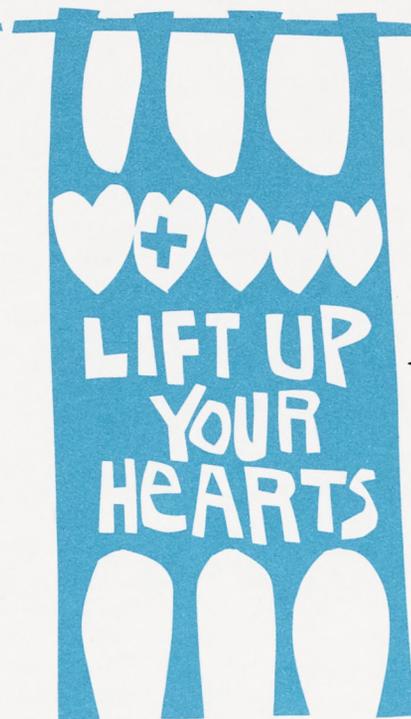
Despair is a cultural conclusion, deductive. Anyone can own one; time payments, easily arranged. Read the clock on the cover of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, the stockmarket report, the rising index of food costs, the . . .

Hope is something else; a gift Paul calls it, a grace. Its highest expression is an irony; "hoping against hope." You take all the reasons for giving up, you admit their weight, you grant their crushing power, you wince and cry out — then you toss them off your back. And you go on. Hope on! ■

*(The above article is excerpted from one which first appeared in Movement, a publication of the Student Christian Movement of Britain and Ireland, whose central office is at Wick Court, Wick Near Bristol, England.*

# Liturgy of Reconciliation Between Men and Women

*The following worship service around "The Community of Women and Men in the Church" took place earlier this year in the chapel at the National Council of Churches in New York. It was designed by Kathy Johnson Lieurance. THE WITNESS feels this format can serve as a model for similar liturgies in local congregations, and it can easily be adapted to include Eucharist as well.*



## Call to Worship

We come together today for this worship as we come to every worship — as separate individuals seeking that which renews our bonds as the community of the Church. Our worship expresses and gives meaning to our identity as the body of Christ, and it is that identity we explore today. Our challenge is to envision and to shape a new community of women and men in the Church. We meet that challenge in the sure knowledge that all who are led by the Spirit of God are children of God and heir to the Kingdom. Come, let us worship!

HYMN: *For All the Saints*

HOMILY: *The Community of Women and Men in the Church*

## Words of Confession and Absolution

SCRIPTURE: Matthew 5:21-22

*"You have heard it said to those of old, 'You shall not kill; and whoever kills shall be liable to judgment.' But I say to*

*you that everyone who is angry with another shall be liable to judgment; whoever insults another shall be liable to the council; and whoever says, 'You fool!' shall be liable to the hell of fire."*

PRAYER (congregation in unison)

O God, the community of your Church is broken by sin and we are truly liable to judgment. Hear us as we confess our sin to you and to each other, so that constant repentance may lead to constant renewal of the bonds of our community. Amen.

LITANY OF CONFESSION:

**Women:** We confess our feelings of anger and bitterness and fear as we raise questions about the relationship between women and men in the Church.

**Men:** We confess our feelings of fear and anger and confusion as you ask those questions and we don't know how to respond.

**Women:** We have accepted a restricted role in the Church, and have not heard the message in Second Timothy: "For God did not give us a spirit of timidity but a spirit of power and love and self-control."

**Men:** We have dictated your restricted role, failing to heed the vision of Galatians 3: "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

**Women:** We have been afraid to raise the difficult questions about our second-class status in the Church — about sexist language and the lack of female leadership. In our hesitation, we have doubted our own importance as children of God. We did not rock the boat for fear that you would be angry, for fear that you would laugh.

**Men:** When you did begin to raise the questions, we were angry, we did laugh. We refused to acknowledge the significance of those questions for the whole community of the Church. We tried to keep you from rocking the boat for fear that we would be thrown into the sea.

**Women and Men:** We have so little faith.

**Women:** We have viewed you as dictators, as protectors, as oppressors, as superiors, but seldom as brothers. We do not trust you.

**Men:** We have viewed you as followers, as wards, as victims, as inferiors, but seldom as sisters. We do not trust you.

**Women and Men:** It seems that we look to each other for a standard to measure ourselves and our roles in the Church.

**Women:** What is "feminine" is defined in terms of what is "masculine" —

**Men:** And the boundaries of "men's work" in the Church are defined by the limits of "women's work."

**Women and Men:** We have forgotten that as each of us has

"put on Christ," we become equal heirs of God — and that the standard by which we must measure ourselves is not each other, but Jesus Christ.

**SCRIPTURE:** Matthew 5:23-24

*"So if you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that another has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go; first be reconciled to the other, and then come and offer your gift."*

**Men:** We cannot change the past or erase the memories of oppression and insensitivity and injustice. We do earnestly repent those sins and beg your forgiveness and God's. Prod us when we are tempted to sin again. We ask you to become your brother's keeper so that together we can change the present and create the future.

**Women:** We will not give up our anger, but we do earnestly repent our fear of it and of you. We beg your forgiveness and God's for our timidity and the comfort we sometimes find in the status quo. Prod us when we are tempted to sin again. We ask you to become your sister's keeper so that together we can change the present and create the future.

**ABSOLUTION:**

Our God has heard our confession and responds to our contrite hearts with forgiveness, even as we forgive those who trespass against us. This time and every time we confess our brokenness, we will be healed. We rejoice in the assurance of forgiveness which releases us from the bonds of the past and points us to the promise of the future.

**SOLO:** *Sometimes I Wish* (Written by Carole Etzler)

*Sometimes I wish my eyes hadn't been opened  
Sometimes I wish I could no longer see  
All of the hurt and the pain and the longing  
Of my sisters and me as we try to be free*

*Sometimes I wish my eyes hadn't been opened  
Just for an hour how sweet it would be  
Not to be struggling, not to be striving  
But just sleep securely in our slavery*

*But now that I've seen with my eyes I can't close them  
Because deep inside me somewhere I'd still know  
The road that my sisters and I have to travel  
My heart would say "Yes," and my feet would say  
"Go!"*

*Sometimes I wish my eyes hadn't been opened  
But now that they have, I'm determined to see  
That somehow my sisters and I will be one day  
The free people we were created to be*

*And then with our brothers we all might be one day  
The free people we were created to be*

## Proclamation of Faith

Two thousand years ago, through Jesus Christ, women and men were invited into a new covenant with God. We are still being called to discover who we are and to stretch out toward a new and sustaining integrity in the relationship between men and women. We believe that this relationship — a sign of the unity of humankind — lies at the heart of the Gospel.

We envision a fuller, more true community of women and men in the Church: one that celebrates the distinctiveness of each person, female and male. Built through cooperation, affirming reciprocity, independence and interdependence, the new community will ask women and men to work together, sharing abilities and burdens, to unfold the vision that God intends for us.

It is a vision of the Kingdom revealed to us in the words of the prophet Joel and repeated in Acts 2:

*And it shall come to pass afterward,  
that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh;  
your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,  
your old shall dream dreams  
and your young shall see visions.*

## Words of Dedication

(congregation, standing)

We have heard the challenge, O God, to shape a community of women and men in the Church as you intended. You have heard us confess our doubts, our fears, our sins which stand as obstacles to that true community. Amid those doubts — conscious of ever-present sin and trusting in your ever-present forgiveness — we join with our neighbors here today in a pledge to seek the new community, to replace fear with trust, barriers with bridges, doubt with joy.

## Benediction

*"Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you. Let not your hearts be troubled, neither let them be afraid." (John 14:27)*

As we go forth as a community of women and men with a new vision, let us say with our lives, "Amen! It shall be so!"

HYMN: *Rise Up O Saints of God*

**Resource:** A new study guide on "The Community of Women and Men in the Church," designed that small groups might explore healing relationships between women and men, is available as part of a worldwide education effort of the World Council of Churches, which plans a global conference on the subject in 1980. The guide is available at \$1.95 from Kathy Johnson Lieurance, Director, Study on the Community of Women and Men in the Church, 475 Riverside Drive (Room 770A), New York, N.Y. 10027. ■

## Welcome to Rochester

New to our readership of THE WITNESS this month are some 600 families and individuals from the Episcopal Diocese of Rochester, New York. Isn't it great how we get around? Welcome!

## MARTHA

**I did not always feel like  
sitting at his feet  
Hanging to his every word  
Mary made me mad  
taking our most precious oil  
To waste upon his head**

**I won't forget our calling him  
when Lazarus was ill  
But there he stayed two miles away  
for two more days  
Playing guru to his friends**

**When he raised Lazarus from death  
I don't believe I even stopped  
to say thank you**

**It was the very least that he  
could do**

— Alyce S. Kyle

# Episcopalians Launch Major Urban Effort

A major effort in urban ministry is now underway in the Episcopal Church. The effort is sponsored by two independent church groups, the Urban Bishops Coalition and the Church and City Conference. Both have special concerns for urban parishes and the plight of the cities.

Central to their plan to vitalize the Episcopal Church in the city is the formation of an Episcopal Urban Caucus of bishops, laity and clergy to work closely with other denominations and with secular institutions which share its concerns.

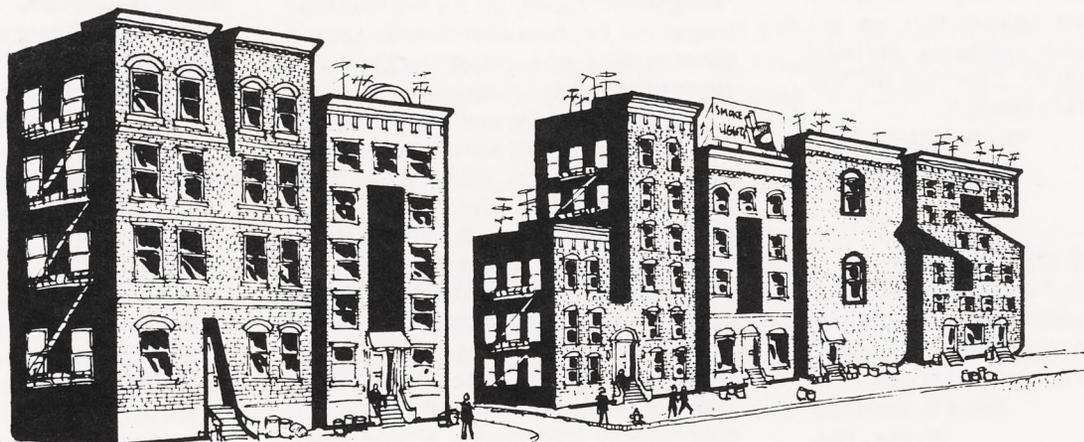
Chairpersons of the parent groups, Bishop John T. Walker of Washington, D.C., and the Rev. Michael Kendall of Scarsdale, N.Y., have scheduled the Caucus' organizing assembly for February 13-16, 1980.

The two groups will also sponsor a series of **Regional Institutes** in the fall to bring together parish and diocesan teams to hear presentations on urban issues and to study innovative and successful models for church response to those issues. Institute members will do some action planning for their own dioceses and parishes and have an opportunity to reflect on the findings in the booklet "To Hear and To Heed." The booklet is a compilation of findings from last year's seven urban hearings sponsored by the Urban Bishops Coalition. Based on what was presented to them in March, 1978, the bishops gave top priority to the formation of an urban action caucus.

During the summer the joint program has a dual thrust. Planning meetings for the fall institute got underway in June and will continue to run throughout July. These meetings will also bring together concerned deputies to General Convention to discuss issues which may come before the Denver meeting. At the same time, the bishops have initiated some serious ecumenical discussions on public policy issues to which the churches might appropriately speak. From these discussions resolutions are expected to emerge, and the Steering Committees hope for in-depth considerations of these resolutions by both Houses of the bicameral convention. A booth, located in the convention's exhibition area, will supply information on the new Caucus, the fall Institutes, available resources, and models for effective urban ministry.

To carry out their program, the Steering Committees have developed a talented staff of urbanologists, organizers and educators headed by the Rev. Hugh White of Detroit, on leave of absence from the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Several dioceses have released staff members to serve part-time and several consultants with special skills have been retained also on a part-time basis. A central staff office is located in the headquarters of the Diocese of Michigan.

For further information on the Regional Institutes or membership in the Urban Caucus, write or phone Hugh C. White, Urban Bishops Coalition, 4800 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48201. Telephone: (313) 832-4406. ■



*Continued from page 2*

approximation of love that can exist in this world. DeWitt calls all Christians to realize that every breath of air we take, every morsel of food we eat means that we do so at the expense of someone else. We all become guilty of being predators. This is unquestionably true at a deep moral level. It is part of a human condition, part of original sin. DeWitt would apparently abolish this human condition as if it were one of the "structures" of society... and capable of being abolished.

To share and share alike would call for a return to nomadic structures, to a Bedouin society of scarcity. If to breathe the air, if to fast on bread and water because others have nothing may, indeed, be the requirement at the Last Judgment. Then that becomes salvation by works and not by faith and would mean committing suicide by starvation. In DeWitt's moral theology it was a mistake to have been born.

Having been through Palm Sunday, Holy Week and Easter, surely we know that it was both individuals and the structures of society that crucified Our Lord. And surely we know that it is suffering love to which all Christians are called. DeWitt seems to want to build a society in which this will be unnecessary.

To move from the individual witness of those privileged to live in Caesar's household (or America's) to their and our sharing an "unjust system" implies that we could have a 100% just system if we wanted it badly enough. Obviously DeWitt does not believe that we are twisted and fallen creatures. Perhaps none of us really do. That may be "the root cause of the tragedy."

**The Rev. John Baiz  
Pittsburgh, Pa.**

## Far Ahead of Others

I still love you and enjoy reading you. I feel so far ahead of the "other" publications crawling behind. The extra dollar is for the reminder postage!

**Alice S. Brewster  
Nutley, N.J.**

## Sign of Hope

I have just started to catch up on accumulated reading, and want to express particular appreciation for the March issue of THE WITNESS. It is the most interesting "annual report" of any organization that I have read. ECPC is indeed a vital Christian community and a continuing sign of hope to many beyond its immediate membership. With good wishes always and many thanks.

**The Rev. Charles Long  
Forward Movement Publications  
Cincinnati, Ohio**

## 'Clergymen' Sexist Term

After all of the good things that the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, THE WITNESS, Bishop DeWitt and the Network have done — after all that they have meant to me personally — (much of which I have never bothered to thank you all for) it is with some twinge of guilt that I am motivated to write a letter of protest.

However, when my two copies of THE WITNESS arrived in today's mail and I eagerly read the words on the back cover, the first line of the second paragraph fairly jumped up at me. Even though it is true that those seven persons who met six years ago to ponder the rebirth of THE WITNESS were male members of the clergy, I would not have expected to see the word "clergymen" appear on the pages of that magazine! I'm sure that "Six Episcopal bishops and one priest" would have sufficed to get the message across.

I know that there are many persons who do not think of sexist language as being important. I think it is very important and offensive. I have great problems with the use of the term "clergymen." Its use only serves to perpetuate and support the image many people have in their minds that members of the clergy ought to be only *men*. It is reinforcing to that concept. E.C.P.C., THE WITNESS and the Network do not subscribe to that theory. Unless I am

terribly mistaken one of our primary goals is to convince the world, and especially the Episcopal Church, that there is, indeed, validity in the ordination of women!

Keep up the good work. I know that an error such as this seldom slips past your editorial red pencil. In recent weeks I have had several occasions to once again become thin skinned about unthinking mistakes. Honestly I can't wait until late tonight when I will finally have time to sit down and read the rest of the March issue and then decide, depending on the contents, which of my friends to give my extra copy to.

**Helen K. Klauk  
Erie, Pa.**

## Companions Not Order

Some of us who are Companions of the Holy Cross here in Ann Arbor have read your article on Vida Scudder in the March issue with interest. I, especially, was pleased because she was one of my professors at Wellesley, and the most vividly remembered.

But we would like to say that the Companions of the Holy Cross are in no way an Anglican Order or any kind of order; we are the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross, soon to be 100 years old. We are not directly connected to any particular parish or diocese, but are independently incorporated. We are all Episcopalians.

Anyone wishing further information about the Society and particularly its summer conferences and retreats can write to me at 1280 Astor Drive, Ann Arbor, Mich. 43104.

**Caroline Plumer  
Ann Arbor, Mich.**

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### CREDITS

Cover and p. 4, Gina Clement; p. 6, cartoon, Auth, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*; p. 8, cartoon, courtesy Wil-Jo Associates and Bill Mauldin; pp. 10, 17, Rollie Swanson, courtesy *National Catholic Reporter*; p. 14, Vicky Reeves.

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# Hooks Will Address ECPC Awards Dinner

Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will be guest speaker at the banquet/celebration sponsored by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company Sept. 11 at 6:30 p.m. in Denver, during General Convention.

As chief administrative officer of the NAACP, Judge Hooks is perhaps best known for his highly effective and persuasive oratory. As a lawyer in Memphis, he was an assistant public defender, a skilled general counselor and the first black judge in the Shelby County (Memphis) Criminal Court, where he served with distinction. While on the bench, Judge Hooks was nominated to become the first black Federal Communications Commissioner in history.

Benjamin Hooks has been the producer of his own weekly television series, "Conversations in Black and White;" co-producer of "Forty Percent Speaks," and has been a consistent panelist on "What Is Your Faith?"

He was born in Memphis and attended LeMoyne College there, then Howard University in Washington, D.C. He received his J.D. degree from DePaul University College of Law, Chicago.

Five persons will be honored at the banquet with the Vida Scudder, William Spofford, and William Scarlett Awards, plus a special award of merit.

The Vida Scudder Award will go to Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, former director and secretary, respectively, of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, who spent more than 10 months in prison in 1977-78 for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury, claiming the investigation had a chilling effect on their ministry and was harassing the Hispanic community.

The William Spofford Award will be

received by the Rev. Paul Washington of the Church of the Advocate, for 17 years of courageous and innovative service to the community of Philadelphia, and the William Scarlett Award by the Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan, under whose leadership the Joint Urban Program of the Episcopal Church was fashioned, responding to the social unrest of the '60s and anticipating a major concern of the church today.

A special award of merit will go to Dr. Joseph Fletcher, visiting professor of biomedical ethics at the School of Medicine, University of Virginia and Senior Fellow at the university of Texas Graduate School in Biomedical Sciences. He is the author of the influential book, *Situation Ethics*.

Readers of *THE WITNESS* are invited to make reservations for the ECPC banquet by filling out and returning the coupon below. Your acknowledgment will be in the mail within a week after your request is received in the Ambler office. Reserve a place today!



Benjamin L. Hooks

## ECPC Awards Dinner Reservation

Please reserve \_\_\_\_\_ places at \$10 per person (tables of 10 for \$100) for me/us at the ECPC Awards Banquet during General Convention in Denver. Enclosed is a check in the amount of \_\_\_\_\_.

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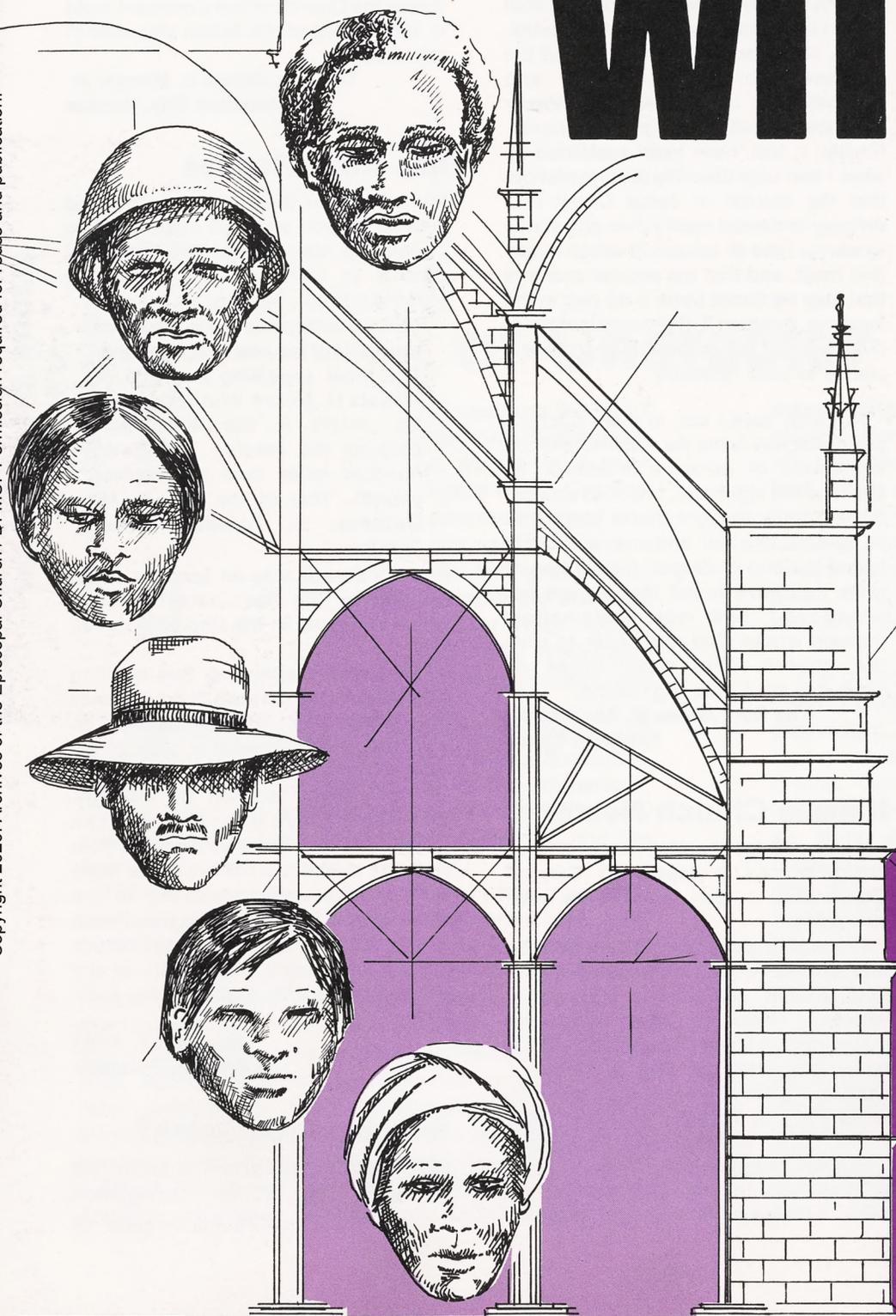
# THE WITNESS

VOL. 62, NO. 8  
AUGUST, 1979

ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL  
COLLECTIONS, EPISCOPAL  
CHURCH  
AUSTIN, TEXAS

## Breaking Through Stress Points

Sheila Collins  
Wm. Stringfellow  
Lawrence Carter  
'Carolyn Taylor'





## View Is Editor's Only

Re Helen Seager's article "Irresponsible Abortion" (May WITNESS) which is a response to an editorial, "The Episcopal Church and Abortion" in the March 4 issue of *The Living Church*:

Because editorials in *The Living Church* are generally unsigned, Ms. Seager naturally assumes that the editorial in question represents the opinion of *The Living Church's* "editorial writers" or "editors." In fact, the editorial expresses the views of the editor (The Rev. H. Boone Porter) only. This opinion is not necessarily held by other members of the editorial staff.

**Eleanor S. Wainwright, Assistant Editor**  
*The Living Church*  
Milwaukee, Wisc.

## Arms and the Women

I doubt that many of my views would get warm responses from your readers — maybe a few, but not more than a few. In reading Margaret Arms' article on her feelings of frustration, despair, disappointment and the like at her situation in Colorado, I was struck by the deep kinship I felt for her as I move from the opposite direction. Indeed (in the same issue), when I read William Stringfellow's words: "There is a point at which a Christian is called upon to dust his or her feet and move on, and I wondered . . . whether I had yet arrived at that place" — I couldn't believe my eyes. These had been *my* precise words at my nadir, which occurred about two years ago. I, too, was confronted with the fact

of my deep, irrational love affair with the Episcopal Church and the fact that she could probably become the whore of Babylon, and I would still be loathe to stone her.

But back to Ms Arms. For me, too, it was the Eucharist that sustained my soul when I felt myself teetering on the brink. I, too, have known the anguish and the loneliness of having deeply and honestly held convictions gratuitously psychoanalyzed or simply ignored. Finally, I, too, have been sustained by what I can only describe as a revelation: that the church of Jesus Christ is a divinely-ordained reality over and above whatever time or season in which it may find itself, and that the secular overlays that may be thrust upon it do not, in the long run, threaten it. (I almost shudder at the thought of submitting that last clause to your readers!)

Anyway, here I am, in there pitching alongside Ms. Arms. As convinced of the wrongness of women's ordination as she is of the rightness, I have to smile at the delicious thought that it just might be people like her and me, who have tasted the cup of despair from different sides and have found that we are not abandoned and not schismatics, through whom God may work to save the church. The possibilities of synthesis are a little frightening.

**The Rev. James M. Abernathy**  
Freeport, Texas

## Kansas Church Nearer

I thank you for the May issue of THE WITNESS. As a deputy to General Convention, I look forward to your viewpoint.

In the May issue there is an article by Margaret F. Arms. I enjoyed the article and felt her pain and anguish as a woman. There is some historical inaccuracy. It states "on Jan. 25, 1860" a committee tried to find a place to worship, "(The nearest church was 700 miles away in Topeka.)" On that date, there were established Episcopal Churches, with buildings in Manhattan, Ft. Riley, and Junction City, Kansas. All three of those parishes are west of

Topeka and therefore closer to Denver. The buildings at Ft. Riley and Junction City are still in use, while Manhattan has a building built in 1867. The church at Ft. Riley was turned over to the Roman Catholics for their use in 1936. That leaves the Church of the Covenant, built in 1859 as one of the oldest churches in this area.

**The Rev. James S. Massie, Jr.**  
Junction City, Kansas

## Ms. Arms Replies

My source for the statement that "the nearest church was 700 miles away in Topeka" is Allen Breck, *The Episcopal Church in Colorado 1860-1963*, Big Mountain Press, 1963, p. 8:

*Various proposals were made for the name of the new congregation. The most appealing was that of William H. Moore who suggested 'St. John's in the Wilderness' because the mission was seven hundred miles from the nearest church, "that of the Rev. C. M. Calloway, at Topeka, Kansas Territory."*

(Breck's source was an account of the meeting by the Rev. John H. Kehler which appeared in the *Church Journal*, 1860.)

The persons attending that meeting must have been unaware of the churches which the Rev. James Massie, Jr. mentions. I will forward a copy of his letter to Allen Breck for his information.

I am deeply touched by the Rev. James Abernathy's letter, although I can see that in many ways we do come from opposite directions! I think it was Nelle Morton who wrote something to the effect that when we can hear each other's stories and feel each other's pain, then healing can begin. If my article helped with that process, I am glad.

**Margaret F. Arms**  
Lakewood, Colorado

## Why No Procession?

In the light of the current series in THE WITNESS by William Stringfellow

*Continued on page 18*

# THE WITNESS

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## Acting Out of Character

Robert L. DeWitt

"All the world's a stage . . ." But who authors the play? Shakespeare, in the quote, was referring to the basic human creation, the successive stages in human aging. We rightly ascribe that creation to the Creator. But how people play out those successive ages and stages of their lives is a different drama. This is where the tragic inter-play of individuals and groups and races and classes and sexes of people are enacted. This is the drama of human society, for which not the Creator but society itself is responsible. And many people across the world are increasingly discontent with the roles they have been assigned.

It is as though a stage play was suddenly interrupted by an actor in a tragic role stepping out of character, coming down stage, and saying to the playwright, "This is a bad play and you are a poor writer". The play struggles on, but the ad-libbing accelerates, and the flow of the drama is lost.

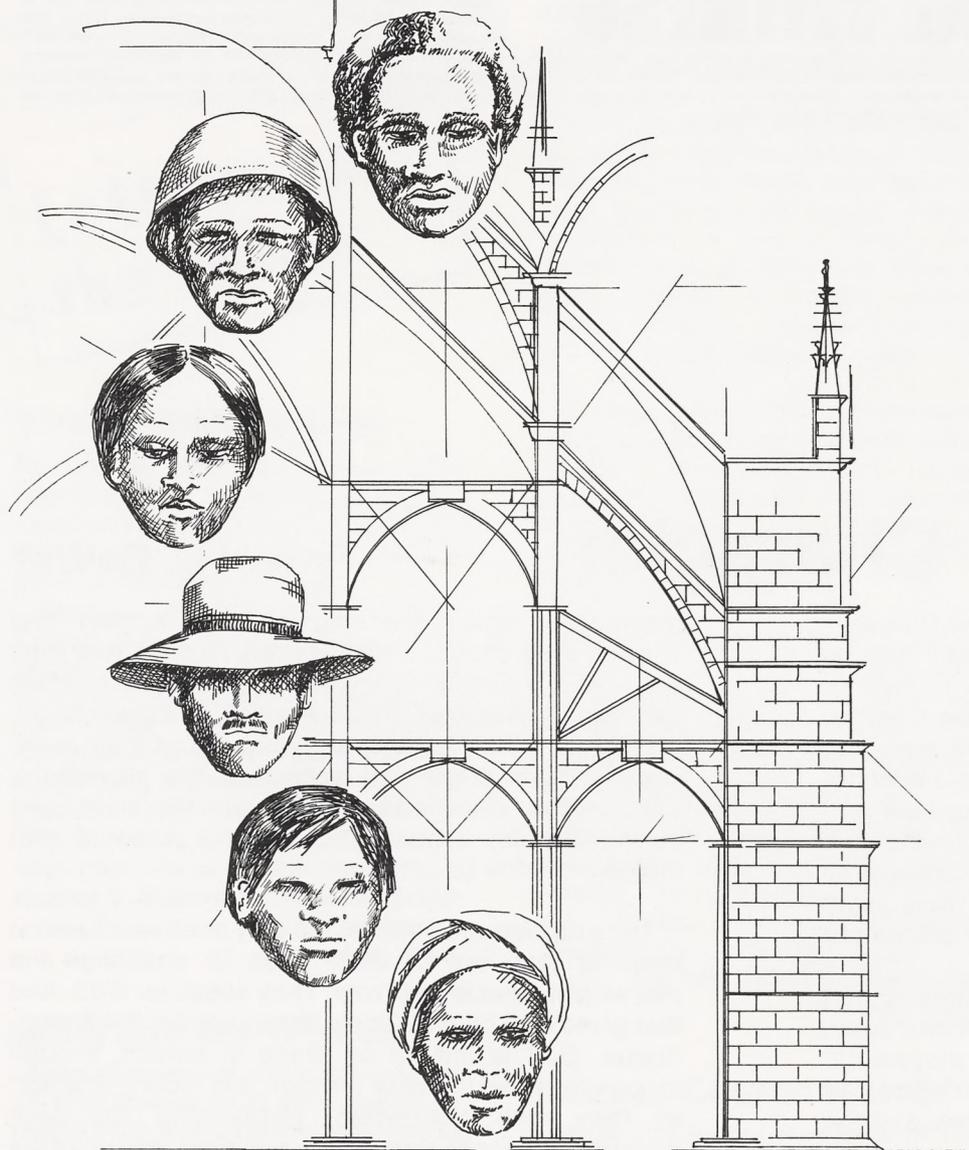
This is what happens, for example, when a group of workers go on strike. They seek a different role, want their lines re-written. If the strike is successful, the "play" will not go on until lines are re-written, roles recast, and a better production results. For example, the United Farm Workers are today confronting the author in the play in which they find themselves so miscast, with such poor lines. The drama of harvesting farm produce for human nourishment has a great theme, but it is a poor play in its present run in the Imperial, Salinas and San Joaquin Valleys.

Clergy-wives and the world sisterhood of women is another example. Co-workers with men in the

maintaining and enhancing of both society and church, they should be co-starred. But the way they are cast, the lines they are given belies and belittles that heroic character. Small wonder, and great boon, that they are increasingly stepping out of their roles, coming down-stage and accosting the playwright. They are over-qualified for the bit-parts they have been given. The play cannot reach its epic potential until they are central to casting.

The prophets are perhaps the only ones who have no need to step out of their roles to challenge the playwright. That *is* their role. They speak for God. And that gives us a clue to God's investment in the human drama. God is indeed on stage in person, though incognito, speaking now through this, now that actor, as they step out-of-role, challenging the poor directing, the inept staging, the mindless writing of the play. Prompting various members of the cast, God is saying: "You have bungled my play. You have made of it a human tragedy, whereas I intended it as the Divine Comedy, the creative drama of the God of justice and mercy co-authoring with the people of God".

In this issue of THE WITNESS we hear striking instances of people doffing their assigned roles and speaking out critically on their own behalf — clergy wives, farm workers, a lay theologian. And against that backdrop, Sheila Collins provides an analysis that helps us move beyond anger and break through some of the "chains that bind — racism, sexism, classism" — and to rewrite the drama of our times. ■



# Chains That Bind: Racism, Sexism, Classism

by Sheila Collins

It is becoming clear in the United States that in spite of the proliferation of therapies and religious cults attempting to create more powerful individuals, there is a growing feeling of powerlessness among the people which is acted out in various forms of sublimated or overt rage: Right wing movements which create scapegoats out of feminists or gay people; taxpayers' revolts which punish even those who vote for the cuts; increasing racism, crime, domestic violence, mental breakdowns, ulcers and heart attacks. This powerlessness can only be addressed by attention to the socio/economic/political conditions for such behavior.

Those who have been active in working to transform the structures of oppression known as racism, sexism, class exploitation and imperialism have long been divided over how to define the source of the problem and therefore over where to place energy in trying to change it. Is the major contradiction the sexual division between men and women, as some radical feminists assert; is it white supremacy, as some black nationalists would insist; is class exploitation or capitalism the answer, as Marxists would argue; or is it a matter of the inherent sinfulness of selfishness of humankind, as most Christians would assert?

I would like to offer a way of looking at the problem of injustice — whether it be

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**Sheila Collins** is with the National Division of the Board of Global Missions of the United Methodist Church. The above article is a result of her work with the Theology in the Americas project, "Women, Work, and the Economy."

sexual, racial, economic or nationalist injustice, by examining the relationship between the three institutions or social organizing principles which dominate all of our lives. In complex concert, they shape our consciousness of the world — that is, whom we identify with, how we feel about ourselves, where we plug into systems of injustice, what our life possibilities are. These three institutions are patriarchy, Western Christianity, and capitalism.

First, some definitions:

By patriarchy, I refer to a term which arose to explain the apparent dominance in terms of status and power of older men within certain kinship systems. Though feminists have extended the meaning to include the whole pattern of superior/subordinate relations between men and women, I will be using the word as denoting a social system in which the status of women is defined primarily as ward of their husbands, fathers, or brothers.

Western Christianity is that institution which emerged with the Constantinian accommodation. It is the ideological glue which held the Roman Empire together and has continued to serve the interests of the ruling powers in every era by claiming to be able to explain why things are as they are. It is to be distinguished from the primitive Christian community whose heritage is recorded in the books of the Bible.

Capitalism defines a set of economic relationships, that is, it specifies the relationship between those who produce the goods and services needed to make a society function and those who own the resources and tools needed to produce the goods and services. In capitalist societies the relationship between producers, or workers, and owners is one of antagonism — the owners having the power to manage and buy the labor power of the workers. Though there has been a persistent myth that we are free to choose how and where we shall live in this country, the reality is that at least 96% of the people must sell their labor power to multinational corporations, small businesses or the government in

*"When we put Christ's words about family together with his denunciations of wealth and power and his promise that the meek shall inherit the earth, we have a powerful revolutionary force that shakes the foundations not only of civil and religious power, but also the psychic foundations upon which our identities are built. No wonder he was killed!"*

order to survive. The differential ability we have to sell that labor power and to get a good price for it conditions where we live, how long we will live, how we will feel about ourselves, and how we will relate to others. Because of the necessity to sell our labor power in exchange for economic survival, capitalism's economic relations have tended to subsume all other relationships beneath them. Custom, tradition, family ties, religious belief have only existed so long as they reinforce or, at least, present no threat to the relations between capital and workers.

First, let's examine the patriarchal model a bit more closely. Anthropologists differ as to when the patriarchal family arose, but most tie it to the rise of the state as a political entity in Western culture, to the development of class societies and to the institution of slavery. The state arose as a result of conquest and slavery breaking up the extended kinship group which had been the locus of both productive and reproductive activities. With the separation out and specialization of certain productive activities from the reproductive unit, along with the separation of land from its collective ownership, came the differential valuing of male and female roles. Surplus wealth and power became associated

with the males. Females, tied to the land through child-bearing and the reproduction of daily life became, like the land, the property of men. Thus, class divisions, slavery, private property, hierarchy, and the differential valuing of gender roles all appear to be linked together in an historically specific dynamic.

What did the patriarchal family model mean for different members of the family? Prior to the rise of capitalism in the latter half of the 18th century, economic activity took place primarily in and through the family unit with roles differentiated by age and gender. Within the family, the father had legal and symbolic or ideological authority over all other family members. Wives were legally dependent on their husbands. Their role was to maintain the reproduction of family life and to oversee the development of the younger generation, always, however, within the parameters set by the patriarch or family head. Boys grew up knowing that they would automatically inherit the patrimony when they came of age, the eldest, of course, standing to inherit more than the others. Daughters held lowest rank and were expected to serve the interests of their fathers and brothers until their identity was transferred from their father to that of another patriarch into whose home and family they would move.

This is basically the family model of biblical times, and its extension through history can be glimpsed in the marriage ceremony in which the father "gives the bride away," in laws which prohibit a widower from getting his wife's social security, and in the acceptance by women of their father's and husband's surnames.

Capitalism inherited this basic family pattern and the internal psychic conditioning which it produces. Fortunately, the patriarchal family model suited nicely certain internal dynamics of the economic system.

Let's take a look at how the patriarchal family meets these needs. The archetypical family consisted of four roles divided along age and gender lines. We will call these roles: Daughter,

Wife, Brother, Father. I have used these particular terms instead of the usual couplings: brother/sister; husband/wife to indicate the inequality which exists in terms of power, status and rewards between members of the same generation. In the patriarchal family a girl was not expected to have the same access to power, privilege and responsibility as her brother. In the event that she was the eldest child, the patrimony would skip her entirely to be inherited by a younger brother. Likewise, a wife did not share equal power, privileges and status with her husband. Indeed, whatever status and power she had was vicarious, through participation in her husband's title and property. This legacy continues in the discrimination against women in credit and housing and in the degradation with which welfare mothers are treated who are, in essence, wives without husbands to give them identity or status — hence, non-persons.

We are socialized into these roles through the family, taught to measure our life options, to relate to each other as younger and older males and females on the basis of differing life expectations and values.

Capitalism takes people who have internalized these roles and moves them into the workforce, out of the workforce and around inside it according to established patriarchal family role patterns. Whereas individual family units had been the locus of economic activity before the rise of capitalism, capitalism removes economic production from the home, turning the entire economy into a patriarchal family. The Father, in whose name and title all property and status resides, now becomes the class of ruling men who own and manage the resources and tools upon which all productivity is based. Those who reproduce, discipline and maintain the workforce under the Father's rule — that is, the state and voluntary sectors are to the capitalists as Wife to Father. The patrimony, which had formerly been passed on from father to eldest son is now, under capitalism, transformed into access to the top of the hierarchy — access which is no longer

inherited but must be competed for by the younger generation of men — by all those primarily white men who are employed in heavy industry, small business and management and who still dream of making it to the top of their particular ladder.

The illusion of access to the Father's prerogative produces a great deal of false consciousness in white males — prevents them from recognizing that objectively they may have more in common with the Daughters than with the Fathers they are seeking to emulate.

The Daughters are all those whose unpaid, underpaid or unrecognized labor serves the interests of the societal Fathers or is used to promote the Brothers' aspirations to the Father's role. Here we include all those — primarily housewives and minorities with jobs as farmworkers, maintenance workers, waitresses, Kelly Girls, etc., whose essential contribution to the economy is either unrecognized or is seen as marginal and therefore is characterized by insecurity, low wages, little status and few if any benefits.

In looking at the political economy of the family, or the familial organization of the economy, we must mention one more role or category of importance to the total picture, a role which is generally not seen as one at all because it remains outside the family constellation entirely — that is the role of the alien, the slave.

The distinction between slaves and women in ancient times was probably one of degree, both being relegated to the private recesses of the household and to the realm of necessity where violence and coercion were justified as the means of liberating men from such necessity. But such super-exploitation did not stop with the ending of slavery.

Precapitalist forms of production utilizing labor relations similar to slavery have always existed within the heart of capitalism. One thinks of the relations which characterize the life of the farmworker family or of the domestic worker.

While there is an important historical and psychic connection between the roles of Slave and Daughter within the dominant ideological family model, there is also an important distinction which must be taken into account.

Unlike the role of Daughter in the patriarchal family, the role of Slave was a static one, admitting of no change in status or power. Growing up within the family, the Daughter could at least look forward to being a Wife which, if this did not give her ultimate status or power, set her over others, namely the younger generation and slaves. Though in the American system of slavery subtle class distinctions arose as between house slaves and field hands, there was nevertheless the knowledge — even among the household servants — that one was outside the family entirely. Even the child of a master and his slave could claim no place at the family table.

Therein lies the terrible dilemma for white women, for in societies built upon a foundation of exploited and alienated labor, there is no way some women can achieve a measure of status and power without stepping on the backs of other women. So long as the realm of necessity is not recognized as the essential foundation of the social good, we will continue to have progress for some at the expense of the many.

Each new group to enter capitalist society from the outside such as the waves of immigrants which flooded into the United States follows the passage of the Slave, but racism and imperialism function to keep the Slave role from being entirely absorbed by the Family model. As the Family extends beyond the single nation-state to embrace the world, we see in the international division of labor the extension, or perhaps the reinstitution, of the static category of slavery to all those people — some in the United States but most in the Third World — who are increasingly

locked into a perpetual cycle of poverty and exploitable labor. Indeed, it does not take too much imagination to see in the dormitories erected by multinational corporations for young, female electronics workers in Southeast Asia the outlines of the old slave quarters of the southern plantation.

Socialized through the family into specific familial roles based on gender and age — roles which become the psychic baggage that we carry around with us for the rest of our lives — we are moved into and out of the economy on the basis of generalizations about the functions of these roles. As they operate in the workplace (including the workplace that is the church, the parochial school or the convent), each of these roles — Daughter, Wife, Brother, Father — can be distinguished by its relation to indices such as job security, the amount and kind of space which is allocated to the workers, the relationship to others in the workplace, the amount of control one has over the work process and what is produced, the expectation or lack of it for upward mobility, and the differential rewards, status and power that are given to each.

Reactionary trends such as the Bakke decision and Weber case, racism among the white working class, the tax revolt movement and the backlash against feminism and homosexuality gather converts as the promise of access to the patrimony diminishes for more and more white Brothers. Fearful of dropping back into the feminized role of Daughter, and sensing the push from below as women and minorities crowded together in the Daughter roles seek to become Brothers, the white male, working-and-lower-middle classes are structurally conditioned for racism and sexism. Moreover, working

and middle class women, knowing subconsciously that there is no secure place for them in the economy, may revolt against a women's liberation movement that they fear may strip them of their lifeline of security. In all of this are the ingredients for fascism if the situation becomes desperate enough.

It is not enough to treat racism, sexism or class antagonisms as separable problems or as causes in themselves. They are inevitable products of a family pattern which, if functional for civilization in previous eras (and this is questionable) is no longer so today. As incorporated by an economic system based on inequality and exploitation, the combination of patriarchy and capitalism will destroy human civilization if it is not stopped.

Though originating as a revolt against the hierarchical sex, class and national divisions of ancient society, Western Christianity has served primarily to rationalize, through reference to cosmic authority and weekly infusions of lessons in obedience and passivity, the patriarchal superstructures of feudalism, mercantile capitalism and advanced monopoly capitalism and to reconcile the contradictions of the system in times of crisis. Thus, in times of recession and depression, we find a rise in the proliferation of authoritarian forms of Christianity, evangelical movements, and the like.

Since the time of Constantine, if not of Paul, the Christian Church has played the role of the dutiful Wife to the Fathers of every era. Through an ideology of male dominance and female submission, a disrespect for the realm of biology and necessity, a polity based on hierarchy, and a language which equates the deity with the civic and religious power brokers, the church (with some exceptions) serves the interests of patriarchal authority, socializing and disciplining its flock to fit into the unequal gender and age-based roles of industrial capitalism.

The notion of apostolic succession — a notion which Jesus — who gathered his ministers from fishing boats, from rural hillsides and from city streets — would have been horrified at, is the old rite of

primogeniture writ large. The Father's place can only be inherited by the male heirs. Those who challenge this assumption threaten the very foundations of our psychic conditioning from infancy onward. If the Brothers are to move over to allow the Daughters a crack at the Father's role in a system in which there are few Father roles, the threat may be more than the Brothers can bear. This is so because all those clergymen (the Brothers in our family) and their religious Fathers (cardinals, bishops and the Pope) serve within a larger system of Wives to the real Fathers — that class of financiers who really run the world. The subconscious knowledge that their function vis-a-vis the secular world is really a feminine one — and that in the world of production, distribution and armaments they are virtually powerless — makes the male clergy ever more jealous of their male prerogatives and ever more threatened by those who would expose that role for the sublimation that it is. The common ecclesiastical practice of having the clergy's parsonage, manse or rectory provided and furnished for him by the church — and the attitudes on the part of the clergy and parish trustees which are engendered by this relationship — reflect the dependent, feminized role which the clergy have been assigned.

By continuing to play the roles of Daughter and Wife both in the church and secular world, women have helped to perpetuate this unholy alliance between Brothers and Fathers. Within the church, nuns and laywomen have served as Wives to their religious Fathers and Brothers, carrying out the unrecognized, unrewarded work of nurturing, maintaining and socializing the younger generation according to the

*Continued on page 13*

*"And to the angel of the church at Laodicea write: 'The words of the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of God's creation.*

*" 'I know your works; you are neither cold nor hot. Would that you were cold or hot! So, because you are lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew you out of my mouth. For you say, I am rich, I have prospered, and I need nothing; not knowing that you are wretched, pitiable, poor, blind and naked.' "*

*The Revelation to John 3:14-17*

## Has God Abandoned

In the most sombre terms, the question confronting the Episcopal General Convention in 1979 is — simply and starkly put — *Has God abandoned the Episcopal Church?*

That is the theological agenda for Denver.

I do not have great expectations that this will be recognized, if only because General Conventions in the recent past, say, since Seattle, have been, on the whole theologically confused and inarticulate. The House of Deputies is perhaps too numerous and too busied in the legislative process and, anyway, tends to defer to the other House in matters deemed theological. Yet the House of Bishops, as transcripts of their deliberations would document, is composed of theological dilettantes — allowing for a few distinguished exceptions — who indulge pompous ritual language in place of theological discourse. In any case, the ethos of a General Convention in both Houses is so politically inverted that it is difficult for straightforward theological issues to gain recognition and, thence, to be addressed lucidly. At the same time, theological questions are characteristically incarnated in other agenda items so that they are dealt with, if somewhat inadvertently or unintentionally. I suppose that is the way this question of whether God has abandoned the Episcopal Church is likely to be answered at Denver. It is the issue which haunts this church now.

The contingency of God's abandonment of the Episcopal Church is implicit in every matter to be deliberated at Denver, as it has been in the comments on the state of the church which have already been published in this series in THE WITNESS. That is, perhaps, most obvious in considering the scope of the institutional crisis which the Episcopal Church shares with so many other institutions in American society

# the Episcopal Church?

by William Stringfellow

and, indeed, in Western culture. It is accompanied by a preoccupation with mere institutional maintenance and survival, with a widespread demoralization of the church's constituency, and the emergence of a sort of anti-leadership in the church's management prone to lawlessness and capriciousness, unaccountable to people and intolerant of dissent or other nonconformity, diluted in moral authority, disoriented about priorities, bereft of aim beyond embellishment of the ecclesiastical fabric, lost in witness.

In the attrition of such malaise, it is too simplistic to heap the blame for all that seems wrong upon the incumbent managers or putative leaders of the institution — just as, lately, has become the case with the regime of President Carter. It is too easy to conclude that the problem is bad leadership. I do not retract a statement I made at the Minneapolis General Convention that, in the Episcopal Church at this time, the problem is not that the church does not have good leadership but that it has *no* leadership. The church's nominal leadership — much like that of the nation — suffers incapacity and dysfunction, is itself victimized by the broader and exceedingly more complex institutional crisis, rather than being free and capable of transcending it. An implication here is that a mere change in the church's nominal leadership — as much as that has become timely — in itself will not resolve the Episcopal Church crisis.

That is how I come to the question of abandonment. To put it more sharply: Is the present apostacy of the Episcopal Church such that it can be discerned that God has abandoned this church?

If the question sounds strange to our ears, it is

because American Christendom is so complacent concerning the conduct of the Word of God. We suppose that God is indefinitely patient. And we construe this as a license for infidelity to the Word of God. And, then, we succumb to the temptation so to identify the church with God that we act as if the church is God. *That* idolatry of the church is the most incongruous and gruesome form of apostacy.

No doubt God is quite patient, but there is no Scriptural basis for the notion that God's patience is inexhaustible. On the contrary, as soon as the office of God in judgment is affirmed, it has been acknowledged that the patience of God is not interminable. And so in the biblical witness there is emphatic mention of the anger of God, the wrath of God, the vindication of God, even the vengeance of God.

More than that, the very event of Jesus Christ in history discloses the impatience of God with the infidelity of Israel. God does not foreswear initiative in common history merely because of the apostacy of the ecclesiastical establishment which professes God's name. And, after Pentecost, after the new Israel had been constituted and dispersed into the world, the New Testament literature is insistent in its warnings to the new congregations concerning the impatience of the Word of God as they become tempted to vainglory, idolatry and other dissipations.

We are, today, in the Episcopal Church in the United States, privy to those same admonitions and we are vulnerable to that same impatience of God which occasions God's ultimate abandonment of a pretentious church. ■

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**William Stringfellow** is a theologian, social critic, author and attorney.



*A clergywife who wrote anonymously in a recent issue about the pain and suppression she felt in her role describes the sympathetic response she received from WITNESS readers.*

## On Liberating the Clergywife

by 'Carolyn Taylor'

When I wrote to THE WITNESS seeking a support system as a clergywife, I was almost crippled by the fear that the letter would be rejected as having come from the "lunatic fringe." (See March issue, Letters to the Editor.) I was so insecure I questioned whether there was a real issue, or if my emotions had carried me to such a supersensitive state that I imagined offense where there actually was none.

Well, hold on sisters and brothers, the tiger is out there — for sure. It is not a figment of my imagination. And, lunatic or not, I've found a lot of company in letters received from women and men across the country, who document similar experiences. (*Editor's Note: Carolyn Taylor's letter drew more response than any article which has appeared in THE WITNESS over the past three years.*)

I am not alone. You are not alone. And, what's more, there is among us an abounding love, a healing that has come to me through those letters, which somehow needs to be shared with those who have written and by those who have remained silent in their struggle.

The healing has come in many forms. First, in the empathy and deep feeling expressed. There was the woman, who wrote, "I almost cried upon reading your letter, for myself and the ways my experience is like yours, and for you in your loneliness."

Heartfelt sentiments poured in from

every section of the country, from big cities as well as small towns and suburbia. Among them were clergywives and daughters, clergy themselves (both men and women), laywomen, widows of clergy, the husband in a clergy couple, and two bishops. Their ages seemed to range from early 30's to the golden years. But they shared the isolation, the pain, the anger and hope. They spoke sometimes in two and three-page, typewritten letters, of the paralyzing effect of being forced to live according to the expectations of others, and the tension that such denial of self creates. Several likened life in the rectory to that of other "public wives." From these responses, it seems to me that the church has developed a subtle and effective system to keep the clergywife in her place. Evidence of this is found in the experience of clergywives who complain of being ignored or excluded. One recalled the experience of coming into a room where churchpeople suddenly ceased talking, because "the rector's wife shouldn't hear that." Another was depressed and insulted over having her suggestions systematically dismissed without discussion at ECW meetings when anyone else was given a polite hearing.

Still others, including myself, cited exclusion from consideration for the vestry or other parish decision-making offices. Whatever the expression, the

message comes through: Stay in your place, don't rock the boat, be a holy noodle-head, or else risk being called "uppity" or "rectorine," with all of the ramifications.

Correspondents alluded to how life in the church has robbed them of their self-esteem, caused marital strain or even sent them into crippling depression. Life in the rectory, it seems, demands putting on a public mask for fear that the real you won't be accepted. There was the postscript from one young wife, "My biggest problem is being the only person my husband-priest gets mad at — he keeps a perfect mask on at all other times. He's a good, gentle man, but all work and personal frustrations come down on me."

One diocesan officer regretted having shed his public mask and pondered whether his frankness about personal problems had caused his bishop to be half-hearted in recommending him for a new job. He asserted that most search committees "just won't even consider a divorced priest; and if it seems that the wife is 'uppity,' they drop him, knowing that there are many other clergy to consider."

That word "uppity" stung me at first, but with the help of affirming letters, I've come to see that for clergywives maybe "uppity" means healthy. Women who wrote saying that they had achieved some peace and self-respect in their lives as clergywives chronicled how they had refused to stay in their place. One said she didn't mind being a welcome mat in the church, but she vowed never to be a doormat. At the same time, it was equally evident that she was eager to exercise a supportive ministry with her husband.

Through such examples, I feel that I too have been empowered to take charge of my life as clergywife and to use all of my talents in God's Name. In fact, this article, whatever its virtue or fault, is possible now only because I have been validated by having heard

from so many who affirmed my "secret" thoughts by sharing theirs.

The advice of one writer rings especially true, and I'm trying to do as he said. That is to "live prophetically, as if what you want to achieve has already happened." It may sound like whistling in the dark, but it's also faithful to the Gospel.

Of course, God also helps those who help themselves, as one writer put it: "You cannot wait for someone else to liberate you. Christ has done that for you. In order to make this liberation felt, you must now act upon those things you know are just."

One woman, who has left the Episcopal Church and become a clergyperson in another denomination, said, "I am slowly digging out the anger and restructuring my identity." She saw that process as making herself whole and paraphrased the Lord's command of "Be ye perfect" as "Be ye whole."

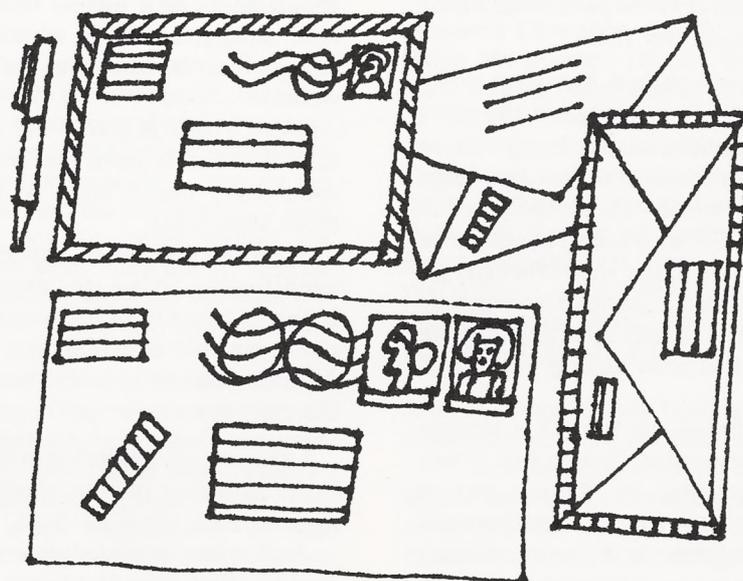
More hope was expressed by a woman who had earned her Ph.D. in her early 40's by studying the sociological implications of her role as clergywife. She said, "I don't mean to minimize the pain you feel by telling you

how I turned it into a field of study; what I hoped to convey was how it is possible, by the grace of God and some good therapy and accumulation of years of experience, to find some satisfaction and comfort being married to your husband even if he is a clergyman."

This letting the real-me come forth, is not without its risks. But, those who have written have convinced me that no amount of smiling, cake-baking, shuffling, saying "yes-um," can provide the sense of self-worth that living prophetically can.

Yet, the transition may prove to be a time of pain. Another Ph.D. candidate wrote, "Achieving some personal respect for myself has interrupted my previously ultra-passive nature as 'always-there-and-caring-first-for-you' clergywife. It was in the ensuing marital strain that I finally recognized the need — and absolute unavailability of — pastoral support and counseling."

Marital strain was mentioned by a number of persons. Many picked it up in my letter, when I wrote that my husband viewed me as a "sore puppy." One priest-writer lamented that when



his wife had expressed similar feelings years ago, he had been insensitive, and, as a result, she had “become almost totally alienated from the church, and poured her energies into social work, where professionally, she is very successful. But too much of our lives proceed along separate tracks today.”

Another priest expressed the feeling that he was often caught in the middle; he empathized with his wife’s hurt and, yet, he felt powerless to effect meaningful change. “From time to time,” he said, “I have thought of leaving the priesthood (at least the parish ministry) because of the strain it has put on our marriage.”

Working as a team was the initial hope of that couple, but they no longer see that as a possibility. One widow said that her pursuit of ministry outside the church meant that “each night at dinner I could bring new and interesting happenings to share with all the family, rather than go over plans and problems my husband had been working on all day.” She also felt able to be herself, with all her strengths and weaknesses standing on their own, in pursuits outside the church. She and another woman explained that their psychic salvation was related to making it plain from the start that the parish was hiring their husbands, not them.

An issue which laid heavy on many was the lack of pastoral care, the sense of utter isolation, of not being able to confide in friends. A widow in a large eastern city wrote, “In all the years of parish work . . . with lots of contact on a friend-to-friend basis with other clergy, never was there a pastor-to-clergywife gesture, until the year after my husband died.” She had been a clergywife for 26 years.

Some advised me to seek a woman pastor or counselor. Others had found help by starting or joining prayer groups outside the parish. Another said, “What brought me to this point of liking my life as it is now is that I dare to have

true friends in the parish with whom I share everything.” Brave woman! I have sensed that my reluctance to enter deep friendships in the parish has to do with tradition and the hope of not playing favorites among the faithful.

Two bishops wrote — and when we move from our present parish, we’ll look first in their dioceses. They both felt I should express my need for pastoral care to the bishop. They spoke of wanting to be true to their charge as chief pastor, but of having experienced difficulties. One bishop said, “Let me try to suggest another problem for which I do not know the answer. Now, as a bishop and on the other side of the fence, I have encouraged both clergy and clergywives to come to me to talk about things they wish to in confidence, and I have discovered that in most cases I am the last person in the world they feel they can talk with about personal matters.”

He continued, “The clergy feel it is liable to be a hindrance to their career if I know certain things about them. Wives, likewise, seem to feel that if I know there are problems in the family I am liable not to assist their husbands in ‘moving upward.’” Later, he suggested that perhaps a clergywives anonymous group might be a way to find support. And, finally, he added, what is true for clergywives is also true of bishops’ wives.

Okay, that’s in part what the letters said. We’re all in pain, that is clear. And some have found ways to make life more acceptable.

Where to now? Well, first I’m slowly, agonizingly, trying to answer those letters personally in between caring for our 2-year-old daughter, and holding a full-time job I do at home, besides being the chief lay worker in the parish.

I also am remembering in my prayers those who have written, most of whom assured me a place in theirs.

And, where confidences would not be broken, I’ve offered to put people in

touch with each other in the same geographical areas, so that they can create a support group locally. Incidentally, I continue to be willing to do that — anyone interested, just send me a note in care of THE WITNESS.

To others with whom I’ve been in further touch, my husband and I have offered our home as a place of refuge to sort things out, if needed.

Several women and I have exchanged phone numbers, so as to create a “hot-line,” a possible support in times of stress. Others have asked to join a support group by correspondence. How that will work, I don’t know. A newsletter? Individual, confidential letters? Maybe both?

Sharing the letters with my husband has permitted us both to grow in tolerance and understanding. I think that he may be a little less threatened by my feelings, seeing that others have come to creative solutions. Also, hearing similar complaints from many others has given credence to my arguments. It has bridged the gap between us in that he is genuinely supportive and compassionate, and I am able to better fight the “victim” role. We’ve been talking about the issues, hearing each other without screaming out of terror that one of us may desert the ship.

I am overwhelmed by what has happened. I want to see it happen to others, too. And, it seems clear that a series of conferences might offer the opportunity to analyze the systemic nature of this particular oppression and to participate in the loving ministry that is pushing for a vehicle of expression. I envision three conferences in all: one for clergy spouses, one for clergy, and, later, a joint conference for spouses and clergy. I am not skilled in such matters, but I feel certain that if the need is expressed and the time is right, the means will be found to bring the resources together to enable God’s healing hand to touch our lives. ■

*Continued from page 7*

Father's rules. In running hospitals and half-way houses, soup kitchens and shelters, in rolling bandages and sending canned goods to needy families, religious women have provided the mop-up operations for the casualties from patriarchal industrial capitalism.

With its emphasis on individual piety and spiritualized reality, Christianity has reinforced the cult of individualism so necessary to the functioning of capitalist ideology — an ideology which prevents the realization of collective suffering and collective power.

Most of the major religions contain in their source documents the seeds of their original revolutionary fervor — stories, themes and symbols which have been suppressed, ignored or distorted by those classes which have sought to use religion to support their own ruling interests.

Though Western Christianity has served to legitimate patriarchal capitalism and often brutal repression, its original insights act as a stinging critique on its own practice. In pointing out how the scribes and Pharisees reveled in their position as religious and community leaders, Jesus adjures his listeners: "But you are not to be called rabbi, for you have one teacher, and you are all brethren. And call no man father on earth, for you have one Father, who is in heaven. Neither be called masters, for you have one Master, the Christ. He who is greatest among you shall be your servant; whoever exalts himself will be humbled, and whoever humbles himself will be exalted." (Matt. 23:8-12).

In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus declares that the message he bears will result in the breaking apart of the entire system of family roles based on age and gender. "For I have come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes will be those of his own household. He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he who loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me; and he who does not take up his cross and

follow me is not worthy of me. He who finds his life will lose it, and he who loses his life for my sake will find it." (Matt. 10:35-39) In another passage, Jesus insists that children are to be seen and heard "for to such belongs the Kingdom of Heaven." (Matt. 19:13-15) Jesus appeared in resurrected form first to women, who in ancient Palestine were denied status as public witnesses by the religious and civil law.

How do we interpret passages like these? Christians have usually managed to avoid them perhaps because their implicit truth subverts so much of what institutionalized Christianity has been about — the legitimizing and reinforcing of patriarchal role patterns. But when we put Jesus' words about the family together with his continuous denunciations of wealth and power and his promise that the meek shall inherit the earth, we have a powerful revolutionary stance that shakes the foundations not only of civil and religious power, but also the psychic foundations upon which our identities are built. No wonder he was killed!

We know that there were those for whom his transvaluing of all commonly held values was a liberating event. Jesus' destruction of the old family model established the truth of a new kind of human community, a new conception of the family — one that was not based upon the arbitrary designations of gender or age or the location of one's birth, but on commitment to a higher good. Take, for example, that passage in which he is told that his mother and brothers are waiting for him and he replies: "Who is my mother, and who are my brothers?" And stretching out his hand toward his disciples, he said, 'Here are my mother and my brothers. Whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother, and sister and mother.'

In the new family that Jesus was about creating there was no earthly Father, because there was no pyramid of power. Those who, in his time were categorized as Slaves, Daughters, Wives and Brothers were transformed in the familial economy of Jesus into ministers with equal authority to serve, heal,

teach, announce, liberate, and feed. They did not have to go through the rigors of an ordination process, be certified by the ruling elders, be of a certain age, or sex or race or class. The only requirement for entry to this ministry was that they love one another, feed his sheep, liberate the oppressed, bring sight to the blind, and live out the egalitarian demands of the Gospel. To those, who, in Jesus' time, functioned as Fathers or had ambitions in that direction, Jesus had but one message: "Turn around; sell all that you have and distribute to the poor and come, follow me." In other words, shed the trappings and illusions of authority, for there is no hierarchy in the household of God. ■

**Resources:** The above article was presented in its original version as an address to the Second Women's Ordination Conference for Roman Catholic Women in Baltimore. I am indebted for its theoretical model to the work which has been developed around the themes of patriarchy and capitalism by the *Project on Women, Work and the Economy of Theology in the Americas*, especially to Batya Weinbaum who has done pioneering work in developing the basic analytical framework, and to Viana Muller who has explored some of its historical roots. Further elaboration of the major tenets of this paper can be found in: *The Curious Courtship of Women's Liberation and Socialism*, by Batya Weinbaum, (South End Press, 1978, Box 68, Astor Station, Boston, MA 02123, \$4); "The Formation of the State and the Oppression of Women: Some Theoretical Considerations and a Case Study in England and Wales," by Viana Muller, in *Review of Radical Political Economics: Women, Class & the Family*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (URPE National Office, 14 Union Square, West, Room 901, New York 10003, \$2.50). **S.C.**

(Editor's note: Sheila Collins' article is excerpted from the TIA Document No. 8, "The Familial Economy of God." Full text is available from *Theology in the Americas*, 475 Riverside Drive Room 1268, New York, N.Y. 10027. Reprinted with permission.)

### More New Readers

The June issue of THE WITNESS, which carried a feature article on the implications of government nuclear policy, as reflected in the Three Mile Island accident and the injunction against *THE PROGRESSIVE* magazine, has attracted some 650 new readers from the Diocese of Central Pennsylvania. We are glad to welcome these new friends to our mailing list!

### Elect

#### BOOM

Christ knocked St. Paul off his horse  
and illumined him with tender fallout  
of grace and seventh heavens.

Well jivers God is not going to knock  
your silly ass off a horse  
and saul-saul you;

you are going to sweat out your fate  
like big feet in a number six boot  
or wait it out on a continuum of tedium,  
sliding up and down the normal curve  
till you bump your ass on reality.

That's the only way you can make it  
when the Baltimore Catechism lets you go  
and you're too scared

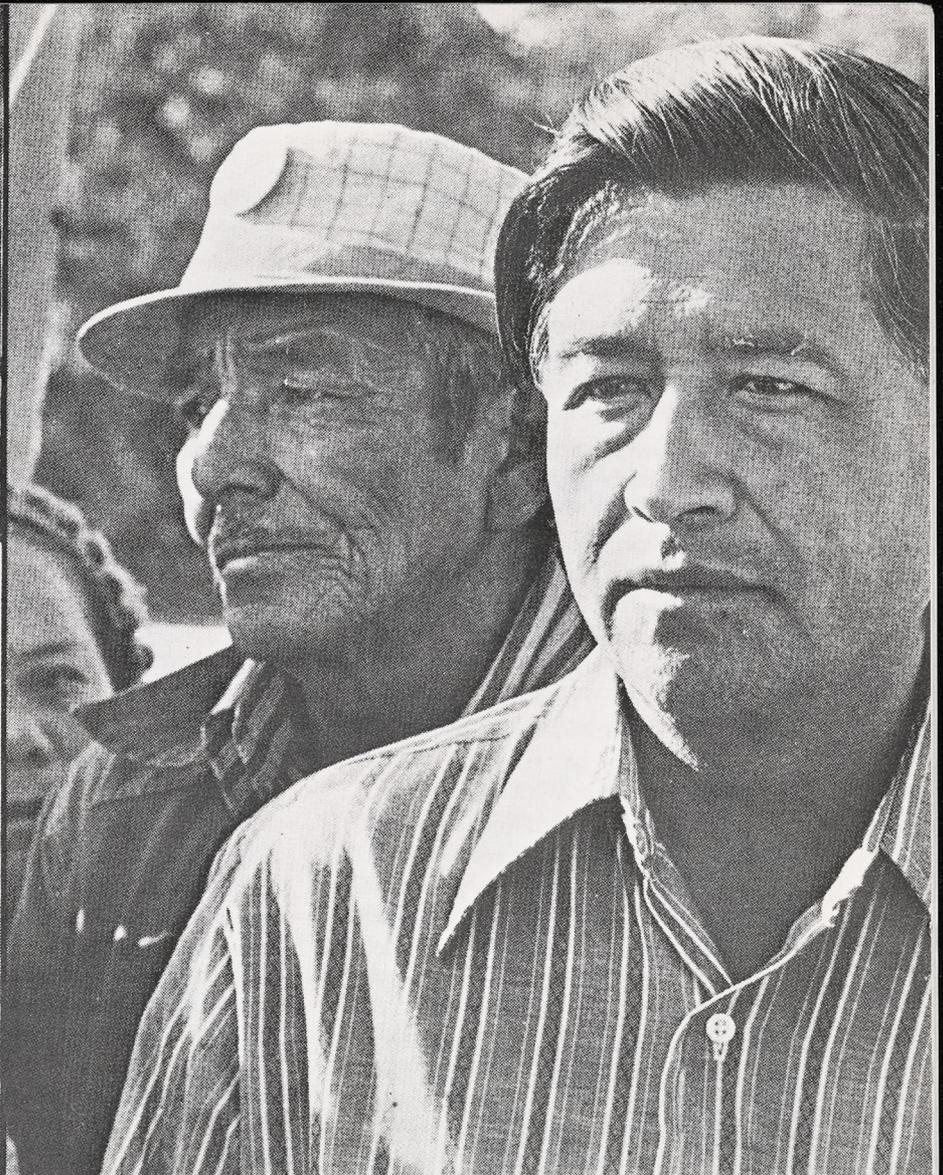
for forty nights in the desert.

— Charles August

Lawrence Carter

# Farm Workers, Growers Reap Bitter Harvest

But Cesar Chavez and  
the UFW still sing  
with confidence, 'Venceremos!'



Approaching a lettuce field on the outskirts of Salinas, Cal., at 6 o'clock on a cold foggy morning, one hears the traditional battle hymn of the Civil Rights days. Soon one sees a line of some 50 men and women pickets carrying red flags with the familiar black eagle of the United Farm Workers Union. They are singing in Spanish, but the meaning is the same as in the past: "*We Shall Overcome.*"

On Jan. 19 of this year, the farm workers in California's winter lettuce bowl in the Imperial Valley began

**The Rev. E. Lawrence Carter**, author of "Can't You Hear Me Calling?," spent many years in California and has been in continuing contact with the United Farm Workers.

walking off the fields in protest to the take-it-or-leave-it attitude of some 28 California and Arizona lettuce growers to the new contract demands of the United Farm Workers Union. The contracts had expired in December and January. By the end of January, more than 4,200 workers were on strike.

Then on the morning of Feb. 10, Rufino Contreras, a 28-year-old striking lettuce worker entered the fields of the Mario Saikhon Company to talk with the strikebreakers, as allowed under the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act. He and other strikers were fired on without warning. Rufino, hit in the face, fell to the ground and the others took cover. Realizing he

was injured, his fellow workers tried to assist but were held back by gunfire for an hour. He died before an ambulance could reach him.

Five days later, a foreman and two other Saikhon employees were indicted for the murder of Rufino Contreras, and were released the same day on minimal bail. On April 24, it was announced that Judge William Lenhardt had dismissed the charges against the three "on grounds of insufficient evidence." In contrast, in the Imperial Valley there have been 240 felony arrests of farm workers. Over 200 of these wound up with no charges at all, and most of the others were reduced. The Contreras case is seen by the

farmworkers as “a blot on American justice,” and the Imperial Valley arrests, clearly as harassment from the sheriff’s department of Riverside County.

In this way the scene in the California agricultural regions was set for a long hot summer unless serious contract negotiations would be undertaken by the growers and the union. With the end of a ruined lettuce crop in the Imperial Valley in which the growers were said to have lost millions of dollars, even with the importation of undocumented strikebreakers from Mexico, the strike moved on to the Salinas Valley. After the Salinas Valley it could move to the San Joaquin Valley and on to one after another of the lettuce and vegetable growing regions in California and Arizona.

A further setting for violence is that strikers in the Salinas area see imported “scabs” working in the fields protected by 10 to 20 sheriff’s deputies, squad cars, and paddy wagons stationed between the picket lines and strikebreakers in the fields.

But at the heart of this controversy, calling for non-violence and discipline, stands a charismatic, determined man. Cesar Chavez, now 52, is anything but the stereotype of the average labor leader. Modest in lifestyle, he is overtly religious, even ascetic. He prays, often fasts, and works 20-hour days. He speaks simply but effectively, without a trace of the jargon frequently associated with the labor movement.

But it takes more than charisma to make a successful movement. And under the leadership and inspiration of Chavez, the United Farm Workers Union has racked up an impressive record in its short and harried life. It has established a credit union, a retirement village primarily for the old Filipino

workers who were the original strikers in 1965, day care centers for farm worker children, a pension fund, a medical plan that operates four professionally staffed clinics in California, a group health plan, an insurance program, a cultural school for farm worker children in Delano. In addition there is in progress a developing educational center in Keene, Cal., to teach skills in consumer education, language training, citizenship preparation, cross-cultural learning, non-violence, contract bargaining, and training for administrative work.

It is these advances which have added credibility and clout to Chavez and the union in bargaining with the growers. Add to this the mystique of ethnic solidarity and history which provide the movement with stability and strength.

Also not to be discounted is the fact that friendly unions, churches, religious orders and “just plain people” have been contributing some \$14,000 a week to send relief food trucks to Calexico and Salinas where the strike has moved, according to the Rev. C. Wayne Hartmire, director of the national farm worker ministry. The NFWM is coordinating a food drive for strikers’ families. Strike pay is \$25 a week, not enough to feed large families. At present there are 20,000 farm workers and families in the Imperial-Calexico region.

To understand what is going on in the fields of California and to grasp the scope of the grower-farm worker struggle, two areas must be understood. They are the history of the California migrant farm worker, and the psychology of Chavez and the United Farm Workers Union.

In the past 50 years there has been an

enormous development of agriculture in the San Joaquin, Salinas and Imperial Valleys of California. It received a tremendous boost in the 1940s when a number of canals were built to bring water from the Colorado River to irrigate the vast and arid Imperial Valley, an area of roughly half a million acres. Today in this one region alone the variety of crops grown staggers the imagination — 25 major crops ranging from lettuce and other table vegetables to sorghum, oats, flax and wheat. Every month of the year there is a harvest of from nine to fifteen different crops. The other rich agricultural valleys of Salinas and San Joaquin likewise produce mammoth harvests throughout the year, though somewhat more seasonal due to the cooler climate of central and northern California. During the summer months there is intense heat for the farm worker and in the winter months in the north there is the cold and damp to endure along with the seasonal layoffs.

At present 35 companies dominate the agribiz empire in California — some of them national corporations, some multi-nationals and some conglomerates. The small farmer’s share of the pie is so small as to be insignificant. Farming is big business for big businesses. From time to time the Farm Bureau or some grower group will produce a small farmer who will say on cue that the UFW is ruining his farming enterprise. The truth is that of 35 companies, three have the lion’s share of the lettuce business — Sun Harvest, a subsidiary of United Brands; Castle and Cook, and Bruce Church.

In terms of the total U.S. market, 90% of all the lettuce grown in the United States during the winter months comes from the Imperial Valley, and



87% from the Salinas Valley in the summer months. In the last eight years, lettuce growers have made \$195 million in profit, after cost. Last season alone in the Salinas Valley they cleared \$71 million on sales of \$201 million. It is an understatement to say that these profits have not been shared with the workers. (For those who worry about the cost of lettuce in the stores, only 2.4¢ out of a 79¢ head of lettuce goes to farm workers).

Before the union contracts were due to expire at the end of 1978, the union made a study of the wage structure of the farm worker, whom they discovered to be 30 to 40 years behind industrial workers in wages and benefits. According to Marshall Ganz of the UFW, they found that in 1970 the Sun Harvest contract contained a base rate of \$2 an hour. In 1978 it was \$3.70 an hour. When applied to cost of living figure using 1967 dollars, it was found that in 1970, \$2 was worth \$1.71 in purchasing power and that in 1978, \$3.70 was worth \$1.84 — an increase of 13¢.

On Jan. 5 of this year the UFW presented its proposals for new contracts to the industry. These included a cost of living provision and a provision for a paid union representative to travel with each crew to administer the contracts. (Migrant labor goes from crop to crop from the Mexican border to the Oregon state line). The union proposals also included an increase in the growers' contribution to the medical plan, travel expenses and guarantees of earnings for the first week of harvest. Up to now the farm workers had to pay their own travel from place to place.

On Jan. 18, the same growers who had supported Nixon, Ford and

Reagan and who had increased the price of lettuce by some 100% in the past year, told the union with straight faces that it was their patriotic duty to uphold the Carter administrations' price and wage guidelines. Because of this they said they couldn't offer anything beyond 7% with only a 2¢ increase for the medical plan.

The strike was on.

As a matter of fact, lettuce and other unprocessed foods are not covered by President Carter's price guidelines. The growers are asking farm workers to stay within the 7% wage guideline while insisting on the freedom to raise prices as they will. The workers are responding, "If you will stick to the President's price guidelines we will consider the wage guideline more seriously."

President Carter's wage guidelines are not supposed to apply to workers who earn less than \$4 an hour. The majority of vegetable workers earn less than that. The minimum wage in UFW lettuce contracts is currently \$3.70, and the workers are demanding an increase to \$5.25.

A 7% increase in fringe benefits for farm workers amounts to almost nothing. Employers now contribute 15¢ per hour to the pension plan; a 7% increase would yield 16.1¢. (The California average contribution to workers' pension plans in California is 81.2¢ per hour).

As this is being written, all 28 lettuce growers are meeting with the union to present a joint new proposal. This is the first meeting in four months. Whether or not these will be serious negotiations remains to be seen. The growers will also probably continue their efforts to emasculate the California Farm Labor Relations law with various bills in the

state legislature sponsored by grower interests. The combined power of the Farm Bureau and the various growers' associations is a formidable political machine.

Most recently, Cesar Chavez called for a boycott of Chiquita Bananas to add bargaining power to the UFW side.

"United Brands is the parent company of Chiquita bananas," he explained. "United Brands owns Sun Harvest, which is the world's biggest producer of iceberg lettuce. We have had a contract with them for years, but now they are refusing to negotiate in good faith. Farm workers don't work all year round; the majority only make \$3.70 an hour. No one can support a family on that.

"The company is bringing in strikebreakers and using the rural court and sheriffs in a concerted effort to break our strike. This curtails our ability to picket, and the violence of the growers and threats of more murders of our brothers and sisters like Rufino Contreras force us once again to ask for help."

A Sun Harvest official said that he was skeptical of Chavez' ability to carry out the threat: "You need machinery in cities all across the country to do that. We don't think Cesar has that machinery anymore."

No matter what the outcome, "La Causa" won't go away. The UFW has pledged that it will work until contracts are signed not only in California, but in Texas, Arizona, Florida, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey — wherever migrant labor is used in U.S. agriculture. The UFW sees itself as more than a union; it is a movement. And Cesar Chavez believes that it will overcome. Why? "Because," he says, "the cause is just." ■



*Continued from page 2*

discussing issues pertinent to the forthcoming General Convention of the Episcopal Church, I would like to raise a question.

Recently it came to my attention that there will be no general opening Eucharist, and that at the large services which will be open to the public the clergy will not be vesting. I have thought about this and the reasons for it, and I seem to sense a waffling attitude, if not downright deviousness.

Could it be that those at the top are copping out? Heaven forbid! Surely there must be a good explanation for canceling the procession which is one of the most inspiring moments in the life of our church — when the entire representation, in all its diversity, can be seen by the whole body.

I suggest that there may be two reasons for this action. The first is that, for the first time in the history of the church, there will be five women clergy deputies. The only time a *woman* is clearly visible as a priest is when she is in vestments; deacons can and do wear clerical garb. I don't run into this kind of soft-in-the-head thinking in Alaska, but I know that it exists, doesn't it, sisters?

The other reason probably pertains to liturgy. If the Presiding Bishop uses the new Prayer Book he will be criticized. If he sticks with the old one, likewise. Tough.

So, I intend to wear my vestments. I call upon my unknown four sisters to do the same. Perhaps there will be male clergy deputies who feel supportive. Welcome, brothers!

**The Rev. Jean Elizabeth Dementi**  
North Pole, Alaska

## Words Misused

The May issue arrived today and it is a winner! One of the best yet. Congratulations.

However, many of us Episcopalians expect to see words properly used in publications aimed specifically at Anglicans; i.e., "Rev. Ryan," page 11, and "Rev. Yon," page 19. Will you please

be so good as to put the enclosed pamphlet, sexist and dated as it may be (What Do I Call Him? A Word on Ecclesiastical Titles) into the hands of your copy editor? But never mind — you have a great magazine there!

**The Rev. Thomas H. Lehman**  
Newton, Mass.

## Boost From Canada

I very much enjoy the articles in THE WITNESS magazine. There is much in terms of social analysis and justice that is pertinent for us in Canada.

**Margaret Marquardt**  
Vancouver, B.C.

## Send in the Clowns

I find I agree with nearly everything I read in THE WITNESS. I am thankful in this cynical, inturnd age for its refusal to come down off the barricades. I know the Episcopal Church needs it and I know I need it.

Yet I never finish it without a sense of sorrow and incompleteness. It is, in part, I think because too often I sense the issues around the gospel are assumed to be the gospel. That is, however important the issues of sexism are, and however stupidly we manage to deal with them, they can never pull down the great central truth of the cry, "He is Risen." The polemic of much of the writing in THE WITNESS makes it difficult to see that the argument is from the ecstasy of faith.

Secondly, what I always liked about the view from the left was that it had a sense of humor and a sense of the absurd and, above all, a sense of its own foolishness. Lately, maybe because we are less in favor, what we mostly sound like is self-righteous. Too much, I think of the stuff in THE WITNESS is like that. Whatever has happened to our sense of grace and joy, self-depreciation, and cheerfulness as the children of God? We have become as heavy-handed, moralistic, and pompous as those brooders on the right. Where did we lose the precious sense that we are fools,

clowns, the local village idiots swept in off the streets to sit at the heavenly banquet?

**The Rev. Douglas Evett**  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

## Lutheran 'Witnesses'

I would like to "witness" briefly to the excellence of your magazine, and especially the June issue. I sometimes wonder why I should be subscribing to an Episcopalian publication when I seldom read those of my own church; but each time such a thought crosses my mind I remember some of the excellent articles I have read during the past year or so, and go on.

William Stringfellow's articles on the Episcopal Church reflect many failures and problems in my own communion. I wish we had someone who could — and would — speak out as plainly as he does.

The articles by Samuel Day and Bishop Thomas Gumbleton were also outstanding. I shall be quoting them extensively. Carter Heyward's article (if I understood it at all) seems to see almost everything, human and divine, in terms of sexuality, which, as far as I am concerned, is a dangerous oversimplification.

Thank you for some exciting writing and witness.

**C. P. Smith, Pastor**  
Zion Lutheran Church  
Medford, Ore.

## Reader Repents

Your consistent support of the dispossessed mandates my support. I repent only of not acting sooner!

**The Rev. James A. Hammond**  
Williamsville, N.Y.

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### CREDITS

Cover, p. 4, Sue Rheiner, adapted from a design by Marlene Brasefield; p. 10, Peg Averill/LNS; p. 11, Dana Martin; pp. 15, 16, 17, United Farm Workers' posters.

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Washington



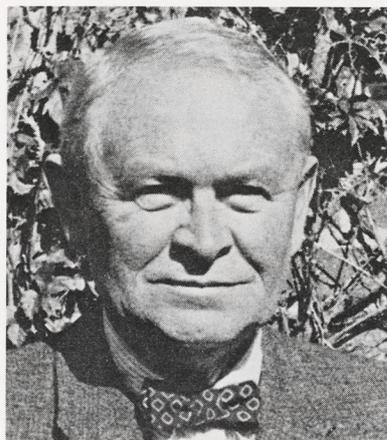
Cueto



Nemikin



Corrigan



Fletcher



Hooks

### Dear Witness Readers,

If you are at General Convention in Denver, we will be pleased to greet you at the exhibit area where Church and Society members and WITNESS staffers will be in Booth 47.

You are also invited to join us at the ECPC Awards dinner on Sept. 11, where the William Spofford award will be presented to the Rev. Paul Washington; the Vida Scudder award to Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin; and the William Scarlett

award to the Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan. A special citation of merit will also go to Dr. Joseph Fletcher, author of *Situation Ethics*.

Guest speaker will be the Hon. Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP. Send in your reservations today, using the coupon below. Your acknowledgment will be in the mail within a week after your request is received in the Ambler office.

Thank you!

**WITNESS/Church and Society**

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Please reserve \_\_\_\_ places at \$10 per person (tables of 10 for \$100) for me/us at the ECPC Awards Banquet during General Convention in Denver. Enclosed is a check in the amount of \_\_\_\_.

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# THE WITNESS

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SEPTEMBER, 1979

ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL  
COLLECTIONS, EPISCOPAL  
CHURCH  
AUSTIN, TEXAS

## Urban Mission: Church on the Move

Janette Pierce  
Stanley Hallett  
Coleman McGehee  
Edward W. Rodman

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## Stringfellow, No!

For years I have thought of William Stringfellow as a major prophet of our time. After reading his "Let the Dead Bury the Dead" in the June WITNESS I have my doubts. His diatribe against Venture in Mission leaves me wondering if there are two VIM's, for I don't recognize his. I resent his language — "foisted on the church" and "sham" — as being wildly inaccurate. Granted that he is an important somebody and I'm an unimportant nobody, I see nothing sham about VIM as we are working at it in the Diocese of Kansas. If it was foisted on the church, so was the Proposed Book of Common Prayer (and I indeed do not think that was). If he (a theologian) doesn't know what "spiritual" means *vis a vis* VIM, tell him to come to Kansas and we'll patiently explain it to him, or we'll let our diocesan VIM educational coordinator, Dr. Alice Cochran, do it for him.

We find VIM to be a rewarding response to Christ's call to be the church. Nothing really new, granted, but a renewed churchwide emphasis on Bible study, prayer and commitment without any partisan gimmicks. Has he examined the many projects offered as ways in which we can put our prayers to work around the world? Not to mention grass-roots diocesan and parochial projects which may result. I cannot see them as sinister attempts to "endow the ecclesiastical status quo." I fear his zeal

for the church (genuine, I'm sure) has "eaten him up" to the point of imbalance and anarchy. And I'm very sorry — for I really did admire him.

Howard R. Kunkle  
Sedan, Kans.

## Stringfellow, Si!

I want to thank William Stringfellow for the articulate expression of so much of what I have been feeling. It is so hard to remain an Episcopalian; VIM was, for us, almost the last straw. (The only way we could think of to deal with it was to send in our pledge card with a commitment to a major gift, but stating that it would be going directly to the ministries we saw as important, such as the local Catholic Worker House.)

Even though I am "privileged" to be in what is perceived to be a position of influence in our diocese, as a member of the Standing Committee, I find it almost impossible to shape the decisions of the church towards the issues and foci that my faith tells me is where we ought to be. Land banking in the West County, adding tennis courts to the conference center, safely undesignated funds for "community ministry;" our VIM focus was so safe, so non-controversial, as to be totally meaningless. It is increasingly difficult to be in the role of the prophet/persuader; those in positions of power, affluence and influence are increasingly defensive about their own positions, and less and less willing to even *look* at the issues that are challenging to the church.

Is the answer for us to leave? That would make *us* feel better. To live and serve among the poor sounds a romantic and fulfilling way to go. But then who is left to raise these issues within the Episcopal Church, which is the repository of so much of this nation's power?

I am just grateful for spokespersons such as Stringfellow. Perhaps our mission is to see that THE WITNESS sits on the coffee table of as many people as possible.

Perhaps it is time for those of us who struggle to invest more energy in prayer,

for after all, it is only our Lord who can open deaf ears and blind eyes.

Mary Webber  
St. Louis, Mo.

## EPF Endorses SALT

Bishop Thomas Gumbleton's reasons for opposing SALT II are sound enough (June WITNESS). The nuclear arsenals, the disproportionate investments in weapons, and the arms race itself are all utterly immoral.

However, what is not fully appreciated in the Bishop's analysis are the consequences of *not* ratifying SALT II. I refer specifically to a victory for the militarists and right wingers who oppose the treaty thereby strengthening their position in our government, the inevitability of an even larger U.S. arms budget (our protestations notwithstanding), and the complete breakdown of the negotiating process on this subject.

Surely it is possible to support SALT II *and* demand more progress towards disarmament, raise questions about nuclear bomb morality, and seek unilateral steps from our government towards disarmament.

To be sure, ratifying SALT II will not be as much of a victory as we would like to see, but failure to ratify it will be a far greater defeat than we can afford.

The Episcopal Peace Fellowship urges all Episcopalians to support ratification of SALT II.

The Rev. Nathaniel W. Pierce, Chair  
EPF Executive Committee  
Nampa, Idaho

## Bravo for Maria, Raisa

As a member of the National Council of Churches' Special Commission on First Amendment Issues which worked for the release from prison of Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, I want to offer my warm congratulations to the church and to Ms. Cueto and Ms. Nemikin upon their being named to receive the Vida Scudder Award, as announced in the June WITNESS.

I'd like to share my recollections of the two most dramatic meetings of the Special Commission's existence from

*Continued on page 19*

# THE WITNESS

Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; Mary Lou Suhor, Managing Editor; Kay Atwater, Robert Eckersley, Ann Hunter, Susan Small, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White, Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067.

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## Focus on the Cities of God

Robert L. DeWitt

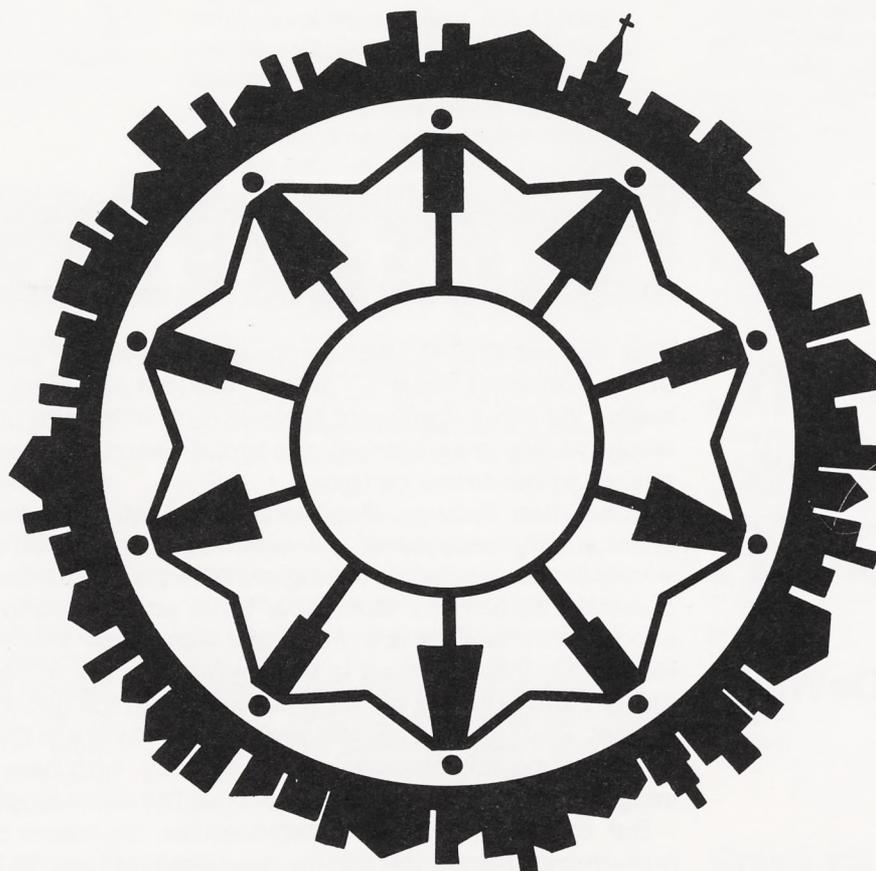
This issue of THE WITNESS appears at the time of the 66th General Convention of the Episcopal Church. For that reason it seems appropriate to focus on what seems the most significant topic stirring in the life of that body. To many that would be the re-awakening of a broad-based concern about the mission of the church to our urban centers.

The Urban Bishops' Coalition has recently attracted much attention in this arena, partly because of the newness of the Coalition, partly because of the widely felt appreciation throughout the church for this leadership being taken, currently, by bishops. But earlier years witnessed efforts by others. The Church and City Conference is a group of urban clergy who for years have studied and lobbied for this emphasis in the church's program. The Joint Urban Program of the '60s brought this concern centrally into the national church's program and budget. And from the earliest years of the church in the United States there have been unsung missionaries, clergy and lay, who have ministered faithfully and imaginatively on the parochial level to the cities in which they dwelt.

But ministry is always related to the mundane but essential chores and nurturing of the members of the household of God. So it is that the urban mission of the church is perforce concerned about the meeting of material needs, the correcting of injustices to individuals and groups, the political processes whereby the life of a city is ordered, the persons elected to assume administrative responsibilities. The manner in which such "chores" are handled is a spiritual concern, for it finally determines the disposition of divine judgment, as we are forcefully reminded in the parable of the Last Judgment in the 25th chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew. Thus, the concerns and objectives of the Black United Fund, the ways in which cash flow in a community in Chicago can become a force in people's lives, the strategies of a political campaign in Hartford — these are all crucially pertinent to the urban mission of the church.

THE WITNESS is grateful to Janette Pierce of the staff of *The Episcopalian*, who also serves as a member of the Steering Committee of the Urban Bishops' Coalition, for serving as guest editor for this issue of THE WITNESS. ■

## The Church in Motion Again



by Janette Pierce

In the 1950s the Episcopal Church looked at the cities and thought that by treating the symptoms the urban illness might be cured. Even in the ugly convulsions of the 1960s, the church, through the eyes of bishops like John Hines and Daniel Corrigan on the national level, and priests like Paul Washington, Arthur Walmsley, and a host of others on the

---

**Janette Pierce** is news editor of *The Episcopalian* and a member of the Steering Committee of the Urban Bishops' Coalition.

local level, saw the pain and tried to respond.

But times change. The church's attention span is notoriously brief.

The 1970s brought the shock of Watergate and President Nixon's resignation. The Vietnam War drew to a close and U.S. troops came home: for the first time in history without the laurels of victory.

The nation was tired. Tired of the importuning of ethnic minorities, tired of women seeking fuller participation in

economic life, discomfited by the pleas of the gay community, bored by the warnings of environmentalists; tired and suspicious of causes, no matter how worthy.

As the United States turned its back on the memory of the Vietnam episode by ignoring its returning veterans, so the church turned away from its programs for the poor and from the cities where its high purposes had been defeated.

The attention of the Episcopal Church turned inward to the issues of ordination of women and the revision of the Prayer Book.

At the 1973 General Convention, the Church and City Conference — a group of urban-based clergy — were almost alone in lobbying for a Joint Commission on Urban Affairs. Even the support of Connecticut's Bishop Morgan Porteus failed to get the worsening plight of the cities on the agenda of the House of Bishops' meeting in 1975 in Maine.

But in the Church and City Conference, clergy like Craig Biddle, St. Julian Simpkins, and Michael Kendall began working on a new agenda for action. These priests and others like them, served city parishes and saw firsthand the decline in the quality of life for many residents of cities both large and small. They struggled to respond effectively to the social issues that confronted them daily. As priests they celebrated and affirmed the life of their congregations, but often fought private battles with despair and loneliness occasioned by diminished support both in terms of money and of interest from a church which appeared both unaware and unconcerned.

Those appearances were somewhat deceiving. Many bishops, laity, and priests were concerned, but the urban network of the 1960s had largely broken apart so that individuals felt isolated and alone.

The Rev. Franklin Turner, officer for black ministries at the Episcopal Church Center, and a member of the Church and City Conference, was particularly aware of the rapid deterioration of the cities which surrounded so many of the parishes with which he worked. By the summer of 1976 he became convinced that decisive action was necessary to bring the crisis of the cities to the attention of the fall meeting of the General Convention in Minneapolis. The meeting was expected to focus mainly on the votes on ordination of women and acceptance of the revised Prayer Book.

Turner took his concern to New York's Bishop Paul Moore and Washington's Bishop John Walker. He found them equally concerned and out of these conversations came the plan to call a meeting of "urban bishops" at the Convention.

When the bishops arrived in Minneapolis they found a ready-made vehicle for expressing their concern about the U.S. urban scene: the \$100 million Venture in Mission program.

After two breakfast meetings attended by 20 or 25 bishops from dioceses that included major urban areas, these bishops held a press conference at which they called for renewed engagement by the church in the issues facing the cities and for the commitment of at least one half of all monies raised by VIM to urban programs.

The bishops also agreed to continue meeting together and to form a coalition. In fact the bishops did meet again in Chicago in January, 1977.

That same month, in Washington, D.C., Church and City heard its immediate past president, Craig Biddle, present a plan of action for a renewed urban program.

Biddle suggested rebuilding the urban network through regional meetings and a newsletter, a re-allocation of the church's financial resources and of personnel to urban work, establishment of training centers for urban workers, sponsorship of innovative programs in city settings, and a renewed attack on racism in both the church and society. The Church and City members endorsed this program and set about planning for regional meetings and network building.

Urban awareness was rising. In June the bishops, now formed as the Urban Bishops Coalition with Walker as chairman and Bishop John Burt of Ohio as vice-chairman, met again in Chicago. They heard more about Venture in Mission from Presiding Bishop John Allin and participated in a "think tank" experience with global economist Richard Barnet and theologian John Bennett.

The bishops had said early on that they wanted to become more knowledgeable about the underlying causes contributing to the present urban situation so that they might avoid mistakes that earlier urban programs had made. The educational component was built into many of the bishops' subsequent meetings.

Later that same summer, Church and City held a special meeting in Rehobeth Beach, Del. for self-education and planning purposes.

In October, when the House of Bishops met in Port St. Lucie, Fla., the Urban Bishops' report was one of the few which addressed an issue other than internal dissension caused by ordination of women, homosexuals in Holy Orders, and the formation of a schismatic church body.

During the report, Walker announced that the Coalition would sponsor a series of public hearings in the United States on the urban situation. The five hearings would provide fresh and authentic information to aid the church in planning appropriate programs in urban America in the 1980s and 1990s. The hearings would be financed by funds which the bishops could raise from their own resources.

At the Florida meeting, the bishops from Province IX — the Caribbean and Central America — asked that the

Coalition consider holding a hearing in that area. Subsequently additional funds were raised for a hearing in Colon, Panama, in addition to the ones in Chicago, Birmingham, Newark, Seattle, and a national hearing in Washington, D.C.

The bishops also planned three public policy institutes on social and economic issues for lay and clergy leaders. These were held in Washington in conjunction with the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies and attracted nearly 200 participants.

Both the Coalition and the Church and City Conference met again in January, 1978 and shared a one-day educational program at which nationally-known speakers presented views on poverty, the arms race, racism, and economics. They dealt with global issues but tied them to the every-day experiences of those who worked in the cities.

During small group discussions members of both the Church and City Conference and the Coalition saw the need to reestablish an urban support-action network. While agreement was reached then, it took another 15 months before work on organizing an action network-caucus actually got under way.

During the winter of 1978, the hearings were completed. In March the bishops, representatives of Church and City, and invited participants met in Chicago to consider the findings. The testimony of 156 representatives of secular and church agencies involved in urban programs was collated and evaluated by the Rev. Joseph Pelham of Rochester, N.Y.

Pelham presented his report, and recommendations for action based on the testimony, to the meeting which discussed them in small groups before amending and approving the report in final form.

Perhaps one of the most unexpected findings was that most urban agencies did not look to the church for financial support, but asked only that the church be present in the struggle and act as an advocate in matters of social and economic justice.

The findings and the action recommendations were published in a booklet, *To Hear and To Heed*, which has been widely read throughout the church and by many non-church persons as well. The first printing sold out and sales continue for the second edition.

The hearings also sparked a number of other hearings — 20 at latest count — around the country. Some followed the general pattern of the original hearings, focusing on the myriad problems of a city, while others concentrated on one particular aspect, such as housing or infant mortality. At least two places, the Dioceses of Maryland and Massachusetts, held multiple hearings in various parts of those dioceses.

The hearings and the report booklet were comparatively

small projects, but have created a ripple effect that continues throughout the church.

In January, 1979, Church and City and the Coalition again met jointly in Washington. This time the program included a discussion of the central role of the parish in the church's urban mission and a briefing by government aides at the White House.

It also included in-depth discussion of a concrete proposal for the organization of an Episcopal Urban Caucus. This was prepared by Church and City members and included their commitment of both time and money to the effort. The previous fall when the bishops met in a brief post-Lambeth session in Kansas City, Mo. they had approved the hiring of staff to enable just such programs. In Washington they endorsed Church and City's proposal and increased their 1979 budget so that the organization of a caucus could move ahead. Bishop Brooke Mosley, chairman of the Coalition's Policy and Action Committee, was charged with hiring staff.

The search was long, but by late spring, the staff was in place and plans for the formation of an Episcopal Urban Caucus were taking shape.

The staff is headed by the Rev. Hugh White, on a leave of absence from the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. He is one of the few full-time members. Other staff come on released time from their dioceses, several work part-time for the Coalition, and several others are retained as consultants because of specific skills. Every other month, the group meets for an intense three-day session of planning and assignment of tasks. As the staff meets around the country, built into its agenda is a time to talk with Episcopalians and other interested persons from the local area.

No matter what their other duties are, when they come together they focus on the task of bringing an Episcopal Urban Caucus into being. This involves setting up an information booth at the General Convention, planning a series of informative, update seminars on urban mission for Convention deputies and guests, and organizing regional institutes for the late fall that will help prepare people for the Organizing Assembly of the proposed Caucus which has been called by the presidents of the parent organizations, John Walker and Michael Kendall. The Assembly will be held February 13-16, 1980 in Indianapolis.

All persons interested in urban issues and action are eligible to become members of the Organizing Assembly, with voice and vote on preparing and approving the Caucus' action agenda for the 1980s.

So once again the church turns to look at the cities. But perhaps this time the sight is a little clearer and not so dazzled by the hope that just one more good program will bring quick success. This time the commitment is for the long haul. ■

# Civil Rights Movement's New Kid on the Block



by Edward W. Rodman

The Black United Fund Movement was organized as a potential leadership group for black Americans in 1974. Founded on the twin principles of volunteerism and self-help, the Fund directly challenged the United Way's monopoly of public solicitation for the general welfare. Based on the grassroots experience of the Brotherhood Crusade in Los Angeles and the Black United

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Front Foundation in Boston, the National Black United Fund has spawned some 15 affiliates around the country since its quiet incorporation in New York City five years ago.

The Fund's purpose is to provide a mechanism whereby the resources of the U.S. black community can be effectively channelled to support institutions for which blacks must bear major responsibility. The black community's \$86 billion annual share of the gross national product would rank as the seventh largest nation in the free world if it were an independent entity.

The Fund's first two presidents were

James Joseph, now Under-Secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior and, currently, Dr. Carleton P. Goodlett, owner and publisher of many black newspapers and a former president of the National Newspaper Publishers' Association. Walter Bremond, executive director, is Fund spokesman. Based in Los Angeles, the organization defies all political labels. In its development it has raised critical issues regarding the state of philanthropy in the late 20th Century, especially regarding the social policies of giving and their effect on the black community. In addition to its fund-raising efforts, the organization has filed a court suit challenging the right of United Way to monopolize the combined Federal Campaign which solicits contributions from government workers. It has also done preliminary work on the notion that economic development can be spurred within black America via a partnership with West African countries. Moreover, it has sponsored three Public Policy Conferences on themes relevant to the survival of black people.

The Fund has not been universally accepted in the national black community, principally because it seeks to synthesize two historically antagonistic concerns. On one hand the Fund stands in the tradition of Booker T. Washington, whose "pull yourself up by your own bootstraps" mentality was discredited in the 1960s by black power advocates. On the other hand, the Fund seeks to embody the praxis of W. E. B. DuBois, a champion of a socialistic Pan-African state. The breadth of these concerns was clearly visible at the recent Third Annual Public Policy Conference where the entire spectrum of thought on economic and social issues related to the survival of the black masses of the African Diaspora was explored.

A key ingredient in the call to this conference was the question, "Will the

Black Masses of the African Diaspora survive?" The call's introduction cited American society — where 6% of the world's population consumes better than 33% of the world's resources — and pointed out that the 300 million people of color who trace their ancestry to, or live in, Africa have a unique role to play in addressing this imbalance and the economic system that supports it. In concluding the call, the following prolegomenon focused the issue:

*"For it is clear that new forms of economic and political organizations that are structurally and philosophically cooperative rather than competitive must be forged. These new forms must incorporate the very principles of democracy that operate within groups as well as between them. The creation of a true economic democracy is the only realistic alternative to suspicion, distrust, and fear. For if those characteristics define the late 20th century, the world may have lost its last chance to achieve the humanistic quality that is the key to its survival."*

That is the Fund's style. Revolutionary notions in conservative language; progressive thoughts rooted in the reality of oppressed experience.

Key to the development of the concept of the Fund was the recognition that a concern for the black underclass plus a realistic analysis of detrimental social policy in America was not enough to understand what was happening to people of color here and abroad. Hence this third Conference on the one hand broadened its focus to the African Diaspora and on the other narrowed its focus to a specific discussion of economic democracy and social policy; attempting a most difficult task for any organization: to tighten its ideological understanding while broadening its base of concern. This task was not successfully accomplished either by

Martin Luther King, Jr. or Malcolm X. Equally important no other civil rights group is seeking to wrestle with these basic questions in an open forum with an eye toward pulling all blacks into the conversation.

It might be useful to describe the breadth of concern of blacks in the United States and to point out the pitfalls and constraints that have kept us from fully articulating it.

The late W.E.B. DuBois, in *Soul of Black Folks*, first stated that "the problem of the 20th century would be the problem of the color line." Since 1902 ideologues of many persuasions have attempted to avoid the insightfulness of DuBois' comment, but the practical experience of the majority of people — those who are abw's, that is anything but white — attest to DuBois' sagacity. The problem has been that the concern has had to be articulated within a Euro-American framework, or to use a more arcane phrase, a colonialistic framework.

In fact the initial constraint against black people coming to terms with the agenda of liberation and reordering the world economic order has been the disparate nature of the self-interest of blacks as they have been organized geographically and culturally. West Indian blacks, American blacks, and Africans each have different cultural, political, and social histories. Even within North America, more often than not, free Negroes and slaves saw their self-interest in different economic or social terms.

The myriad black denominations within Christianity or the incredible number of black social, fraternal, and civil rights organizations attest to the variety of forms in which black people seek to gain a sense of identity and power within a hostile Euro-American environment. The problem has been deepened recently by the growing separation between the black middle-class and black under-class.

The liberation of African states in the

1960s, though a source of distant pride for American blacks, did not provide the unity many thought it might. The ideological conflict has never been overcome.

Beyond these obvious differences and problems there lurks the more basic and invidious concern: In no time or place have people of color been in a position to influence the U.S. or multi-national corporations which determine where and how the resources of the world are divided. What this has meant in practice is that blacks throughout the world have had always to choose the lesser of two evils. One evil is to support a capitalistic system which exploits the labor and natural resources of the Third World; the other is to join the socialistic camp which sustains and maintains centers of power in China and Russia.

Neither alternative has been particularly attractive, although each has been chosen by varying sectors of the Diaspora. No one has succeeded in showing a better way.

The dilemma is most clearly seen in the inability to create the kind of united front which would force the Western nations to cease supporting South Africa with its apartheid and exploitative economic policies. A nearer example is the failure of U.S. blacks to come together on a common ground for either the liberation struggles in Africa or for themselves. The competition between the NAACP, PUSH, the Urban League, SCLC, and now the National Black United Fund has a greater affinity to the tribalism of the pre-colonial era than it does to 20th Century real politics.

To put it another way, the choice for blacks has never been whether they should be liberated, or even how they should be liberated, but, in fact, what is liberation? Is it nationalism? Is it integration? Is it Pan Africanism? Is it socialism? Is it electing a black mayor or senator or even a black President?

The answer to all these questions has been "not quite."

The economic reality of the continued suffering of the vast majority of black people throughout the world has increasingly impelled people of each persuasion to recognize the failure of their own ideological perspective and how it has failed to bring about the kind of social change that true economic democracy and pluralism require if all people are to survive with justice and dignity.

It was with this background that the Conference opened in Boston. And Boston, since 1973, has experienced the greatest escalation in racial violence, polarization, and dysfunctional social intercourse of any U.S. city. In fact, it was suggested that Boston and its racial situation is a paradigm for the nation: The ratio of black to white in Boston is about the same as the black-white ratio in the total U.S. population.

The Conference opened with talks by President Goodlett and Dr. Barbara Sizemore, a former superintendent of schools in Washington, D.C. Goodlett offered the idea of cooperative economic development between West African and American blacks in the form of a Nigerian/American bank and a Bonds-for-Africa program. He also discussed blacks' inability to work together or to recognize that their destiny is tied up with every whore, pimp, prisoner and drug addict, and not just with the middle class. He said that to forget that is to forget who we are as a people.

Before the excitement of that address wore off, Sizemore electrified the crowd with her analysis of the Weber decision, a decision that recognizes the legitimacy of quotas for voluntary affirmative action programs. Her remarks opened up one of the great issues in affirmative action efforts: the split in the historic alliance between blacks and Jews which had been so successful in the Civil Rights movement. Indeed, when the twin evils of organized labor's continued racism and the Jews' abhorrence of quotas are coupled with

the aspirations of white women and Hispanic people, affirmative action prospects for blacks appear meager at best.

Sizemore also pointed to the increasing capacity of all American society to adopt what used to be stereotyped as dysfunctional family behavior. When ascribed to blacks such behavior was called immoral or perverted, even though it was born out of economic necessity. But now such activities as co-habitation and living in extended families have become fashionable among whites who have finally encountered the economic necessity of having various members of the family work.

Sizemore posed the question, where do blacks fit into this cultural revolution? She answered it: we don't. But our skills of survival in hard economic times will stand us in good stead.

The conference seminars related to four major categories: International Coalitions, Urban Organizing Principles, New Coalitions, and Cultural Development. The more than 20 seminars held during the two day meeting heard speakers and leaders as prestigious as the principle Conference participants and led to thorough and in-depth analysis of the conditions of blacks throughout the world.

A further highlight of the seminars was the active participation of progressive whites for the first time in 10



Louis Farrakhan

years. Persons such as Tom Hayden, Gloria Steinem, and Barry Commoner offered their insights in the black-white dialogue toward a new economic order.

The principal luncheon speaker, U.S. Representative Parren Mitchell, former chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, spelled out in no uncertain terms what the national political scene portended for blacks. He also spoke about the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and the real struggle U.S. blacks will have to make to resist the growing racism and conservatism.

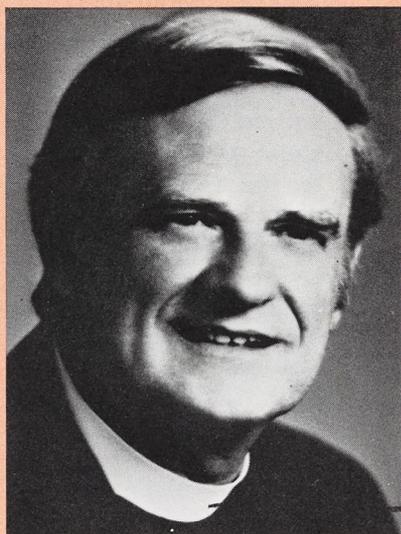
The highlight of the evening's Award Banquet was the presentation by United Nations Ambassador Thomas Tlou of Botswana. He gave a clear analysis and denunciation of the present Rhodesian government and called for disassociation from this effort. He also called for removal of capital from companies operating in Southern Africa and showed the real power that the South African government continues to exercise because of continued support from the West.

Ambassador Tlou also denounced the vacillation of U.S. blacks and their failure to understand the genuine humanitarian needs that refugees from Zimbabwe and Namibia represent to the front line states of Southern Africa. He said that as the wars of liberation continue, it is important to support these displaced persons.

Subsequently Conference participants raised a modest sum to respond immediately to the representatives of the African National Congress and the Liberation Front of Zimbabwe present at the Conference.

Saturday morning was illuminated by the stirring presentation of Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Reborn Nation of Islam. Farrakhan delivered a message of self-help and self-realization beyond summary description. The core of his message was the clear intent of the Nation to confront organized crime in the black community and to eradicate

*Continued on page 12*



The Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.  
is Bishop of the Diocese of Michigan.

## A Bishop Looks at the Bible and the Poor

Today, what we need more than the wisdom to discern the causes of church growth and decline are the grace and courage to be faithful. I see God calling us to be faithful to the mission of the church in the city.

I want to be very clear about one thing. Nothing I say is intended in any way to deny or to detract from the importance of the ministry of the church in the suburbs, in town and country areas, on the campuses of our colleges or universities, or overseas. The mission of the church is everywhere and is vitally important. But at this particular time it seems to me that it is urgent that we be faithful to the cities of our dioceses and that means all of us, even those who do not live in the cities. We all have a responsibility — lay and clergy alike — for the work of the church in our cities, especially in the light of the catastrophes which have happened there.

Although I now live in a well-heeled community, my heart is still in the cities where so much suffering and agony takes place, where the majority of the people of this country still live, and where 70% of Anglicans all over the world live. There are 65 million Anglicans in this world, and 70% of them live in the cities.

This is where I believe that God is calling us to a more effective and committed ministry.

First, it doesn't take a student of Holy Scripture to know that the Bible teaches quite clearly that God identifies with, or to put it bluntly, is on the side of, the poor, the hungry and the oppressed.

There are three central parts in Holy Scripture where God reveals what God is like, what God's concerns are, and what God expects from us: first, the events of the exodus; second, the fall of the northern and southern kingdoms of Israel; third, the coming of God in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

In the event of the exodus, we read where God looked down upon the people and saw that they were oppressed and hungry, and God acted. The liberation of the poor, the hungry and the oppressed was at the center of the event of the exodus. In the fall of the northern kingdom in 722 B.C. and the southern kingdom in 586 B.C., the prophets tell us that one of the main reasons that God let those nations be destroyed was because they had mistreated the poor. The

coming of God into human life in the person of Jesus was identified with symbols of poverty.

At the beginning of Jesus' ministry we read that He enters the synagogue and proclaims that He has been chosen to bring good news to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captives and to set free the oppressed.

In other places in Holy Scripture God's identification with poor, hungry and oppressed people is made clear, but nowhere more powerfully than in the Gospel where the Lord reminds us that at the Last Judgment, we shall not so much be judged for what we have said, but for what we did: "For I was hungry and you gave me food, naked and you clothed me, thirsty and you gave me drink, in prison and you visited me. Truly, truly, I say unto you, inasmuch as you have done it unto the least of these your brothers and sisters, you have done it unto me."

That means, of course, that when we feed a hungry person or clothe a naked person, or visit a person in prison, we somehow do it to Jesus. Somehow the Lord of the Universe is so identified with the poor, the hungry and the oppressed that when we do something for them, we are doing it for God.

As Ronald J. Sider puts it in his book, *Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger*, perhaps the most disturbing thing that Holy Scripture has to say about God being on the side of the poor, the hungry, and the oppressed is that the people of God also are supposed to be on their side. And when the people who claim to be the people of God are no longer on their side, then they are no longer the people of God. This is the clear teaching of Matthew 25. It is the teaching of James and John: "If we say we love God and do not share with our needy neighbors, we are liars."

That's the first point.

The second and last point is that the Bible shows us also that God wills among the people a greater equality of economic goods than we now have. This, too, is a clear preaching of Holy Scripture. God is opposed to extremes of poverty and wealth. This is not just the teaching of three or four isolated texts from Holy Scripture; from the Old Testament through the New Testament this is the central emphasis.

The Book of Leviticus describes the year of jubilee, whereby every 50 years all land is to revert back to its original owner with no compensation. Why? Because God wanted to establish a mechanism which would prevent extremes of wealth and poverty. It was automatic. It happened to everyone. The same impact is seen in the concept of the seventh year debt release. Every seven years all debts were to be forgiven.

Then as we move into the New Testament, we discover that Jesus and His disciples shared a common purse. They were beginning to live together in a way that demonstrated the values that Jesus was teaching. We see this in the Book of Acts: "And all whose faith had drawn them together held everything in common. They would sell their property and possessions and make a general distribution as the need of each required." And again: "The whole body of believers was united in heart and soul. Not a man of them claimed any of his possessions as his own, but everything was held in common while the apostles bore witness with great power to the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus."

They were all held in high esteem and they never had a needy person among them. All who had property and land and houses sold them, brought the proceeds of the sale to lay at the feet of the apostles. The monies were then distributed to any who stood in need. So if one's neighbors were in need, one didn't just pray for them, but dug into pockets and gave of money and material possessions as well. Then the money and material possessions no longer belonged to the donor, but were given to the community. So the Biblical principle of economic relations among the people of God is something approaching economic equality.

This is the Biblical basis, or Biblical justification if you will, for our work in the cities, where we find a large majority of the poor, the hungry and the oppressed. We all know that proclaiming the gospel of Jesus Christ by word and deed in the cities of our dioceses can be a complicated and complex process — one for which, unfortunately, there are few ready models. But we should also note in our heart that whatever happens in the cities, Christians ought to be out there in the vanguard. ■

*Continued from page 9*

prostitution, drug addiction, and gambling. The speech was an historic one from the point of view of the nationalistic model.

Saturday's luncheon speaker was Arnold Bertram, Jamaica's Minister for Culture and Information, who gave a scholarly analysis of the dual evolution of Pan-African thought and socialism as it relates to black people. Bertram ended with the declaration that not only did Jamaica support the existence of Cuban troops in Africa, but regretted that it did not have a standing army to join them.

Sunday morning speakers were Marcia Gillespie, editor and publisher of *Essence* magazine, and Dick Gregory, renowned social critic and comedian. Gillespie has successfully cracked the mass media market with a

black women's magazine and it was fascinating to hear her criticize the cultural context in which her magazine has to function. Her pointed comments corrected the illusion that middle class blacks have "made it" in American society.

Gregory used humor to make his points, but the essence of his remarks was that the country is in trouble. Gregory is a humorist, but also a true humanitarian. He raised the spiritual consciousness of the group by pointing out that survival of blacks begins from within: the consciousness not only of the self but of the self's relationship to the source of universal power. He ended his comments in his irrefragable fashion by pointing out that "Recess is over . . . the time to be serious has begun."

The Conference concluded on a

sombre and realistic note. The synthesis that the National Black United Fund seeks to build was certainly present in the Conference; in the camaraderie that emerged and in the recognition of the need for new coalitions both within the U.S. and beyond. The Fund's basic concept of pooling the resources and talents of U.S. blacks to support the struggles of blacks throughout the world was enhanced. In fact, this may become the wave of the future.

Only history will tell whether the event was a turning point in the way black America seeks to relate to itself and the world. History will also tell whether or not the Fund and its affiliates will become the new organizing principle for black liberation.

As we wait for history's verdict, we should remember the theological premise upon which the whole effort is based. It is one that suggests it is more important to be loving and concerned about the welfare of your sisters and brothers than it is to be right.

No matter what the political-corporate world of the future brings in terms of nuclear destruction, hunger, or fascism, the conference made clear that there is another way. This other way involves the human spirit rooted in the African experience, tempered by a Christian perspective, and open to the interaction of peoples of color who are in a unique position to provide leadership for a world which faces diminishing resources and increasing competition for what is left.

It would be my prayer that this other way — mutual cooperation, recognition of interdependence, concern for the enhancement rather than the destruction of humankind — will be accepted. ■

*(Tapes of the principal addresses and several of the seminars referred to above are available. For information write to the Rev. Edward Rodman, The Boston Black United Fund, 483 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, MA 02134.)*



# Bank Gives Credit Where Credit Is Due

by Stanley J. Hallett

Some of the words bankers use have meanings that are instructive. The word *credit* means to believe. It is to believe in people, to believe in communities, to believe in the future. *To invest*, the dictionary says, is to clothe with authority, resources, and power to shape the future. *To discredit* is to say that one has no future. *To disinvest* is to strip away authority, resources and power to shape the future.

And bankers have a "prudent man rule" that applies to management of resources. To be prudent is to take part in the future; to manage resources with care for the future.

So some very basic banking language has meanings that are common to us all and can be points of entry in our thinking about how to get credit flowing into city neighborhoods.

Over the years we've tried to come to grips with the problems of city neighborhoods in a variety of ways. There was a period when we thought we could renew neighborhoods. But urban renewal tended to be like the Vietnam War; we had to destroy the neighborhood in order to save it. It was essentially a real estate operation since redevelopment primarily meant a growth in real estate value.

Then we went through the period when we thought we could solve the problem by simply throwing large buckets of money into neighborhoods. Then came the Model Cities programs in which we were trying to put together a combination of social services and physical development. Next we moved into the late 1960s and the Great Society programs. Those were primarily designed to expand services aimed at neighborhood deficiencies.

We talked about neighborhoods in terms of their housing problems, their buying problems, their mental and/or

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**Stanley J. Hallett**, of the Center for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University, testified at the Urban Bishops' hearing in Chicago recently.



physical health problems, their educational problems and their family problems. Then we built a whole set of bureaucracies aimed at responding to each of these areas. The logic was: Discover the needs; the needs are deficiencies; the deficiencies are in the people; and the deficiencies require professional response. Implicitly it was assumed that the people could not really define their needs, their needs had to be defined by professionals.

The service bureaucracies became dependent upon defining the neighborhood in terms of its deficiencies. They built a structure in which a whole range of people had jobs which depended upon things being bad and getting worse.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the Center for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University tried to figure out what was going wrong. We found that almost nothing one could think of doing within the service bureaucracies — schools, police, hospitals — would affect in any measurable way the life of the neighborhoods.

Even though more and more money was being pumped into those service institutions, the performance levels continued to fall: Health was getting worse, educational attainment was dropping, insecurity was increasing. So we began to get skeptical about that way of attacking the problem.

We started to think about what could happen if we looked at the capacities, not the deficiencies, of a neighborhood. What is there to work with, what has the capacity to grow, to develop, to achieve? This is the way we began to work with Chicago neighborhoods, partly through churches and community organization efforts.

We tried to figure out how we might create a self-sustaining neighborhood development institution. We didn't want one which would draw more and more resources, require more and more subsidies, and make more and more people dependent upon next year's grant. We wanted one that would start to generate resources and

would have a principle of growth instead of a principle of limitations.

We spent a year looking at a variety of programs: Banking, housing, venture capital, commercial development, health education, and legal services. It came back to housing and banking.

One of the problems with housing is that if things are done with housing that don't affect the neighborhood, it won't make any difference. Also housing is dependent upon shifting government programs which might result in displacing people.

That left banking. But banking tends to be passive. Bankers are, by and large, trained to sit back behind a big oak desk and say "no." A bank seldom gets in trouble for a loan it didn't make.

But about this time, the Federal Reserve Board ruled that bank holding companies could form six different kinds of subsidiaries. While five were closely related to traditional banking functions, one was a community development corporation designed to finance the improvement of the local community and immediate service area. This gave the bank a structure that could combine credit resources with some initiative to work at neighborhood development.

We stopped studying and started trying to raise enough money to buy an existing bank in an unknown, deteriorating neighborhood in Chicago. We asked a variety of potential investors to put in \$160,000 each. Needless to say we met with a certain amount of skepticism, but some churches, foundations, and individuals who had tried a lot of things that hadn't worked, were willing to take the chance.

The leverage on investment is formidable. For \$1.3 million we bought a bank with \$40 million in deposits. This gave us lending resources of \$20 million, with a normal profitability of \$300,000/\$400,000 a year.

So after a year's work we bought the South Shore National Bank in a neighborhood that had undergone racial

change in the late 1960s and 1970s. The bank had stopped lending in the neighborhood three years before we bought it in 1973. At that time no financial institutions were lending money in that neighborhood of 80,000 people. The area was totally red-lined. We bought the bank and began trying to turn the neighborhood's credit faucet back on.

The banking system is quite like the plumbing system of a house. It provides the water to sustain life, make the grass green and the garden grow. It also is the sewer system that takes away deposits. If it doesn't work in a circular way and only takes away, then everything dries up. If the bank's deposits keep going out, then the neighborhood goes down the drain. How to get the cycle going was the challenge.

One of the first steps was to get the bank connected with the neighborhood's people. This meant meeting people at coffee brunches, block groups, in church basements, wherever there was a group interested in talking. We had to find out what they wanted in their neighborhood, what had happened there, and how we could help.

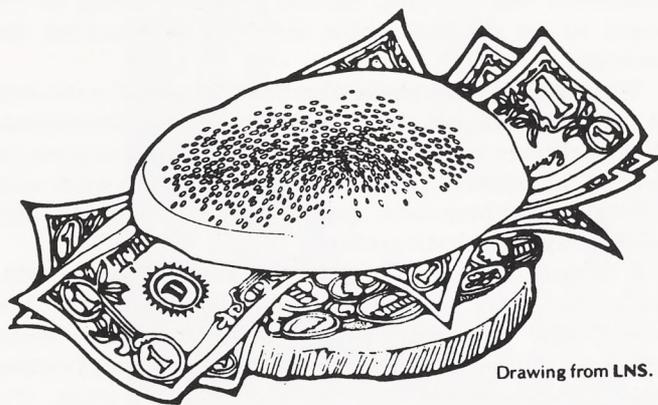
Then we invited community organizations to elect representatives to an advisory board of the bank. We met over how to get credit working in the neighborhoods and what was needed to improve banking service. The attendance at those meetings ran about 90-95% and still does.

They soon began to get a sense that a pool of resources was untapped and we needed to devise efforts to make the neighborhoods work again. This meant looking at housing, the commercial areas, and the community institutions.

We started a housing study, using graduate students and professors. They searched the titles of property on 30 blocks and studied the tax delinquencies. We wanted an early warning system about tax delinquencies and mortgage foreclosures and where they were occurring. It turned out that the problems were distributed in a different way among single family housing, 2-6 unit buildings, 6-15 unit buildings and those 15 units or over.

Single homes had a fair amount of mortgage foreclosures and abandonment even though they were good homes and the market was essentially strong. Government policies said housing had to sit empty for a year before it could be sold, but given three boarded up houses on a block, nothing will sell. The whole market becomes depressed in that area. It was fairly easy to put the squeeze on the bureaucracy to get those properties sold or occupied.

The 2-6 flats were a different story. These buildings only work if they are owner-occupied, with someone taking care of them, doing a little extra work on them, building up some equity. Once they are absentee-owned they go downhill. The problem was that when an owner moved out a prospective owner couldn't get the credit to buy. Buildings that had stood for 30 or 40 years were now in trouble because the

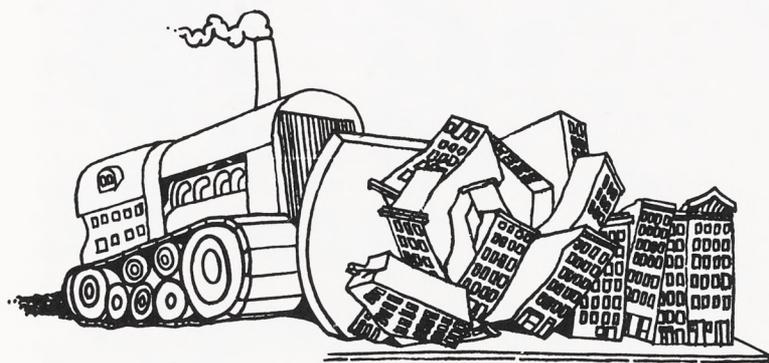


Drawing from LNS.

families that moved out couldn't sell them so they just milked them and let them go.

That again was a comparatively easy problem to solve because it just meant finding families that wanted to buy and granting mortgage loans to enable them to move in. And many neighborhood families were perfectly credit-worthy.

The larger buildings were yet a different story; they were being managed towards demolition. The Chicago style is that a building gets into trouble and is sold for 20¢ on the dollar. These are purchased for about 1 to 1.3 times gross annual rental. Taxes run about 30-35% of gross annual rent so if the owner stops paying taxes and keeps the building three years, he gets a 100% return on his money just by not paying taxes. In five years he really makes money, and in Illinois he can hang on to a property for 10 years if nobody else pays the taxes. So then he cuts back on maintenance, gets whatever tenants he can, and at the end of five to seven years he puts it to the match and collects the fire insurance!



There is a whole industry in the city doing this. It is currently destroying 25,000 units a year. More buildings were burned down in the past three years than were destroyed in the Chicago fire.

When we got underway we were able to identify the buildings that were being managed to destruction. When those buildings go down they take down everything around them so we identified what we called the "Big, Bad 100." We had to deal with them or all our loans in the area would be in trouble.

One thing evident in the operating statements of these larger buildings was that the cost of energy was a major factor in the price squeeze that was creating operating problems. Energy costs had risen from 11.2% of gross annual rental in 1968 to 23.9% of gross annual rental in 1975. So the question of energy conservation had to be considered.

In looking at how to reduce energy costs, we noted that while energy production is primarily centralized, energy

conservation is localized. Furthermore, the technology isn't that sophisticated. Fixing a boiler is a fairly complicated job, but almost anyone can put up a storm window.

We set up a performance guarantee fund that guaranteed that anybody who invested in energy conservation would get a refund from the savings on the utility bill in three to five years. A family didn't have to say "We can't afford this and we don't know where to get the money," because they could get a home improvement loan that guaranteed it would pay for itself out of energy savings.

Another real problem for people in the low income spectrum is food — both quantity and quality — leading to health problems. Well, the alternative to \$1 a head for lettuce is to figure out how to grow some in the neighborhood. Vacant land is a big problem in a neighborhood with abandoned and demolished buildings but it can be an important resource if converted to food production. Instead of an eyesore, it can be green with nut trees, an orchard, a garden or greenhouse. Food and jobs can be provided in the neighborhood. In one neighborhood we have a roof-top greenhouse that the elderly people love. It's not just a gathering place, but a place where they can see something happening as the result of their efforts.

The task, then, is to look at the fundamental needs — food, energy, shelter, and health care — and try to find some sensible answers.

One neighborhood in Chicago was spending \$38 per capita per month on health care. We tried to find out why people were using the local hospital, and found that the primary reason was traffic accidents. We also found ten times as many dog bites as in the average neighborhood because packs of wild dogs were running around. The simplest resolution was to offer \$5 a head for those dogs. Within three weeks the kids had brought in 148 of them. So another way to deal with health problems is not by providing expensive treatments, but by figuring out what can be done to reduce them.

I think similar things can be said about education. It makes a lot of sense to discuss education in terms of what the potentialities are in the neighborhood and how education can develop them. Similarly with security. It is the fabric of the community that makes the difference, more than additional police protection.

In sum, if one is trying to figure out how to get credit faucets turned on one needs to look at both the tools and the techniques. And one needs to create opportunities that enable people with potential to develop a more human existence.

To give credit to a neighborhood is to invest in a neighborhood; to make a commitment along with the people that there is a future, and to bet on that future together. ■

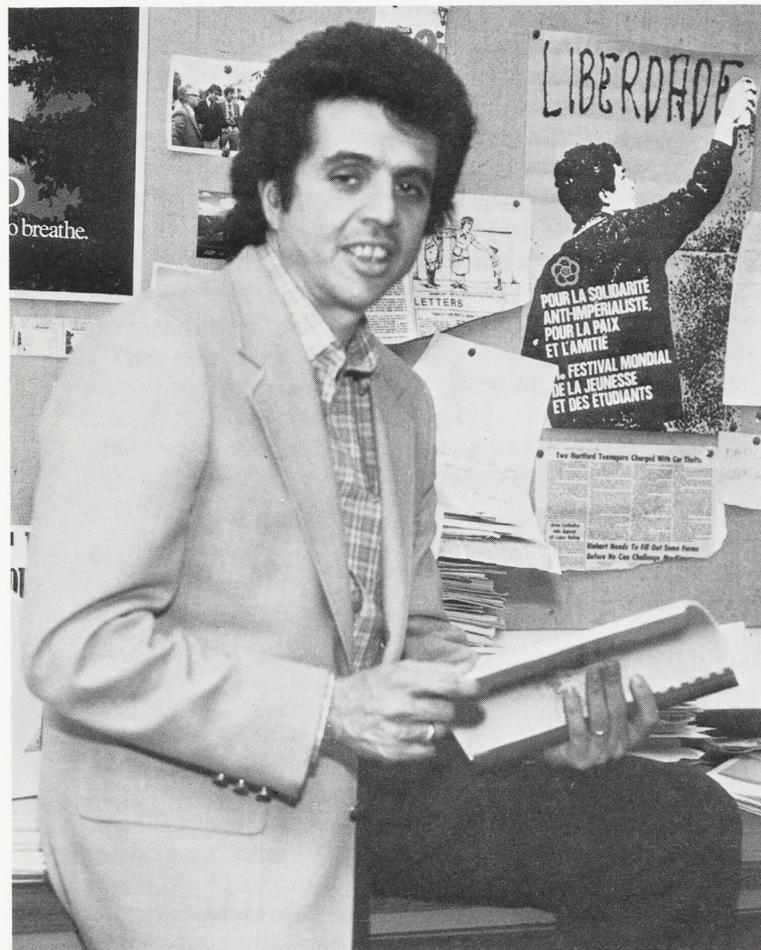
# Student of City Faces Political Test

by Robert L. DeWitt

*"When I became a Councilman, I was a relatively inexperienced 32-year-old community activist from the South End of Hartford. I was going to be a can-do Councilman, a take-charge maverick who was going to shake up City Hall, make it more responsive, and solve all of Hartford's problems. I gradually learned it wouldn't be quite that easy.*

*I thought, for example, that if we could rehabilitate housing we could save a badly-blighted neighborhood. I hadn't made the connection that the real cause of that blight was the inability of the residents of that neighborhood to find decent jobs. I came to understand that without jobs for people, rehabbing alone would not save a neighborhood.*

*"During my first four years on the City Council, I gradually came to the realization that many of our urban problems are mere symptoms of a complex series of interlocking forces at the regional state, national and even international levels of government. That was a humbling moment, to realize that most of those forces were out of the control of a well-intentioned, can-do Councilman from South Hartford . . ."*



Nicholas Carbone

With the above words, Nicholas Carbone threw his hat into the ring as a candidate for Mayor of Hartford, in a race to be decided in the Fall. What does he hope to accomplish in that ambiguous arena, and in the face of those "interlocking forces" he alludes to in his candidacy statement?

Interestingly, he sees his problems as similar to those uncovered in *To Hear and To Heed*, the report on the six public hearings conducted by the Urban Bishops Coalition. In an interview in his office in Hartford City Council Chamber, Carbone reviewed for THE WITNESS how he had come into contact with *To Hear and to Heed*, and how

he sees the problems of the cities.

There is no question that Carbone has "gone to school" around the issues. His office bristles with studies and reports — some of which he helped to prepare — from which he quotes freely. Two random titles: *The State and Local Tax System in Connecticut: Basic Facts and Proposals for Change*; *The Influence of a Regional Economy on Hartford's Population: A Study of Migration, Housing and Employment Trends*. Recently he spent some time as a Fellow at the Cambridge-based Kennedy Institute on Politics. It was there that he came across a copy of *To Hear*

*and to Heed*. He was grateful to find in it additional documentation for many of the stubborn problems he was confronting in Hartford.

One of Carbone's primary concerns is the competition among urban minority groups and the "divide and conquer forces" which prevent them from seeing the stakes they have in common. What, then, is their political access to getting action around the problems of urban centers?

"My answer, which is talked about in *To Hear and To Heed*, is community-based organizations, and my favorite illustration is the Hartford Citizens' Lobby."

"An elected official has a responsibility to educate, to speak out and tell the truth, to share information, to get people to see the real picture — not to deal with the symptoms, but to get to root causes. I think that it is as much the job of an elected official or politician to educate as it is of a minister. Without education, without public awareness, democracy is a farce; it doesn't work. And the Citizens' Lobby and its seminars are one way we have tried to educate around the issues."

Back in 1976, on Carbone's initiative, all community-based organizations were invited to send representatives to a meeting at City Hall. The Alinsky community-organizing methods were consciously in mind. The city offered staffing and support services for the Lobby. Today it numbers some 150 people from across Hartford, who are active in pressing for issues the Lobby has selected. Chief among these have been tax reform, welfare reform, and economic development. City-sponsored seminars of considerable sophistication on these issues have been held for members of the Lobby. Recently a tax bill under consideration by the State legislature would have shifted a heavier tax load to the residential community. Carbone tells how members of the Citizens' Lobby, sure of their facts, visited the chief executive officer of every business in Hartford. Result — a bill favorable to the city's residents was passed by the legislature.

Further, he sees the Lobby as a practical approach to the dilemma of minority groups being pitted against each other by the dynamics of urban life. He reminisces about a state legislature hearing on welfare, not unlike the public hearings sponsored by the Urban Bishops.

"Two thousand people were brought out by the Lobby for the hearing, forcing it from the State Capitol to a larger location. And 250 people testified for an increase in welfare benefits. Kids told how they stole because they needed clothing, how they would come back and walk into their housing project with the stolen goods. They testified: 'I felt good, and my brothers and sisters felt good because we all had new clothes. But that is what you are making us do.' One black woman got up and said, 'I was forced to cross a picket line this morning. I don't want to take their jobs away but I

had no alternative. I crossed the goddam picket line to get a job, for the sake of my children. That's what you are doing, you are turning people against each other, making them fight over the crumbs.'

"Even members of the police department testified. When a cop gets up before a hearing, with his badge and gun, and states, 'You've created a welfare system that forces people to break the law and forces people to become thieves' — that is pretty powerful testimony.

"What has happened, as we have specialized on issues, is that the environmentalists are over here, the full-employment advocates over there, the social agencies somewhere else. We haven't found their common denominator, so we have allowed them to be divided and conquered. A key to my political strategy has been to try to take those different coalitions and bring them all to a common agenda."

This principle was tested in a recent struggle in Hartford over civil rights for homosexuals. Carbone had promised the gay community that he would seek a gay rights ordinance. The first time, it failed. Moreover, the incumbent mayor was expected to veto any such ordinance which did get through City Council. So Carbone built a coalition. He brought together people who were concerned about civil rights for ex-offenders, for the mentally retarded, for the handicapped, *and* for homosexuals. This combined constituency provided enough strength to override the mayor's expected veto.

Nick Carbone was a high school dropout. When he enlisted in the Air Force, an important part of his education began. He encountered blatant racial segregation in Mobile, and a tour of duty in Japan afforded social contacts with Orientals which repudiated the stereotypes on which he had been brought up. He began to question many of his cultural presuppositions, his values.

"I was once sent on a special mission as a radio technician, destination unknown except that it was 'a trouble spot in the Far East'. I was huddled in a transport plane, radio equipment in one hand, carbine in the other. I didn't want to get shot, and I didn't want to shoot anyone else, least of all someone I didn't know and for reasons that were unclear to me. The whole structure of national security took on a different meaning."

Through these experiences came the realization that what he was "discovering" on his own was nothing more than the values his church had been teaching him all his life, but apart from or unrelated to the connections he was now making. His religious training, his experience in the service, and his subsequent studies have led to the conviction that city government has a responsibility to structure life in a city in accordance with fundamental human values. That is what he feels he is trying to do. "I know we're not always

successful, and I share the anger, frustration and disillusionment of many Hartford residents over things that are not getting better — the working people who can't keep up with inflation, the men and women who want jobs and can't find them, the large families who can't find decent, affordable housing, the retired individual who is being forced to choose between heating and eating. Many of these people have come to believe that the system doesn't work for them and that they have been excluded. I want to change that," he says.

What does he see as the role of the church in the crisis of U.S. cities?

"As pointed out in *To Hear and to Heed*, the church, like the politician, has been co-opted by the economic system. The church is a voluntary organization relying on voluntary contributions. It is like the politician who has to go to people of means for the money to finance his campaign.

"In the same way, the church is afraid to criticize people when it is asking them for money. It becomes cautious, it finesses the issues. And I understand that, because as a politician I have to live with that, too."

With regard to the prospects for urban centers he takes a sober reading, especially considering the coupling of inflation with the energy shortage, and the resultant impact on housing. Carbone sees the "re-gentrification" of the city as leading to the "ghettoization" of the suburbs.

"They are going to take those large suburban ranch houses and they'll subdivide them, and they will become rooming houses owned by absentee landlords, as happened with the former large city dwellings that were no longer economically feasible or desirable to the people with means, and were converted into slum dwellings to maximize profits.

"So the poor will live in the suburbs, but with no mass transportation. As always, they will live where they are pushed to, where the haves don't want to live. I think we have a major structural problem coming down on us, and I think it is worse than anyone has been willing to admit."

Carbone is pushing for a strong-mayor form of government in Hartford. "If you are going to move on changing social policy," he says, "you can't do it with accurate information and technical competence alone. You have to come at it from a sense of commitment, or else you will not be willing to take the flack, be criticized, or be unpopular."

Carbone's view is shared by other urban-watchers, such as political economist Gar Alperovitz, Co-director of the Washington-based National Institute for Economic Alternatives. "When there are no strident issues, no major debates over questions of urban values and objectives, the governance of a city can indeed be seen as a technocratic problem, an assignment for a competent city manager," he said. "But Cleveland's Mayor Kucinich, and Carbone in

## Coming Up . . .

# in THE WITNESS

A theological potpourri . . .

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Hartford, are finding there are a number of critical issues, and are raising them. Such issues require a strong voice and a firm hand in the mayor's office."

Carbone also feels that life-style is important to a politician. He speaks warmly of Auxiliary Bishop Peter Rozzaza of Hartford, who when appointed bishop continued to live in the poor Hispanic parish which he had been serving.

"Part of my strategy has been to stay where the problems are, like the bishop. I'm afraid that if I left and lived in luxury I would forget what the hell the real world is all about. I don't want to become isolated. It is absolutely essential that a politician not forget whom he represents."

Major structural change is not usually a helpful plank to have in a campaign platform. While it is not the *dominant* note in Carbone's campaign, it does identify certain undertones in his political efforts which set him apart. Consequently he has created both friends and enemies.

The Hartford *Courant* has been less than enthusiastic about his candidacy, and one senses that many in the business community are watching to see whether he is "safe." On the other hand, Worth Loomis, President of the Dexter Corp., commented to THE WITNESS, "Nick Carbone is a principled and unusual politician who has a genuine concern for people, especially the oppressed, and has displayed imagination and competence in getting the city to meet their needs."

Carbone faces his mayoralty campaign with seriousness but with a sense of humor. He is acutely aware of voter cynicism, a by-product of the tragic dilemmas of urban America and the resultant failure of elected officials to be responsive to people's needs. He reminds himself of that by a large placard on the wall over his desk on which is printed in capital letters: DON'T VOTE. IT ONLY ENCOURAGES THEM. ■

*Continued from page 2*

May, 1977 to May, 1978. One was at the Episcopal headquarters and the other, at the jail where Maria and Raisa were incarcerated.

The NCC Special Commission had been established at the May, 1977 meeting of the Governing Board and consisted of five Board members, including William Thompson, then President; James Hamilton, Associate General Secretary; and Dean Kelley, Religious and Civil Liberties expert of the NCC staff. Representing the Episcopal Church at the meeting at Episcopal Church Center were Bishop Milton Wood, Bishop Richard Martin, and Matthew Costigan, treasurer of the church. Presiding Bishop John Allin did not meet with us. We sat around a large gleaming table in a handsome boardroom, nine men — and me — plus one other woman who entered briefly to ask if we wanted coffee.

I paint this picture because it reflected for me the issues of the case. Around that table we were, overwhelmingly, male, white, clergy, church bureaucrats, affluent — meeting in the executive boardroom of a powerful denomination. What we were talking about was two women, lay persons, Hispanics, whose job and mission was ministry with poor, non-English speaking, immigrant, alienated and marginal persons, especially from Puerto Rico, some few of whom are struggling for the right to self-determination as a Puerto Rican people. And these two Hispanic women, formerly engaged in this ministry, were now without the support of the church bureaucrats who had hired them and were in jail for refusing to compromise the church's mission, the powerless minority constituents of that mission, or religious liberty.

When we met with Maria and Raisa, the setting was a small attorney's room in the jail where we four women (Maria, Raisa, their attorney Elizabeth Fink, and myself) and six men crowded together and talked, first hesitantly — the commission unsure of how Maria and Raisa would regard our efforts to help — and then earnestly as they shared their clear sense of mission with us, their unshakable determination not to testify

before the Grand Jury, their sadness at their "superiors" lack of vision of mission and lack of support for them except in an expression of pastoral concern for their physical well-being. They accepted NCC help in their behalf and asked the Special Commission to intervene in their court case.

Their costly commitment, and the NCC's work, contributed to deeper searching by the church and development of new legal arguments in the areas of religious liberty and Grand Jury abuse. The argument is now being made that the priest-penitent privilege does not exhaust the protection which the guarantee of religious liberty in the First Amendment affords the community of believers against the compulsory process of the state, but rather that this privilege should be extended to encompass *social ministries* of the church and ministry by the *laity*. Both these points were at issue in Maria and Raisa's case. This new argument has not yet prevailed, but meanwhile we need to ask, "Who is vulnerable (to Grand Jury abuse)?" Would Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin have been jailed had they not been women — lay persons — Hispanics? The NCC Governing Board developed guidelines for churches to consider in relation to social ministries with oppressed groups and Grand Jury cases. I commend these guidelines to readers (available from THE WITNESS) as a part of our celebration of the presentation of the Vida Scudder Award to these two laywomen for their dedicated social ministry.

**Jane Carey Peck**  
**Andover Newton Theological School**  
**Newton Centre, Mass.**

### 'Girls' Blew It?

On page 18 of the July issue, Helen Klauk says that she has great problems with the use of the term "clergyman." May I comment on so-called nonsexist language, which is, in reality, highly sexist as are numerous aspects of the feminist movement. Mind you, I have been in the work force since the 1920s and I was at the ordinations at Advocate, Philadelphia, at the invitation of one of

the ordaining bishops and one of the women who were ordained. Moreover, I'm a philologist by training. Therefore I probably have the prerequisites for commenting on sexist language.

Most of this difficulty arises from the fact that many people, otherwise well educated, confuse gender with sex. We see many, even who seem to consider *gender* a nice word for *sex*. It is true that females are put into the feminine gender and males in the masculine, but that doesn't mean that tables, machines, highnesses, fatherlands, churches, and other nouns of feminine gender are female or that canoes, books, etc. are male just because they are masculine gender.

The concept of gender has fairly well dropped out of the English language, though we still hear people say of a balky machine that "she" won't go, because *machine* is feminine (not female).

Moreover, the girls really blew it when they started all this business about nonsexist language. There was nothing in the Prayer Book or the canons to prohibit ordination of women if they had just considered themselves part of the human race. 'Man has always referred to males and females.' *He* is both masculine and feminine in collective uses. Women open up all kinds of difficulties for themselves when they forget this.

What the church needs is some instruction on particularity and hermeneutics, not to cave in to the ill-informed demands for "nonsexist" language. Heaven help anyone who calls me "chairperson" or "Ms." I wish reliable statistics were available on how many women strongly object to "nonsexist" language. I believe the church would be amazed at their numbers.

**Jane L. Keddy (Mrs. Roy C.)**  
**President, Parameter Press**  
**Wakefield, Mass.**

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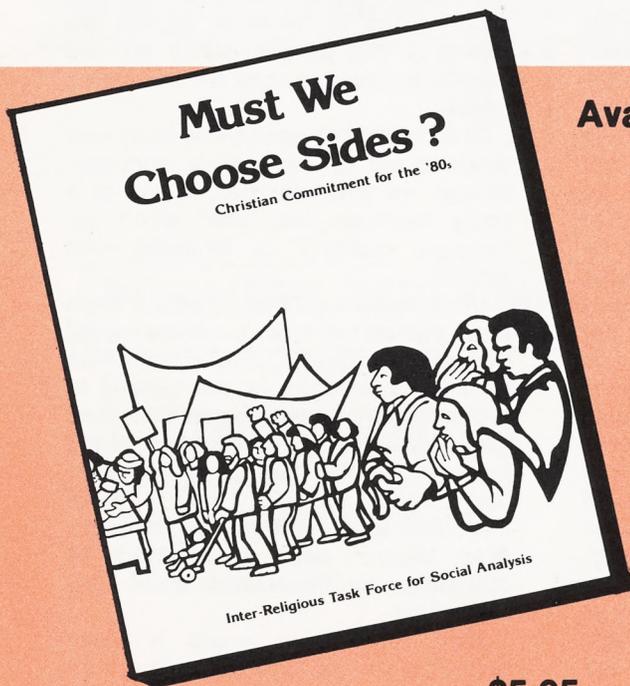
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# THE WITNESS

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## Theological Education Today: In Caesar's Household



ROBERT McAFEE BROWN • BEATRIZ MELANO COUCH  
T. RICHARD SNYDER • ROSEMARY RUETHER • M. DOUGLAS MEEKS



## Letters to the Editor

### What About Celibacy?

It was a refreshing addition to the argument for acceptance of homosexuality by the church to see the Rev. Carter Heyward write in the June WITNESS that the basic principle of sexuality is commitment, loyalty, mutual responsibility between people who participate in the shaping of a just society. Too often I've read of rights for minorities without mention of concomitant responsibilities.?

Carter Heyward is a careful writer, yet when she writes of denying sexuality as being unnatural, unhealthy and unholy I wonder if she is speaking of celibacy as being in this category? Celibacy, I believe, means one will not have sexual relations but does not mean a denial of sexuality. Are we being here divorced from the Christian tradition?

In the documents of Vatican II, it is observed that celibacy is not demanded by the nature of the priesthood. But it is pointed out, as does Anglican Sister Edna Mary in her book on the religious, that chastity is a means by which love is disciplined in order to direct one's love in more selfless service. And, Vatican II cautioned, we should "not be influenced by those erroneous claims which present complete continence as impossible or as harmful to human development."

Granted, we may be in a game of semantics by using words as *deny*, *celibacy*, and *chastity*. But in ordinary usage we in the pew are confused in how these words are sometimes used. I'd like the Rev. Heyward to bring this issue into more clarity. She doesn't mean a return to the standards of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or Henry VIII?

**Douglas H. Schewe**  
Madison, Wisc.

### Heyward Magnificent

The article by Carter Heyward is magnificent. It's forthright without being polemical. I want others in my parish to have a chance to read this and would like to have permission to reproduce this article. It may even be after I check with our social action commission which has sponsored some forums on the issues of sexuality that we may want to send this out to our entire parish list. I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to share this article with others. Keep up the good work that you do through THE WITNESS!

**The Rev. George H. Martin**  
Minneapolis, Minn.

### Questions Theology

In "Theological Explorations of Homosexuality," Carter Heyward rightly notes that our relationship to other beings may be inhibited or denied by our "aversion to, avoidance of, refusal to touch or be touched by, persons . . . whether the touching be physical, emotional, spiritual," and that our failures in achieving relationship are rooted in our vulnerability and fear of knowing and being known. Her recognition of this and her sense of responsibility to foster a society where human relationships are nurtured and honored seem to be the strong basis for her defense of homosexuality.

The weak basis of her engaging argument is the unconventional theology she develops in its support. I suggest that traditional Christian theology provides a stronger and more compelling base for the theological exploration of homosexuality. Words enclosed in quotation marks are drawn from Heyward's article.

I AM WHO I AM cannot be named "I AM BECOMING WHO I AM BECOMING." I AM WHO I AM is creator of all that is becoming and is outside the created dimension of time.

"Being human means being self-consciously . . . able to love and be loved." When humankind gained, or when a person gains, this self-consciousness, then innocence is lost, and we are no longer like the lilies of the

field. This is humanity's distinction — our sin and our opportunity to will and to love.

The incarnation is God's way of affirming and enabling our capacity to grow in the "meaningful relationship of deep significance" that we yearn for. "In Christ, God and humanity are . . . perceived to be in unity." The transcendent "up there" creator and the "down here" humanity are related, indeed, are united. Jesus lived and illustrated this in his life of constant relationship with his father and with persons. He commended this relationship to us in the summary of the law, in which our relationship to God and our relationship to our neighbor are so stated that their structural duality is affirmed, while neither can be considered subordinate.

As individually and corporately we continue our self-realization in the Body of Christ and in the image of Christ, we are becoming more ready to find meaningful relationships in our love of God and of our neighbor. This context gives Heyward's concept of sexuality an integral place in Christian experience rather than perceiving it as an idealized yearning grasped only through rejection of God's transcendence and of our sin. Thank you for a thought provoking journal.

**Joanne Droppers**  
Alfred, N.Y.

### 'Twixt Boredom, Despair

In response to Carter Heywood's (*sic*) two articles on her own "coming out" (June WITNESS and June 11 *Christianity and Crisis*) I am moved between boredom and despair. Boredom because this seems to me another installment in the continuing saga of Ms. Heywood's Search For Fulfillment which apparently we all need to know about. Lord knows we need a liberal newspaper in the Episcopal Church, but a journal, not a soapbox for a blow by blow account of Ms. Heywood's struggle to find the Ground of her Beingness or whatever — whether it's her "coming out" or her ordination to the priesthood. Honestly, *The Living* (Continued on page 19)

# THE WITNESS

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## Same Vine—Different Branches

Robert L. DeWitt

For many people the essence of religion is a mystical matter. It has to do with feeling the presence of God, or knowing oneself to be "twice-born," or enabled to speak in tongues, or believing the orthodox doctrines about the Trinity, the Incarnation, Eternal Life. For some of us the pilgrimage through this kind of religion has had its rewards. It has touched our deepest human concerns. It has spoken to the dark, perennial mysteries of our life — Why are we here? Where are we going? What is the purpose of our existence? But for others, and for many of us some of the time, it has seemed a specialized interest. Although a long and strong cultural tradition in our society ascribes respect to religion and to those who are religious, religion is not seen as something which pertains to all people. The majority of us respect the minority who go to mass daily, or read their Bible regularly, or give liberally of their time, talents and efforts to church affairs. We feel these are all "good works." But we see these devotions as a special interest some happen to have.

Much of the work of the parish priest has been a valiant effort to move that majority into the ranks of that minority, and with understandable reasons. The clergy are classically the ones seen as those professionally religious, and presumably so on behalf of the amateurs and of those not interested. The traditional deference to clergy is a kind of fee, paid in body language and words, for spiritual services somehow rendered by their being religious.

However, a new current in religion is making itself felt. Liberation theology is an example of it. Although not really a new development in Christian thought, it represents a departure from the thinking of many, if not most, Christians today. This new current flows directly from the pages of the Bible, Old and New Testaments alike, and presents us with a God who is centrally concerned not with "religion"

but with the affairs of human society, with the love and justice which occasionally do, but more often do not, mark those affairs. Liberation theology moves the focus of faith from believing in religious concepts and doctrines, and the seeking of religious experience, to believing in a God who has a total investment in the human family.

This God comes down from heaven. This God is not restricted to esoteric or ecstatic personal experiences, though sometimes speaks through them. This God is not locked in the Bible, though the Bible is pungent with the divine purpose. This God is not hidden in sacraments, though they are signs, seals and means of divine grace. No, this God is forever bursting out of these appointed instruments in order to be more fully with the people of God, all of them. True, this God is also found in private encounters with women and men; but always and only in order that they "go and tell my people . . ." Tell them what? That God is the God of all people, that God is a God of justice and love, that it is God's will that the institutions and practices of society be marked by justice and love.

Such a God is not the private property of the religious. All people are the people of this God, and this God is the God of all people. All people therefore have a deep stake in the commandments, the actions, the judgments, the grace of this God. Issues which to us may seem to be only the affairs of society, to God are the affairs of the family of God. What is currently referred to as "liberation theology," seeing the main thrust of the will of God as being centrally related to the liberation of those oppressed, is but a current attempt, and a powerful one, again to locate God's central presence and everlasting concern where the Christian tradition has always insisted it is — with all of God's people. ■



# Theological Education & Caesar's Household

by T. Richard Snyder

Some of the Christians in Rome were slaves or freedpersons who worked in the Imperial Palace, performing services for the Emperor Nero. Often per-

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**T. Richard Snyder** is Dean of Doctoral Studies at New York Theological Seminary and Director of the ISTEM program (Inter-Seminary Theology Education for Ministry).

sons of great gifts and sometimes of influence and wealth, they exercised power at the pleasure of, and for the sake of, the Emperor.

Being involved in theological education in the United States today is like being in Caesar's Household. The dominant product of our labors appears to be more in service to the controlling values, mores and purposes of our society than in service to the gospel. Like those Christians in Rome,

it is not that we are uninformed by the gospel, nor that we intend to serve mammon rather than God, but that we are caught in an untenable situation that often subtly and unwittingly turns what we do to the service of a master other than the One we proclaim to serve.

Members of the Theological Education Task Force of the Theology in the Americas have been exploring the nature of theological education in our

country today. As a result of the discussions, we have come to some tentative ideas about the effects of theological education. It is because of what we have concluded, however incomplete our conclusions may be, that we make the equation between theological education and Caesar's Household.

It is not without some fear that we draw the analogy. Some might construe our conclusions to be based upon a sense of self-righteousness, pointing the accusing finger at others. We do not mean this. We recognize our own integral complicity in the situation. As clergy and laity, as faculty and students, as church school teachers and pastors, we have all played our part in the creation and maintenance of the situation. Further, we do not mean to imply that there are no faithful witnesses, activities and structures within the church's theological education endeavor. But, as we participate in a variety of judicatories, congregations and seminaries, we have lamentably come to the conclusion that much of what is going on within these circles is in the service of a society which is unjust and out of step with the biblical norms.

We think this because of what we see being introduced by our structures of theological education. While we have spent most of our energy looking at the consequences of seminary, our conclusions also apply to church schools, lay training and teaching sermons. The products of theological education today which cause us such great concern are numerous. I have attempted to gather them under five themes.

### **I. A Focus Upon the Subjective and Autonomous Person**

Perhaps the most obvious and dominant development within theological education today is the emphasis placed upon self-knowledge, self-definition and subjectivity. One of the chief indicators of such an emphasis is the mushrooming interest in pastoral psychological concerns. While there is a strong sense of accountability to indi-

viduals and individual healing, there is little sense of public accountability among Christians.

It is not that pastoral and psychological concern is wrong. Rather, it is that we have displaced any sense of corporate, structural, public accountability for the gospel with a personalized understanding of faith and salvation. When one talks with parish priests, it is common to find that the only area in which they are able to integrate what they have been taught with their current practices of ministry is in this domain of pastoral and psychological care. This leaves them searching for, but largely unable to find, any integration between the tradition and the corpus of our heritage and the pressing life issues of our cities and society, which are increasingly controlled by corporate and institutional structures and processes.

There is a too-frequent anti-institutional and even anti-church bias among increasing numbers of clergy and laity. This can be understood to grow out of legitimate disenchantment with existing structural forms of the church and society. But, it should not lead to escapism or to ignoring the problems, which is often the case. In order to have an adequate understanding of salvation that is offered us, it is necessary to understand the fullness of the principalities and powers which we need to confront. To pretend or to limit ourselves to dealing with one aspect of our sinfulness will leave us with a truncated salvation. By spending all our energy on individuals, we are playing right into Caesar's hand. For, Caesar tells us, by every conceivable means today, that life is individual while at the same time dominating our lives through organizational forms. So long as we accept the myth of individualism, we continue to allow our society to move in the directions now prescribed.

### **II. Dependence Rather Than Interdependence**

One of the great ironies of our

society is that despite the emphasis upon "rugged individualism" and a focus upon the subjective dimensions of life, we have produced a majority who are dependent persons, persons who go along with the crowd; who are convinced that you can't fight City Hall; who are content to let someone else do it.

Three aspects of our educational milieu contribute to the creation of dependent persons. The first is hierarchy. Within most schools, whether seminary or church school, there is a hierarchy both among the teachers, and between the teachers and students. There is little sense that all are on a search; on a journey of discovery; on a pilgrimage of faith. Rather, we are taught and we model a religion which is divided into levels of importance; the most critical division being that of the clergy and laity. When one is indoctrinated and comes to accept the hierarchical model of arranging life, it is well nigh impossible to avoid the feelings of dependency upon those "above" you.

A second aspect of most theological education today is that its pedagogical method is transmissive rather than dialogical. We teach and learn most of the time in the style that Paulo Friere calls the "banking" method of education. The learner is viewed as a recipient into whom the truth is infused, in whatever manner best suited. This sets up a dynamic of expert and non-expert; the result is that we come to rely upon the expert for the answers. He/she is viewed as the font of wisdom and we abdicate our own responsibility.

A third factor is that we have succumbed to a "work's righteousness" within the educational sphere. Emphasis has been placed upon production, with a reward and punishment system that reinforces the production mentality. This permeates all levels, from children's gold stars in the church school, to the system of tenure based upon publication at the seminary faculty level. In so doing, we have allowed our own worth (intellectually) to be

Servants preparing food in the kitchen of a Roman house, as detailed on a funeral monument.



primarily defined by what others have said we are worth. There is little sense of intrinsic worth that comes from a reward/punishment system based upon production. Once again, dependency is fostered.

These factors, and others, lead us to be persons who rely upon others for our authority, our truth and our sense of worth. Rather than building a legitimate mutuality and interdependence, we develop into responsive followers, which leads us to take a predominantly functional approach to life and ministry. The functional approach understands our work as specific tasks to be mastered, based upon the mandates and evaluation of others. This is opposed to an essential approach in which our work is viewed as vocation; central to our very core as persons; called out of us by a community and accountable to a community; and of the very essence of our lives.

### III. Disconnection from Life-Giving Sources

Most of our education is done in isolation from the issues of the world which surround us and in isolation from others except the experts and those similar to us. The result of this isolation is that we are out of touch with many sources of vitality which have brought forth the church and our faith in the first place.

We are disconnected from the church. While some education takes place in the church building, it is seldom that the lives of the people inform it in any substantial way. The bifurcation between the worship ser-

vice and the church school program is an example; they are generally not operated with each other in mind. The worship service is seldom seen as fundamentally part of the educational aspect of the church's life, and vice versa. One of the clues to this bifurcation is the sense that one graduates from church school into "church."

Within the seminaries, the split is often more pronounced. While some of our denominational schools have very clearly cast their lots with the church in its various forms, far too many view themselves as most fundamentally linked to academia, to the university. Hence, we have a predominantly classroom approach to preparation for ministry. Participation in the life of a local parish is encouraged, but it is not usually viewed as being a central part of formation or of the curriculum. The fact that the realities of specific congregational life are not dominant in the theological study of seminaries is indication of the peripheralness of the parish to the enterprise.

Another source of life with which theological education tends to be largely out of touch is the laity. Of course, at the local level, there are lay people teaching courses throughout the church. But, they are teaching "religiously." That is, they are doing what, assumedly, the minister or ordained person could do best if he/she just had more time or could be in several places at once. We often view the laity, and they themselves, as fill-ins. By the time one reaches seminary, the laity have

been successfully weeded out.

There is a special category of people whom the Bible claims is at the center of God's concern, that is, the poor and the oppressed. It is difficult to find these folk at the heart of our educational ventures. While they are often the object of our pity or charity, they are not viewed as sources of truth and wisdom, and we do not incorporate them into the structuring of our education.

Even at the theoretical level, few courses in class analysis are offered, nor is class analysis made a part of the study of most subjects. Our lack of incorporation of those closest to the heart of God is maintained by an unconsciousness about their very reality.

Another of the life-giving sources which can be identified as being all but absent from the core of most theological education is the development of

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Woodcuts on pages 15 and 17 are by Albrecht Durer from his series on "The Life of the Virgin." They are, "The Visitation" and "The Annunciation," respectively.



spirituality. While there is no simple or final definition of what this means, at the least we are talking about the fact that so many of us who go through the entire educational route and move into professional ministry “burn out.” We have not developed resources of interior life. These cannot be separated from the analytical and political task of ministry. Neither can they be eliminated.

Finally, while there is talk about ecumenism, most people are generally isolated within a very small circle of faith experience. An occasional foray into the life of some other tradition might be arranged from time to time, but the sustained involvement and dialogue which has the power to reshape and transform is not there. At the best, we sometimes extend our purview to include the other main-line denominations, but those of other traditions and other faiths tend to remain essentially suspect rather than being viewed as sources of life and truth.

In summary, we have found that theological education, whether in church school or seminary, tends to separate us from some of the essential sources of truth and wisdom that could contribute to our growth.

#### IV. Without Faith

One person from another tradition observing clergy from several of the mainline churches said, “the only problem with them is that they don’t believe in God, Jesus or the Holy Spirit.” While that may not be the best way to describe the plight of those trained theologically today, it does point to the heart of something we

consider to be one of the fundamental products of our education: A lack of faith.

There are several aspects of faith lacking in far too many of our people today. First, they do not believe in the possibility of transformation — of themselves, of people, of society. There is little sense that the power of the resurrection, the power of the spirit, the power of conversion is a reality. The educational system has socialized them into dependency-prone persons who wait for life, assuming all is given, rather than discovered or changed. The routinization of life modeled by our education leads to the expectation of sameness, to a wandering in the wilderness with no hope of the promised land. While we may mouth the jargon about conversion, we live as if it were a fantasy.

Secondly, we do not believe in the remnant promise or reality. If it is not of the majority, we assume it is incorrect. We succumb to the mentality that bigger is better and assume that the wisdom and way of our culture is closer to The Way, The Truth and The Light than some remnant groups’ halting attempts at faithfulness.

Thirdly, we do not believe in the Bible and biblical norms. While we have developed finely-honed critical tools for studying the Bible, we do not allow it to shape and direct our lives in any significant way. It becomes one more tool in our bag of tricks, rather than a primary source for our lives.

Finally, as one of the students in our discussion put it, “theological educa-

tion has taken away from us the ability to dream.”

#### V. The Embodiment of Injustice

Most of us are tired of dealing in “isms” — racism, classism, sexism, ageism, etc. Often, those who have struggled with the issues and questions have been accused of placing too much emphasis upon them. The irony of this accusation is that the very structures of our education foster the issues and “isms.” Theological education represents and perpetuates many aspects of injustice which the gospel condemns. An even cursory analysis turns up the inescapable fact that the seminaries are a bastion at all levels for students, faculty, administration and boards of directors who are white, middle and upper class and, until recently, male. Not only do the methods of theological education produce the consequences mentioned above, but the very composition of those in control and those trained guarantees the above results.

The list of consequences could go on. There are some good consequences of our theological education, to be sure. We have only focused upon those results which seem to feed so integrally the mind-set and direction of our society and which pose questions for us as persons seeking to be faithful to the gospel. Others would draw the line differently.

Some would see exaggerations or skewed perspective in our critique. But, even if what is said here is only half true, this is serious enough to warrant a new look at our theological education structures and methods. ■

# How to Speak of God In an Affluent Society

by M. Douglas Meeks

There is a story about a woman who came up to the philosopher William James after he had given a lecture on cosmology and assured him that the world rested on a giant turtle. He replied by asking her what the turtle stood on. She said, "Well, of course, another turtle." He looked quizzical. She anticipated his question and said, "I know what you're going to ask, Professor James, and it's turtles all the way down."

When we come to the question of how to speak of God in our society, we're asking about what goes all the way down — the question of our deepest assumptions.

To speak of God biblically in our time will mean what Gustavo Gutierrez called a death of present theological intelligence in our church and in our society, because I am certain that the God-concepts and God-talk that organize our churches are the very same God-concepts and talk that organize our capitalist society. The church is called, biblically speaking, not to be non-world, but to be that part of the world that is given over to the Lordship of Jesus Christ. That is, the church is called to be the *transformed world*.

The problem of doing Christian theology in North America is that our churches have become the world but not the transformed world. Therefore, I think simply to form the Church of Jesus Christ in the context of what we normally refer to as the church would be already a transformation of at least part of the world, and for that reason, I'm more and more convinced that the church is a good place to work in the revolution of God in our times and a good place to work for the revolution of our society.

We have been asking ourselves why we are not becoming engaged in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed and the poor in our society. I think, in large part, the reason lies in the two main models of the church that we are working with in North American society.

The first model is that of the church as a voluntary asso-

ciation. Most lay people see the church as the place for leisure time, for what's left over in life. It's the place where everything is voluntary, nothing is obligated or promised or necessary. The church has no real claim upon one's time or resources. When push comes to shove, it's every man and every woman to his or her tent. And thus, the voluntary church becomes the least important institution in the lives of its members and an institution from which one can expect nothing new or transforming for the world.

The other model is the model of the corporation. This is the model that clergy types by and large prefer. The church is principally a structure, an organization that needs to be governed and administered.

Unfortunately, what we're doing in our seminaries today is preparing people to be professional rulers and governors in either one of these churches, so that under the first model we prepare people to be counselors. One becomes a professional minister by becoming adept in the psychotherapeutic theories and by assuming a medical model. We try to work with the internal life of privatized people while our world is becoming more and more disintegrated.

Under the second model, in seminary one learns skills and competence in organizational development and conflict management and becomes adept in ways that will help to administer an organizational structure. These models of the church are disastrous for the Church of Jesus Christ, and unless we can radically transform them, we cannot create a situation in which there can be a liberated and liberating church, which I think demands a covenant model.

Now I think there are two ways of speaking of God from the perspective of a capitalistic view of the church based on the first two models. They have old classical names but they're just as alive today in our society as they have ever been. The first is the attribute of God called *asceity*. That means God has no needs. God is self-sufficient. The second is what classical theologians called *impassibility*. God is incapable of suffering.

In the last analysis, we speak of ourselves and of human beings in terms of the way we conceptualize God. If we speak of God as the One who possesses Himself (and that's what *asceity* means), has no need of going outside of Himself, has total self-sufficiency, is proper to Himself and thus is property of Himself, then we get a peculiarly capi-

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talistic vision of the human being, of the self as private property. This prevents the possibility of entering into solidarity with other human beings, since what one is most afraid of is the loss of self — one's main property. That is the reason that in the middle class church in the modern world the traditions of existentialism with the language of "authenticity" have arisen. Such God language serves the privatism and individualism of the voluntary association. The God language of propriety and property, on the other hand, serves the notion of the church as a corporation. Speaking of God as the impassible private self in possession of itself creates the socio-economic structures which protect the affluence of those who are "divinely" private and self-possessed.

Our task, as we reflect on God in our situation, is to try to find out how to speak of God biblically in our own time. I want to give several very quick points about the way I think the Bible speaks of God.

The first point is that for the Bible, "God" is a *political term*. It is a conflict term. It is a power term. For the Bible has this one main question, namely, "Who has the power ultimately; who really is God?" But the Bible knows quite well that "God" in and of itself is only a technical term. It is a term that is empty and void. It is a formal description of divinity. But that concept is always filled with some history and with some identity, so the main question of the Bible is the "name" of God. To whom does the ascription of divinity belong? The name of God in the Bible is the One "who brought us out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," or the "One who raised Jesus Christ from the dead." Those are names of God and that means the Bible speaks of God always historically, with respect to particular people, special times, and specific places.

The second point is that the Bible always speaks of God in terms of *righteousness*. I think this is our main problem in the middle class churches of North America with respect to speaking of God; namely, we are so reluctant to speak the word "righteousness." I think there can be no covenant community and no liberating church in our midst unless we can again speak of righteousness.

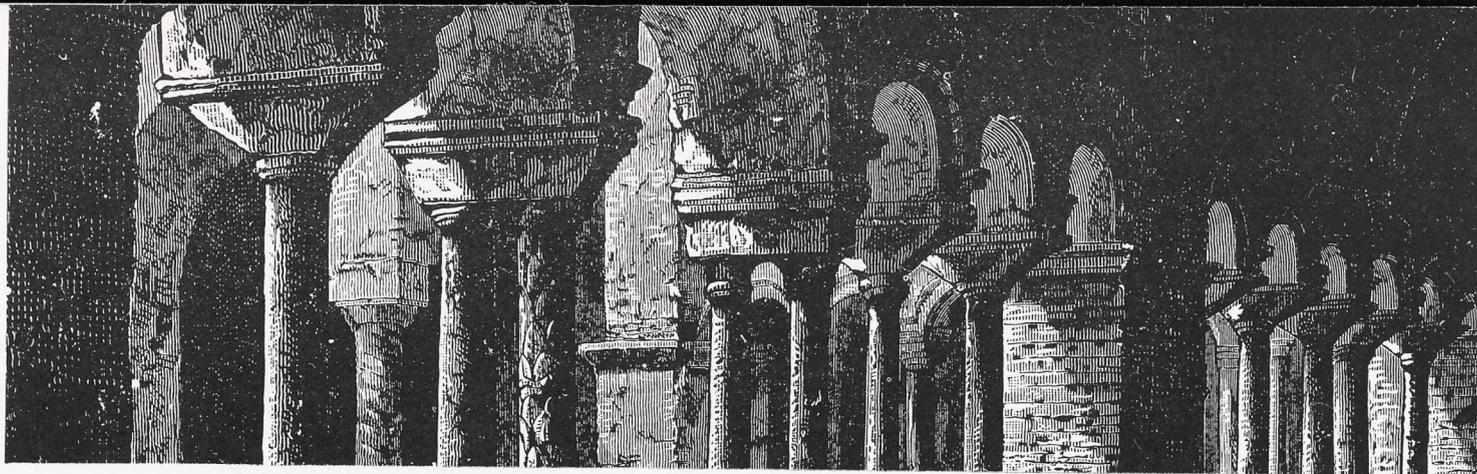
The most convincing theologian in the North American context for our churches was Andrew Carnegie who in 1889 wrote an article called "Wealth," in which he claimed that Christianity has to do only with the second phase of money. It has nothing to do with how one gets one's money. That is determined by the laws of nature, and it does not behoove the church to try to interfere with those laws of tooth and fang. The church takes over after one has money, and it gives some rules of charity about how to disburse it. As long as we talk of God only in uncritical love language, we're going to be guilty of what Marx called the "trip-trap of love." The first and the last word of the

Bible is "righteousness." That is what creation is all about. With the power of righteousness, God calls something out of nothing. The definition of God's righteousness in the biblical tradition is "God's power for life." With His righteousness He calls a people out of a nobody people. At the heart of the Sabbath is righteousness. The content of the resurrection is righteousness, justice. That is, of course, what justification by faith is all about — how to make us justice people; how to make us just.

And so first we have to start using the word "righteousness," even though with our middle class sensibility we don't want to call ourselves "self"-righteous. The problem is, what if we're not righteous; what if we do not have justice in our bowels; what if we do not have the power of God's righteousness to fight the enemies of sin and evil and death in our midst? The biblical assumption is simple but historically realistic: If God's righteousness is absent, death will reign. This language about God makes the Christian life utterly and completely militant.

The third thing is that the Bible speaks of God *economically*. The language of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament is completely economic language. It is the question of how God distributes His powerful life so that His creatures and His creations may live. The New Testament speaks always in a language of abundance and of super-abundance when it talks about the Holy Spirit. The word "economics" means simply the law of the household. It has to do with whether everyone in the household will get what it takes to be human, to live.

The biblical view is that the whole of creation is the household and God is at work in history providing what His people need in order to live. I want to try to bring these things together and relate what I think liberation theology is all about on the methodological level. We who have been liberals are very wary of what the tradition used to call a dogma; what the tradition used to call a "canon within a canon," or a principle of interpretation, a hermeneutic. There will be no covenant society, there will be no covenant church among us, unless we agree on something like a canon within the canon. The canon within the canon doesn't mean that we refuse to read parts of the biblical tradition, but it means we have a way, and we're agreed upon it, to read all of the Bible. We have a way, and we're agreed upon it, to think and speak about God. And that way reads something like this: The righteousness of God in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit comes to the poor, the oppressed, the sinners, and the dying. That is the authoritative way to read the whole of the Scriptures. This brings together, I think, the notions that God language is political language, God language is about history, God language is about economics, and above all God language is about righteousness. ■



Start with the assumption that large institutions (such as seminaries) are not going to be on the forefront of radical social change. Continue with the assumption that Christians are *supposed* to be on the forefront of radical social change. (Those who do not accept this assumption can stop reading now.) Conclude with the assumption that to bring about radical social change some kinds of institutional structures are not only useful but necessary.

Where does one go with all that, if one believes that theological education should be a vehicle for radical social change?

Autobiographical fragment: In the '60s, when I was based in a "secular" university, I found myself in the midst of an exciting, if occasionally terrifying, ferment. As more and more students discovered that they were living in a repressive society (subtly repressive to them, overtly repressive to minorities both at home and abroad), they tried to organize to bring about change. "Free universities," student-initiated curricular changes, alternate models for learning, and (with the heating up of Vietnam protest) direct pressure on university structures for significant change, were the ethos in which we lived and worked and sometimes trembled. It looked like the beginning of a new era.

Most of that is now nostalgia. A few

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of the gains have made a difference; more have been co-opted in ways that do not threaten ongoing university structures, and the rest have been maligned. Things are back to normal, which is to say that the *status quo* has

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## SEMINSEM A Fantasy on Seminaries

by Robert McAfee Brown

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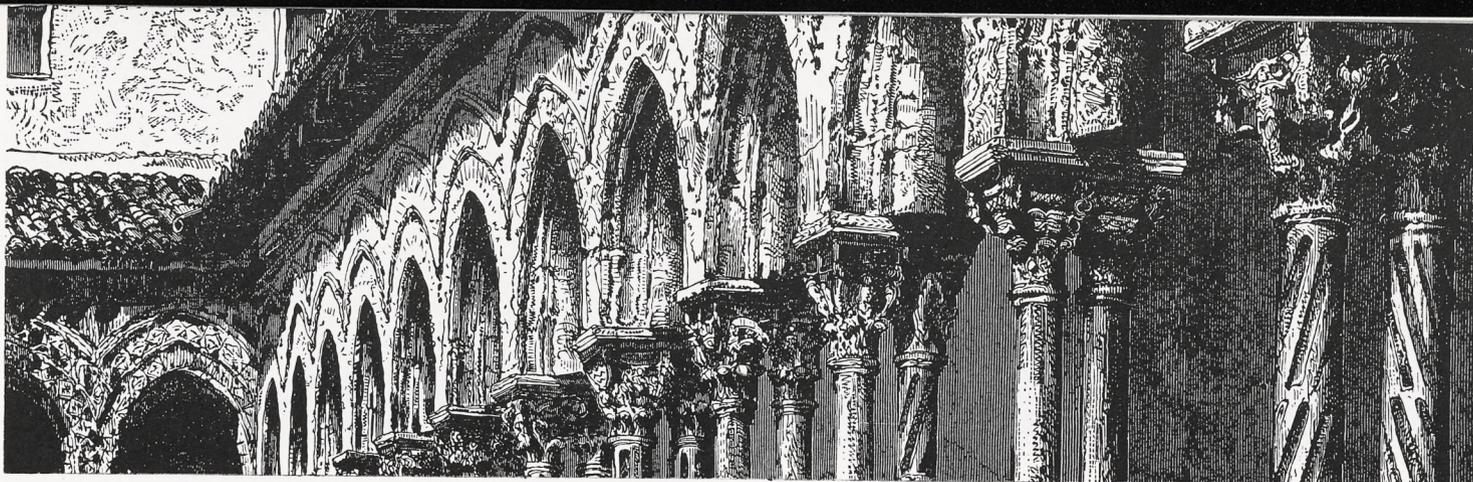
been reaffirmed by most administrators and students.

By the '70s it was clear to me that the universities were an unlikely breeding ground for a genuinely new society. Universities had too much at stake in preserving the old society. Younger radical professors failed to get tenure, admissions processes were tightened up and the "good old days" of the past began to seem more enticing to undergraduates than the new society of the future. Fraternities and sororities are even coming back into favor.

I have this funny quirk, which made no sense to my secular colleagues at Stanford (or to most of my "religious" colleagues, for that matter) that the church still has the potential for being on the frontline of identification and involvement with the poor and oppressed during the next couple of decades. I

do not mean the institutional church *per se*, which will have all the institutional problems of survival (and then some) that beset the universities, the multi-nationals and everybody else. But I think there is still a *remnant within the churches* around which a new agenda could be built, an agenda that would respond affirmatively to the cries of Third World Christians and would examine seriously what changes in life-style, theological methodology, "revisionist" understanding of church history, and so forth, might be involved in preparing to live within that remnant community.

It was my earlier hope that there might be some seminaries (even one seminary) where this could happen. While such a proposal might be impossible in denominational schools, beholden as they are to denominational structures that are likewise beholden to the "principalities and powers," I thought that perhaps certain inter-denominational seminaries might put such concerns at the top of their agenda. I am no longer sanguine about that either. If such places exist, I do not yet know their names, addresses or zip codes. For they, too, are beholden to sources of financial support that can scarcely permit such blatant misuse of funds, and they too are dug into individual institutional histories that make radical change highly unlikely. As long as significant numbers of a tenured faculty look upon the '60s as an "intrusion" into the true tasks of theological education and Christian scholarship, to be put behind as fully as possible so that everybody can get back to



the “real work” of seminary education, there is hardly any power conceivable (maybe not even that of the Holy Spirit), that is going to turn such institutions around.

What is one to do? There are a number of possible scenarios:

One could simply keep on trying; repeating in ever more lonely fashion that current trends are all wrong; losing four allies for every one gained; content to be the “lone voice,” the creative minority opinion; tolerated only because one is not powerful enough to engage in a significant threat to the structures.

One could also adopt a low profile, playing along with the crowd in order to survive, but in one’s own teaching and writing trying quietly but persistently to intrude new ideas into structures that want no part of them. The price of doing this is likely to be co-optation.

One could throw in the towel, but the price is likely to be one’s soul.

Or, one could start a new seminary. It would be made up of those who share a like-minded set of goals and objectives for the future. It would not be hard to assemble a faculty; many younger teachers (and even a few older ones) would positively lust for the opportunity to create such an institution. But it would be exceedingly hard to *pay* the faculty.

Other small obstacles in the way of starting from scratch are the need for a decent library (several million dollars); the need for buildings to house the library and the students and the classrooms and the faculty and the admin-

istration; the need for funds to offer large scholarships, since students coming to such a seminary would not come from the affluent strata of society; the need for funds for promotion, advertising, etc. and the need for considerable endowment to carry the seminary along once the original donors had discovered what was really happening and withdrew their support.

(Qualifying note to the above: A place like New York Theological Seminary has solved many of the problems by *getting rid* of its library, buildings, tenured faculty, etc. A bold and exciting venture, but one partly described by the concerns of the rest of this article.)

The above scenarios are less than adequate. Could there be another scenario? (Here is where the fantasy part comes in.)

Imagine a center of theological learning — any center of theological learning. It has buildings, library, faculty, endowment and students, along with a tradition of being open to a *few* new ideas, so long as they don’t seriously threaten buildings, faculty, endowment, students and the tradition of being open to a few new ideas. Before the boom is lowered there is at least a little time and breathing space. For awhile. What could be done in such a situation to educate the remnant for the future? A few proposals:

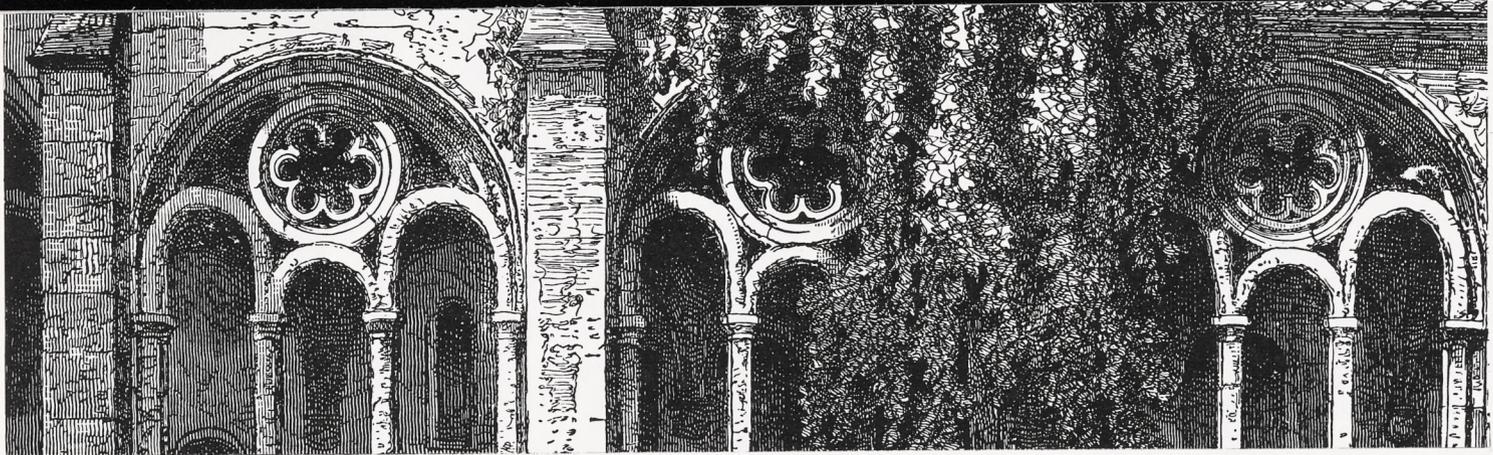
Accept being part of such a situation. There will be institutional demands and commitments to be met, and these have an appropriate claim upon a certain portion of one’s time and energy, if one is either a student or

a faculty member at such a place. But insist on being more than just a part of such a situation. Alongside the existing institutional vision must be set another, alternate vision. Being “in and yet not of” an existing structure is part of the legacy of Christian existence that needs new adaptation for today. How, in a creative rather than destructive use of the word, could one “exploit” an institutional structure for ends it did not envision for itself?

A possible model: Conceive of oneself as part of a “Seminsem” — a seminary-within-a-seminary. To be part of Seminsem would mean to be part of a self-conscious, intentional community *within* the overall seminary structure, *as well as* part of the seminary structure itself. Dual citizenship. How would it work?

Perhaps 75 per cent of the curriculum of Seminsem could be provided by the already existing seminary. Basic material about the Bible, church history, systematic theology and so on could be provided by the already-existing structures; exposure to such things is part of what seminary education is all about. An increasing restlessness about just *how* it is disseminated and appropriated is the reason for the next provision.

At least 25 per cent of the curriculum would need to be created by the members of Seminsem, both “faculty” and “students” (a distinction of limited value in a place like Seminsem). Some of this might involve asking what one *does* today with the biblical or historical material one has acquired in conventional fashion — a question



conventional seminary courses seem notoriously nervous about asking. Another curriculum task would be to pose the whole question of how education takes place, *i.e.* what is deficient about conventional models (thus making Semisem necessary) and how can appropriate remedial work be done before the conventional models have destroyed one's ability to seek an education. There would need to be at least sample seminars in substantive subject matter that would be explored along non-traditional lines — not a case of having an “expert” impart information into students' minds, but a cooperative venture of exploring what the Christian faith means today.

The distinctive life of Semisem would thus have to be organized around action/reflection models, for which the term *praxis* has come to be a convenient shorthand and symbol. Semisem would need to have its own life clearly anchored in the community around it — not the “academic” community but the community of the workers, the unemployed, the artists, the politicians, maybe even some Church practitioners. It would be important to have theological questions posed *out of* such encounters, rather than having theological answers imposed *upon* such encounters. This would imply the presence of some non-seminarians in all learning situations so that there could be a challenge to abstract theorizing. This means that theological reflection would grow out of commitment to action on behalf of — or more properly, alongside of — victims in our present society. The imperative for change would need to

inform the distinctively Semisem curriculum.

Semisem would need some kind of geographical focal point. It might be a house “in town” in which some of the members lived; it might be a room within the regular seminary structures, set apart for Semisem activities. But it would be a place where those with similar concerns and commitments could regularly gather to share insights, frustrations, breakthroughs and hopes.

There should be some kind of minimal corporate discipline. All three words are important. At the start it should be *minimal* — not making demands that would scare away potential interest, nor so highflown as to be unrealistic. The nature of the demands should grow gradually out of the group experience rather than being arbitrarily imposed upon it by those who got there first. The discipline should be *corporate* — a commitment by all to group sharing of work, study, results, liturgy, chores, whatever. And it should be a *discipline* — something clearly and consciously agreed upon and not merely left to individual whimsy. There should be some mark or style to indicate the nature of the life being shared. The point of this is that more than an “academic atmosphere” is needed. Too many seminaries are so self-conscious about their academic side that they minimize or ignore the importance of a communal life-style commensurate with the material under scrutiny. The life of Semisem, on the contrary, must somehow embody what it is talking and studying about. Furthermore, any attempts at exclusive-

ness or preciousness should be avoided. All that Semisem does should be open to all; any who wish to participate in its meetings, enroll in its courses and share in its disciplines, activities and involvements should be welcome. Otherwise, how will it grow?

In all of this, it is important to be open and upfront about what is going on. Semisem should not be a sneaky or covert operation. Those in charge of the institution where it is present should be informed of its goals and activity; their cooperation should be elicited. Members of Semisem should have a written statement of intention, should elicit space and other amenities from the seminary, seek for course credit for its operations and try to be an arm of the seminary itself. The idea is, of course, to subvert whatever present models are inadequate, but it should be possible for administrators initially scared by experimentation to adopt the Gamaliel Test: “If this plan or this undertaking is of men, it will fail; but if it is of God, you will be unable to overthrow them.” — a no-lose situation for any sensitive administrator.

Finally, let all be provisional. Mistakes will be made; these should be acknowledged and rectified. Critique from outside should be welcome; critique from inside should be mandatory. (Let this outline come under the mandate of critique from either source.) The goal is not to become an autonomous institution; the goal is to transform the existing institution, by the power of example and attraction, so that the need for Semisem will disappear. ■

# Liberation Theology: Suspicion, Hope, Commitment

by Beatriz Melano Couch

What kind of hermeneutics does the theology of liberation use? How do we deal with the whole issue of interpretation? I believe that this point is what greatly divides contemporary theologies, cutting across confessional boundaries.

Let me point out some issues that we have to keep in mind which are essential to any kind of theology. In the first place, Christianity is not a collection of ideas but the continual interpretation of facts, of fundamental events. These events are told and already interpreted in the Bible. Therefore, Christianity is a biblical religion. These events record the dealings between God and His people. Even though God may speak through individuals He is always pointing toward a more global action which has to do with humanity as a whole. From the very beginning, the Old Testament, as well as the New, is the interpretation of these basic events. Therefore, the hermeneutical task is not something which we have initiated, but rather it is already present in the Bible itself, describing reality as it has been seen and lived by the prophets, by the people of Israel, by Christ Himself, by the early church.

Secondly, let us keep in mind another basic point. It has been presupposed that we can approach the Bible in a state of what I would call an "original naivete," disengaging ourselves from culture, from our own ideals, from our own internalized images, from our own philosophical and ethical presuppositions, and then apply Scripture to the reality of the world. Theology has been thought of as an endeavor that one can do as if one were working in a laboratory with 100 per cent pure containers. This is false.

We have to be aware when we approach the Scriptures that we are already conditioned by some kind of philosophical, ethical, political and social background. The her-

meneutics of the theology of liberation starts with what we may call the hermeneutics of suspicion. Paul Ricoeur initiates a kind of hermeneutics of suspicion and Juan Luis Segundo also uses this expression, but this type of thinking is already present in Marx, Nietzsche and Freud. Ricoeur points out the need to expose the false conscience which poses itself as the foundation of meaning. But he does not go beyond this point, as the theology of liberation does; that is to say, to the consideration of the political, social, and economic situation. We have to suspect our own ideas with which we approach the Bible and be aware that they are already the product of the kind of political and social background in which we are immersed.

As I see it, we should begin with two considerations. The first one is the suspicion about our own ideas as we approach the Scriptures; the second is suspicion about our methods. There are no innocent methods; every method presupposes a theory with its own limitations and within its own purposes.

The theology of liberation turns to the modern social sciences as necessary tools for describing in a more scientific and objective way the reality in which we are immersed, not only to unmask our own false conscience but to unmask the distortion and oppression under which the peoples of the Third World live today. It hopes to avoid the danger of reading into the text only our own conditioning, with the aim of freeing the text, letting the text speak with all its urgency, depth, and power. And then it hopes to let the text itself rephrase our own questions and rephrase our own conceptions about life and death, our own epistemology, our own knowledge of society, our ethics, politics, etc. A more accurate knowledge of society will also rephrase our own questions and conceptions. Summing up, the hermeneutics of the theology of liberation is done in a dialectic relationship between reality as it is described by the modern social sciences and then reflection on the Scripture and vice versa.

Let me point out something about the kind of reflection that we try to do on the Bible. It is a reflection which is

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being born of the way we experience reality. This reflection points out the contradictions of our own society, the contradictions within our own selves, between the church and the gospel, between the Bible and academic theology. I would insist that these reflections have to spring from suffering; by this I mean from the immersion in conflict and in struggle to survive as free human beings. Only if the reflection emerges from that kind of situation can we move on from just condemning what is wrong. Usually, to condemn is very easy — we just point out; we get out our hate and our anger. But when we are immersed in the situation — when a little boy comes to look for leftover food in the garbage at my doorstep; when a friend is assassinated in the streets, or when an ex-student is taken to jail — then it is not a matter of merely pointing out what is wrong. That very situation leads us to commitment, a commitment to change what is wrong and not just to condemn it; to change it not by our own authority but by entering into God's purpose and dealing with what the theology of liberation calls "efficacious love."

In summary, the hermeneutics of liberation theology is a hermeneutics of suspicion and a hermeneutics of hope born of engagement. I would call it then a hermeneutics of engagement or a hermeneutics of commitment, of political commitment.

I will now draw some theological implications from this. I am not going to elaborate upon these ideas; I will simply mention them. I think we have to get away from some mortal (fatal) alternatives into which it is easy to fall. These alternatives are:

1. Existential engagement vs. theoretical engagement (which we can call a state of neutrality!). To think that one can be neutral in today's world is to believe that one can fail to be present, that we can afford the luxury of being simply absent, taking no sides, no options. We are all present one way or another in this historical moment and we either contribute to the liberation of the oppressed of the world or we contribute to exploitation and injustice.

2. Love of God vs. love of neighbor. "For he who does not love the brother and sister who can be seen cannot love God whom one cannot see." (I John 4:20).

3. Violence vs. non-violence. Love is always violent: Love breaks; love erupts; love brings forth; love creates. If it only destroys it is not love, but if it is only an idea, a feeling or a resignation, it is not biblical love.

4. Theology of liberation of a people vs. theology of liberation of individual groups. In the first should be included the liberation of all groups. I cannot be free while my neighbor is under oppression. Is there such a thing as individual liberation?

5. Ideology vs. faith. Faith is expressed in praxis, not only in ideas but in action. Ideology is a coherent nexus of

values, ideas, beliefs, customs, attitudes. Both faith and ideology are expressed in ideas and in ways of life. Even though, for the Christian, faith is communion with Christ, it is very difficult to make a clear-cut distinction to determine where one begins and the other ends.

6. History vs. eschatology. We have to interpret eschatology in terms of the kingdom that is already here and now — the kingdom that is present and the kingdom that is to come. Therefore, we shall move away from the dichotomy between the future of the human race and the future of God. God's future is our present; our present should reflect God's future.

7. Theology of the elite vs. theology of a people on the march which is seeking to be faithful. Being immersed in the situation means being one with others, becoming one flesh with the "other," especially those who are the oppressed of the world. The future of the theology is not going to be the task of *prima donnas*; it is not going to be the responsibility of a few, but our common reflection as a people as we search to interpret God's word and His purposes for our time. The New Testament shows us that the events of Christ were interpreted within a community. The New Testament writers were not isolated people; they belonged to a community of proclamation, worship and service. The theology of liberation is a theology on the march. It is an open theology in the sense that it is not a finished product; it is open in the sense that it is not a closed system of abstract dogmatic truths. If theology is disengaged from the particular situation, it is irrelevant. It cannot be separated from the common church experience, from the common sharing of the struggles and hopes of the people who search for a more human and just society. It assumes suffering; it assumes praxis; it assumes the challenge of faith today.

8. There is an additional dichotomy which I have not yet mentioned. We have to get away from the alternative between one truth and many interpretations. That is a mortal alternative too. The truth is not something we invent, of which we have an intuition; it is not something we create; it is not an ideal we produce. It is an incarnate reality that we discover, that judges our action and confirms it, and that throws light on the road ahead.

Just one final word. What does this mean to us women in the church? I think that, precisely because of the rediscovery of the evangelical truth in the situation and in the Scripture, we dare not fail as women to assume the challenge with which we are faced in the task of doing theology today. We must assume together with men the task of the theology of liberation. And probably some light will be thrown on a theology that was done by only one-half of the population of the world for two thousand years. ■

# Liberation Mariology

by Rosemary Ruether



One of the new themes that surfaced during the recent Latin American Bishops' Conference in Puebla, Mexico (January-February, 1979), in both the speeches of Pope John Paul II and in the document of the conference itself, was Liberation Mariology. Mary is said to be the representative of the poor and the oppressed. This theme was enunciated in the later speeches of the Pope in Mexico, such as in his speeches at Guadalajara and Zapopan. It was picked up at several points in the final document, especially in the section on the preferential option for the poor (XVIII, 12). Quoting from the Pope's speech at Zapopan, the document declares:

*From Mary, who in her Magnificat proclaims that salvation has to do with justice to the poor "there flows authentic commitment to the rest of humanity, our brothers and sisters, especially for the poorest and the most needy and to the transformation of society."*

How are women, especially Christian feminists, to respond to this theme?

For most Christian women, especially Catholics, Mariology has not been experienced as exactly liberating in the past. The Mariology we have known from our upbringing has been primarily a tool of repression. Mary has embodied all that the clerical, celibate, male-dominated church wished to enforce upon women in the patriarchal ideal of "femininity." In traditional Christian culture, femininity has had two dominant themes: (1) — "purity" or sexual repression and (2) — passivity or total receptivity to

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**Rosemary Ruether**, feminist theologian, is Georgia Harkness Professor of Applied Theology at Garrett Evangelical Seminary, Evanston, IL., and author of *New Woman/New Earth*.

the demands of a male divinity and "His" representatives, ruling class males. "Be it done to me according to Thy Word" was not presented to us as a radical, autonomous decision of a woman to risk her life on a divine messianic venture outside of established society. On the contrary, it summed up that docility to male demands that should be the appropriate response of women to fathers, husbands and priests.

Mary was both the ideal model for this "femininity" and at the same time a model that no actual woman could hope to emulate, thus casting all real women into the shade as tainted daughters of Eve.

For Christian women, who, through a process of painful growth, have at length freed themselves from this repressive ideal, Mary is not exactly someone they want to welcome back with open arms as their liberator. Any claims in that direction sound contrived and are rightly greeted with great suspicion. "With a friend like that, who needs enemies," we might well think! Such a theme is all the more suspicious when it is enunciated by a Polish Pope and a Latin American bishops' conference packed with conservatives. The Pope, in his pronouncements so far, has been consistently traditionalist in his views of women. His initial Mariological statements in Mexico (and Poland) sounded like the worst of reactionary piety. So one was hardly prepared for anything prophetic to come from that direction.

Nevertheless, I would argue that a Mariology read from the Magnificat may be an important topic linking feminist and liberation theologies. By endorsing this theme the Pope and the Latin American bishops allowed a piece of dynamite to be smuggled into their well-secured ecclesiastical houses, inside what only superficially looks like a piece of traditional statuary. It is for us who are concerned with feminist and liberation theologies to detonate this piece of dynamite and blow the cover off the statuary.

The key text for Liberation Mariology is taken from Luke 1:47-55, in which the pregnant Mary declares to her cousin Elizabeth:

*My soul magnifies the Lord, and  
my spirit rejoices in God my  
Savior.*

*for He has looked upon the  
low estate of His handmaiden  
and behold all generations  
shall call me blessed,*

*for He who is mighty has done  
great things for me and Holy  
is His name.*

*and His mercy is unto generation  
after generation on them that  
fear Him,*

*He has shown the strength of His  
arm*

*He has scattered the proud in the  
imagination of their hearts,*

*He has put down the mighty  
from their thrones and exalted  
those of low degree;*

*He has filled the hungry with  
good things, and the rich He  
has sent empty away.*

*He has helped His servant Israel  
in the remembrance of His  
mercy.*

This Lukan text (which echoes the Old Testament text of I Samuel 2:1-10) is, I would argue, the only place in the New Testament where Mary herself is advanced as a personification of a Christian theological principle. Here, Mary personifies the church or the messianic Israel (while, in the historical sections of the synoptics, she represents the old Israel as unbelieving kinsfolk, and, I would argue, that this is also her role in the two key texts about Mary in the Gospel of John as well). Luke's nativity narrative is the only part of the New Testament that makes Mary herself both an active agent in Christian salvation and ascribes to her a crucial significance for Christian theology. If there is to be any genuinely New Testament Mariology, it must take Luke's nativity narrative as its source and the Magnificat as its critical norm.

As the embodiment of the church,

the messianic Israel, it is Mary's faith, acting as an autonomous, free agent, that is the pivot of that human response to God that makes possible the messianic advent. For Luke, this is not primarily a biological event (much less a biological freak event), but a faith event. Without faith, no miracles can happen. Without human response, God cannot act. This is the radical dependence of God on humanity that Christian theology has so often denied. Mary's faith makes possible God's entrance into history.

Luke's nativity story must be understood in the context of another of his texts which would appear to contradict much of that traditional Marian piety that glorifies the marvels of Mary's "womb." This is the saying in Luke 11:27-28 where the woman raises her voice in the crowd to cry: "Blessed is the womb that bore you and the paps that gave thee suck." Jesus, replies, "Nay, rather, blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it." For Luke, the miracle of the nativity does not have to do with blessing womb and paps, but is the miracle of God's liberating action made possible precisely because Mary, in her acceptance, is the one who "hears the word of God and keeps it."

What kind of miracle comes about because Mary hears the word of God and accepts it? Are we simply to move now to the Christmas story with the sweet picture of Mary as young mother absorbed in her new born baby? The text of the Magnificat ignores or sweeps past all of this. The important point of Mary's faith is that through it God's liberating action can become effective in history, the liberating action which God has promised to Abraham and to his "seed." This liberating action is expressed in a revolutionary transformation of the social order. The social hierarchy of wealth and poverty, power and subjugation is turned upside down. Mary is highly exalted, not because she is so happy to be pregnant. She is exalted because through her God is working a revolution in history. Or,

to be more specific, she herself embodies that oppressed and subjugated people who have been liberated and exalted through God's liberating action. She is not merely an "advocate" or "agent" of God; she is herself the liberated Israel; the humiliated ones who have been lifted up; the hungry ones filled with good things. The language for this liberation in Luke is explicitly economic and political. The mighty are put down from their thrones; the rich are sent empty away.

This theme grates unpleasantly on most Christians' ears. Since many North American Christians, in any case, regard themselves as near, if not exactly *on*, the thrones of the mighty and as moderately "filled with good things" already, the idea of God's salvation as a judgmental choice is offensive. We prefer to regard God as loving rich and poor alike. A divine liberation that might send the rich empty away is one whose judgmental hand might fall upon *us*! Perhaps it is we who are to be put down from our thrones? Perhaps it is our riches that are to be swept from our hands?

Luke's social revolutionary message in the Magnificat accords with a bias found throughout his gospel. The same emphasis is found in his version of the beatitudes:

*Blessed are the poor, for yours is the kingdom of God,  
Blessed are you who hunger now for you shall be satisfied.*

Lest the point not be clear, these are followed by their judgmental opposites:

*But woe to you who are rich, for you have received your consolation.*

*Woe to you who are full now, for you shall hunger (6:20-25).*

Contrast this blunt economic language of Luke with Matthew's spiritualization:

*Blessed are the poor in spirit . . .  
Blessed are those who hunger and thirst after righteousness . . .  
(Mt. 5:3,6).*



Stories of social iconoclasm play a marked role in Luke's gospel. Luke goes out of his way to point out examples of special divine favor and forgiveness upon those classes of people who are despised by the wealthy, powerful and traditionally religious. Jesus eats with sinners and gives special favor to publicans. The stories of the good Samaritan and the rich man and Lazarus also make the point that those reviled by the society find favor with God.

Among these stories of social iconoclasm in Luke, a large number have to do with the vindication of women, especially poor women, and despised women, prostitutes. The story of the widow's mite, the story of the forgiveness of the prostitute who has faith, the healing of the woman with the flow of blood, the defense of Mary's right to discipleship are among the Lukan stories that lift up the favor of women by the messianic prophet.

The poor and despised in the present social system are constantly presented in Luke's gospel as the *avante garde* of the Kingdom of God. It is they who are more open to the Word of God, more able to read the signs of the times than the rich, the powerful and the righteous. Jesus even thanks God that the meaning of the times has been hidden from the educated and revealed to the simple ones. (Lk. 10:21). All this is a part of a common synoptic tradition, of course. In Matthew 21:31, it is said that the tax collectors and the harlots will go into the Kingdom of God ahead of the scribes and Pharisees (read: clerics and theologians). But Luke particularly favors this element in the tradition.

It is Luke also who shapes Jesus' inaugural sermon to stress the continuity of His mission with the prophetic tradition. Quoting from Isaiah, Jesus announces that the Spirit of God:

*has anointed me to preach good news to the poor, proclaim release*

*to the captives, the recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.*

In other words, the coming of the Kingdom of God, the acceptable year of the Lord, is manifest precisely in these liberating events: Good news to the poor; release to the captives, setting at liberty the oppressed. In the words of the Lord's prayer, the definition of God's Kingdom come is God's will done on earth.

Luke's sensitivity to women as members of the poor and despised vindicated by the messianic prophet adds an additional dimension to Mary's identity in the *Magnificat*. As the first believer whose faith makes possible the messianic advent, she is a particularly appropriate personification in the church, the messianic Israel. But, also, as a woman, she particularly represents those classes of the subjugated who will be lifted by and filled with good things in the messianic revolution.

The Puebla document basically understands this interpretation of the church when they place the Mariology of the *Magnificat* in the context of the "preferential option for the poor." It is important to understand this idea correctly. It is not that Mary, as an aristocratic "lady," opts for the poor in the manner of *noblesse oblige*, or that the church advocates the poor, in the manner of the patronage of the poor by the rich. Within the document there is confusion over this, and, at times, the bishops slip into the patronizing understanding of advocacy of the poor.

But, in the section on preferential option for the poor, the authentic understanding is clear. It is, first of all, God who opts for the poor, not us. And God's opting for the poor makes the poor the preferential locus for understanding who the church is. The church *is* the poor and oppressed whom God is vindicating. The non-poor join the church by joining God in that preferential option for the poor

and identifying themselves with the cause of the oppressed. This is very different than the monopolization of the identity of the church by a social establishment who then take it upon themselves to patronize the poor.

Many women, however, will still resist the notion of a female personalization of the church. This is because, for most of us, the dominant symbols still remain male. A male divinity is seen as vindicating a female personified Israel. A male messianic espouses the female church. When the God-Israel, or Christ-Church symbolism as male and female is read in this way, it tends to fall back into the traditional hierarchical pattern of patriarchal marriage. This, of course, is the way the symbolism is picked up and used in Ephesians 5 where the Christ-Church symbol becomes explicitly a model of male headship in marriage. As long as the female personalization of the church is linked with this symbolism of husband over wife, as head over body, it will not only be offensive to feminists, but, I believe, will miss the meaning of the church in the *Magnificat*.

A different option is available in the synoptics which is incompatible with the ecclesiology of Ephesians 5. This is the understanding of the messianic prophet, and those who hear and follow Him, as those who have rejected the model of power and domination. The Son of Man comes not to be served, but to serve, and give His life as ransom for many. Likewise, those who are to follow Him must not seek to lord it over others, must not be called Father, Master or Teacher, but must be ready to empty out power in service to others. The male symbol for God and the Messiah, therefore, is important only in the sense that maleness itself, as a traditional symbol and social expression of domination, is here undergoing its own *kenosis*. Those who have traditionally embodied power empty out power in order to empower others. Those who have been subjugated are empowered to throw off their servitude and enter into their inheritance as

people of God.

This means that, in the messianic revolution which empties out divine power into service to the poor, the primary identity of the people of God ceases to be taken, symbolically, from the ruling classes, *i.e.*, sons and princes. Instead, the primary identity of the people of God comes from the poor and despised, women and slaves. Women and slaves now have the symbolic priority for the church's identity. They go into the Kingdom of God *first*. The rich man will enter only by selling what he has and giving to the poor. And experience tells us that, when faced with this demand, most rich young men will shake their heads and go sadly away.

In order to liberate ourselves from the male headship model of the Christ-Church symbol, we must recognize the full meaning of this *kenosis* of God in Christ. As God is emptied out in service in Christ, so Christ is emptied out in service to the liberated people. This means that, in the liberating messianic event, the identity of the messianic prophet is now transferred to the messianic people. It is they (or, symbolically, "she") who represents the ongoing messianic presence in the world. This transfer of messianic identity to the people is particularly strong in the second half of the Gospel of John: As the vine, so the branches. This also means that just as the world (those in power) have hated me, so they will hate and persecute you.

The church is the ongoing Christ as the liberated poor who continue to serve and liberate others. And also, as those who suffer, as those who pay the price for this struggle for liberation. Mary, as the personified church, the liberated poor, cannot become model for continued subjugation, but rather of messianic empowerment. She is *alter Christus*. She is the messianic people who continues the liberating action of God in the world. The last becomes first and the first last. A poor woman of despised race is the head of the church. ■

(Continued from page 2)

Church is starting to look better all the time by comparison.

I despair because despite all the lip-service paid to equality, I learned from Ms. Heywood's articles that as a heterosexual (excuse the box), I contribute to patriarchy, laissez-faire, and male headship. Why she left out the charge of over-population is a mystery to me.

Lastly, I despair because I am bored by so much of what is called "feminist theology." Most of it is uninspiring and weighted down with such a trendy jargon of its own that the gap is only widened between hearing and comprehension (e.g. "radical mutuality"?). To find anything worthwhile in the genre of feminist theology I find I must look back to persons like Dorothy Sayers and Virginia Woolf. One layperson cries out for some imagination, clarity and real scholarship in feminist theology — or in the spirit of that awful woman-hater Paul: "How about some strong meat?"

**Judith Maltby  
Champaign, Ill.**

## Ms. Heyward Responds

Thank you for sending the letters of response to my article. Let me reply briefly to two who seem to be seeking substantive dialogue on the issue of sexuality: Douglas Schewe's question about celibacy seems to me an important question. As an option, meaning a voluntary decision rather than a coercive mandate, celibacy may be a creative means of expressing, and directing, one's sexuality. Certainly, many people have experienced it to be and believe that it is. But there are also people, including many Roman Catholic priests and nuns, who testify boldly that celibacy is, in *their* experience, an "unnatural, unhealthy, and unholy" way of being in relationship. In any case, I believe the element of choice is most fundamentally at issue.

Joanne Droppers raises important theological issues in her letter. The issue that she raises with me, namely the question of God's transcendence, is an issue with which I struggle constantly,

and only tentatively try to resolve in what I write. The fact is, however, and the Hebrew will bear this out, "I am becoming who I am becoming" is a legitimate, and rather common, interpretation of God's identity, "I am who I am I." Another common translation is "I will be who I will be." The theme I am attempting to explore in my article is *not* that humanity and God are synonymous, nor that humanity has no sin (or alienation from God), but responsibly, in acts of love — transcends all categories of what is "simply human" and what is divine, or of what is profane and what is sacred. And just as we experience *ourselves* in flux, changing, becoming — in relation to one another and in relation to that which we believe is God — so too might we experience *God's* own changing and becoming — with us, here on the earth. What is implicit in my article is my belief that God benefits from humanity's love for humanity.

Finally, I would only wish that Judith Maltby, who has read so many of my articles, and who is inspired by scholarly precision, might spell my name correctly.

**The Rev. Carter Heyward  
New York, N.Y.**

## Not a Religious Concern

Your June issue was a distinct disappointment. Your biased and rabid anti-nuclear editorial comment did not become you — nor did the article by Sam Day, Jr., a known dyed-in-the-wool environmentalist. There are two sides to this nuclear question and the problem of national energy is in no sense religious nor ethical. So I would much prefer that my church and its publications stay within its provinces. Next thing I will be told how to vote for our next president. Otherwise, your WITNESS was quite interesting.

**F. Weddell, Jr., M.D.  
San Luis Obispo, Cal.**

## Hitting Bed Rock

I'm hastening to send for a permanent subscription to THE WITNESS. You're

hitting bed rock here.

The William Stringfellow series you are running poses central issues for the church. And Sam Day's "H-Bomb's Three-Mile Island?" article in the June issue was timely. It brought to mind Norman Cousins' article in the July 7 issue of the *Saturday Review*, on the time bomb ticking as the result of our failure, politically and in every other way, to master nuclear power and the disposal of nuclear waste.

The selection of Father Paul Washington to receive the William Spofford award at the General Convention in Denver was an excellent one. There couldn't be a more fitting recognition of a very exceptional man. I treasure the memories of my adventures with him in the Church of the Advocate — one of the great experiences of my career in public life. He taught me so much.

The award to the Right Rev. Daniel Corrigan rang a bell. I recollect meeting with him on one or two occasions somewhere in the past at the Home Department of the Executive Council, in New York. Wit, warmth, energy, and intellect are among the impressions of him that persist.

You have my heartiest wish for success and my testimony of personal satisfaction with THE WITNESS.

**Joseph W. Barr, Jr.  
Harrisburg, Pa.**

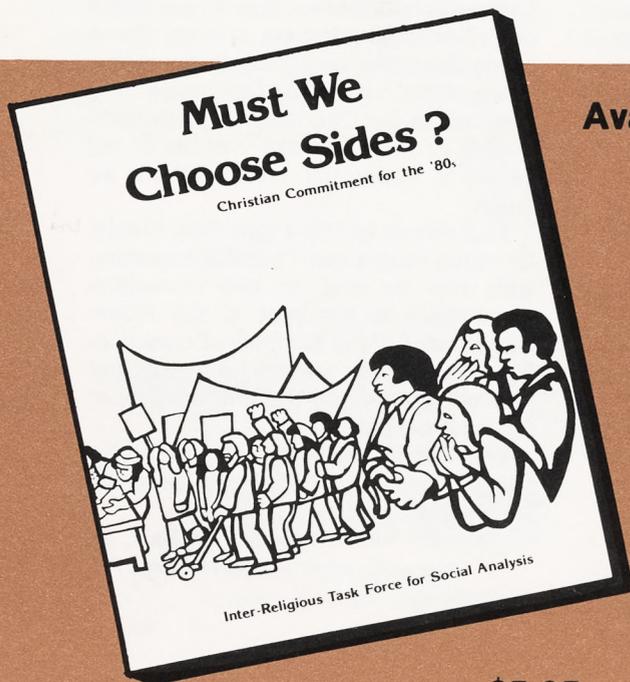
## Helpful to Community

As a member of a new community (40 members; 7 years old) of religious women (hopefully some men, too, in the near future!) in the Roman Catholic Church, I am particularly grateful to be receiving your publication, THE WITNESS. I don't know who subscribed to the magazine for me, but one thing is certain — I want to continue receiving it! Many of us in our community, the Emmaus Community, are concerned about the issue of women in the church. Your magazine is very informative and helpful.

**Sister Rita M. Rene  
Deal, N.J.**

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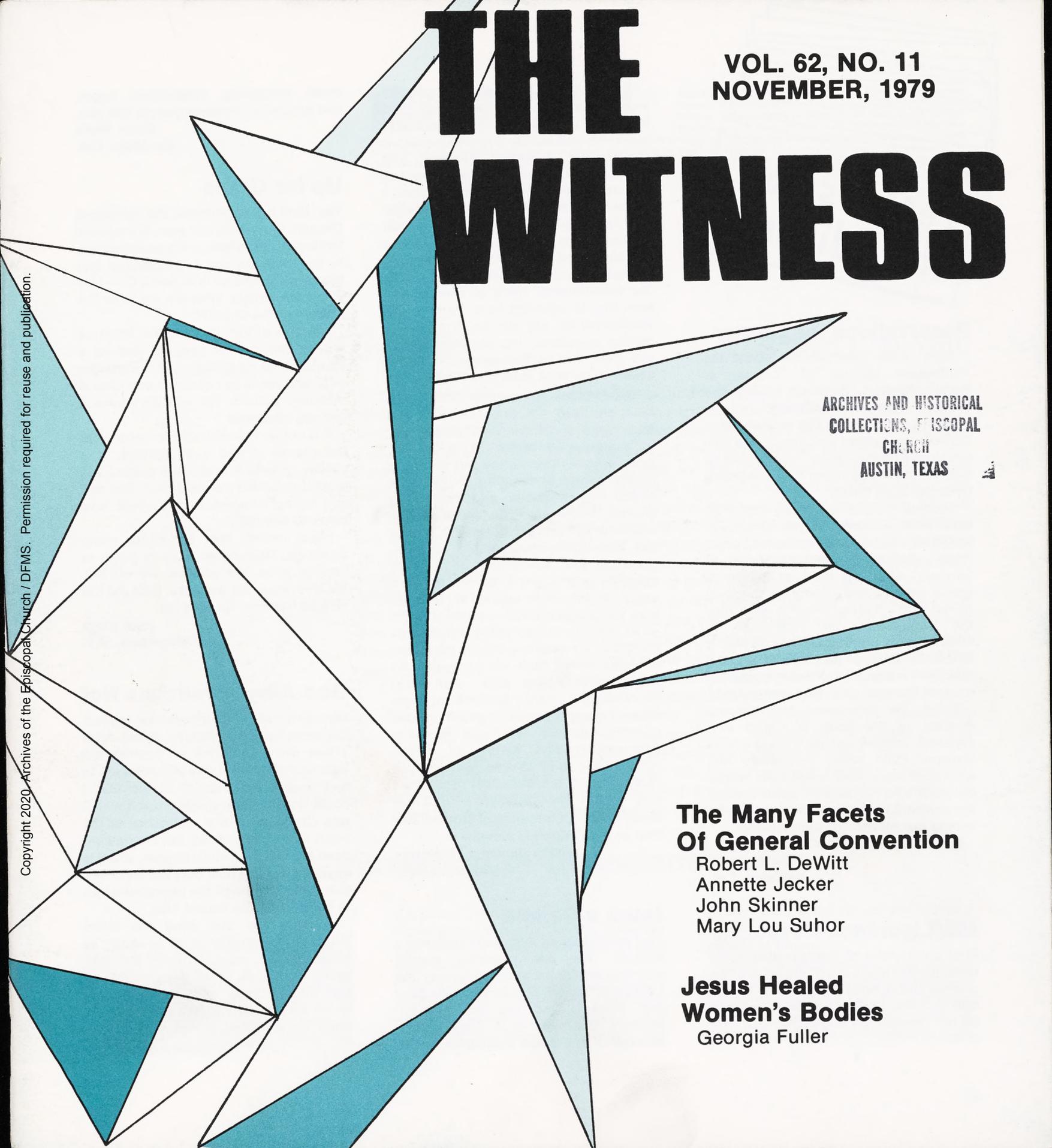
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# THE WITNESS

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ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL  
COLLECTIONS, EPISCOPAL  
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AUSTIN, TEXAS

## **The Many Facets Of General Convention**

Robert L. DeWitt  
Annette Jecker  
John Skinner  
Mary Lou Suhor

## **Jesus Healed Women's Bodies**

Georgia Fuller



## Reservations Re Liturgy

I have some reservations about the confession section of "Liturgy of Reconciliation Between Men and Women" in the July WITNESS.

First, a minor point: The women are to confess their anger and they are to vow not to give up their anger. You cannot do both — not if you mean the same thing by *anger* both times.

Second: People are being identified with what is worst in the structures within which they participate (i.e., when "men" dictate the restricted role of "women" and view them as *followers*, *wards*, *victims*, and *inferiors* whom they do not trust). It is important to recognize the participation of individuals in structural sin. It is inaccurate and wrong to identify a person (or persons) with the totality of a structure. (Persons can only confess the sins *they* have committed.)

Third: the confession assumes the division of the body of Christ into separate, warring camps. This is a false division. Even when individuals feel such alienation, other individuals, within the body and not fully on either side of the confrontation, are as likely as any to initiate the process of reconciliation.

We can do better than this.

**John Mangels**  
Berkeley, Cal.

## Ms. Lieurance Responds

First point: John Mangels is absolutely right; the use of the word "anger" is often unclear throughout the service. I would only add that in the confession, women do not repent their *anger*, but their *fear* of it.

Second point: The restrictive roles for women and men in the church are, indeed, dictated by an oppressive structure and not by any one person or group. Yet, I would contend that structures do not build themselves, but are created and supported by persons. I agree that persons can only confess the sins *they* have committed. I think that acquiescence in an oppressive structure is a sin — and it is that sin of accepting, at best, or actively promoting, at worst, the stereotypical roles of women and men that is repented here. Without the acquiescence, the silence, the fear of asking questions, the structure could not exist and to this extent, I cannot separate persons from structures.

Third point: I assume that John Mangels does not mean to deny the presence of division in the church today, but rather take exception to the idea that there are only two camps and everyone must be in one or the other. On the issue of the role of women and men in the church, however, I do question the existence of neutral observers. These are not union-management negotiations where someone in neither category is brought in to mediate. We are *all* in this union and we all, in some way, partake of the fruit — bitter or sweet — of sex-role stereotyping. I think it is important for us all to confront ourselves honestly about how we participate in that stereotyping and, with that knowledge, to begin to confront each other. True reconciliation of differences cannot occur without honest delineation and airing of those differences. It is to this end — true reconciliation out of honest discussion and faithful confrontation — that the Study on the Community of Women and Men in the Church is aimed.

**Kathy Johnson Lieurance**  
New York, N.Y.

## Issue a Delight

Just received your July issue and what a delight! We are pursuing reprint permissions for the poem, "Martha," the Liturgy of Reconciliation Between Men and Women and the Bill Mauldin cartoon. Enclosed is a copy of our *Women in Transition* newsletter. We're

small, struggling, determined, eager, and excited to discover people like you.

**Marie Wells**  
Kentfield, Cal.

## Up for Grabs

Yes, God has abandoned the Episcopal Church. We are on our own. No wonder William Stringfellow, in his recent series, is horrified. So am I. Leadership has become focused on W.S. and J.C. — Use your own initials. Who are we to be the leaders of the church?

"Give us a king" is not for us. What we are to become as persons and as a church is up for grabs. Just to consider W.S. and me is to conclude that God is infinitely patient. We wouldn't have a chance otherwise.

It is not up to *leadership* to know what the church is and is to become. It is strictly up to W.S. and J.C. I, at least, will work to maintain the institution. Bad as it is, I cannot imagine what I would have become without it.

Never mind the end-of-the-world warnings. Nothing so easy is going to happen to us. We will live. We will fail. We will hope. We will care. God did not give us freedom for nothing.

**John Clark**  
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

## God Alive, Churches Not

Hooray for William Stringfellow. Indeed, Christian hypocrisy has not ended. After I had the experience of bearing five beautiful children, I was embarrassed to find myself a Christian. In the '60s, I could not find one single church which was Christian in any real sense of the word. Christ is not dead, but the walking dead are still in Christ's church, and it is anybody's guess how they will be driven out. In fact, some of the churches seem to have a definite fascist bias.

I would say that what has killed churches is spiritual sloth as much as general greed, avariciousness, and lust, which one finds in all departments of this degenerative and lethal society which we all made together. This is US that WE are looking at. No one did this to

*Continued on page 19*

# THE WITNESS

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## Building Bridges

Robert L. DeWitt

A major shift in traditional attitudes in the life of the church is often signaled by a strong and vocal minority which takes exception to the conventional wisdom and traditional attitudes. This may well be what happened at the recent General Convention on the much-publicized question of whether the church should ordain homosexuals.

After three years of study the Joint Commission headed by Bishop Robert R. Spears, Jr., had issued a unanimous report which essentially recommended that the national church take no position on the question of whether homosexuals might be ordained. The report favored leaving that question to individual bishops and dioceses, who would therefore be free to base their decisions on the individual candidate's qualifications for ministry.

This recommendation was rejected by the convention, which passed a resolution of which the final statement is as follows: "We reaffirm the traditional teaching of the church on marriage, marital fidelity and sexual chastity as the standard of Christian sexual morality. Candidates for ordination are

expected to conform to this standard. Therefore, we believe it isn't appropriate for this church to ordain a practicing homosexual, or any person who is engaged in heterosexual relations outside of marriage."

This action by the convention does not have the force of canon law, but is instead in the nature of "an advisory" — a distinction lost on most people, both in and out of the church. To them, the church has "voted against" homosexuals. It was for this reason that 34 of the bishops voted against the resolution which passed, and some 21 of them (eventually 23) put their names to a statement which was introduced by Bishop John Krumm after the vote had been taken. Of significance was the evident change of mind toward a more open attitude on the part of a number of bishops since the cautious and conservative pastoral letter of 1977, in which the bishops had said they would "agree to deny ordination to an advocating and/or practicing homosexual person." The size and strength of this minority may well presage the future.

More than 150 clergy and lay persons associated themselves with the dissenting bishops' statement, full text of which follows:

## Affirmation of Conscience

We bishops in the Church of God who associate ourselves with this statement — affirm our belief that Holy Matrimony between a man and a woman as a covenanted, exclusive, and (by God's help) a permanent relationship is the predominant and usual mode of sexual expression, blessed by God, for

Christian people particularly and for humankind generally. To this state the vast majority of persons have clearly been called.

We also affirm the sacrificial sign of celibacy, for the small minority genuinely called to that state, as a valid and valuable witness to a broken and

selfish world of the virtues and spiritual power of Christian self-denial in the service of others.

Nothing in what follows is intended to deny or to weaken either the vocation to Christian marriage or to Christian celibacy; and nothing, especially, is intended to weaken or demean, or deny

the centrality of, the institution of the Christian family.

However, there is a minority of persons who have clearly not been called to the married state, or given the graces for it — whether they realize this before, or painfully and often tragically discover it afterwards — and who are incapable in the very nature of their formed personalities of conforming to the predominant mode of behavior. Why this is so is a mystery known only to God; even the researchers of modern science have been unable to provide an adequate answer for it. Nor is there convincing evidence that these people of homosexual orientation have been given the very special and extraordinary grace the church has always seen to be necessary for the healthy expression of Christian celibacy.

We who associate ourselves with this statement are deeply conscious of, and grateful for, the profoundly valuable ministries of ordained persons, known to us to be homosexual, formerly and presently engaged in the service of this church. Not all of these persons have necessarily been celibate; and in the relationships of many of them, maintained in the face of social hostility and against great odds, we have seen a redeeming quality which in its way and according to its mode is no less a sign to the world of God's love than is the more usual sign of Christian marriage. From such relationships we cannot believe God to be absent.

Furthermore, even in cases where an ideally stable relationship was not, or has not yet, been achieved, we are conscious of ordained homosexual persons who are wrestling responsibly and in the fear of God, with the Christian implications of their sexuality, and who seek to be responsible, caring, and non-exploitive people even in the occasionally more transient relationships which the hostility of our society towards homosexual persons — with its concomitants of furtiveness and clandestinity — makes inevitable.

We believe that the action of this House, which declares that it is not appropriate for this church to ordain a practicing homosexual or any person



who is engaged in heterosexual relations outside of marriage, while it has the specious appearance at first glance of reaffirming and upholding time-honored verities, carries with it a cruel denial of the sexual beings of homosexual persons — against whom, given the title of this resolution, it is principally aimed. It also carries with it, in implied logic, a repudiation of those ministries, by homosexual persons and to homosexual persons, already being exercised in our midst; and it invites, furthermore, the prospect of retroactive reprisals against ordained homosexual persons, with consequences of untold harm to the church and its people,

whether homosexual or heterosexual.

This action also speaks a word of condemning judgment against countless laypersons of homosexual orientation who are rendered by its implications second-class citizens in the church of their baptism, fit to receive all other sacraments but the grace of Holy Orders — unless, in a sacrifice not asked of heterosexual persons generally, they abandon all hope of finding human fulfillment, under God, in a sexual and supportive relationship. This action, thus, makes a mockery of the vow and commitment which the church has made to them in that same sacrament of baptism, to do all in its power to support

these persons in their life in Christ — all of these persons, without exception — and calls into question the vows of us all to strive for justice and peace among all people, and respect the dignity of every human being.

Furthermore, speaking for the future, if these recommendations were to be carried out as this House seems to intend, they would fatally restrict our traditional freedom and duty as Bishops in the Church of God — with the concurrence of our standing committees, ministry commissions, and the like — to determine the fitness and calling of individual persons to Holy Orders — with each case being decided, not on the basis of the individual's belonging to a particular category or class of excluded persons, but on the basis of his or her individual merits as a whole human being, and in the light of the particular circumstances obtaining in that case.

We have no intention of ordaining irresponsible persons, or persons whose manner of life is such as to cause grave scandal or hurt to other Christians; but we do not believe that either homosexual orientation as such, nor the responsible and self-giving use of such a mode of sexuality, constitute such a scandal in and of itself.

Our position is based, consistent with our Anglican tradition — which values the gifts of reason and welcomes truth from *whatever* source — on the insights of what we understand to be the best and most representative current findings of modern science and psychology on this subject. But even more, our position is based, ultimately, on the total witness of Holy Scripture. For we are persuaded that modern exegesis and interpretation of the Scriptures — in the light of the original languages and our enhanced understanding of the cultural context of the particular passages which relate, or seem to relate, to the subject of homosexuality — gives no certain basis for a total or absolute condemnation either of homosexual persons or of homosexual activities in all cases. Holy Scripture indeed condemns homosexual excesses and exploitation, but it no less condemns heterosexual

excesses and exploitations as well; and as the cure for the latter is a more responsible and less selfish expression of heterosexuality, so the cure for the former is a more responsible and less selfish expression of homosexuality, not a conversion from the one to the other. On the other hand, the total witness of Holy Scripture is to a gracious God of justice, mercy and love. It is on that witness we take our stand, and it is to that God we make our appeal.

Taking note, therefore, that this action of the house is recommendatory and not prescriptive, we give notice as we are answerable before almighty God that we cannot accept these recommendations or implement them in our dioceses insofar as they relate or give unqualified expression to Recommendation Three.

To do so would be to abrogate our responsibilities of apostolic leadership and prophetic witness to the flock of Christ committed to our charge. And it would involve a repudiation of our ordination vows as bishops: in the words of the new Prayer Book, boldly to proclaim and interpret the Gospel of Christ, enlightening the minds and stirring up the conscience of our people, and to encourage and support all baptized people in their gifts and ministries . . . and to celebrate with them the sacraments of our redemption; or in the words of the old, to be to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf. Our appeal is to conscience, and to God. Amen. ■

*(Signers of the above statement were Bishops Morris Arnold, Robert M. Anderson, Charles E. Bennison, Edmund L. Browning, John M. Burgess, Otis Charles, David R. Cochran, Ned Cole, Robert L. DeWitt, William A. Dimmick, Wesley Frensdorff, John M. Krumm, H. Coleman McGehee, C. Kilmer Myers, Paul Moore, J. Brooke Mosley, Lyman C. Ogilby, Frederick W. Putnam, Francisco Reus-Froylan, Robert R. Spears, William B. Spofford, Richard M. Trelease, and John T. Walker. Approximately 150 priests and laypersons also signed the statement.)*

## An Obituary

His god had become, unfortunately, seriously diminished over the years, the result of personal horrors and world events too large for tears.

Instead of wonder sourced, his god was only demented. In his memory of God there coursed no incense wisps lifting up to Grace, only dried herbs crushed by unrelenting grinding day to day in place.

He had often wondered why God seemed either a distant grave-digger or a fragmentary glimpse of some awe-ful nothing out of which everything said about him was plundered for its effect.

So it was quite unremarkable and really superbly just that when he died there was no rejoicing in heaven, no grief on earth.

It fell to the lot of the monument maker (paid by his own burial insurance policy) to write his epitaph. This careful soul, after considerable study of the matter, did without rancor, carve into the marker "He wondered, but not much, his god too small for awe. What he saw touched neither his soul, his pocketbook, nor his pain. Had he been known at all, his death would have been observed with relief. He was a thief: he robbed God of grandeur, himself of meaning."

The morticians carried out their duties as per contract. Although he looked about as good as in real life, the skills of the embalmer were unseen. No one asked to see the body. No words were needed to comfort those who mourned.

His death was the end of nothing useful.

— Mark Harris

## Sideshow Spoke to 'New Age'

It may be a cliché to invoke the analogy of a three-ring circus to the Episcopal General Convention, but that's the most accurate figure around. At high points it was all mimes, music, balloons and cotton candy, celebrating the presence of dreamers, servants and jesters, prophets and revolutionaries. At lows, it meant beware, Christians, the lions and the elephants have just passed through, throwing their weight around — watch your step.

By far the most exciting dynamics were in the side shows as groups like Integrity, the Episcopal Women's Caucus and the Urban Bishops' Coalition tried to impact events in the main ring from the periphery.

Integrity's efforts to influence the vote on homosexual ordination were formidable, performed valiantly against overwhelming odds and in the midst of some hostility, as borne out by the usurping of its booth in the exhibit hall.

John Lawrence, Integrity president, told *THE WITNESS* "While we were winding up our own convention, our booth was not staffed, and we discovered that a group holding views opposite to ours had taken it over and was distributing literature. And worse than that, an effort had been made earlier to cancel our hotel reservations and space in the exhibit hall. My roommate received a call from a convention official asking if it was true that I was ill and the Integrity space was to be relinquished. Fortunately, he was able to assure that he had just brought me to the airport."

Net result was the same convention which overwhelmingly voted in the new Book of Common Prayer, turned around in the gay vote to blunt the

effectiveness of its use among at least 10% of the church's constituency.

An attempt early on to divorce the women's efforts from that of the gays failed, thanks to close understanding between Integrity and the Episcopal Women's Caucus. When the Rev. Carter Heyward concelebrated a Mass at Integrity's Convention, the next day's headline in a Denver paper read, "Lesbian Priest Will Not Be Punished . . ." for celebrating at the Integrity event. Asked to comment on the story, Heyward responded: "It didn't bother me. Of course, I would have been worried had the headline read, "Lesbian Priest *Will* Be Punished."

Her attitude was characteristic of the good humor and joint efforts between

women and gays to establish solidarity in their struggles. A high point for Integrity — and all convention goers who attended their closing event — was a concert by two ordained ministers of the United Church of Christ, Sue Savell of New York and Stacy Cusulos of San Francisco. The two lesbian/feminist songwriters played guitar and sang past midnight, to standing ovations.

Ultimately, women fared far better than those openly gay at convention. As one caucus member put it, "the tradeoff was that the voting delegates ended up being nice to the women because they knew they were going to zap the gays." And a deputy commented in the *General Convention Daily* that in the final vote on homosexual ordination,



From left: Raisa Nemikin and Maria Cueto receive the Vida Scudder Award from Bishop John Hines, as Maria's mother, Josefina, looks on.

by Mary Lou Suhor

“the teeth behind the smile came out.”

For a reporter, GenCon presented a constant series of choices as to what events scheduled simultaneously should be covered. The opening of the House of Bishops and the House of Delegates was a prime example.

Rather than flipping a coin, I'm usually guided by the Mae West principle: “When choosing between the lesser of two evils, I always like to try the one I've never tried before.”

Thus it was that I went to the House of Bishops, hoping to get a sense of things to come. After the opening formalities, I sat up when a bishop was granted privilege to interrupt the regular agenda.

Turned out that this bishop serenaded Presiding Bishop John Allin for seemingly endless choruses (“Jack's been working on the railroad, all the livelong day” . . . the railroad supposedly a figure of the church). This was followed by the presentation of a toy train, brought in on a table and set to running around a circular track. The train derailed its first trip around. My notes read: “Bishops seem to have trouble distinguishing between working on the railroad and playing with trains.”

Following this, the Presiding Bishop took the opportunity to comment on a trip to Kansas, where a cattleman had presented him with an electric branding iron — which I've always thought of as an instrument of torture. Pulling it out from behind his chair, as Johnny Carson might pull out soap for a TV commercial, he noted that the iron bore the initials *VIM* and that any bishop who didn't go along with it might have the brand applied “in a suitable location.”

In the shadow of performances such

## General Convention

### Eye of the Needle

by Annette Jecker

*“And Jesus said to his disciples: Truly, I say to you, it will be hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven.” (Matthew 19:25)*

Apparently unaware of these words, or hoping for evidence to the contrary, some 10,000 Episcopalians gathered in Denver for General Convention, all somehow engaged in charting a course to “the kingdom.”

The setting was certainly one that conjured up in the imagination a scene of the Palestinian market place 2,000 years ago, rivaling Hollywood's best.

Spread out over a city block of space, church vendors offered their silver and gold and ecclesiastical paraphernalia, symbols of wealth and prosperity, while officious participants hurried to committee meetings and legislative sessions. The evening found well-dressed deputies and bishops alike pouring out of expensive hotels into Denver's finest restaurants. Meanwhile, the outcasts of the city, their minds and souls drowned in liquor, hovered under trees and on street corners, a ready reminder to all lest the church should forget what her business was all about.

Such was the gathering of the

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**Annette Jecker** is a member of the Department of Missions of the Diocese of Newark, a member of the Diocesan Episcopalian Church Women, and Senior Warden of the Church of the Incarnation, West Milford.

leadership of the Episcopal Church, at a time when the world is described as “two thirds hungry and one third on a diet,” an injustice which is more than an embarrassment to society and a mockery to the One in whose name business was conducted here.

If the cost estimate of \$800, more or less, per participant is correct (depending how far away from Denver one lived, about \$8 million was spent in two weeks for hotels, air fare, food and the like. That is about half of the amount which the National Church has budgeted for its entire program for the year 1980! The cost for the convention set-up alone, aside from the staggering amount of energy required to stage it, ran into the hundred thousands of dollars.

The expense and time factor involved also effectively screens out those poor or middle class persons who can't possibly leave their workplace for two weeks, thereby skewing representation in the House of Deputies to high level executives, or to those who work directly for the church as clergy or in bureaucratic positions.

When we are asked the question, “Just what or whose money was spent in Denver?” we will candidly have to admit to the inquirers that it was their money — they, the people in the pews. Their \$2 or \$5 or \$10 per week contributions to the local parish or parish organization, given in good faith for the “work of the church,” pay for this and other conventions

as this at the main event, it was the various caucuses and coalitions that kept alive the more burning questions as described by Harvey Cox in *Feast of Fools*:

*"Given the fact that in festive ritual, our fantasy life is both fed and kept in touch with the earth, how can we eat the Bread and toast the hope in ways that ring true? How can we keep restating the vision of the New Age so that the poor and the persecuted continue to push and the princes and potentates never feel secure?"*

For the Episcopal Women's Caucus, "pushing" meant in part struggling to gain visibility for ordained women in eucharists from which they had been shut out. The Rev. Patricia M. Park, EWC president, said, "Nobody gave any thought to the fact that the dioceses that were asked to coordinate the daily eucharists were those that didn't have any women priests. Whether deliberate or not, the effect was that women priests were excluded from celebrating, and that leaves me feeling angry. If I had been in charge of arrangements, I would have been more careful to get a more representative group of dioceses."

Host Bishop William Frey of Colorado later made an apology to both houses, assuring that steps were being taken "to remedy the situation immediately," and concelebrated a Mass of reconciliation with Park.

The Women's Caucus proved instrumental in surfacing women's and minority concerns at several luncheons open to the public. The Rev. Suzanne Hiatt debunked several myths at the first: "The term clergy 'deployment' comes from the military and implies that someone wise and knowing is in charge. The truth is that there is no strategy, there are no generals, there is no plan," she said. "Another myth says that there are still few ordained women in the church, but there are some 175 priests and 170 deacons, all of whom

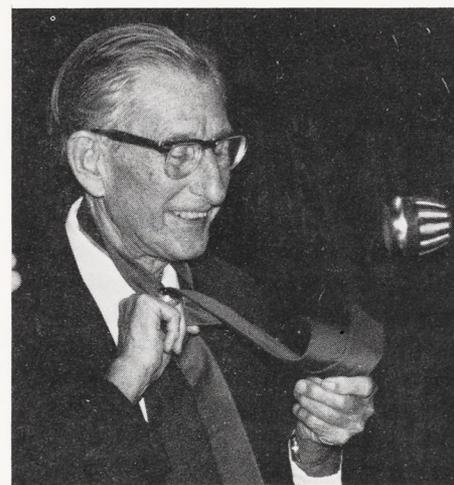
have been ordained since 1974. Seventy of the 93 dioceses in the church now have women priests serving in them. Our political opinions range from radical to reactionary."

Marjorie Christie, a deputy from Newark, told the Caucus that the fastest growing group of employed women in this country are mothers of children under six. The number of female heads of households is also growing and half of these are headed by women whose incomes are below the poverty level, she said, and the church is not hearing their cries of anguish.

Perhaps the most dramatic intervention came from Mrs. Agnes Taylor, a mother of 10 children and one of the few underprivileged class to gain a microphone during convention. She described the work of North Porch, which she co-directs with the Ven. Martha Blacklock, archdeacon of Newark. "I'm one of the poor women they're always talking about. For us, survival is the name of the game in a society not geared for the survival of the poor," she said. "The result is frequently loss of identity until one becomes a number. You move from being Mrs. Taylor to the 'Taylor children's mother' to a social security number, and once you've lost your identity you've lost your being. The country looks upon us as 'those people.' But women are offered a chance to be themselves and to discuss their needs and problems at the North Porch," she said.

The Urban Bishops Coalition proved itself well organized and a strong advocate for the poor. The coalition presented a many-faceted program which:

- Raised the consciousness of convention goers through five breakfast seminars, all related to the exploited of the cities for whom the good news is seldom economic. Speakers included Gar Alperowitz, co-director, National Center for Economic Alternatives;



**Bishop Daniel E. Corrigan dons a red tie after receiving the William Scarlett award at ECPC dinner.**

Frances Fox Piven, author of *Regulating the Poor*; Walter Bremond, executive director, Black United Fund; Fouad Ajami of the Center of International Studies, Princeton; and Earl C. Ravenal of the Institute for Policy Studies.

- Produced a slide show on problems of the cities, which made its debut at the convention, plus a panel on energy chaired by Governor Dick Lamm of Colorado, to orient both houses to the current crisis.

- Lobbied for a package of resolutions, targeting urban concerns as a major focus for the social mission of the church, as well as for the restoration of \$300,000 to the budget of the Coalition for Human Needs.

- Worked closely with the Episcopal Peace Fellowship to establish a Joint Commission on Peace.

- Publicized its forthcoming national assembly in February to organize an Episcopal Urban Caucus, broadening the Coalition to include priests and laypersons.

Although blacks seemed to maintain a low profile in general at this convention, an impressive black presence was manifested at the ECPC

Awards Dinner at which Benjamin Hooks, executive secretary of the NAACP, was featured speaker. Addressing an audience of more than 450, Hooks urged white liberals to join again with blacks as they did in the '60s, to insure first-class citizenship for everyone. "Blacks have paid their dues," he said. "We seek help and hope from those who control the institutions of power in this country."

He recalled the "dark and difficult days" following the death of Martin Luther King, turmoil in Africa, bitterness over school busing, the Bakke case, and Proposition 13, but added, "we shall not despair."

His address, delivered in the preaching style of Dr. King, was punctuated with remarks from an "Amen" corner of blacks who responded enthusiastically. His dramatic closing brought the crowd to its feet, cheering. Also worthy of note were a stirring invocation by Mattie Hopkins of United Black Episcopalians, "the only time in history we've every heard a grace before meals applauded," said many diners; and hilarious asides by Barbara Harris of the ECPC Board.

As highlight of the event, Bishop John Hines, former chair of the ECPC Board, presented the William Scarlett Award to the Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan, under whose leadership the Joint Urban Program was fashioned; the Vida Scudder Award to Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, former director and secretary of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs; the William Spofford Award to the Rev. Paul Washington of the Church of the Advocate, Philadelphia; and a citation of merit to Dr. Joseph Fletcher, author of *Situation Ethics* and *Humanhood, Essays in Biomedical Ethics*.

Back at General Convention, in the Hispanic sector, Puerto Ricans worked

*Continued on page 13*

past and future. Even those commercial participants, claiming expense accounts, pass on their convention expenses to the people in the congregations through the wares or services their churches buy from them.

To the question, "How judiciously was this money spent?" come various answers and opinions. There are those who will admit that the degree of responsible stewardship displayed in Denver and at other conventions is not impressive. As an example, President Charles Lawrence stunned the House of Deputies when he announced that it cost \$400 a day just to fill the water pitchers on the delegates' tables at Convention Center. He suggested each delegate draft a volunteer to fill the pitcher.

Several suggestions have already been made to reduce the cost. They range from a cut in the number of deputies, to a time study examining convention length, to holding it on a college campus under fairly spartan living conditions. This last suggestion deserves more than a passing thought, if for no other reason than that the next General Convention to be held in New Orleans is now scheduled to begin during the last week of August, 1982. This is a time when many college campuses are still uninhabited by their students. Certainly, every proposed measure of conserving the church's resources deserves serious consideration.

But a thought more fundamental than the question of stewardship was expressed by Bishop John Walker of Washington when he admonished the church "to look at how we spend our money and ask ourselves: what does this have to do with the Gospel of Christ?" In more specific terms: what do \$8 million conventions have to do with, and do about, the down-trodden, the poor, the sick and the

oppressed? What did "Hunger Day" (the mere forgoing of one breakfast and one lunch, a benefit to most everyone's waistline, often canceled by a better-than-ever supper) have to do with the starving peoples of this world? And more specifically, how much rice would \$100 million, the magical sum sought by the national VIM campaign, buy for the starving peoples of Cambodia? And what does a Eucharist of life — celebrated in front of Convention Hall, while the slow death of alcohol was numbly looking on — teach us about our utter lack of understanding of the depth of human despair and need? Or, in the words of Francisco Reus-Froylan, Bishop of Puerto Rico: "On whose side are we? We cannot serve two masters! The defense of the human rights of people cannot take place while we stand as allies and supporters of those who oppress."

The church needs to put an end to her identification with, and support of, the same establishment which has exploited the poor. The church needs to stop serving her own constituency and start serving those she was called to serve: the hungry, the thirsty, the naked, the sick, the homeless and the imprisoned. The church must not only preach the Gospel, but also act it and live it, and that means more than just lip service. And the leadership of the church must show by its example that it cares!

A visitor said that conventions were necessary to decide upon the missionary strategy of the church and preserve the Faith from heresy. Would that the church and convention were preserved from the heresy of the worship of self and of mammon, for "again, I tell you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." (Matthew 19:24). ■

# 'Must We Choose Sides?'

*A new Study/Action Guide entitled Must We Choose Sides? made its debut at General Convention. Unique in formulation and format, the Guide has been praised by theologians Robert McAfee Brown and Harvey Cox and by Catholic reviewers such as Sister Mary Luke Tobin of the Thomas Merton Center for Creative Change, Gary MacEoin, noted author and expert in Latin American affairs; and Sister Lora Ann Quinonez, executive director of the Leadership Conference of Women Religious.*

*THE WITNESS thought that the story of the birth of Must We Choose Sides?, plus a brief description of contents from the book itself, was worthy of sharing with our readers, since the Episcopal Church Publishing Company played a vital role in its production.*

*Must We Choose Sides? Christian Commitment for the '80s* is published by the Inter-Religious Task Force for Social Analysis. In 1976 a previous study/action guide on the social mission of the churches was published by the Church and Society Network in collaboration with THE WITNESS magazine. Entitled *Struggling With the System/Probing Alternatives*, it made its appearance in 1976 at the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in Minneapolis. The first printing was sold out in several months; a second printing is now virtually exhausted.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, which funded the initial project, was faced with the question of whether to authorize a third printing, finance a revision, or terminate the project. It commissioned an evaluation of the original study guide, seeking responses from every known person or group who had used it. The survey produced three major recommendations. First, a growing need was identified for such a resource to serve a broader-based Christian constituency. This suggested that to drop the project would be irresponsible. Second, some of the material in the first edition was found to be too limited or dated. A thorough revision was therefore in order. Third, a more representative study/action guide could be produced if an inter-religious editorial group was formed to take responsibility for the new project's direction. On this basis, the task was begun.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company allocated funds for an editorial conference to initiate the new project. Invitations to join an editorial working group were extended to representatives of other progressive church networks and interfaith groupings who had already expressed a strong interest during the evaluation of the first edition.

The editorial group includes representatives of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, the World Student Christian Federation, THE WITNESS Magazine, the Church and Society Network, the New York Circus (an urban ministry of the Lutheran Church in America), the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, the *Radical Religion* quarterly, Theology in the Americas, Christians for Socialism and the Data Center project of the Investigative Resource Center. The group consists of people from the West Coast, Mid-West and East Coast, six women and seven men, people who

are ordained, or lay, or religious. The group includes people who are affiliated with the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist and Episcopal churches, the Reformed Church in America and Disciples of Christ. With the exception of two members who had significant coordinating responsibilities for the project and received part-time salaries, the editorial group either gave time from their jobs, their personal lives, or both, without pay.

One of the first questions to be faced had to do with a major weakness of the first edition — that it attempted to speak to too wide a spectrum of interest, to those whose experiences were too divergent. The decision was made, therefore, to produce two volumes instead of one. The first would speak to people actively questioning the present order and seeking a systemic social analysis. The second volume would address itself to those who have done some theoretical work on the sources of our social discontent, but are asking



***Must We Choose Sides?* is a carefully developed, step-by-step analysis of the systemic problems that must be challenged if we are to have a just society. It starts where people are and helps them move toward where they ought to be. Discussion participants will have every chance to probe, question, examine and reexamine, in the light not only of careful social analysis but also of the resources of a biblically grounded Christian faith.**

— Robert McAfee Brown

what they can do about it. *Must We Choose Sides? Christian Commitment for the '80s* is the first of the two. The second will be available in May, 1980.

The Editorial Working Group held several plenary meetings to determine editorial policy, to agree on a profile of the constituency for whom the book was intended, to define tasks and to decide on content of the volume. Working in smaller units in different geographical areas, they completed specific assignments which were reviewed by the entire group. This was not the quickest, nor the easiest way to accomplish this task. The hope is that it may have been the most effective.

Serious discussion and debate of various theological and political points of view punctuated each successive editorial meeting. Many opinions were changed; some were not. Throughout the process, however, all editors shared

the firm conviction that there is no more serious and important task for people than to commit themselves to and engage others in the struggle for a more just society.

In addition to adopting a collective editorial model for producing the book, the editors also encouraged group process in its use. Following each set of readings a group exercise is suggested which is intended to draw on the life experiences of the persons using the book, both to test and to illuminate the value of the readings.

As a general rule, our bosses, schools, churches and the mass media — those opinion-makers who interpret daily events — teach us to see the world from the perspective of those who control the decision-making in our major institutions. Our history courses, for example, have emphasized the politics of bishops and kings, generals, presidents and industrialists. Our knowledge of church tradition has focused on the “great men” or “fathers”

**Not only is it concise and eye-catching, but it offers a surprising number of meaty articles inviting the reader to further study. I can think of a number of groups for whom this book will be a boon. Many of them are tired of discussions that go nowhere, and are ready for the practical aid which social analysis brings to a too vague and generalized concern.**

— Sr. Mary Luke Tobin

**I have just spent several weeks looking at current material aimed toward a genuine response to the epochal challenge of Liberation Theology in the U.S., and I can say without reservation that *Must We Choose Sides?* is the best I've seen. Not only is it theologically sophisticated, but it's presented in a way that lay people without 'technical' theological training can use it. I am having our bookstore order it in sufficient quantity to be used not only by my students but by the people in the churches they serve and in the groups they belong to.**

— Harvey Cox

of the church. The language used to interpret the economic and political changes which are occurring in the United States and around the world is the language of the propertied class which controls our government and our financial institutions.

This perspective never reveals the daily struggle of housewives, factory, farm and office workers — those who produce the social wealth and are now losing ground in the battle to create a better life for themselves and succeeding generations. Neither does perspective “from above” consider how lay people, especially women, have made the church a viable community institution.

The editorial group believes that a new analysis of the world is not only necessary to our physical survival but is essential to our spiritual survival as well. The perspective explored in the sessions of the book is forged out of the daily struggle against alienating work and unemployment, racism and sexism, poverty and exploitation, political domination and cultural imperialism — injustices of all kinds.

In the midst of all this, the voices of the prophets manage to break through, albeit in surprising ways. As a modern ballad puts it, “the words of the prophets are written on the subway walls and tenement halls.”

Those subways and tenements are often the settings for an endless series of horror stories which roll forth nightly on the late TV news: murders, rapes, fires, rent strikes, unemployment, lack of



“One of our mandates in the Leadership Conference of Women Religious is ‘education for justice that leads to systemic change.’ Many women religious, therefore, who are seeking a resource toward that end will find *Must We Choose Sides?* a useful tool for social analysis. Its emphasis on the praxis model (action and theological reflection) and the inclusion of group exercises following each study session also makes the methodology of the book extremely practical.

— Sister Lora Ann Quinonez

heating oil, energy crises, etc. With so many seemingly unconnected problems coming at us — and just before bedtime — it is difficult to analyze and make connections; to see how we can make waves, can effect change.

A primary goal of this study guide is to investigate the realities of our national life; to help toward an analysis of how problems are interconnected and why one class exploits another. By participating in the group exercises after each session, the editorial group hopes the users of the guide will find clues, together, on how to impact the system with hope and conviction, rather than fall prey to despair and fatalism.

The over-all title — *Christian Commitment for the '80s* — carves out the constituency for whom the book was produced. Obviously, Christians are not the only committed citizens. But Christians have a Biblical mandate to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the prisoner, free the oppressed.

Christ's continuing denunciation of wealth and power and His promise that the meek shall inherit the earth provide a powerful stance that shakes the very foundations of civil and religious power, which leads to sober reflection in these sessions around the question: *Must We Choose Sides?*

People can understand neither their own world nor what is required of them as Christians, however, if they are exposed only to the analysis of controlling class interests. They need to see

the world as *their* world and how they affect and are affected by what happens. This view of the world is disturbing and conflictual. It also provides courage, deep vision and forms of human community which people are in desperate need of discovering.

Following is a brief synopsis of the six successive sessions, taken from the introduction of the book:

#### Session 1:

##### Ordinary People, Extraordinary Dreams

Perhaps many of us will feel that the dreams expressed by the “ordinary” people quoted in this session are not unlike our own, and therefore not “extraordinary” at all. What makes them extraordinary is that they cannot be fulfilled under working conditions enforced by the present economic order. This session and the following are aimed at investigating the question: “What kind of a society is it in which only a small percentage of the people have any chance of getting work which is fulfilling?” and “Can we do anything to change it?”

We are invited in the first group exercise to share our own experiences as working people (what we like about our jobs, what we find alienating and oppressing) and to share our own dreams.

#### Session 2:

##### We Make History . . . Or It Makes Us

Having shared our personal view of life at work, we move on to look at our experiences in historical context and to examine the workplace itself as part of a system. We investigate how work is organized, our participation (if any) in its control, the fundamental differences between workers and owners. The readings introduce a few concepts to help us to develop a social analysis. We also probe the question: “How is our religious practice influenced by our class background?”

#### Session 3:

##### Confronting Capitalism

This session moves us deeper into systemic analysis, asking us to examine the structure of the capitalist system. First, a group of writers affiliated with a

Christian missionary order take on the task of testing the myths of capitalism. In addition, a Canadian philosopher presents elements of a classic Marxist critique of capitalism. As the second reading points out, Marx did not think capitalism would fail because it is unfair or unjust, but because the system itself creates problems it cannot solve. Runaway inflation, massive unemployment and the continuing energy crisis are just a few indications that capitalism is creating sufficient problems to stimulate a radical critique of itself.

In this session we probe the reality behind words charged with political and moral responsibility — like “exploiter and exploited,” “oppressor and oppressed” — which make us angry. We try to channel that anger constructively in a group exercise designed to explore not only the injustices of capitalism, but also the organized forces confronting those injustices.

#### Session 4:

##### Elements of Class

How do we understand class and where do we locate ourselves in the social strata? That is the burden of investigation for this session. So frequently we hear fearful reference made to the “class struggle,” as though

“*Must We choose Sides?* is a real answer to the needs of the growing number of Americans who suspect that our present economic system can no longer provide well being and may soon not even ensure order in our society. It starts at the beginning, making no assumptions of significant knowledge of the levers of power and privilege, then quickly takes the reader deeper than most have ever gone into the systemic causes of today's malaise and tomorrow's threat.

Developed by a wide-based ecumenical group, it stands firmly in the Christian tradition and carries that tradition to its logical conclusion of direct challenge to a capitalist system based on greed and selfishness.

— Gary MacEoin

the very mention of it is to advocate violent upheaval. This session seeks not to advocate it but simply to recognize class struggle as a fact. The first reading examines what role people play in the production process, in decision-making, in control over what they do for a living. It contrasts what the tiny propertied class owns and controls to what the rest of us have.

The second two readings attempt to locate the churches in class struggle. Which class interests do the churches uphold? More often than not, the churches defend the interests of the propertied class. But because our churches are multi-class organizations, this is not always true. The prophetic church has always taken up the struggle of the poor and working people. Our churches provide no sanctuary from class conflict in secular life.

The exercise for this session is a role play. It is designed to help us look at some of the hard questions we face in taking responsibility for the stewardship of church property.

**Session 5:  
Reclaiming Our  
Christian Tradition**

Why "reclaiming" in the title for this session? Because ever since the days of the early church, the reigning political and social powers have fought to prevent the Christian faith from threatening their established way of doing things. Jesus was a champion of the oppressed, and God continues to "put down the mighty from their thrones and exalt the humble." But today, many know that religion is more preoccupied with its "spiritual" role and preserving the *status quo* than with exercising its prophetic role or becoming involved in

social mission.

Yet, there have always been those who believe that there can be no real peace and love without justice, and that faith must be linked to practice, each informing the other. This session tries to help us to recapture that ancient tradition of the Christian faith.

**Session 6:  
A Reform Is  
A Reform . . . Or Is It?**

Finally we address the overwhelming question: "How do we organize to assure that we are not simply undertaking Band-Aid approaches to solve problems which have deep roots in the heart of our economic order?"

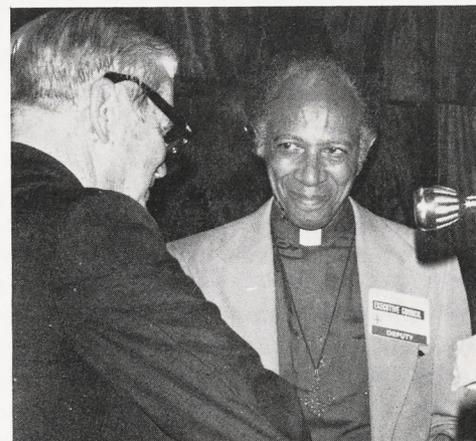
While there is no easy answer, we are convinced that we have been involved in sufficient action and reflection since the '60s and throughout the '70s to summarize our experience of the past and develop a clearer direction for struggles continuing into the '80s. This session presents a few guidelines and a framework for group process so we can judge for ourselves whether our own current efforts will produce substantive reforms or not.

Some of us insist that we think our way into new ways of acting. Others argue that we act our way into new ways of thinking. It is our hope that this study/action guide will enable us to do some of both. It has been designed to help committed Christians break away from worn-out concepts and do some creative new thinking. Equally important, it should effectively move us to answer affirmatively the question: *Must We Choose Sides?*, whereby we strengthen our commitment to the class-conscious struggle, and act our way into a new way of thinking. ■

*Continued from page 9*

toward a "New Age" by lobbying successfully for autonomy of their church. "Chains must be broken so that ties may be strengthened," said the Rt. Rev. Francisco Reus-Froylan, Bishop of Puerto Rico, as the church was set free to determine its own future.

In sum, what conclusions can one draw from something so prodigious as a two-week General Convention? At one



**Bishop Hines presents the William Spofford award to the Rev. Paul Washington.**

of the Urban Bishops Seminars, Respondent Marion Kelleran described herself as "an Emmaus Road Christian. I always seem to know *after* the fact." Would that the facts were even *that* clear to this reporter.

Certainly it can be said that here and there, a small flame broke through — in some of the resolutions, in minority statements, in events in the sideshows. And perhaps those disappointed by the events under the big tent can find solace, again, in the words of Harvey Cox: "*The new church we look for need not come entirely from the churches of today. It certainly will not. It will come, if it comes at all, as a new congeries of elements — some from the churches, some from outside, some from the fertile interstices between. And it will assume a shape we can hardly predict, though we can sometimes see its outlines — in fantasy.*"

**Must We  
Choose Sides?**

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# Collegiality: Resource or Bondage

by John E. Skinner

In the Episcopal Church we have heard a great deal recently about the importance of collegiality. Much of this emphasis has come directly from that assemblage of persons called the House of Bishops. Collegial spirit has become an important facet of that group's ongoing agenda, and to defy that spirit is to incur the wrath of that group's members.

Collegiality is derived from the word, college (in Latin, *collegium*), which means a society. The most usual meaning of the word, college, is a body of persons having common interests or corporate functions, and traditionally it has referred to a group of clergy living in common on a foundation. Furthermore, it can point to a body of scholars incorporated for study or instruction, especially in the higher branches of learning. Here a faculty of a college, seminary, or university is its obvious application. So a collegial spirit can be seen arising in these various assemblages of persons.

Often overlooked is the meaning of the word, college, in English slang. Here it means a prison. Undoubtedly, many rigidly organized and tightly knit groups, clerical or academic, have had this character. To think an original thought or to engage in an apparently outrageous deed is forbidden. Reality is limited to the confines of the collegial group and its pronouncements. Anomalies by definition are outlawed and must be cast into outer darkness. The collegial group thus becomes a prison house of the spirit.

Collegial spirit, however, can have many positive characteristics. It may serve as a support for the common efforts of those within a particular group. It is one way in which the intensity of individual experience is shared by many, is expressed in an ordered fashion, so that the

intensity of the moment does not self-destruct. It is the kind of mutual encouragement, the *esprit de corps* that strengthens an interdependence of persons committed to a common task.

This may be illustrated in many ways but perhaps two examples will suffice. In the first place, the faculty of a divinity school or a theological seminary finds itself committed to the common task of study and instruction. The collegial spirit which develops helps to make for a more cohesive group, engenders cooperation rather than competition, support for each individual member rather than isolation and alienation of the individual members from one another. Such a collegial spirit can be a dynamic expression of the common efforts of a faculty dedicated to the Gospel and the great tradition passed on in response to what the Gospel has meant and what it continues to mean. But this collegial spirit should not become itself the definitive factor demanding a conformity from all of the colleagues; rather the collegial spirit should be an expression of the commitment of a varied number of individuals to a common task. It should not be a commitment resulting in conformity which would stop true learning, but rather a commitment resulting in creative inquiry which opens up novel dimensions to enrich the past and the present.

In the second place, those priests of the Church, now exclusively male, elected by both clergy and laity to serve as bishops find themselves as an episcopal group committed to a common task. That task entails the care of all the churches, the shepherding of the flock of Christ, and being the focal point of authority for the many in the one diocesan structure. The peculiar makeup of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church also gives these priests a unique political power as this is expressed in *one* of the two houses of the Convention, the House of Bishops. The other

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*“The bishops need to make a clear distinction between their membership in one of the two legislative branches of the General Convention and their membership in their own club or college. The drift towards authoritarianism due to a lack of this distinction means that the college or club acts in a quasi-legislative way that practically works itself out as the law of the church. The House of Deputies should not permit this sort of thing to occur.”*

legislative body, the House of Deputies, constitutes the bicameral character of the General Convention.

The House of Bishops currently serves two purposes. It is one of the two legislative branches of the General Convention which meets every three years. As a legislative body it has no authority to meet without the presence of the House of Deputies. And yet in order to serve its other function, it meets when General Convention is not in session as a college of bishops concerned with the common task of being a bishop. The individual bishops come together for mutual support, to affirm their commitment to the Gospel, and to consider their peculiar duties in relationship to it. As a result, a collegial spirit develops which should be the expression of that support for each bishop and the awesome duties surrounding that office.

As in the case of a theological faculty, the collegial spirit here should not seek to dominate the individual spirit but rather create a healthy tension between the two, represented by collegial nurture and episcopal freedom. When a collegial spirit becomes authoritarian and attempts to dominate, each individual bishop may be transformed into an abstract expression of that collegial spirit, and the church may end up with only one ‘bishop,’ namely, the collegial spirit itself of the college of bishops. The individual bishop must conform to it or be censured by it. When these things happen, the lowest common denominator often becomes the collegial spirit and a frantic effort to save the present by living in the past ensues. Furthermore, it is horrendous to think about it, but if a particularly forceful and charismatic bishop were to become presiding bishop under these circumstances, that person could well become the incarnation of that authoritarian collegial spirit, and thus assume the status of dictator of the episcopal college.

The bishops need to make a clear distinction between their membership in one of the two legislative branches of the General Convention and their membership in their own club or college. The drift towards authoritarianism due to a

lack of this distinction means that the college or club acts in a quasi-legislative way that practically works itself out as the law of the church. When this happens, there is no balance of political power provided by the House of Deputies, and the result is a church drifting in the direction of episcopal domination.

The House of Deputies should not permit this sort of thing to occur. If it threatens to do so, then perhaps a unicameral Convention structure would be more appropriate with each diocesan delegation having its bishop as one of the clerical members of the Convention. The college of bishops would then cease to have any legislative authority in the church.

A collegial spirit which demands subordination to it as the true sign of one’s vocation as a bishop is an extremely dangerous trend. The individual bishop is handcuffed in his use of personal initiative within his own diocese. The more he is infected by this kind of collegial malady, the less he is able to make any decisions which call into question the collegial consensus.

No one, faculty member or bishop, should wish to offend deliberately the other members of the collegial group. But group decisions based on collegial consensus usually are “safe” ones and reflect a tendency to preserve the *status quo*. In spite of all the necessary emphasis on corporate responsibility and involvement, there are times when the individual alone may be a majority of one. The individual faculty member or bishop must have that space to act freely and decisively, even though in some cases it may go contrary to the collegial spirit.

Individual decisions are not always correct; neither are corporate decisions. Because of this, the healthy tension between collegial spirit and individual freedom must be maintained at all costs.

The Gospel is our judge on these matters. Decisions, corporate or individual, which favor some but neglect and abuse others, are always subject to question. The Gospel is also our judge on matters of conscience. Conscience is culturally conditioned and unless it represents the healthy tension between past reality and future possibility, conscience may also err. If we feel our conscience has been violated, when some other person is reaching out to individuals who in the past have been neglected, abused, or oppressed, then we need to have our conscience grounded in the Gospel rather than in social or ecclesiastical mores.

In conclusion, collegial spirit cannot be identified with the Holy Spirit, and neither can the spirit of the individual be so equated. It is more likely that God’s Holy Spirit which cannot be structurally entombed, even ecclesiastically, will be found hovering within the tension between collegial spirit and individual spirit. ■



# Jesus Healed Women's Bodies

by Georgia Fuller

I speak out as a woman who has never had an abortion. I speak out as a woman who fervently hopes she never needs an abortion. I speak out to say, loud and clear, that there are millions of Christian women like me.

We recognize the facts of life — rape, contraceptive failure, incurable genetic disease. We need safe alternatives when the inadequate societal, medical or economic structures of U.S. life leave us alone with an unmanageable pregnancy. We need more choice, not less.

We have one important challenge to make to the fanatical fringe of the “pro-life” movement, especially the National Right to Life Committee and March for Life. In a free-choice society, if a day passed during which no woman had an abortion because no woman needed one, WE would be happy. If a year passed during which no woman ever had an abortion because no woman needed one, WE would be ecstatic! We challenge March for Life and the National Right to Life Committee to help us build that free-choice society. We challenge them to pour their time, energy and money into preventing the causes of abortion. We especially challenge the Christians within those groups.

Jesus told us that the Kingdom of God was at hand. Jesus

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**Georgia Fuller, Ph.D.**, is chair of the National Committee on Women and Religion, National Organization for Women (NOW). The above article first appeared in the *Pennsylvania NOW Times Magazine*.

called us to help build that Kingdom — a holy reign of justice and peace. A Kingdom in which, to paraphrase St. Paul, with the contemporary idiom, there is neither male nor female stereotyping; black nor white racial divisions; rich nor poor distinction in access to essential medical services (Galatians 3:28).

There can be no justice and peace where there is rape and incestuous rape. There can be no justice and peace where there is ignorance about human sexuality and inadequate, even primitive, responses to our bodies. There can be no justice and peace when parents who bear genetically damaged children must suffer a lonely heartache and a lifetime of enormous medical expenses. There can be no justice and peace as long as social, legal *and* religious distinctions still separate children of God by labels of legitimacy and illegitimacy.

The call of Jesus to build God's Kingdom of Justice and Peace here and now has not been accepted by the fanatical fringe of the “pro-life” movement. Why not, we ask? At its basic foundations, this fringe is not truly pro-life; nor is it truly Christ-like.

First, the fanatical fringe of the “pro-life” movement is not truly *pro-life*. It could be called, with more accuracy, a *pro-fetal-life movement*. A recently published opinion survey in the appendix of *Are Catholics Ready?* correlated responses to issues of sexuality, racial equality and social aggression. The sample population was 5,592 church-going Catholics.

The question was phrased in terms of support for a fetal life amendment to the U.S. Constitution, not in terms of abortion itself. (Undoubtedly there were many more moderate people who feel abortion is murder, immoral or undesirable but who do not support the fetal life amendment. They were not correlated in this survey.) The results show a moderately negative correlation between the fringe who support the fetal life amendment and their opinions on issues of societal justice. In other words, the survey respondents who were constitutionally pro-fetal-life also tended to favor the death penalty and the maintenance of U.S. military superiority. They were, additionally, inclined to think that racial equality in the United States has gone too far.

The survey results further show a strong, positive correlation between the proposed amendment and sexual traditionalism. In other words, the respondents who were pro-fetal-life wanted to forbid the use of artificial contraception, remarriage after divorce and sexual relations by engaged couples. They also wanted to maintain a celibate priesthood. The fanatical fringe of the “pro-life” movement is *NOT* pro-life. It is pro-fetal-life, pro-sexual repression and pro-separation.

Secondly, this fanatical fringe is, at its fundamental base, not Christ-like. It espouses a modern, political extension of the body-spirit dichotomy or dualism. Periods of Christian thought have taught that a pure, perfect soul — which was the created image of God — was somehow trapped in an imperfect, evil body. The path to spirituality was to transcend this body — symbol or cause of the Fall — including sexuality.

One modern consequence of this thought is the maintenance of religious celibacy. This is the forerunner of today's assertion that a pure, perfect fetal soul is created within a less-than-perfect-body which then loses its rights. This is pro-separation — separation of the spirit and the body. This is pro-repression — repression of the body which God created. And, this is heresy.

I used to skip the miracle stories in the Gospel. They made me uncomfortable because I grew up in this heresy — the heresy that denigrated the body. Why would Jesus heal bodies, I thought? Why would Jesus touch bodies? My *body* wasn't nearly as important as my *mind*. What we need in the Gospels, I used to think, were less miracle stories and more good parables — like the Prodigal Son!

As a feminist, I gradually began to appreciate my own body — even to like it and to respect it. I became open to healing — healing that flows from the Spirit and is, in reality, united and interwoven with the body. As my feminism became united with my Christianity, I became open to the miracle stories.

Liberal Christian thought is inclined to teach that Jesus came to tell us that each person is important to God. Jesus tells us that each man and each woman is precious. We must move one step further. Jesus tells us that each woman's body is precious — each man's body is precious. Every aspect of it! Bodies were precious enough for Jesus to touch and heal! Jesus touched the body of Simon-Peter's mother-in-law, in the Gospel of Mark (1:30-31), and the fever left her. Jesus touched the daughter of Jarius, in Luke 8:49-56, and she arose from the dead. Jesus touched the crippled woman, in Luke 13:11-13, and she stood up straight.

And in the Gospel according to St. Matthew we read: And behold, a woman who had suffered from a hemorrhage for twelve years came up behind Him and touched the fringe of His garment; for she said to herself, "If only I touch His garment, I shall be made well." Jesus turned, and seeing her He said, "Take heart, daughter, your faith has made you well." And instantly the woman was made well. (9:20-22)

For twelve years this woman had bled. Possibly the result of a first century botched abortion. And Jesus healed her body! Jesus healed the bodies of women. Jesus did not exploit them as tools for public policy! Jesus cared deeply

and passionately about the bodies of women. To be truly Christ-like, we must care deeply and passionately about our own bodies. This must include a deep and passionate respect for our own intimacy, our own sexuality, and our own procreative powers. Our freedom of choice in matters of abortion and sterilization must be personally informed — not publicly restricted. In order to exercise our freedom of choice with passionate respect, we must continue to demand adequate information about human sexuality and safe methods of contraception.

We, who believe in choice, are a threat. We are a threat to those Christians who seek to separate the body and the spirit. They then seek to repress the body, perhaps unaware that it deadens the spirit. They attack us so viciously because we are exposing them as being un-Christ-like.

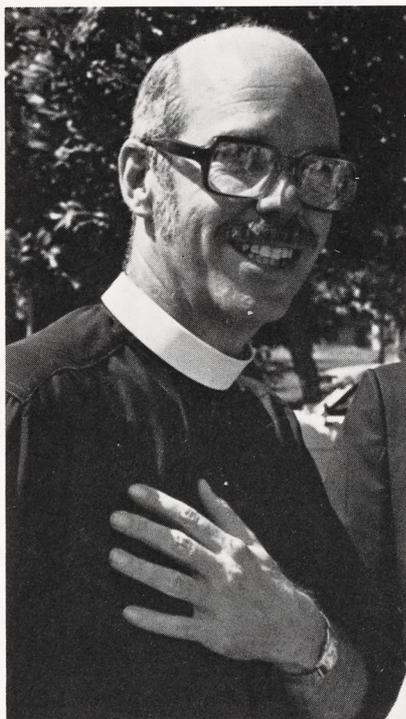
We are a threat to those Christians who fail to build the Kingdom of Justice and Peace, because justice confronts the status quo. We are exposing the fact that rape and incest are tools of patriarchy. Men stay in power through physical and psychological abuse of the bodies of women.

In the name of Christian justice and peace, we ask, "Who benefits when women are subject to violence? Who benefits when women are denied respect for and control of their own bodies? Who benefits when women are denied respect for an understanding of their own procreative powers?"

In the name of Christian justice and peace, we ask, "Who benefits when a poor woman is forced to care for extra children?" The effect of denying abortions to poor women is to lock her entire family into a cycle of poverty. An increased pool of poorly-educated and opportunity-limited workers is the tool of traditional capitalism.

In the name of Christian justice and peace, we ask, "What is the true moral value of a society that places the burden of its morality on the backs of those least able to bear it?" Today, some say abortion is immoral, so we must maintain our national morality by forbidding poor women to have abortions. Ten years ago, many of these same people, particularly the leadership of the fanatical fringe, said welfare children were immoral. They tried to maintain our national morality through a sociopolitical climate that cut welfare allotments and forced sterilizations. Abortions were even forced on poor, particularly minority women, during the years when abortion was illegal!

Because Christians in the fanatical fringe of the "pro-life" movement cannot answer these Christian challenges, they attack us. We must maintain and refine our understanding of the unity of the body and spirit that demands passionate respect for our bodies. As we struggle to develop our new understanding and are attacked, we can remember these words of Jesus: "Blessed are you when men shall revile you, and persecute you . . ." (Matthew 5:11) ■



The Rev. Richard W. Gillett

## New on ECPC Staff

The Rev. Richard W. Gillett will join the staff of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company on January 1. He will have particular responsibility for the development of the Church and Society Network, and will serve in a consultative capacity to THE WITNESS as well. Founder and director of the first industrial mission in Puerto Rico from 1967-73, he has since been serving as director of community outreach for All Saints Church, Pasadena.

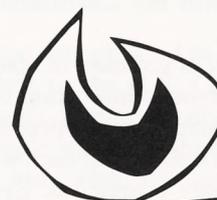
A major article by Gillett, analyzing the right-wing shift of history, its consequences on morale, and projecting Christian tactics for the '80s will appear in the December issue of THE WITNESS.



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WITNESS.**

**Now surely you *have* two  
friends? ? ?**

*Continued from page 2*

us.

I have a son who is a Marxist, and he is a much better Christian than any Christian I have ever met. Theologians have much to answer for. God is by no means dead, but exoteric Christianity must surely be in its last stages. If it were not, how could the country as full of churches as it is, be in the condition and be as lethal as it is?

As Stringfellow says, authority in our public life has become a very great problem. Dan Zwedding has pointed out that we are educated for a dictator. We no longer live in a Republic, which assumes responsibility and sanity. Our economic system has an agribusiness that poisons us as well as a berserk technological machine connected to our military life (the Caesar part) which threatens the life of every man, woman, and child in the world.

The quotation from the Revelation to John, 3:14-17, was never more apt. We do not know that we are "wretched, pitiable, poor, blind and naked." God has abandoned not only the Episcopal Church; God has abandoned the country, more or less. Who at this time would dare to stand up and be counted as loving us all enough to start telling us true things, speaking of our errors, and leading us away from our self-created fires and radioactive mess?

**Marion Wylie  
Oakland, Cal.**

## **Applies to Scientists**

The article by T. Richard Snyder in the October WITNESS was excellent and the scope of its application is far wider than theological education. In particular the point he made about "focus on the subjective and autonomous person" was important: "We have displaced any sense of corporate, structural, public accountability for the Gospel with a personalized understanding of faith and salvation."

In July I attended the MIT World Council of Churches conference on "Faith, Science and the Future." The

greatest problem and stumbling block in the conference was the emphasis placed upon self-knowledge, self-definition, and subjectivity with reference to scientists. This amounts to blaming the scientists as a group and as individuals for the current problems we have with technology.

Not only does assignment of blame in this way sidestep an important part of the process of solving the problems, that of understanding the underlying cause of the misuse of technology, but it removes theologians from the situation and allows them (as many did most vehemently) to deny their own complicity.

Blaming the scientists adds insult to injury inasmuch as individual scientists up until now have been among the most vocal in protest. Without help from the institution which should most be able to aid in matters of conscience — the church — some scientists, acting alone out of conviction and without help (usually with opposition) from their professional community, have exposed destructive research, refused to work on research they consider harmful, even shut down offensive laboratories, and tried to warn the rest of society of dangerous consequences in certain areas. The destructive work which the scientist finds himself or herself doing and the destructive uses to which technology is put are symptoms of a deeper disease where the scientist is a tool used by the institutions; the scientist may be the executioner, but the sentence has already been passed. Since scientists have virtually no help in dealing with questions of responsibility and complicity, they are among the major victims of technological oppression.

Because of the mechanization of destruction, the individual is alienated from the damage caused. This makes it difficult if not impossible for the individual to evaluate his or her own responsibility and act on this evaluation. It also makes it imperative that we have a mechanism in which to raise and discuss questions of individual

responsibility. I think here the churches have an important job to do, and that the WCC has made a good beginning.

**Sara Winter  
Pennington, N.J.**

## **Beyond the Pale**

When are you people going to realize that your particular emphasis is no longer in vogue? Hopefully the Episcopal Church has moved beyond your silly little games, and has begun to involve Jesus Christ in the solutions to the world's problems.

May I suggest that you read a book called "Growth and Decline in the Episcopal Church"? I consider myself a liberal, but you are beyond the pale. I do a lot of prayer time over the problems that you people are causing.

**The Rev. Eugene A. Combs  
Henry, Ill.**

## **Helpful to Seminarian**

My June issue of THE WITNESS never arrived in my mailbox. I have the feeling it was ripped off, along with my *Christianity and Crisis* "Coming Out" issue. I hope the issues were meaningful to whomever took them. Could you please send me a replacement copy? I have been keeping my issues of THE WITNESS and have found them most helpful for my seminary studies, for information, clarification and insight, not to mention some spiritual uplifting and hope. I would be willing to help in pushing info about your periodical, perhaps expediting orders. I know that the word/Word needs to get out!

**George F. Neumann, Jr.  
CDSP  
Berkeley, Cal.**

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### **CREDITS**

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# THE WITNESS

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AUSTIN, TEXAS

**Christian Tactics  
For the 1980s**  
Richard W. Gillett

**Nuclear Crossroads**  
Helen Caldicott

**Another Time,  
Another Mary**  
Robert L. DeWitt



## Mrs. Keddy in Error

There are several points in *Mrs. Keddy's* letter to the editor (September WITNESS) to which I would like to respond. For example, her paragraph on the confusion of gender and sex. I presume that *Mrs. Keddy* and I are much of an age. She entered the workforce in the 1920s. I graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1918 and was always taught that the gender of things (books, tables, whatnot) was neuter. To refer to a machine as *she* was a misuse of the English language. It might be popular usage but it was still wrong.

The important (to me at least) error in *Mrs. Keddy's* argument, however, is her statement "There was nothing in the Prayer Book or the canons to prohibit ordination of women (of course there wasn't) *if they had just considered themselves members of the human race.* Man has *always* referred to males and females." (emphasis mine)

It is not the women who want to be ordained but the men who refuse to ordain them who consider that women are not part of the human race. For over half a century I tried to persuade clergy, especially bishops, that the word "person" (Article III, Canon 2) and the word "man" as subsequently used in the canons on ordination was inclusive of both male and female, but I had to wait for the courageous bishops at the Church of the Advocate in order to be ordained priest in 1976.

It is because the word "man" does not *always* refer to both male and female that it has become offensive and its use objected to.

As a philologist, *Mrs. Keddy* knows that words change their meaning over periods of time. The dictionary still defines "man" as a person whether male or female but it also gives other exclusive definitions. As used in the canons of the Episcopal Church the word "man" was understood to be exclusive until 1976 when it was defined as inclusive.

The word "man" has become offensive simply because its meaning is ambiguous. The word does not *always* but only *sometimes* refer to both male and female and a female never knows which is which. Today when one speaks of clergymen, I know that I am a man (a female man) but does the speaker? Or is the speaker referring to clergymen as distinct from clergywomen? Who knows? Sometimes I wonder if the speaker does.

**Jeannette Piccard**  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## Hurrah for Mrs. Keddy

Hurrah for Jane Keddy! Here's one vote against "nonsexist" language. As one of Helen Hokinson's plump females said in *The New Yorker*: "Chairperson always makes me think of an upholsterer."

I wonder what *the girls* are doing about "mankind." Personkind??? Heaven forbid! Good for you, *Mrs. Keddy!*

**Georgia Pierce**  
(*Mrs.*) **E. Taylor Pierce**  
Doylestown, Pa.

## Language Rules Obsolete

I write in response to the letter from philologist Jane Keddy in the September issue. It doesn't take a philologist to know that language changes with the needs and values of the people who use it. For instance, hardly anyone who speaks and writes English uses Shakespearean idiom any more — though the Bard's usage is still studied and understood.

In the same way, if we and our children after us expect to function in a society increasingly conscious of and respon-

sible about equality of the sexes, we must recognize when the old rules of language no longer apply.

**Patricia G. Wood**  
Southfield, Mich.

## Power Corrupts All

I do *love* sexist language at times! Like when they say "man-made disasters." As far as I know there's never yet been what could be labeled a "woman-made disaster," and I sure would like to keep it that way. Glory be — no woman sits with the men planning nuclear power plants, at least not above the peon class, and no woman sits with the heads in the Pentagon — yet. I'd just as soon I, or any woman, *didn't* have equal rights to positions of power in nuclear power or at the Pentagon. And, who knows, other positions of power might not be "plums," even in the church. Certainly not many are in state or corporate circles.

Well, I hope the feminists don't try to get "man-made disasters" changed to "people-made disasters" to include women! And to think there wouldn't be disasters if women had equal rights in the planning is a pipe-dream — for power corrupts women just as it does men. It corrupts people, regardless of sex. Power doesn't discriminate.

**Abbie Jane Wells**  
Juneau, Alaska

## Who Gains in Strike?

Re: "Farm Workers, Growers Reap Bitter Harvest" by E. Lawrence Carter in the August WITNESS. Though I am neither a farmer nor a farm worker, I count many of both as my friends, having lived in the Salinas Valley area of California for over 60 years.

The article failed to mention that all taxpayers and consumers have suffered by this wasteful strike. We are now paying increased food prices and will continue to do so while crops are rotting in the fields and wages increase. President Carter, in an effort to control inflation, suggested that wage increases be kept to a 7% maximum. The UFW is

*Continued on page 19*

# THE WITNESS

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## Another Time, Another Mary

Robert L. DeWitt

There was no room at the inn, so a woman whose time had come for the urgent business of birthing had to lie in at a stable. And out of that rejection, that exclusion, the woman brought into the world the Word of God Incarnate. Quietly and obscurely, she bore a child whose ministry would see him repeatedly including those who had been excluded, accepting those who had been rejected. This is the timeless story of Christmas, when stars hold still, angels sing in chorus, shepherds quake with fear, and wise men are humbled. But the meaning of that birth was, and remains, the mystery of God's accepting and inclusive love. And the "minister" God chose to officiate at that event, she who bore the Word of God, was Mary.

Because of that first Christmas, high drama in the tragic tradition was enacted during the recent visit of Pope John Paul II to this country. Sister Mary Theresa Kane spoke with great grace to the Pope on behalf of all women, requesting that they be allowed access to the ordained ministries of her church. It was dramatic for a woman to address publicly the one imputed to be Christ's vicar on earth. (Yet, ironically, it was a woman, the mother of Jesus, who spoke constantly to him whose vicar the Pope is imputed to be.) But it is tragic that the "successor" to Christ would feel compelled to speak a word of rejection and exclusion to a "successor" of Mary. Mary gave Jesus his first food and prepared food for him for many years thereafter. Yet, were she to have been at the Pope's mass, she would have been barred from any official role — as her

sisters/successors are in fact barred.

Drama, even tragic drama, need not blind us to the pedestrian, prosaic realities under which the Bishop of Rome, the Pope, lives. He is human and he is finite; this creates a heavy responsibility for one who bears the burden of infallibility. The truth of God must be tempered by sound management, maintenance of image and good public relations. But it is dramatic, and tragic, when a spokesperson for Christ enunciates to women the prohibiting words of custom and tradition, doing it in the name of the very one who often said, "You have heard it said of old time ... but I say unto you..." — and then proceeded to utter new words of grace and truth.

Sister Mary Theresa Kane is not the Angel Gabriel, but the words she addressed to Pope John Paul bore the suggestion of an annunciation. Mary did not know at the time of the Annunciation that the birth foretold would be an irregular one, defying expectations as to its place and setting. But when her time had come she had to make do with what was at hand. Ordinations, like birthings, are sometimes unusual and sometimes irregular. Mary's time had come. And today, her sisters who aspire and feel called to an ordained ministry, has their time not also come? As they are told there is no room for them in the established orders of the church, even so was their elder sister, Mary, told there was no room at the inn. For them, as for her, the question is: Where is the stable? It may be that, again, shepherds will quake and wise men will be humbled. ■

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# Christian Tactics for the 1980s

*"The 1970s have passed their zenith. Did they take place — this handful of years — somewhere else, in another land, inside the house, the head? Fatigue and recession, cold winters and expensive heat, resignations and disgrace. Quietism, inner peace, having their turn, as if history were a concert program, some long and some short selections, a few modern and the steady traditional. For young people, it is common to say that things have settled down."*

— Elizabeth Hardwick

It is a measure of the unpredictable and eruptive forces of historical change operating in our time that these observations from such an astute social observer as Elizabeth Hardwick (advisory editor of the *New York Review of Books*), written in the spring of 1978, could become so quickly obsolete. At least since Proposition 13's passage in California almost a year and a half ago, global and domestic reports of new crises have tumbled over each other in strident competition for space in the daily newspaper. In the past nine months alone, for instance, we have been in turn bombarded with news about the plight of the so-called "boat people," outraged at the rise of gas prices at the pump (50% in twelve months), scared silly by the nuclear near-catastrophe at Three Mile Island,

and rattled by the ominous onset of another economic recession, one perhaps turning into something greater.

Clearly the period of relative quiet which followed Watergate in this country has ended. 1978, year of the tax revolt, has been followed by 1979, year of the energy crisis. In the rush of crises and growing awareness of their relatedness, perhaps we see the end of labelling particular years as "the year of...." Instead, as the 1980s arrive, there is a sense that we are entering a period which will test whether "the center itself will hold" — whether the economic and social system itself will survive.

There is nothing in the above that perceptive social commentators have not told us before. But there is a notable failure of recognized church and secular

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## History at a Glance

The Western world, without much doubt, is lurching rightward. European governments, most notably Great Britain with the election of Margaret Thatcher as prime minister, are rejecting more centralized approaches to governing and are proclaiming once again the virtues of the free enterprise system. In the United States for the past three years, Democrats have talked like Republicans and have fallen over each other in their rush to champion fiscal conservatism and decry government intervention. Serious attempts, such as the newly founded American Enterprise Institute, are now being made to give intellectual respectability to this renewed friendship with capitalism and a past which, the claim runs, has been

forgotten.

For example, Ben J. Wattenberg, a former member of the Nixon administration, recently wrote an article in the *New York Times Magazine* titled "It's Time to Stop America's Retreat." Decrying such "retreats" as our abandonment of the Shah of Iran and our decisions to shelve the B-1 bomber and the neutron bomb (his heart ought now to be gladdened by Carter's decision to build the MX missile and his push for a bigger military budget!), he would recall us to what he calls "Old Foundation Politics." He lays down a few principles of old-fashioned politics. "Image counts" is the first one. He quotes his good friend Richard Nixon, who once said that unless the U.S. flexed its muscles occasionally, the world would come to regard us as a

"pitiful, helpless giant." Another principle: "Power counts." The CIA, Wattenberg laments, is much too vulnerable to public inquiry about the legitimacy of its tactics. A third principle: "Dominoes live." Making reference to Southeast Asia, he blames the current situation there upon our failure of nerve in Vietnam, and a monolithic Communist plot we should have stood up to.

I have cited Wattenberg at some length because it is an indication of the influence of the rightward, simplistic trend in our country that such reasoning can appear in print in a major "liberal" magazine under the guise of serious political commentary. One wonders what our country's founders would have said to this "Old Foundation" jingoism masquerading as patriotism,

by Richard W. Gillett

leadership, even when they acknowledge all this, to interpret adequately the meaning of these successive crises and their place on the larger historical canvas; and then to summon us on to a frame of reference, a stance, that is sufficient to survive, act, and celebrate in the midst of tumultuous change.

The reflections that follow are intended to be a call for such a stance, and a contribution toward furthering a dialogue that will take seriously the depth and interrelatedness of the crises we are now moving into at full speed. Herewith, then, some modest observations about our current juncture in history, followed by some considerations of morale, and concluding with suggestions for Christian tactics.



and brazenly advocating image, power, and fear as value constructs upon which to base national policy.

Why has so little reflection surfaced in American commentary upon the meaning to this rightward shift in wider historical perspective? Perhaps the fact that it is in reality a counter-trend to another, stronger one in the non-Western world makes us avoid examining it too deeply. For it appears as a threat to all that we presumably hold dear in our contemporary life and culture. The newer trend began to be visible following World War II and has been gaining momentum for 30 years. Simply put, it is the rise among the more than 2 billion people in Third World nations of a sense of self-worth, dignity, and entitlement to the basic amenities of life.

The dimensions of this trend have been expressed well recently by none other than Zbigniew Brzezinski:

*"Between 1950 and the year 2000, (the world) will have grown by an additional 3.5 billion. Most of these people will be living in the Third World. By the end of this century, the Western world will have only about 20% or less of the world's people. Most will be young, most of them will be poor, most of them will be politically awakened, most of them will be concentrated in urban areas, most of them will be susceptible to mass mobilization."*

At least since Oswald Spengler 60 years ago, Western historians have been observing and recording the long slow decline of the West — mostly with

lament. It is in this context that rightward trends in North America and Europe must be seen: As the protest of a clinging nostalgia to the passing of one era in history and the incipient birth-pangs of another.

Christians must be clear about where they stand in this shift. Too often we have confused secular historical currents with the Gospel! The passing of the Western way of life should not sadden us. The good things about Western culture and civilization are strong enough to endure its fall: Its great literature, its appreciation for history, its philosophical and scientific spirit of inquiry, its art. The other things about it: The drive to acquisitiveness (born of the capitalist notion), its exploitive domination of nature, its male hierarchical structures, its

glorification of science, its excessive individualism — all these are what many take to be the primary achievements of Western culture. They are not. They deserve to pass into oblivion, and Christians, who possess a different value system, should rejoice at their passing.

For the Old Testament God of history is still God — a God needed more than ever in the late 20th century. In the new cry of oppressed peoples for life, and dignity, and justice, is there not a repeat of the cry of the prophets and a reminder that the God of the Israelites will use the modern counterpart of the Assyrians, and the stranger, and the alien, to chasten his own people if they do not obey him? And is it not in fact a strange rebirth of our own flagging hopes to perceive again the exhilarating truth that “God is not left without witness at any time?”

## Raising Morale

So much for an interpretation of history at a glance. Again, it is not as though no one has invited us to consider such an interpretation before. It is rather that we shrink from taking it seriously. The implications for our behavior and way of life seem too drastic. But civilizations do pass, and others do follow them. Economist-historian Robert Heilbroner articulates what a lot of people feel, even if it scares them to dwell upon it: “There seems to be a widespread sense that we are living in a period of historic inflection from one dominant civilization form to another.”

We have to stop babying ourselves about our “unfortunate” plight! We liberals and progressives decry the new narcissism in lamenting the rise of the new Right, or longing for the Camelot of Kennedy, or bemoaning the failure of the liberals in the church. John Gardner (of Common Cause) puts it well:

*“It isn't that people can't find the path that will save them. They*

*cry, 'where is the voice that will tell us the truth,' and stop their ears. They shout, 'Show us the way' and shut their eyes.”*

The first step toward raising a new morale for our time, therefore, is to recognize that peoples have been this route before. The collapse of Rome did occur, and civilization did not end. In fact the church survived it well. The collapse of the Middle Ages did occur, and again, the church survived. Furthermore, in the midst of historical turmoil or of the corruption of the church as a whole, movements within it have borne outstanding witness in their times: the Franciscan movement, the Waldensians, the Christian socialists of 19th century England, the worker-priests of postwar France, the Church League for Industrial Democracy in our own country early in this century, the press by women in our time for full participation in ministry and mission, and many other examples.

All this, I believe, calls for a new and much more disciplined look at our heritage. Our Biblical tradition, from Abraham's call out of a settled life to Mary's proclamation, in the magnificat, of the divine intention to reorder society in favor of those of low-degree, is filled with the rhythms of a long and disciplined pilgrimage. The themes of exodus-liberation, promised land, exile, return, and “new fire” all acquire new relevance if looked at in contemporary historical context.

But this also means looking at the amazing witness of people and leaders in contemporary secular history, where the Lord of *all* history, if we will but look, can teach us much. Look at the history of the Chinese Communist Party and its gaining of the hearts of the Chinese people over long decades of painstaking and unrelenting work amidst the worst conditions imaginable (see Edgar Snow's classic, *Red Star Over China*). Examine the writings of Che Guevara — the M.D. born in Argentina who became a revolutionary

— and glimpse there a great humanitarian spirit. Read the history of the United Farmworkers of America and of Cesar Chavez. We do not have to agree totally with these historical examples to gain inspiration from them, to see their incredible tenacity and feel a deep morality at their heart.

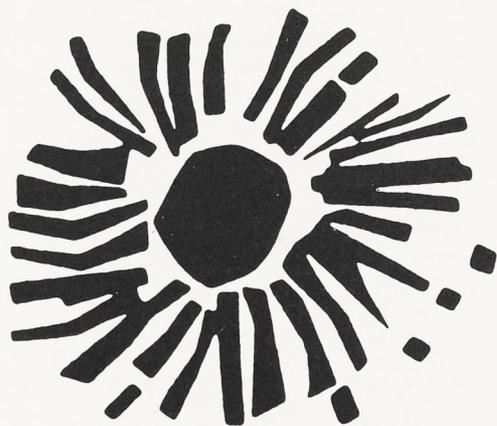
None of the above should convey the notion that our journey of justice as Christians in a declining civilization should be a somber one. Quite the contrary: our need to celebrate, to sing about what we see and feel and engage in, and to laugh at ourselves as well as others, is an essential part of our journey, as it has been in all the great journeys, both secular and biblical. We need some rousing new songs for the 1980's, to poke fun at the sagging establishment, to summon us to a new future, to celebrate our great past!

## Tactics for the Future

The term “Christian tactics” is probably too imprecise to describe what should follow for us upon a consideration of history's lessons, and of a morale in the committed Christian community that is adequate for the times. What I mean is that we should work toward a witness in our time that is a combination of a style of living and a strategy of action, that is both faithful to the Gospel and faithful to the historical reality heretofore described. Although the metaphor may be faulted for its use of the imagery of warfare, there is a certain usefulness in thinking of our tactics as guerrilla tactics. For we are in a historical situation somewhat analogous to that of a guerrilla movement: the powers of repression are entrenched and do not seem likely to be soon changed or removed. Our tactics are, roughly, threefold: heavy on the theory and the training, timely and well-planned engagements with the centers of repression, and a careful search for and collaboration with allies who may be working incognito, as it were, in the

establishment.

To this broad strategy must be added a basic consideration that is not tactical but behavioral. Those of us who are middle-class progressives must begin to move more and more towards a "ministry of displacement." The displacement is that of moving ourselves with increasing consistency out of our customary places of privilege in social life and into greater physical and spiritual identification with the displaced, the oppressed, of society. No serious religious and social movement can sustain itself over the long haul without such grounding. The consequent lift in our morale, resulting from the discovery that an incredible spirit of hope and life frequently burns brightest among the displaced themselves, will kindle the passion and the moral outrage necessary for the long march to justice.



Regarding the first tactic, I believe we must take with increased seriousness the need to study and understand the extant social and economic forces, and to interpret their meaning in the light of historical reality and the gospel. The theology of liberation is engaged in precisely this task, and it is time we took seriously the charge by liberation theologians that our European and American-based theological constructs may be jaded and irrelevant to the gospel imperatives of the late 20th century. After all, must there not be some corresponding theological response to the kind of world that Brzezinski describes will be ours by the year 2000?

Serious and disciplined study-action groups should, therefore, begin to proliferate in this country, much as the *comunidades de base* (base communities) in Latin America. Study-

action guides such as *Must We Choose Sides?*, just issued by the Inter-Religious Task Force for Social Analysis, are excellent tools and more must be written.

As part of the new seriousness with social and theological analysis, we must establish new training opportunities. These may vary greatly, ranging from comprehensive urban training programs to concentrated efforts surrounding a single issue, to "on-the-job" training in neighborhood organizing.

The second tactic, of engagement with the centers of repression, involves that of addressing specific manifestations of that repression. In the selection of targets, clusters of committed Christians and their allies, in Church and Society chapters or similar groups, ought to focus around the principal issues which, plumbed to their roots, reveal the basic systemic malaise afflicting the total society. Such issues are the arms race and nuclear power, unemployment, the oppression of women, increasing racism, land use, global hunger, and urban economics, among others. Each of these reveals at its heart a corporate system whose primary goal is the accumulation of capital and the consequent exploitation of any and every group or institution standing in its way. The engagement of our activist groups with one or another of these issues must provide the opportunity to confront the particular aggression, and to reflect upon its meaning in the total societal struggle.

The third tactic or focus is to collaborate whenever possible with our allies who are working in the establishment — a classification, obviously, which would include many readers of this magazine. Within the church, it is important to recognize that there are in fact many bishops and clergy, not to mention lay people, whose perception of what is happening in both

*Continued on page 18*

## Third World Sermon Notes

Considerable stir was created in church world circles a few years ago by a call from a group of African Church leaders for a "moratorium on missionaries." The point they were making was that Africans can preach the Gospel to Africans, but that there is a great need for "missionaries" from Europe and North America to preach the Gospel to their own people, because of the great harm those sections of the world are wreaking on the Third World.

Walter L. Owensby felt called to this task following his service as a Presbyterian missionary in Mexico and then in Colombia. With a Catholic lay theologian from the U.S., Daniel Dolesh, he developed a program which focused on the foreign community in Colombia, that is to say, Europeans and North Americans. It became ever clearer to them that they and the people they were serving were much more part of the problem than they were the solutions. So they aimed increasingly at interpreting the Colombian reality to the foreign community there, raising questions of how the decisions being made in the First and Second World were shaping or mis-shaping lives in that part of the Third World. It became obvious that if one is really concerned about what is happening to peoples' lives in Latin America because of decisions that are made abroad, then one must do some missionary work on *that* side of the equation. It was circumstance, however, not a "moratorium on missionaries," which brought Owensby

back to the United States. He left Colombia, but the concerns he had found there made him ask, How could he be a missionary to his own people? Located in Madison, Wisc. he developed a program called Inter-American Designs for Economic Awareness — a program of workshops, consulting and speaking, all focused on educating church bodies on international economic issues.

It was out of this effort that the idea of Third World Sermon Notes first took form. This time an Episcopal priest, Arthur Lloyd, helped Owensby to launch the project.



As Owensby puts it: "The prime time the Christian community gathers in any locale is for worship on Sunday. The minister has a vital opportunity then, because people come expecting to hear a sermon about moral issues, how the Word relates to their lives and what is happening around them. Yet it was obvious to me that at least we in the Presbyterian Church were not doing very much to address issues of justice in that context. We were pretty good at publishing weighty tomes and lengthy bibliographies, but not very good at trying to say things in a way that would be immediately helpful to clergy, who are under tremendous time pressures. Every minute they have is bid for by 40 different things. So the interest in Third World Sermon Notes was to sift the literature and concerns into a context that would be immediately useful to them."

The result was a program which started as a service to three local synods of the United Presbyterian Church; but the interest generated was such that now some 3500 people are receiving it, including several hundred Lutheran pastors in California.

Each 1400-word issue focuses on the lections for one Sunday in each month. A sample appears in this issue of THE WITNESS. Two dollars a year bring the subscriber 12 issues. The address: Third World Sermon Notes, 1121 University Avenue, Madison, Wisc. 53715.

Despite, or because of the missionary moratorium, the mission is gaining momentum!

— Robert L. DeWitt

## Third World Sermon Notes

# Pattern for Prophets

*8th Sunday after Pentecost*  
*Lections: Amos 7:7-15*  
*Ephesians 1:3-10*  
*Mark 6:7-13*

While these three texts are very different in theme, they are nevertheless united in that each one provides an important insight about doing God's prophetic ministry. That involves: 1) Knowing the plan, 2) Getting the vision, and 3) Answering the call.

### I. Knowing the Plan

A recent article in *Relay*, An American Friends Service Committee publication, carried these troubling observations:

"In a Gallup Poll, 50% did not know the U.S. must import any petroleum at all. A national assessment of high school seniors showed that 40% thought Israel was an Arab nation, and only somewhat fewer thought Golda Meir was president of Egypt. Only a bare 5% of all the nation's teachers have had any exposure whatever to international studies and training. Only 1% of college students are enrolled in any studies dealing with international affairs or foreign peoples and cultures. Enrollment in foreign language studies continues to drop to the point of 'national embarrassment.' In a recent UNESCO study of 30,000 ten- and

fourteen-year-olds in nine countries, American students ranked next to the bottom in their comprehension of foreign cultures.

"At a time when our need for knowledge and understanding of the new realities of our world are greatest, we Americans seem to have turned inward, understanding less and less the new circumstances of our world."

Such an "ignorance is bliss" approach to life is certainly not in keeping with the Ephesian text. Paul speaks of God's grand design to achieve a universal harmony under Christ. (1:10)

Nor did Amos harbor anything of a parochial spirit. His prophetic word touched the bare nerve of every surrounding nation before focusing in upon Israel. (Amos 1 and 2) When Amaziah the priest tried to make Israel out-of-bounds for this Judean prophet, Amos would not budge (7:12-14). Notice how often we respond like Amaziah when addressed by the prophetic word. In the South of the 1960s, the cry was heard that "if outsiders will just go home, we will take care of our racial problem." In the 1970s, the people of South Boston said the same. And in today's church, we often echo like sentiments in dismissing liberation theologians of Third World countries who dare to criticize our cherished institutions.

Amos, like Paul, saw the threads of

nations woven together in the plan of God. We cannot do otherwise.

### II. Getting the Vision

If there is to be a truly prophetic ministry, it must begin with an understanding of what God's Word is for the particular time and circumstance.

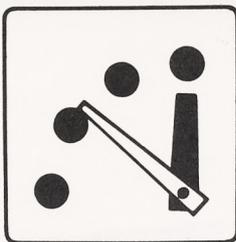
Amos sees a plumbline that God has set in the midst of the *people*, Israel. The collective is important here. In a society characterized by injustice, there may be many righteous persons. It is the nation and its errant system of relationships that God promises to judge in this instance (Amos 2:6,7a).

God's plumbline measures our social and economic systems as well. Consider this illustration — reported by a group of church visitors — of how we are related to the people of the Philippines.

"Castle and Cooke Corporation, the parent company of Dole, moved from Hawaii to the Philippines in 1963 for cheaper labor and land . . .

"Most of the workers live in a crowded heap of shanties near the cannery. We talked with Nina Scarlan, mother of four, in front of her one-room bamboo hut. Her husband Alix has worked at Dole for 11 years loading fruit and fertilizer trucks. Alix makes about \$1.50 per day, approximately the cost of two cans of pineapple juice in a North American supermarket. With Alix's monthly wage of less

*Continued on page 17*



## At the Crossroads of Time

*Nuclear power frequently carries such doomsday connotations that people are paralyzed into inaction for want of "getting a handle" on its consequences on their daily lives. Dr. Helen Caldicott, a 38-year-old pediatrician and mother of three, has perhaps more than any other, de-mystified and explained in simple terms the medical and ecological effects of nuclear power and weaponry, initiating public outcry and action. Dr. Caldicott currently works with victims of cystic fibrosis at Boston Children's Hospital. The following is excerpted from a speech she gave for the Mobilization for Survival.*



Helen Caldicott

I approach nuclear weapons from a medical point of view. When I did first-year medicine in 1956, we had a very good genetics lecturer, who taught us what radiation does to genes and how it can both damage future generations and produce cancer. As I studied for exams at the end of the year, I used to go out every day to get the newspaper. And every day on the front page there would be a big mushroom cloud, with a sort of "Hurray, the Americans have tested another bomb on the Bikini Atoll" or "The Russians have tested another bomb" — it was that era when each country was testing bombs all the time. And I remember being frightened, because I realized what the fallout meant. I used to speak of it at the university, and nobody took any notice. They thought I was a fanatical nut.

So I stopped talking about it. I just watched, with horror, the gradual escalation and buildup of nuclear weapon forces in the United States, and

in England, and in the Soviet Union. And, like everybody else, I felt too impotent, as one individual, to do anything about it. Yet I felt, "It's my world as much as that of any politician." And when I decided to have children, I felt I was probably wicked to bring children into this world; yet, for selfish reasons, I did. I felt that they probably couldn't have a normal lifespan, or that if they did, their children would not.

Then in 1972 I returned to Australia having been in the United States for three years and learned a little bit how to be political.

The French were testing bombs in the Pacific, and we got a high fallout in Adelaide, where I lived. They tend to collect rainwater in tanks in Adelaide because there isn't very much water in Australia. It was after a drought, and the tanks were empty, so the tanks filled up with relatively radioactive water.

I happened to be invited by a television producer to speak about

acupuncture or something, so I did. And afterwards he said, "Why don't you come and talk about the French testing bombs? We've been trying for months to get a doctor to comment about fallout." I said, "Sure." So I went and I talked about radioactive iodine, and strontium 90, and cancer and leukemia in children. "You all know," I said, "how, when the fallout was occurring in the Northern Hemisphere and your milk was contaminated with radioactive iodine and strontium 90 in the early sixties, that helped to bring about the international test ban treaty."

Every time the French tested another bomb, I was invited back to talk on the television about fallout. People gradually learned that it wasn't safe for their children and their babies.

Then I went on an Australian delegation to visit French government officials, and they said, "Our bombs are perfectly safe." So we said, "If they're safe, why don't you test them in the Mediterranean?" And they said, "Oh, *mon dieu*, there are too many people living near the Mediterranean!" So we knew they were wicked, and they knew they were wicked, and for the first time in my life I knew I was sitting opposite wicked politicians who knew they would probably be killing people, and they didn't give a damn. Anyway, as a result of this, we took France to the world court, and now it tests underground.

Then I started to read about nuclear power. And the more I read, the more my hair literally stood on end. It is millions of times more dangerous than fallout from bomb testing.

So again I went to the media and the press. They had always been very interested in what I had had to say. But this time they said, "That's not important. We're not interested." And I was very perplexed until I found out that the media had large shares in

uranium mines. Australia has 30% of the Free World's uranium.

So this time I wrote to the unions in Australia and asked if I could talk to them about the dangers of mining uranium. They said, "You can talk to us, but you'll never convince us, 'cause we need the jobs." So I went and talked to them, and in ten minutes they were saying, "I don't want my kids growing up in a world like that!" and they sent a telegram to the prime minister.

And gradually — just by going out at lunchtime, talking to people in factories, and teaching them about basic genetics and radiation and nuclear weapons — I taught the unions of Australia that it was dangerous to mine uranium.

I want to talk a little bit about basic medicine and genetics so that you'll understand why it's dangerous. Let's start with nuclear power plants, because this is a step toward understanding what nuclear weapons mean and why we absolutely have to get rid of every single nuclear weapon on earth, if we're to survive. Each step of the nuclear fuel cycle is dangerous. When you mine uranium, it gives off a gas called radon. When miners breathe it into their lungs, they can get lung cancer, because it irradiates the cells in the lungs. In years past, 20 to 50 % of uranium miners died of lung cancer.

Then, when the uranium is milled and enriched, a lot of the ore is discarded and lies around in big heaps called tailings. They give off radon gas too, for tens of thousands of years. Now, they don't give off radon if they are buried under the ground, but it's too costly to do that. In Grand Junction, Col., people didn't know these tailings were dangerous, so they used them to build schools and hospitals and houses and roads. There's an increased incidence of congenital deformities among the babies born in those houses. And people still live there, because it's economically not feasible to pull them down and build new ones.

After the uranium is enriched, it's placed in fuel rods and put in a nuclear reactor. Inside the reactor is the reactor core, and inside the core, are hundreds and hundreds of long thin fuel rods, all packed with uranium, and it's all covered up with water. At a certain point, the uranium reaches critical mass. It doesn't explode, but it becomes extremely hot, and what it does is, it boils the water. This is a very sophisticated way to boil water! The water produces steam. The steam turns the turbine, which produces electricity. That's all there is to it.

What happens to the uranium when it starts fission? Well, it turns into hundreds of very poisonous radioactive elements. I will just take four as an example: iodine 131, strontium 90, cesium 137, and plutonium. The first three elements are what are called beta emitters, and plutonium is an alpha emitter.

The alpha emitter plutonium emits a helium nucleus, which is a very large particle—and it is of dense matter and doesn't travel very far, less than a beta particle. But it it hits a cell, it will

probably kill it, and if it doesn't kill it, it will definitely damage it. That's why alpha emitters — and plutonium, in particular — are the most carcinogenic or cancer-producing substances we have ever known. And plutonium is man-made. It didn't exist before we fissioned uranium. It is appropriately named after Pluto, the god of Hell.

Plutonium is an interesting metal. If it is exposed to air, it ignites spontaneously, forming tiny aerosolized particles which can be breathed into the lung, and can give you lung cancer.

How does radiation produce cancer? Your body is composed of millions and billions of cells — there are hair cells, eye cells, liver cells, heart cells. Inside each cell is a nucleus, and inside the nucleus are long string things, and arranged on the strings are the genes — the DNA. These DNA molecules are the very essence of life: they control every single thing about us. Everything is passed down from generation to generation.

In every cell in the body, there's a regulatory gene which controls the rate at which that cell divides. And if you have an atom of plutonium sitting next to a cell, giving off its alpha particle, and the particle hits the regulatory gene, it will damage it, but the cell will survive. The cell will sit dormant for about 15 years. (We don't know why this happens.) And then one day, instead of just producing two daughter cells when it divides, as a cell normally does, it goes berserk and produces millions and billions of cells. That is a cancer.

So if you inhale one atom of plutonium into your lung and it emits one alpha particle, which damages *one cell* and *one gene*, that can kill you because that produces millions of cells, which is a cancerous tumor. Then one cell will break off and go up to your brain and produce another tumor. Another cell will break off and go into the blood to your liver and produce another tumor, a secondary tumor.



Now, plutonium is so toxic that people who've worked with it say they can't find a low enough dose which won't give lung cancer to every dog they put it into. That's not normal in medicine. Usually there's a threshold in a drug, below which it does no harm and above which it does have an action. It is generally accepted that a millionth of a gram of plutonium will give you cancer. A gram is a minute amount; a millionth of a gram is something you can't even see. Now, by extrapolation — and this is hypothetical — if you could take a pound of plutonium and put a little piece into every single person's lung on earth, you'd kill every man, woman, and child with a lung cancer. That's how dangerous it is.

Each nuclear reactor makes 400-500 pounds of plutonium every year. By the year 2020, in this country, they will have made 30,000 tons of it. It only takes 10 pounds to make an atomic bomb. That means that, theoretically, any country that has a nuclear reactor could make forty atomic bombs every year if they could extract the plutonium. By the year 2020 there will be 100,000 shipments of plutonium transported along the highways of this country annually. Now, plutonium is worth more than heroin on the black market, because it's raw material for atomic bombs. And already trucks with valuable cargoes disappear.

Let me describe the half-lives of radioactive substances. Radioactive iodine 131, for example, has a half-life of eight days. That means that if you start off with a pound of it, in eight days you will have ½ pound; in eight more days you will have ¼ pound; in eight more days you will have ⅛; etc. . . . It decays like that. So radioactive iodine is dangerous for a couple of weeks. That's why, after fallout, if you store milk or dry milk for a couple of weeks, it's safe from radioactive iodine contamination.

Strontium 90 has a half-life of 28 years. That means it's dangerous for

several hundred years. Cesium has a half-life of 33 years—about the same as strontium. Plutonium has a half-life of 24,400 years. That means it's not safe for half a million years. It is not biodegradable, and scientists don't know where to put it; they haven't solved the waste storage problem. But they say, "We're scientists. We'll find the answer. Have faith in us." That's like my saying to a patient, "I'm sorry, I've just diagnosed that you have cancer of the pancreas. You'll probably live for six months but have faith in me. I'm a doctor, and in 20 years' time I may have found a cure." That's insane!

We're talking about a substance that is so incredibly toxic that everybody who comes in contact with it and gets it

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*"If you have a nuclear reactor in your city, your enemy doesn't need a nuclear bomb; all they need to do is drop a conventional weapon on your nuclear reactor."*

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into their lungs will die of a lung cancer. You don't know you've breathed it into your lungs. You can't smell it, you can't taste it, and you can't see it. Nor can I, as a doctor, determine that you've got plutonium in your lungs. When a cancer develops, it doesn't have a little flag saying, "Hey, I was made by plutonium." And you'll feel healthy for 15 to 20 to 30 years while you're carrying around that plutonium in your lung, till one day you get a lung cancer. It's a very insidious thing. It takes a long time to get the cancer. If I die of a lung cancer produced by plutonium, and I'm cremated, the smoke goes out of the chimney with the plutonium, to be breathed into somebody else's lungs — ad infinitum for half a million years.

When uranium is fissioned, every year about a third of the radioactive rods are removed from the nuclear reactor core. And they're very hot, thermally and radioactively. Each rod is so radioactive that if you put a single rod on the ground and you drove past it on a motorbike at 90 miles an hour, it would kill you by intense radiation emission. They're being stored in big ponds beside the nuclear power plants. The ponds are getting full. They have to be packed set apart, because if they get too close, they could melt down — melt right through the bottom of the container and into the earth.

If there is a melt-down in the nuclear reactor, if the cooling stops working, the whole reactor core melts right down through the bottom of the reactor, half a mile into the earth. That's called "the China syndrome." But inside each nuclear reactor is as much radiation as in a thousand Hiroshima-type bombs. And if there's a melt-down, a tremendous amount of steam will be liberated. It will blow the reactor container vessel apart, and that radiation will escape. So it's like having a thousand Hiroshima-type bombs around if you live near a reactor.

There are two reactors near New York, called Indian Point No. 1 and No. 2, which are terribly dangerous. If one of them burst open and there was a meltdown (and that's a possibility), thousands of people would die instantly. Two weeks later, thousands more would die from what's called acute radiation illness, where all the rapidly dividing cells of the body die. It was described after the Hiroshima bomb dropped: the hair falls out, the skin sloughs off in big ulcers, you get vomiting and diarrhea, and your blood cells die. So you die of infection and/or bleeding — as when you have leukemia. Five years later there would be an epidemic of leukemia. Fifteen to 40 years later, there would be an epidemic of cancers — breast, lung, bowel, etc.

Generations hence, there would almost certainly be increased incidences of genetic and inherited diseases.

That's the sort of thing they're putting in each city around this country. If you've got a nuclear reactor in your city, your enemy doesn't need a nuclear bomb anymore; all they need to do is drop a conventional weapon on your nuclear reactor. Had Europe been populated with nuclear reactors in the Second World War, it would still be uninhabitable right now. That's the scenario we're setting up.

Now, the reactor rods are taken, and melted down in nitric acid in a reprocessing plant. And what they plan to do, if they go ahead with breeder reactors, is to remove the plutonium in pure form from the nitric acid and leave all the other 200 or so elements inside the nitric acid. They've got quite a lot of big containment vessels with this material scattered round the country from the weapons program, when they removed the plutonium. That's how they got the plutonium to make the nuclear bombs, and they've left all this other stuff behind, and it's leaking.

In Hanford, Wash., two years ago, they lost 115,000 gallons of highly radioactive waste containing all these elements. It's a couple of hundred feet above the Columbia River, which supplies the water to a lot of the cities there. What happens when it gets into the water? Well, all of these things are concentrated in the food chain. They're concentrated thousands of times in fish, and fish swim thousands of miles.

In San Francisco Bay, at Fellon Islands, they have discovered that there are 45,000 - 55 gallon drums containing plutonium and other stuff, which were dumped there by the military, and a third to a half of them are ruptured and leaking. And that's where they catch the fish for San Francisco.

There's another area in West Valley, N.Y. with 600,000 gallons of high-level waste where a plant was run very

cheaply. Because they didn't have really good stainless steel to contain the stuff, they turned the nitric acid into a base by adding salt. All the radioactive elements precipitated to the bottom, where they're lying in a big sludge. The company went bankrupt and handed the facility over to New York state, saying, "We can't look after it anymore." The state can't look after it either, and they're very frightened that that stuff will go critical.

Time and time again there will be a report of a leakage or a spill in the *New York Times* and they'll say, "Don't worry, it's perfectly safe." They don't explain that it gets into the food chain. They don't explain that it takes 15 years to develop cancer. They don't explain

*"Had Europe been populated with nuclear reactors in the Second World War, it would still be uninhabitable right now. That's the scenario we're setting up."*

that babies and children are terribly sensitive to the effects. They just say, "Don't worry, it's safe."

If a baby drinks milk with radioactive iodine in it, it gets absorbed through the gut, goes up to the thyroid gland in the neck, where it concentrates, and it irradiates just a few cells, and one day that child may get a thyroid cancer. Strontium 90 works like calcium and is absorbed in the gut, goes to the bone, where it can produce an osteogenic sarcoma—like Teddy Kennedy's son had. They're very lethal. It also produces leukemia, because the white blood cells are made in the bone marrow. A white blood cell, irradiated by strontium 90, may divide uncontrollably some years later, and

produce cancer of the white blood cells — leukemia. Cesium concentrates in muscle, and muscle is all over the body.

Now, plutonium is not absorbed from the gut, except—ironically—in the first four weeks of life, because then the gut is, so immature, it can't prevent the plutonium getting through. However, by breathing, it is absorbed through the lungs and will concentrate in the liver, producing liver cancer. It will go to the bone and produce, again, an osteogenic sarcoma, and/or leukemia.

The body handles plutonium like iron. Thinking plutonium is iron, it combines it with the iron-transporting proteins, so that it crosses the placenta, the organ that supplies the blood to the developing fetus. All of the fetus's organs are formed in the first three months after conception; after the first three months, the baby just grows in size. So if a piece of plutonium lodges in that fetus and kills the cell that is going to make the right half of the brain, the baby will be born deformed. Or if it kills the cell that will make the septum of the heart, the baby will have a hole in its heart.

We had a bumper sticker in Australia that said, *Uranium is Thalidomide Forever*. Remember that drug that women took for morning sickness, and the babies were born very deformed? They had hands sticking out of their shoulders, etc. That's what plutonium can do. But, worst of all, it's concentrated in the testicles and the ovaries, where it can damage the eggs and the sperm, and hence the genes. If a gene is damaged by plutonium, in a dominant mutation, the baby may be born deformed. If the gene is damaged in a weak way, the baby will look OK, because its normal gene is the strong one, but it will carry an abnormal gene.

We all carry abnormal genes. For example, cystic fibrosis, the most common inherited disease of childhood, is controlled by a weak or recessive

gene. One in 20 people carries that gene. We all carry several hundred nasty genes, and we don't know we carry them until we marry someone with the same gene, and the two genes get together to produce a child with that disease.

Now doctors can keep people with bad mutations (like diabetes and other diseases) alive to reproduce—because we believe in life. But to have an industry that is going to increase the incidence of genetic diseases and deformed babies by producing plutonium seems to me *wicked*.

Geneticists say that we won't live to see these effects, because these things are all so carcinogenic or cancer-producing that we'll all probably die of cancer before then. Scientists predict epidemics of cancer and leukemia in young people. We may have to get used to living only 20 or 30 years instead of 70 or 80 years. I'm scared stiff that we probably won't survive to the year 2000.

Some of the greatest brains at Harvard say our chances of surviving to the year 2000 are less than 50 percent, because this country has enough weapons to overkill Russia 40 times, and Russia has enough weapons to overkill this country 20 times. And if a nuclear war occurred, the whole of the human race would not survive. There's no way we could survive a nuclear war. Even if there were a few survivors, the water and air would be so contaminated, they'd get leukemia and cancer later.

Nuclear plants are synonymous with nuclear weapons. Nuclear power plants are becoming unpopular in this country for obvious reasons. People are saying, "I don't want one in my city," But GE and Westinghouse keep making them. So they're saying to the Third World countries, "Say, would you like to buy a nice nuclear power plant?" And they say, "Well, we don't have enough money." And the companies say, "We'll lend you the money." The more countries that get nuclear power plants,

the greater chance that there will be a limited nuclear war somewhere in the world, and that could precipitate a global confrontation.

I would contend that nuclear power is not medically indicated; neither is nuclear war. I'm here to save people's lives, not to kill them. I can't understand the psychology of a government saying, "Oh, we'll have a limited nuclear war." Or the psychology of the people who build these things.



What these people seem not to realize is that they won't live either. Most of us, I think, don't like to think about our own death, because it's too scary. We sort of deny that we'll ever die. I think particularly of those politicians who have probably never even seen a person die. They've never seen children, age twelve, coming into a hospital, looking slightly pale, with a few bruises, to have a blood picture done, and they've got leukemia, and they're put in an isolated ward all by themselves. They have some strange drugs which make them feel funny. They live in a state of abject terror and ignorance for two weeks, and suddenly they die from a hemorrhage from their nose or mouth. These politicians have never seen the grief of the parents. Because if they had, they wouldn't be doing this.

Unless we get rid of all these nuclear weapons, we probably won't survive. It seems such a pity. It's taken billions of years for us to evolve, and we're capable of such love and fantastic relationships and great creativity and fantastic art. We're a *magnificent* species. Yet we've learned how to wipe out the whole of life on earth. And we seem to be heading in that direction, like lemmings.

We're at the crossroads of time, right now. If nuclear power plants proliferate in this country and throughout the world, so will nuclear weapons. If we don't get rid of nuclear weapons, we won't survive. Neither will the animals and plants, because what radiation does to us, it does to them: it gives them cancers and produces deformities.

So you see, it is imperative that we rise up, each one of us, and take the load on our own shoulders — and not just with money (which is important). That's not enough. We must say, "I have to take this responsibility."

We've got to teach people the facts. I find that once people understand what is happening to their world, they decide to act. It's no use immunizing our kids, giving them a good education, loving them, when they probably haven't got a future. It's our total responsibility, as parents and grandparents, to allow our children and our grandchildren and our descendants to have the potential of a fruitful and full life. ■

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*For those wishing another resource on this subject: Nuclear Madness, What You Can Do! by Dr. Helen Caldicott, available from Autumn Press, 25 Dwight St., Brookline, Mass. 02146, \$3.95.*

# Four Principles for Power

by John M. Gessell

It is inevitable that discussions on energy use and policy flicker ominously across the land, and that with increasing frequency these discussions engender turbulent and stormy demonstrations and confrontations. Where basic resources become scarce, problems of policy and justice appear, together with accompanying storms of debate and aggressively greedy behavior.

How shall Christians think clearly and coherently about these issues? Engendering emotion does little to clarify the terms of discussion and the orderly processes of policy formation for maintaining a relatively just society. I believe that it would help if we could establish a few general principles to guide reflection.

We might begin by affirming that God is the creator of all that is, and that God created men and women in God's image, endowing them with freedom, memory, reason, and skill to exercise responsibility over the creation. Responsibility implies dominion, not domination; that is, it implies respect based on reverence and awe for what God does and will do. It also implies that the development of new technologies, together with their results, are part of God's creative grace but also subject to human responsibility and direction. This is to say that technology and technological processes are morally neutral *in se*, the legitimacy of their application subject to human reflection and decision. It does not mean that technology is autonomous, taking on a life of its own, determining subsequent values and decisions.

From these affirmations flow some principles to guide our decision-making and policy formation for the production and distribution of limited energy resources.

*1. Justice in access to scarce energy resources demands a new look at distribution.*

Acquisition of energy to sustain life cannot be based either on merit or on the ability to buy it. The issue

here is survival on at least a minimal level in a human community in which the presence of extreme disparities indicate unacceptable living and health conditions for some people. This principle implies the lowering of certain living standards in some parts of the world in favor of those regions and those persons where energy resources are at present below minimal standards.

*2. Public participation in decision-making implies local control plus central planning.*

The issue here is social versus private control of energy resources and distribution. Local option to determine the location of power plants must be qualified by rational planning and development for a coherent national energy strategy. This implies the creation of a central planning agency, for which there is no tradition in the United States. Such a central planning agency should be broadly representative of competing interests. This also implies the end of private utility monopolies, and the nationalization of critical energy resources, permitting adequate data-gathering on present supplies and potential future reserves for systematic planning and allocation.

*3. Ecological considerations have priority over the values of a consumer-oriented culture which encourages the values of acquisitiveness and self-indulgence.*

This principle suggests that major restraints will be required on personal and group acquisitiveness, exploitation, and aggression in responding to the problem of dwindling energy supplies. In other words, broad ecological considerations concerning the limits, the preservation, and the stability of the environment are of greater value than local or regional demands of wealth and power. And ecological considerations will require lower standards of living for the privileged.

*4. People, human survival, and posterity have priority over the needs of the power-producing industries.*

This principle requires the reassessment of what is "acceptable" in terms of risk to health, safety, and to economic survival. The risk-benefit ratio of nuclear

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**The Rev. John M. Gessell** is professor of Christian ethics School of Theology, University of the South, Sewanee.

power may be higher than that of alternative power sources. It seems unnecessary to argue this point following the Three Mile Island accident, the Court decision in the Karen Silkwood case, the repudiation of the Rasmussen report by the NRC, and recent publication in the field of energy futures. Plutonium technology for energy production is risky; there appears to be no way to overcome the inherent material problems associated with zirconium alloys employed in connection with water-cooled nuclear reactors, and at the present time, no solution to the problem of disposal of radioactive nuclear waste.

Development of the nuclear power industry is not essential to provide future energy needs. As Tom Wicker pointed out in the *New York Times* recently, the demand for electricity has been declining. Nuclear power plants provide only electricity, and only about 10% of the nation's end-use energy at the present time. We also use electricity when other forms of energy would be more efficient. Replacing with nuclear power all oil and gas now used for electricity production would reduce oil consumption by only about 12% and the electricity provided would be far more costly.

Further, the present costs of nuclear energy may now exceed those of alternative and renewable resources, and are climbing rapidly. Development of the nuclear power industry benefits relatively few persons (i.e., the owners and the metallurgical and petro-chemical industries). It has remained competitive, despite rapidly and uncontrollable escalating costs for plant investment, because the industry is heavily subsidized by the federal government which provided research and development funds of \$1.26 billion in 1979 alone, and has underwritten insurance coverage for nuclear accidents. Government subsidies to the nuclear power industry already exceed \$6 billion, and no one has attempted to cost-out the dismantling of generating plants at the end of their life-cycle.

Thus, the social costs of nuclear energy may be higher than the benefits accrued. This risk/benefit analysis must be made as well in light of the fact that the nuclear power industry cannot be extricated from the development of nuclear weaponry and the escalating possibilities of the loss of political control leading to a devastating nuclear conflict. ■

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*Continued from page 9*

than \$50 Nina has to purchase food, clothes, medicines and household items and pay the rent. The National Economic Development Authority here estimates that a family of six requires \$180 per month to live. The Scarlans receive less than one-third the minimum requirement.

"I have debts at all the little grocery stores in town," says Nina. "I know prices are cheaper in the next town but bus fare is expensive and traveling in a hot crowded bus with four small children is almost impossible." She shrugs hopelessly.

"We visited the housing estate provided for Dole executives, many of whom are North Americans. Huge suburban homes, beautifully manicured lawns, a swimming pool, tennis courts, a golf course and country club restaurant are provided at subsidized rates. Water and electricity are free.

"I mentioned the problem of the high prices of groceries to one executive wife who responded, 'Oh, that's no problem. Dole provides the executives' families with a free shopping bus to go to the next town.'

"The dealings of a large corporation may seem remote from our everyday concerns, but whether we like it or not we are intertwined in their affairs. In our global village we connect with Nina Scarlan when we eat the pineapples her husband has helped produce in the Philippines."<sup>1</sup>

When God's plumbline is dropped into such a human circumstance, it is not only the managers of a corporation who are measured but the whole economic system which gives comfort and pleasure to the few wrung from the lives of peasants and miners and workers the world over.

Prophecy involves getting the vision right — the vision of God and of the real

world. Hope and good news can only come from a sober assessment of what is and the understanding that God will not abide injustice forever.

### III. Answering the Call

Who speaks for the Lord? The biblical candidates often seem unlikely. Jesus sent his disciples out with nothing that would give them either security or ostentation. Amos would not even allow himself to be identified as a prophet in the traditional sense. "I am only a shepherd and a fruitpicker," he said. But however humble, he spoke God's authentic word for the time. That made him a true prophet.

Today's prophets are often as unexpected and hard to recognize. There was an example of this in Bolivia a few months ago. Four women and fourteen children set out to change a brutal and unjust government policy. These people were families of tin mine workers. The life of a miner there is hard. Pay at that time was about \$1.50 per day. Of course, the company also provided housing — one room for whole families measuring just a bit over 12 feet by 15 feet. Children could attend school and the company store provided subsidized food and credit to buy.

All this, however, depends upon the worker staying in the good graces of the company and keeping his job. For if he loses it, the family must move, the children must leave school, and the store will no longer extend credit.

Life in the mines is not only hard, it is usually short. Life expectancy is just 35 years, and most miners can expect to die of silicosis. Meanwhile, a small business and military elite and a few foreign companies continue to enrich themselves.

It is little wonder then that some workers began trying to organize to improve their situation. But the government took a firm stand. Labor unions and political parties were outlawed, and dissidents became victims of arrest, exile, torture and disappearance.

It was in that situation that the four women came forth. Their resources were few — little education, no

experience in "taking on" the government. But they were aware politically, had a deep religious faith, and were convinced that the government and the wealthy elites were wrong.

Their weapon was that of the weak — a hunger strike. It was carried out in the home of the archbishop only 200 yards from the presidential palace. The strike began with the four women and their 14 children. Many people criticized them for allowing the children to fast. Wisely the mothers agreed that the children could eat when adults volunteered to take their place.

The strike grew. First dozens, then scores, then hundreds of women and men joined. At the end, more than 1,380 people were fasting — including a former president of Bolivia.

The struggle finally ended 21 days after the fast began. Some of the women were too weak to stand, but their inner strength and their prophetic witness prevailed. The government was forced to grant virtually all of their demands — amnesty for 19,000 political prisoners and exiles, jobs for some of the poor, and the right to have labor unions.<sup>2</sup>

It was a small victory from the world's point of view, and it may not last forever. But it was a testimony to the power of the prophetic act and of the unexpected prophet.

The role of the prophet — speaking and acting for God's justice — is not so much to be admired as emulated. It is for the many, not just for the few. After all, we know God's plan to unite all things in Christ. We have seen the vision of a just society. And a thousand things which keep that vision from becoming reality surely can be recognized as God's call to a prophetic faith. We, like the Bolivian women, need only find the way to live out the witness which challenges injustice.



<sup>1</sup> "Pineapples & Social Justice," *MCC Contact*, Vol. 2, No. 7, July-August, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> This experience is recounted in detail by Wilson T. Boots, "Miracle in Bolivia: Four Women Confront a Nation," *Christianity & Crisis*, May 1, 1978, pp. 101-107.

Continued from page 7

church and society is deeply disturbing to them and contrary to their understanding of the Gospel. And they long to find allies. Certain aspects of the churches' current concern with world and domestic hunger and the Episcopal Church's own renewed interest in the cities, as seen in the emerging Episcopal Urban Caucus, are but two places where collaboration with parts of the ecclesiastical establishment seems possible at the moment.

Likewise there are many allies in the secular establishment. The flame of social indignation still flickers, and longing for a just and compassionate society is still present in the breast of many a business-person, corporate lawyer, establishment housewife or government bureaucrat. It is incredible, and very humbling, to discover that some of them still look to the churches



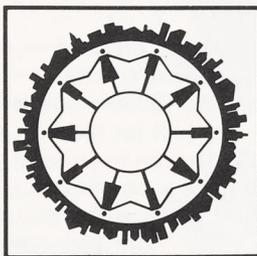
as a place from which justice may yet be proclaimed. Moreover, the organizational capabilities, money, and connections to other such people are frequently in scarce or non-existent supply in "movement" circles, and are sorely needed.

Finally, in this discussion of tactics and of history's direction in our time, we must be careful not to slip into an exclusivist self-righteous mentality that could result in the fostering of a new elitism. No single movement or grouping is sole claimant upon the truth, a fact which should keep all progressive Christians humble.

Yet the Lord of all history, and the Servant-Messiah of the Gospels, call us — particularly those living in a

decaying Western culture — to interpret faithfully what God is doing in the history of our times. And if the insights gained from the prophets of the Old Testament and from the life, death and resurrection of the Servant-Messiah in the New Testament are any guide at all, they show the bias of God towards the poor and the dispossessed, and reveal with relentless clarity the perils facing the wealthy. In the context of the great disparities present and increasing between peoples and nations in the late 20th century world, there can be no doubt of the mandate laid upon Christians everywhere for a radical break with the past and a welcoming of the leadership of the servant-Lord of history into a new future. ■

## 1980



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1980 Calendar photographer

### 1300 New Readers

During the last two months some 1300 people have joined THE WITNESS readership. We welcome these new readers from the Diocese of Western Kansas, Nevada, Minnesota and Utah.

### CREDITS

Cover, Sue Rheiner; graphics, pp. 5, 7 *Network Quarterly*, Washington, D.C.; p. 8, *Heraldo Cristiano*, publication of the Presbyterian Reformed Church in Cuba; p. 10, photo by Bonnie Freer; p. 10 graphic, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*; p. 11, Mobilization for Survival; p. 14, Julie Baxendell, *The Church Woman*; p. 18, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.

*Continued from page 2*

currently negotiating wage increases in the 75% range. This is bound to create upward inflation spirals as all trades seek comparable increases.

In this area alone, over \$500,000 has been expended by the Monterey County Sheriff's Department in an effort to control the violence due to the strike. Cesar Chavez cannot convince us the UFW strikers are "peaceful." A vacant lot on a busy corner in Salinas is bitter testimony to the violence and property damage incurred by Sun Harvest. Approximately 10 vehicles have been rolled, battered and burned by the UFW. Many workers have suffered personal injuries as well.

An editorial in the *Salinas Californian* stated "blood was shed in the Salinas Valley fields in the worst display of violence to date . . . the UFW strikers rushed struck fields by the hundreds."

One can see windows on the labor buses traveling U.S. Highway 101 boarded up with wood and steel bars to protect the occupants. Can this be America? Who is really free to work without fear?

If everyone is losing from this strike then who is gaining? This appears to be a radical social reform by those who would totally disrupt our democracy as we know it today. This is much more than a union strike. What better way to control our country than to begin a revolution in agriculture?

**Ms. E. Handley  
Gonzales, Cal.**

## **Carter Responds**

To answer Ms. Handley's letter is like discussing the Civil War after the defeat of the Confederacy. The strike is over and Chavez has won another victory in his long struggle to give the farm workers in California their share of the agribiz pie.

It should be noted, however, that Ms. Handley refers to the 7% Carter guideline, but fails to mention the fact that the growers' price for their product escalated over 100% in the past year.

In respect to the \$500,000 spent by the

Monterey Sheriff's Department, perhaps this should be paid by the growers. It was the sheriff who "protected" the scabs who worked in the fields during the strike.

**E. Lawrence Carter  
Santa Monica, Cal.**

## **Activists Need Holy Spirit**

The Episcopal Church is not dead! I share William Stringfellow's concern over the superstructure, but I sense a real renewal at the grass roots level — it is alive with awareness of God's present work in the world at this time. Admittedly some elements are over-preoccupied with eschatology (not unusual in such uncertain times). But for myself, my newer awareness of the Spirit (complete with prayer language) is a joyful and powerful enrichment of a faith of 35 years which was steadfast but not enthusiastic. If, as the charismatic movement matures it does not bear fruit in the social concern which THE WITNESS has always spearheaded, it will remain less than fully responsive to God's call. On the other hand, without really plugging into the ultimate source of power, the Social Gospel will dissipate into humanism (or worse, cults; e.g., Guyana).

The two need each other — at least in full acceptance and recognition. Though the emphasis of each of our primary thrusts may differ, both are parts of the Lord's work, through the Holy Spirit, to turn the world into the Kingdom.

**Margaret R. Lane, M.D.  
Scottsdale, Ariz.**

## **Seeks Global Issues**

THE WITNESS is a bright spot in the rather dull world of religious publications, and I look forward to each issue. It helps keep me in touch with some of the forward thinking being done in the Episcopal Church.

As I reflect on the ongoing role that THE WITNESS might play in the life of the American church, I hope that you

will give some consideration to more articles dealing with global justice and world development issues. The kind of new international economic, social and political order which is necessary to deal with global problems today, must rest upon some shared perception of those common global problems and their best solutions. This means an intensive educational program among the people of this country. I think the church has a role to play in that endeavor. What we are talking about is not just a matter of more education about economic, political and social matters; but values, beliefs, attitudes and basic lifestyles.

In this respect, there is an obvious job for the churches to do. It involves raising people's consciousness of world poverty, of our relationships to the poor, and what the Gospel has to say to those relationships. I think the leadership that THE WITNESS has already provided on domestic and institutional issues can be extended to provide that same kind of thoughtful leadership in issues of a more global nature.

**Ronald E. Stenning  
Church World Service  
New York, N.Y.**

## **No Point in Ramblings**

No, we would not like to renew our subscription to THE WITNESS. For six months I've diligently plowed through issue after issue. I must be the stupidest person in the world, but I was totally lost in each article and could find no point in the authors' ramblings. It must take a more scholarly person than I am to make sense of these writings.

**Mrs. Terry M. Diehl  
Bedford, Pa.**

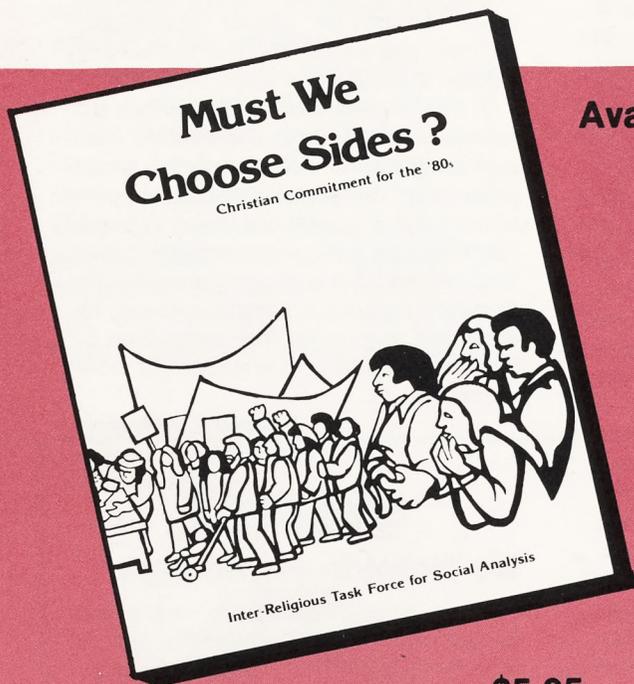
## **Have Mercy**

I've always had difficulty in believing in the devil, but after reading your publication I am convinced that he lives and is hard at work in your group. May God have mercy on your souls.

**Regina Kenworthy  
Pelham, N.Y.**

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