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THE WITNESS

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Challenging the Powers That Be

Robert L. DeWitt
David J. Kalke
William Stringfellow

...and James Pike *Redux*



Mary Not Political

The rejection by Catholic women of the distorted Marian images of their youth is understandable — and the courage to correct distortion is admirable — yet I disagree with several of Rosemary Ruether's suggestions in her "Liberation Mariology" article in the October *WITNESS*.

Mary is indeed a liberator — one who is beyond the bounds of any traditional or contemporary conceptualizations. Because of this, we may readily welcome her back; but more important, we need to *return* to her, without further doctrinaire manipulation; with, rather, a new and unsullied dedication to her simplicity, compassion, and hiddenness. If she helps the poor "economically and politically," she asks nothing political for herself.

She is precisely *not* the head of the church, because it is Mary's special power not to need to be the head of anything: she is "hid with Christ in God." Misunderstanding this early on, the church abused her image whenever it presented her as woman in simpering submission to men. She is equally abused by being seen as "liberated woman" savoring victory over male dominance. She is not to be used for sexual politics and war-games.

If she liberates women, in reflection of her own pure liberation, it is because she answers their need with the unfolding of opportunity as she has always done. But this opportunity, this opening, has to do with our service to the world and God, whatever the historical context. In the context of the 20th century, this means asking her intercession for a compassionate and interior transformation of our condition. The *external* means pertain to the particular secular

problems of our era, and are to be met by us.

We all know that we may not ask in our prayers to be elevated to power positions; what we ask for is the strength to meet our daily task and the guidance to serve and to speak aright. Neither do we elevate Mary to any particular position vis a vis our own battle for position — she is in no need of position, for love is not a matter of position but of response to all comers.

This response does not emerge in the form of Mary's progress in history but in relation to our progress, in spirit and history. It emerges in the eternal hidden ways by which our paths inexplicably become fruitful: courage to replace cowardice, love to replace hate, openings to replace oppression.

Furthermore, our liberty is never to be reckoned in purely material terms. The liberation of women will become utterly meaningless — and as lacking in intrinsic value as the rich man's capacity to buy — if we forget that liberty is of the spirit. Mary does not need liberation; it is the human race that needs it. And first and foremost, this liberty means the love of God.

Mary supports women in their need for justice and mercy because she belongs to God. She will not support women in their need to translate her eternal charity into their temporal battle between the sexes, any more than she will, or ever did, take sides with the political issues of men. To see Mary in such a way would be to align or identify her with the abstract cause rather than with the human person. She has always heard persons on "both sides."

God may have chosen the People of Israel, but he rebuked them whenever they considered themselves chosen. We tend to forget that it is not our history nor our vision of society that is holy. We also tend to forget that placing the Mother of God *within* our important feminist issues is idolatry on two counts: by putting her "within" we are in danger of creating a pagan goddess; and on the other hand, in perceiving the holiness in which she dwells, we need to remember that the holy is not within us, we are within the holy.

Polly Kapteyn Brown
Episcopal Divinity School
Cambridge, Mass.

Mary Revolutionary

Several years ago, sitting in a meeting where the "appropriateness" of ordaining women was being discussed, I asked the group to name the first priest in the Christian tradition. After some quizzical looks, I said, "Mary was the first priest because she was the first person to bring Christ into the world." That has always been my most effective argument against those who oppose the ordination of women to the priesthood.

Rosemary Ruether's treatment of Mary in "Liberation Mariology" is a good treatment of Mary as the real symbol of revolutionary power that she was intended to be by Luke, and a good antidote to the sugar-coated Mommy that she has become to many. When the church gets into sugar-coating it goes all the way. Mary as a sugary Mommy can only beget a sugary Baby Jesus. On the other hand, a powerful, revolutionary Mother is likely to beget a son to carry on the tradition. That is what Luke had in mind.

I hope as a result of *THE WITNESS* that we might have fewer sermons that glorify "Mommyology" and a greater number that glorify revolutionary motherhood, Mary as mother of liberation, true head of the movement to free the oppressed, and as the first priest. And sermons that ask the hard question, "Are you ready to bear Christ in YOUR wombs?"

Susan W. Klein, Canon
Christ Church Cathedral
St. Louis, Mo.

Mary Not Head

Rosemary Ruether concludes her article "Liberation Mariology" with the statement that "A poor woman of despised race is the head of the church" (Mary). Is not Christ the head of the church which is his body (*Eph. 1:22; 5:23; Col. 1:18*)? Since Christ has been the first to rise to the glorious life, he is head, and the head communicates his life to the body (*Col. 2:19*). As head he is the governing and unifying principle of the body which is the church (*Col. 2:19; Eph. 4:16; Eph. 1:22*).

Mary is Theotokos, which doctrine

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THE WITNESS

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The Powers That Be

Robert L. DeWitt

We have given careful consideration to the question of whether to print William Stringfellow's open letter to Bishop John Allin which appears in this issue. There will be those who will see it only as a petty, personal attack on the Presiding Bishop, those who will feel that criticism of a presiding bishop is inappropriate under any circumstances, those who will feel that the church needs harmony, not dispute. However, despite the dangers of seeming to be dramatic or, worse, destructive by printing such a piece, we concluded that the positive values of publishing Stringfellow's letter outweighed those risks.

For six decades, THE WITNESS has been seeking to focus the attention of the church on its mission, to alert the church to those factors in its life which distract it from that mission. And always, THE WITNESS has insisted that that mission is inseparable from the social structures by which people's lives are formed, often deformed. A church which is not devoting major concern and energies to the causes of the dysfunctioning of social structures is not faithful to its mission.

In this issue of THE WITNESS, for example, we find a typical illustration of this concern. The momentous and decisive role of transnational corporations, and the role of the executives who speak for them, are set forth in the related articles by D. J. Kirchhoff and David

Kalke. THE WITNESS has always felt it important for its readers to be thinking critically about the power and the powerful people of business and industry, so decisive are they to the present state of our country and world.

However, another institution which is crucial to the lives of many is the church itself. Criticism of the church is therefore a requirement of faithful people. The church must always be reforming itself if it is to speak a reforming word to the society of which it is a part, and which it is called to serve. And, as in industry, the leadership offices of the church are an integral part of its structure, and must not be regarded as beyond criticism. Leaders of the church should be responsive to the mission of the church. The roles of leaders in the church should be structured as democratically as possible in order to insure that responsiveness. Tenure of a presiding bishop — both how long a term should go with the office and how long a given incumbent should remain in office — is therefore not only an appropriate but an important issue to be examined. The question of tenure is a current and critical issue in the academic world. So should it be in the church.

We felt the foregoing considerations warranted the publishing of the Stringfellow letter. It raises fundamental questions about church policy and polity in essential matters touching on the church's mission.

Are global corporations playing a positive role as "corporate missionaries" or are they widening the gap between the rich nations and the poor, between exploiters and exploited?

*The traditional capitalist position upholding the former and reproduced here is from a speech by D. J. Kirchhoff before the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. It is reprinted with permission from Castle & Cooke, Inc., of which he is president. **Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly** printed the speech with the commentary, "Enterprise system under relentless assault from church-related activists, Marxist group. How one company refused to knuckle under to outrageous demands."*

The article immediately following Kirchhoff's by David Kalke, a worker-pastor, takes the view that capitalism is not effecting social change or serving as a catalyst for development; that corporations, therefore, are on the defensive. He describes the strategies which multinationals have devised to blunt the efforts of their critics.

THE WITNESS presents these two views to alert our readers 1) to the increasing resistance by global corporations to the questioning of their policies; and 2) to the challenging by these corporations of the right of the churches to do so. Few issues could be more crucial to the social mission of the church.

Believers in Capitalism

I want to speak with you today about a campaign being waged against Castle & Cooke by some so-called "public interest" groups, many of them church-related. This campaign has challenging implications for everyone in this room — and for everyone who believes in the opportunity for people to grow in a climate of personal and economic liberty.

I strongly believe that those values — especially as represented by the U.S. corporate community, because of our spectacular economic success — are under siege, and in greater danger today than at any time since the industrial revolution . . .

Until the mid-1950s we had a good image. Capitalism could rest on its own merits. We were effective and efficient. No one quarreled with that thesis. Visible proof of its success was witnessed in a high standard of living, political freedom and unlimited economic opportunity.

We had no specific five-year plan of action. We did not program the lives of others. We were free to build and to create wherever a free market existed. We were accepted or rejected based on the quality of our performance and workmanship.

Such is not the case today. We are required to defend our very existence to a carping melodramatic "elite minority" that produces absolutely nothing for its fellow man. Few, if any, of this elite ever developed blisters on their hands from any honest, productive labor. I personally refuse to accept the principles of this minority and I refuse to accept as part of corporate life increased government control, corporate abuse, terrorist attacks or

other pressures which are being generated by this pseudo elite.

I intend to do something about it — within the spirit and letter of the law — as part of my responsibility to my stockholders, to my employees and to the American people.

Every recent survey indicates that the American people want less regulation; that they want to keep more of their income; that while 10% consider "big business" a threat to American values, 32% consider "big government" the greater threat; that the lack of faith in business leaders is exceeded by the lack of faith in bureaucrats and academics; and that the American people want to keep their economic system, despite its faults, because it is more capable of correcting those faults, and of providing personal opportunities in a climate of freedom than any other economic system.

What concerns me today is a more direct assault on our economic system. This siege is spearheaded by what can only be called a "movement" — an amorphous group of people who believe as an act of faith that capitalism is inefficient, wasteful, unjust, inhumane, exploitative, monopolistic and profit-oriented at the expense of the worker. These may sound like 19th century Marxist cliches, and indeed they are. But cliches aside, this movement is totally committed to these distorted perspectives. It seeks, by whatever means, to bring about what is euphemistically called "social change," and it poses a very real threat to corporate survival.

Now, you and I believe in our system on the basis of personal experience. We see how it benefits people in the real

Must Fight Back

by D. J. Kirchhoff

world and gives countless millions the chance to make something of their lives, but we are at a loss in dealing with this anti-capitalist movement because it is outside of our normal experience, and because we believe it peripheral to our work, and because we have grossly underestimated its capabilities.

I am convinced that affirming our values in competition with the movement, and combating the movement's tactics to erode our national economy, is central to our survival.

As does any proponent of the free market, this Association, with over 2,000 members who are responsible for almost two million employees, represents a major target of the movement. Its objective is to destabilize your companies, one by one, by alienating you from your work force, your stockholders, and from the public-at-large whose acceptance you need to stay in business.

I, therefore, want to speak about the challenge posed by this movement to one company — Castle & Cooke — and how this company perceived, evaluated and confronted its antagonists. I would like to share this experience with you.

We have a visible profile in some very poor and socially tense Third World countries. The people, in a desire to improve their lot, are sometimes inflamed by unrealistic expectations. We are visibly successful. So it is no accident that Castle & Cooke has been singled out by the anti-business advocates of "social change." We have been in business continuously for 127 years. Like all publicly owned U.S.-based companies, we are accountable to our shareholders, to our employees and

their unions, to regulatory agencies, to the U.S. Congress and to the people and governments of the 20 host nations outside the United States where we have facilities.

We operate in the open, withholding only proprietary information that would benefit competitors. Our finances, ownership, management and product lines are all known.

Like all successful companies, we are adaptable. We shift resources into more productive channels with a view toward increasing profits, dividends and employment.

Our overseas investments in production facilities require us to be responsive to the changing needs of the people in those countries and their governments. Our continued success demands we demonstrate a sincere working relationship with our foreign partners. We are, I am certain, more responsive than any government agency or so-called "public interest" group.

Quality control and product integrity are paramount to our corporate objectives, but they do not transcend in importance our employee relations, or the contribution we make to the welfare of the communities in which we participate. This has been an integral part of Castle & Cooke's success, and we are proud of it.

We have opened once-inaccessible territory to commerce by building rail and vehicle roads, schools and sewer systems, by providing housing, social services, and medical care. We have raised the standard of living of our employees in every foreign country where we have facilities. We are constantly increasing the productivity of our own farms and have a collateral

program with local farmers to raise the productivity of their own property.

Although increased production costs favor vertical integration, we have adapted to local considerations in recent years by selling off company-owned farmland, railroads, and other assets to local ownership, while training local citizens to manage them.

We practice good business and good citizenship in every country in which we do business. As a result, we are welcome by the people and governments wherever we are involved.

I like to think we are bearing constant witness to the missionary objectives of our company's founders.

It is against this background, which I believe epitomizes the virtues of the free market at home and abroad, that what appears to be an obviously orchestrated effort has been launched to impugn the character and intentions of Castle & Cooke. In view of our high standards and our outstanding track record, these attacks seem incredible. We were targeted for destabilization-through-propaganda precisely because of our dependence upon, and our enhancement of, our Third World partners-in-profit.

If the movement can succeed in bringing down Castle & Cooke, and driving it out of the Third World nations, it can do the same thing to any other multinational company. It can bring economic development in these countries to a dead stop, creating untold human misery and desperation, and — this is the real objective — lay the groundwork for violent insurrections that will bring them to revolutionary power. *We must not, by default, allow them to succeed.*

It is ironic that our principal

antagonists, or at least our principal visible antagonists, come from the church community. Eliot Janeway puts it best: "The Kremlin has found a new outlet for its well known technique of harnessing the religious cadres it detests to the political conspiracies it hatches."

Spokesmen from prestigious church organizations have confronted Castle & Cooke at annual stockholders' meetings with charges so outlandish that they would not normally warrant any comment. We have been accused of depressing the social conditions of our host countries, holding down wages and contributing to Third World malnutrition by exporting goods for profit.

We have been accused of failing to improve the conditions of three million people in one country because we only employ 5,000. We are to be held responsible for the forms of governments in various countries and, best of all, condemned for cooperating with martial law authorities in Hawaii after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in World War II.

Because of our policy of public accountability, we brought those church critics to our overseas facilities and allowed them to inspect conditions for themselves. It was to no avail. They returned to our most recent annual meeting last April and repeated the same general and groundless charges in support of a radical resolution. They were determined not to be confused by the facts.

While most churches provide greatly needed missionary services among the poor and needy, some church groups, dedicated to a non-specific "theology of liberation," respond to ideologies alien to the church and confuse "social change" and "political ministry" with sound religious commitment.

They truly believe that profits are synonymous with greed, and that greed is the principal motivator of the corporate mind. Eliminate us, they say,



put production into the hands of the workers, redistribute corporate wealth, and you have eliminated a major sin of Western civilization. Even terrorist campaigns waged by international guerrillas find aid and comfort in the secular church.

The intentions of these particular groups may appear to be overtly Christian, but their work pays blind homage to the purveyors of revolutionary violence.

They argue their points by touting the alleged accomplishments of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and Cuba. No amount of facts concerning mass murder, agricultural failure, stagnating living standards, rising discontent, political prisoners and the lack of human rights in these countries makes any impression on this type of closed mind.

They refuse to believe that the world's rapidly growing population can only be fed by modern agricultural methods of production combined with incentives of private ownership. Such realism is rejected by the secular church. They simply will not accept the most obvious fact: capitalism works and socialism does not. After 61 years of trying, the Soviet Union, with its vast arable land area, still cannot feed its own people; neither can China nor Cuba. The secular church mentality believes the world should stop here — divide its current wealth — without any

recognition that such an action would have no measurable effect on the world's needy except to create many more of them. They reject the need to create more wealth.

I spoke of the attacks on Castle & Cooke by these church groups as being orchestrated. In one Central American country, where we have made important contributions to personal welfare and the national economy, a leftist newspaper tried to discredit our operations by alleging that we were paying local police to break strikes. The seeds of this slanderous "Yankee go home" attack were sown by a Marxist, tax-exempt New York and Oakland-based organization called the North American Congress on Latin America, or NACLA. NACLA was organized in 1967. It is a principal source of so-called "research" against U.S.-based multinationals.

The guises frequently used are "The New International Economic Order," "Alternative Economic and Social Solutions" and "Economic Democracy." These are buzz words and are palatable, at least on the surface. They are, nonetheless, the siren songs of the Marxist ideologues who have simple, uncomplicated goals: the destruction of the world's most efficient economic machine and the assumption of political power through default.

NACLA research may simultaneously appear in attacks against your

company at stockholders' meetings, in the straight and underground press, in the hostile press at your overseas locations and in the journals that NACLA itself publishes and distributes.

Castle & Cooke is a stabilizing force in our host countries, contributing to their political and economic well-being. We operate at cross purposes to NACLA and its front organizations, because they view social improvement as an obstacle to revolutionary change. We, therefore, are a high-priority target of NACLA and those church groups that are either NACLA's allies or unknowingly provide an appearance of respectability.

Confronting any church organization is neither an easy nor a comfortable task. It is somewhat akin to kicking your dog or tripping your grandmother. However, churches beg for criticism when they forsake the ethics of civilized — and Christian — conduct.

When a church group contributes \$85,000 to terrorist revolutionaries in Rhodesia, who oppose the concept of free elections in a multi-racial society, it forfeits any immunity from criticism.

When organized religious institutions attack corporate investment in South Africa — basically a move to strengthen Russian political intervention in the area — even though South African black workers want foreign businesses to remain in their country to work with all of the people there to promote social and racial justice, immunity from criticism is forfeited.

Another major Protestant church has been credited with funding Puerto Rican terrorists who are suspects in a wave of bombings which killed and maimed dozens of innocent victims in New York City. This church group can be clearly identified and should receive maximum publicity for this culpable act.

The principals involved in the decision to fund this "ministry" should

be held fully accountable before their membership and the American public.

Through these church groups, millions of tax-exempt dollars are being laundered into the coffers of this movement to decimate the free market and end personal liberty and economic opportunity in the Third World. At the same time, these organizations are using tax-exempt privileges to attack our traditional political, social and economic institutions here in the United States.

I believe that the time for corporate timidity is over. Discounting our antagonists as a minor irritation is a dangerous disservice to the cause of freedom. Every survey indicates that those who seek to destroy our political and economic system are but a small minority of the American people. Nevertheless, they are a highly vocal minority, armed with pseudo facts and documentation, and a great talent for manipulating receptive groups and news media. They cannot be taken lightly.

We can live with diverse opinion. We can grow stronger from it. We can live with dissent. We can learn and improve from it. However, I see no reason why a corporation must subsidize hostile adversaries of this particular political inclination.

Industry and labor (our free-trade unions are also under attack) must rally forces to counter this real threat to our economic and social system. We must ascertain if these groups are representative of the churches' constituency. I firmly believe they are not. We must determine whether the churches' funding, your contributions and mine, are being used for the exempt status of groups who are blatantly political in their organized attack to undermine the basic economic structure of our society.

We at Castle & Cooke decided to meet our antagonists head on at our annual meeting. We asked them where

they got their facts and how they were supported. We challenged their assumptions as to the productivity of China and Cuba. We provided witnesses who could rebut the false charges of our conduct and policy in our host countries. They were totally unprepared to be challenged by an informed body. We defeated them with the full support of our employees and shareholders. Of equal importance is the fact our straight-forward debunking of these malicious charges was fairly reported by the press, reinforcing the need for factual debate.

The one development these organizations cannot stand is a public understanding of who they are and what they stand for. Every poll indicates the American people are stongly in favor of economic freedom. These groups — stripped of their clerical camouflage — will not be accepted by an informed public.

We must overcome Western civilization's growing sense of guilt. *There is nothing evil about profit*, in spite of the semantic games played by the agitators. If it were not for profit and incentive, the Western world would not be providing food, hard and soft goods, technology, services, and loans to the rest of the world . . .

The survival of truth and common decency are never certain, and must be fought for constantly. We are at war, but it is a guerrilla war. It is being fought in the courtroom, the boardroom and the media. The enemy is organized, discernible and has ample resources.

Castle & Cooke does not intend, after 127 years, to forfeit its principles to guerrillas of any political stripe.

I am convinced that our path, rather than theirs, is the one that offers more hope for the future, but it cannot be accomplished in a vacuum or by one corporation. Let's revitalize our corporate leadership and take the offensive, in the best tradition of American capitalism. ■

Unmasking the Strategies Of Multinational Corporations

by David J. Kalke



D. J. Kirchhoff's remarks indicate that the transnational corporations are on the defensive. Kirchhoff and many other transnational executives, are beginning to feel the pressures being placed on them by individuals, groups and organized movements which are challenging a system based on profits for a few at the expense of social development and the meeting of basic human needs for the many. A careful analysis of the strategies for this defensive posture is in order as we examine the tools used to prop up the capitalist system.

Kirchhoff's words are not the isolated remarks of one transnational president attempting to defend his institution from a few public critics. His speech is one of a series of cleverly articulated rebuttals as transnationals attempt to clean up their image and isolate their enemies. By his own admission, Kirchhoff is concerned about more than Castle & Cooke. He is speaking for and to the corporate mind. Behind his words we can see the ideological arguments used to justify and rationalize the international flow of dollars through the multinationals' accounts. He projects his concerns for "everyone who believes in the opportunity for people to grow in a climate of personal and economic liberty." In order to appreciate the significance of

The Rev. David J. Kalke is a worker-pastor of the Metropolitan New York Synod, Lutheran Church of America. He is a national staff member of Theology in the Americas, having lived in Chile and traveled extensively in Central America.

Kirchhoff's remarks, we must view them in the larger context of transnational strategies.

In September of 1975 over 250 persons involved in public relations and advertising divisions of the world's largest transnationals came from 20 countries to Geneva, Switzerland. These corporate minds came to develop — as the invitation to the meeting put it — "a strategy to meet future attacks on the multinationals." While no master plan was devised and passed which would suggest a conspiracy theory, their discussions did concretize several approaches for dealing with critics. The strategies that they developed can be seen in subsequent public relations efforts during the last few years. Indeed, as we will see below, some of these suggested approaches are evident in Kirchhoff's remarks.

The three day symposium involved a series of presentations and small working groups designed to improve the image of the transnationals. The problem which needed most attention, as stated by Charles J. Hedlund, President of Esso Middle East (based in New York), was one of information. "During the oil crisis we did a good job in profits, but a bad job in information."

While no final document was produced nor official minutes provided of the meeting, one Swiss journalist, Urs P. Gasche, did note the following elements as common ingredients for a counter-strategy of the transnationals for dealing with their critics:

1. The critic is to be identified as an opponent of the system and thus

discredited as a discussion partner.

2. Dubious motives need be attributed to the critic: ideological or national prejudices, envy, stupidity, ignorance and lack of experience. Hence, s/he is again discredited as a discussion partner.

3. When criticism is global or circumstantial, the contrary is "proved" by means of isolated instances (e.g. description of an individual project).

4. When criticism is indisputable around a specific case (e.g. in the case of ITT in Chile), emphasis is put on the fact that it is an individual case, moreover still under investigation.

5. In any case, it should be said in public that defending free enterprise is in everybody's interest. Therefore, it should be shown, especially in the mass media, that criticism of multinationals was basically criticism of free enterprise and that behind it were the enemies of the free world, whose view of life was based on Marxism. One Swiss executive reportedly began a discussion session by saying, "There is only one enemy, and he is in Moscow."

If we reflect a few moments on the media image of the multinationals over the last four years, I think we can note a change in the way they project themselves. Oil companies are presented as friends of the environment. Other large companies are seen as the promoters of cultural events. Still others present themselves as the family business that got a little too large thereby necessitating an employment force. Others are portrayed as the means by which problems such as hunger and illness can be overcome.

In the case of Castle & Cooke we are reminded that it was founded in 1851 (by two lay missionaries of the United Church of Christ) and that it is primarily involved in the production of food (Dole bananas, pineapples and mushrooms, Bumble Bee tuna and vegetables). In another speech given Sept. 12, 1979, for the Financial Writers' Association in New York, Kirchhoff goes on to say the following about his company: "We have 31,000

stockholders; 42 percent are women. Our shares are typically held by small investors. Half of our stockholders own fewer than 200 shares each. Only 10 percent own 1,000 shares or more each." This small company attempting to live out the "missionary objectives of its founders" is now one of the world's largest agribusinesses.

Public relations and advertisements are being designed to present the transnational within the traditional understanding of the family or small business. They present themselves as moral institutions which still have the human touch. They present themselves as being concerned about local and neighborhood issues, while they may be involved in red lining or in removing capital from certain areas to other parts of the world where labor is cheaper and profits higher. Chemical Bank, with investments in Pinochet's Chile, has provided a Corporate Social Policy Advisor whose task is to listen to the concerns of the neighborhood or special interest groups. Channels are being developed to hear complaints, to neutralize the voices of the poor and the oppressed without effecting the necessary structural changes being called for which would enable workers and non-shareholders to participate in an economic democracy.

Recently, I was part of a religious delegation given an audience with a team of Chemical Bank officials, including the head of the International Bank, the Corporate Social Policy Advisor, the head of the Bank's Latin American desk and other high ranking officials. They provided what appeared to be a rather well versed team for "hearing the concerns of church persons." An atmosphere of openness and dialogue enabled us to discuss Steve Bikko and Chemical Bank's commitment to change in the apartheid system in South Africa. But when it came to discussing the Chemical Bank's investments in Chile, the head of the International Bank stated: "Economic conditions have improved dramatically since Pinochet has been in power . . .

with the economic well being of people at large in the process of improvement . . . indeed there has been some social dislocation (his words for torture and systematic repression), but one dare not conclude that there is a correlation between repression and the economic system . . . human rights is a question of degree . . ." And then the conversation broke into a discussion of the Soviet Union. The liberal facade soon gave way to the hard line typified in the strategies outlined above: 1) linking critics to the Moscow line, 2) discrediting the members of our delegation "who hadn't been in Chile recently," and 3) a defense of the capitalist system.

I don't mean to single out Chemical Bank, but merely to illustrate that these public hearings or efforts to listen to concerned groups are not designed to effect change; they are designed to prevent it. Nowhere is this process seen as a means by the corporation for ultimately changing the profit motif of the corporation, nor the basic role of the transnational in the Third World, nor basic employment policies, practices and pay scales. Rather these are efforts, as seen in the Geneva symposium, on the part of the transnationals to improve their image and to neutralize opposition.

It is within this context that we must place Kirchhoff's comments. He comes before Merchants and Manufacturers' Association to defend not only Castle & Cooke, but the entire profit making system and most especially the transnational corporation. His remarks do not deal with the specifics of the role of his corporation in the political arena of Honduras (the Central American country where Castle & Cooke has been accused of cooperating with a military regime in the repression of workers' movements). Rather his speech is a call to his colleagues in an effort to develop support for a McCarthy-like campaign against critics.

It follows that *Barron's*, the National Business and Financial Weekly related

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An Open Letter to the

Church Post-Denver

Some months prior to the recent General Convention, THE WITNESS contracted with William Stringfellow, noted lay theologian and social critic, to do a pre-convention series on critical issues in the life of the church. THE WITNESS published these articles in the hope that they would make a contribution to discussion and action on these issues at Convention. THE WITNESS also commissioned Stringfellow to do a post-Convention piece, an appraisal of "Where does the church find itself, after Denver?" This open letter to Bishop John Allin is his considered response to that question.

Dear Bishop Allin:

In the Body of Christ each baptized person has pastoral charge of all the members and each becomes responsible, in his or her ministry, to all the others. The integrity of the life and witness of the whole church is nurtured in this elementary interdependence of the various members of the Body of Christ, as Saint Paul's *Letters to the Corinthians* and the *Ephesians* especially emphasize. As Christians, each of us is called to care for one another, to counsel one another in charity and candor, to exhort one another.

Accordingly, the Anglican tradition has insisted, from its inception, that those installed in ecclesiastical office are accountable to those over whom they exercise the authority of such office.

I uphold that aspect of Anglicanism, and, heeding the *Letters*, I am prompted to write to you, in the aftermath of the General Convention lately convened in Denver, about your demeanor as the Presiding Bishop. At the same time, I write out of concern, long felt, for you as a human being. Probably I would forbear this open letter, lest it intrude upon your business or arouse a defensive response or, otherwise, vex you, if it brought you only my own view. As it is, however, my own observations are also shared throughout the church by devout, knowing and earnest people, both laity and clergy. This has been confirmed to me in the last few years when I have visited congregations, clergy conferences and other church events, and it was repetitiously confirmed to me at Denver.

For these years of your incumbency as Presiding Bishop, I have hoped, as have so many others, that you would sometime evince a strong and definite

conviction concerning the mission of the church in this world and, particularly, that of the Episcopal Church in contemporary U.S. society. None has been forthcoming. Instead, you have again and again manifested an absence of conviction, a failure of candor, a spirit of confusion, a doublemindedness, a tendency to tailor utterance to the circumstances of the moment. Your image of ambivalence and elusiveness was noticeable throughout the controversy attending the ordination of women, after your initial hysteria about the Philadelphia ordinations subsided. It was not until after the General Convention had acted definitively that you confided your skepticism about the vocation of women as priests, and then you did so in a manner which seemed calculated to incite defiance or circumvention of the law of the church. In consequence, the so-called conscience clause has been inflated far beyond the scope of conscientious dissent or protest into a virtual act of nullification which jeopardizes the efficacy of canon law and scandalizes the very polity of the Episcopal Church.

All of this had been foreshadowed, of course, in the *Wendt* trial in the Ecclesiastical Court in the Diocese of Washington, when in violation of your canonical duty you defied the subpoena of the Court to appear and testify and were thereupon duly adjudged in contempt of that Court. You have done nothing to purge yourself of that contempt.

There are those who refer to you as a "conservative," but that is hyperbole. Such disrespect for the law of the church as you have shown and encouraged is not a conservative trait.

I attribute this behavior, rather, to a lack of conviction, or to expediency which, lamentable in any circum-

Presiding Bishop

by William Stringfellow

stances, is essentially incongruous to the office you hold. That is why I have mentioned, now and then, that I would much prefer as Presiding Bishop a vigorous and principled reactionary. At least, then, there could be disagreement and dispute in the Church that would be candid and wholesome. As it is, instead of leadership, in these past six years, there has been aimlessness.

Yet aimless is not the same as harmless. You have not been in a situation of the bland leading the bland if only because so many have suffered so much harm on your account, whether by reason of deliberate intent or omission. After all, it cannot be overlooked that your improvidence occasioned the imprisonment of two church employees, facilitated the subsequent imprisonment of seven other Hispanics, and seriously impaired the constitutionally sanctioned freedom of the churches in this country. Nor can the countless hassles, obstacles and discriminations encountered by women qualified and called to ordination as priests be overlooked. Nor can the cruel and hypocritical attitude toward the ordination of homosexuals. Nor can the neglect of all the other issues between the church and this society whilst the dissipation of sham debates and churchy charades continues.

Leadership could have made a difference in all of these matters, but alas, the Episcopal Church has been deprived of leadership. When you were elected at the Louisville General Convention a void opened in the leadership of the Episcopal Church, which has been filled by management. In the church, as with other principalities and powers, management is preoccupied with institutional preservation and with condiments of statistical prosperity. To management, substantive controversy is perceived as threatening *per se*, rather than as a sign

of vitality, and conformity to the mere survival interest of the institution gains domineering priority. In the church, such a governance stands in blatant discrepancy with the image of the servant community whose life is risked, constantly, resiliently, for the sake of the renewal of the life of the world. In the church, to put it another way, such a managerial mentality capitalizes the worldliness of the church. The church becomes most conformed to this world where the church is most preoccupied in the maintenance of the ecclesial fabric.

If a management regime in the church, so inverted and so trite, persists for long, it renders the church self-indulgent, supercilious, self-serving and silly. At Denver, one sign that the credibility of the Episcopal Church nears that point was the three page spread in the *Denver Post*, published at the end of the first Convention week, which highlighted, as news of the Episcopal Church in solemn assembly, the brisk trade in Amish cheeses that was happening in the Exhibit Hall.

The suppression of issues pertinent to the servanthood of the church in the world is symbolized prominently in the emergence of the Urban Bishops' Coalition. That effort holds promise of reclaiming a viable witness on the urban scene. I applaud the Coalition and such headway as happened at Denver through its efforts, but the point not to be missed is that it should never have been necessary to undertake such a campaign in the first place; the church at large should have been open to and committed to the urban priority so as to obviate the extraordinary program the Coalition has had to mount.

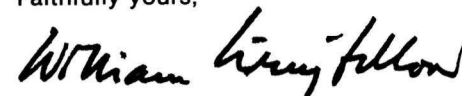
Beyond all this — the default on issues, the harm done persons, the playing at church, the mentality of management, the lawless attitude, the leadership void, the absence or ambiguity of conviction — is the

consequence for you as a human being. I believe, Bishop Allin, you are the most poignant victim of the present malaise of the Episcopal Church. In that perspective your role is more symptomatic than causal. I do not for a moment consider that you are to blame for everything that is amiss now in the church. At the same time, though, you are blameworthy because you are the incumbent Presiding Bishop.

There is a certain Anglican (or, perchance, merely English) etiquette that sometimes inhibits the telling of the truth. It causes people to say privately what they will not speak publicly, or otherwise to be coy or euphemistic. That etiquette does not hinder me from writing to you. I verify my regard for you as a person and evidence my respect for the office you hold by telling the truth to you.

During the General Convention it was reported that you remarked that you long to return to the parish ministry. I take your word at face value. And I say to you: The time is *now* to implement your impulse. As your brother in Christ, I appeal to you to resign forthwith as Presiding Bishop.

Faithfully yours,



No Reply to Come

THE WITNESS invited the Presiding Bishop to respond to Stringfellow, either in this or the following issue. The invitation was declined through a letter written by his assistant, the Rev. Canon Richard Anderson, who said that while the Presiding Bishop appreciated the offer, "the press of other commitments" would not allow him to do so.

Continued from page 9

to Dow Jones and Company, would deem it appropriate to reprint Kirchhoff's corporate homily. Indeed it is a sermon that represents the thinking and strategies of the corporate world in its efforts to confront a growing number of critics (*Barron's* has subsequently printed a piece by James Grant, July 16, 1979, which, using similar approaches, defends the Nestle's Corporation against those leading the infant formula campaign boycott).

Kirchhoff's remarks come at a time when the political, economic and social functions of the transnationals are being questioned by an increasing number of Third World governments, organized labor, church leaders and concerned American citizens. They come at a time when a growing number of U.S. politicians are becoming concerned about the role of U.S. corporations in Third World politics. The role of ITT in its efforts to block the election of Salvador Allende in Chile; of United Brands in bribing the president of Honduras; of General Motors in cooperating with the apartheid government in South Africa; of Coca Cola in union busting in Guatemala; of the increased profits of companies operating under right-wing military dictatorships in Latin America: these have created a sensitivity among democratic law makers to the growing contradiction between capitalism as an economic system and democracy as a political system. These scandals have created a new awareness in the public arena as well. A recent Harris poll indicates that only 18 percent of Americans express significant confidence in business leaders, compared to 55 percent in the early 1970's. Kirchhoff and the other defendants of the multinational corporations have correctly perceived the difficult times they face.

Within this context we can begin a more careful analysis of Kirchhoff's position. Four dimensions have been singled out for special consideration. They are 1) the use of a McCarthy-like

approach, 2) the projection of the transnational as the protector of democratic capitalism, 3) the avoidance of issues and 4) the self-concept of the corporation as a missionary.

Perhaps the most distressing aspect of Kirchhoff's remarks is his attack-by-innuendo approach. Rather than dealing directly with the questions of his critics, those posed by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, he attempts to discredit these organizations as credible discussion partners. In the spirit of McCarthy and the Geneva symposium, his first effort is to link them to the "Kremlin," to accuse them of using "19th century Marxist cliches" and to imply international connections with terrorist organizations. His tactic is one of "red baiting," a tactic of the McCarthy era which defenders of democracy and libertarians had hoped had been laid to rest. Kirchhoff attempts to avoid the criticism of several internationally credible secular and religious research centers by merely labeling them as "Marxist." He assigns to them an ideology heretofore invoked to create fear and disbelief in the minds of his listeners, but which tactic loses credibility today as more and more respected citizens are revealing themselves to be socialists.

He attempts to create an image of

assault, the good guys vs. the bad guys. The good guys are the transnationals, the defenders of "personal and economic liberty;" the bad guys are the Marxists, the intellectuals and now parts of the church. In this climate of emotionalism, he concludes his remarks by declaring war on the enemy. "We are at war, but it is a guerrilla war. It is being fought in the courtroom, the boardroom and media. The enemy is organized, discernible and has ample resources." (The total budget of NACLA is less than one half of Kirchhoff's annual salary.)

While Kirchhoff's remarks against his critics may strike us as insubstantial the return to the tactics of McCarthy is serious. By discrediting his critics, he clearly hopes to divide the popular forces united in their attempt to change the role of the transnational.

A second tactic is to portray the transnational as a friend of the people, as the defender of democracy and capitalism. The defense of the free enterprise system is projected to be in everybody's self interest. "Like all publicly owned U.S. based corporations, we are accountable to our shareholders, to our employees and their unions, to regulatory agencies, to the U.S. Congress and to the people and governments of the 20 host nations outside the United States where we have facilities." Kirchhoff implies



Rini Templeton

throughout his remarks that capitalism and democracy are one and the same. Yet how do we, or much less people under military dictatorships as in Honduras, exercise control over transnationals? How are they accountable to us? Those who make decisions must own stock . . . not exactly "free" elections. Those critics who have purchased stock are now being discredited as Marxists. Unions being organized to represent workers are busted with their leaders jailed. Yet Kirchhoff tries to convince his audience that Castle & Cooke is accountable to the people.

How does a transnational remain accountable "to the people" when "the people," be they we or peasants in Honduras, have no access to the decision making body governing the transnational? In the speech referred to above delivered to the Financial Writers' Association, Kirchhoff uses the term "democratic capitalism" to describe his understanding of our political and economic system. How Kirchhoff defines the democratic participation of "host governments," "people" and the U.S. taxpayers in the transnational corporation remains unclear.

"I like to think we are bearing constant witness to the missionary objectives of our founders." Kirchhoff's homily avoids the accusations of his critics and is rather an expose of a value system used to defend and justify the role of the multinational corporation. By discrediting his critics and stating the pious platitudes for "democratic capitalism," Kirchhoff hopes to bypass the serious accusations being made against Castle & Cooke. In 1977 it was alleged that Castle & Cooke was involved in union busting activities in Honduras. It was alleged that company vehicles were used by the military on a raid against a workers' cooperative. An internal document from Castle & Cooke's subsidiary, the Standard Fruit Company, indicates that Honduran military and policy personnel have been on their payroll. Unfair salaries and

poor medical plans for workers have been concerns. Other sources have alleged close cooperation between Castle & Cooke executives and the Honduras police that led to the arrest of over 200 trade unionists.

These and other documented accusations against Castle & Cooke go unanswered in Kirchhoff's remarks.

Kirchhoff's missionary zeal, attributed to the company's founders, is determined to set the agenda for the church's mission. A fourth corporation tactic is the bringing together of a rationale for the capitalist system and a system of religious beliefs which can support it. It is an effort to enslave the Gospel to the needs of an economic system on the defensive.

By appealing to the company's missionary founders and the large donations of transnationals to churches, Kirchhoff gives the message to the progressive Christian sector that the corporations and their economic power will attempt to regain control over the church's missionary agenda. "Confronting any church organization is neither an easy nor a comfortable task. It is somewhat akin to kicking your dog or tripping your grandmother. However, churches beg for criticism when they forsake the ethics of civilized and Christian conduct . . . We must determine whether the churches' funding, your contributions and mine, are being used for the exempt status of groups who are blatantly political in their organized attack to undermine the basic economic structure of our society." His McCarthy tactics are directed against those sectors of the church which have helped those persons with whom he disagrees. By labeling these persons "terrorists," Kirchhoff would dehumanize them, camouflage their legitimate struggle for liberation, and would forbid the church from being involved with them. In this way he also discredits the World Council of Churches' contribution of goods and medical supplies to the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe.

Kirchhoff appeals to the old

dichotomy between the sacred and secular by creating the category of "secular church" to describe those Christians involved in social change. This is a "church" he would like to see destroyed as it threatens the interests not of the Gospel, but of the "basic economic structure of our society." He attacks the theology of liberation as another secular tool divorced from "religious commitment."

It is on this level of developing ideological supports for the transnationals that progressive Christians are challenged to be alert. Who determines the agenda for the progressive Christian? The Gospel? An economic system? Can the church as an institution withstand the inevitable pressures from the financial elite?

Kirchhoff has indicated a more aggressive role in the future for the transnationals. We can expect to see more efforts from their representatives to make the missionary enterprise serve their corporations. The unity of those Christians standing with the poor and exploited will be challenged. We need to remain strong as the corporate missionaries begin to develop tactics designed to divide and conquer us. The missionary agenda of the church dare not fall prisoner to the objectives of the transnational corporation. By using religious symbols and values, the dominant class hopes to develop yet another weapon which can help them maintain and justify their power.

The remarks by Kirchhoff are but the tip of the iceberg. There is a much larger effort on the part of transnational corporations to build public support for their enterprises. In the Christian sector, we will need to be as innocent as doves and as wise as serpents as we move forward in our analysis of their work. We may see further attempts to divide the Christian community through continued efforts to discredit certain sectors. The ideological struggle is being advanced on new levels.

One thing is clear: the transnationals are on the defensive. They have felt our strength. ■



Bishop Pike 10 Years Later

The Loveable Paradox

by Robert L. Semes

Sept. 2, 1979 marked the passage of a decade since the death of Bishop James Albert Pike in the Judean desert, but the storm surrounding his controversial personality, lifestyle, theological and ethical views still rages.

Despite the passing of time, I continue to have a fascination with Jim Pike, from my initial seminary days in the early '60s. In many ways my own life was influenced by his writings and personality. I too "left the church" in early 1969, although I returned several years later to finish seminary and be ordained.

Noting that Pike's name continues to appear in articles and letters to editors of both conservative and progressive church periodicals, I became curious regarding the continued impact of his

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life and writings upon the present day church, and decided to research the subject. I sent out 100 questionnaires to those whose ministries were contemporary with Bishop Pike, specifically those who publicly voiced opinions during the '50s and '60s. In the responses, upon which this article is based, I found that many of his critics and supporters still hold strong opinions about the man and his message.

We may not have an adequate historical perspective for many years to come, but 10 years after his death I felt it was time to take another look at this loveable paradox — Jim Pike.

Perhaps no one else in the history of the Episcopal Church has captured the imagination and pricked the minds and hearts of so many as this curious bishop who was loved and hated by friends and enemies alike. To measure the feelings of those who knew him or were affected by his life and views, and to measure possible changes of attitude since his death, I sent out questionnaires asking the following:

- Did you support or oppose Bishop Pike's writings and attitudes on the major issues facing the church and society during his lifetime?

- How would you characterize your feelings toward Bishop Pike today, 10 years after his death?

- Do you feel that Bishop Pike substantially influenced the direction of the Episcopal Church since the 1960s?

- If you have changed, even slightly, your opinion of the man and/or his writings, work, etc. since 1969, which factors would you guess influenced this change?

- Do you think that the whole question of heresy in the church is a dead issue today?

- In hindsight, do you feel that the Episcopal Church leaders, the House of Bishops and others were unjust or wrong in their move to censure or depose Pike for his views in the mid-60s?

I also had a personal interview with Bishop John E. Hines, who served as Presiding Bishop during those

tumultuous years of the 1960s. It seems to me that in the '60s the only thing a conservative House of Bishops had on its mind was to "get Pike," the Episcopal Church's own freedom marcher and peace picket. But I also feel that the 64% response to my survey reveals some significant changes in attitude by some who opposed Pike.

Twenty-four percent of those responding felt that their minds had changed on all or some attitudes regarding Pike. Only two said that their minds have changed from support to opposition in the last decade. Both are bishops, and both changed their mind for "moral" reasons. One labeled the so-called "secular theology" espoused by Pike as "bad-evil!" Another claimed that he thought less of Pike since he learned that Pike kept a mistress.

Edward Welles, retired Bishop of West Missouri, who once called Pike a "publicity seeker" with a "deep-rooted martyr-complex" who might be "thirsting" for a heresy trial, (*Stringfellow and Towne, The Bishop Pike Affair*) now says that he has changed his mind and has grown to accept many of Pike's theological and social views, having become "more flexible since 1964." Nine others said that although the church has not taken over all of Pike's views, they have grown to accept many of them anyway. Dean Harvey Guthrie of the Episcopal Divinity School pointed out, however, that Pike was "not radical enough in assessing the fundamental issue" at the time of his writings and subsequent censure. "We are in a different cultural-philosophical-theological ball park than when the heresy/orthodoxy category originated."

Joseph Harte, Bishop of Arizona, who in the '60s was an anti-Pike crusader, having labeled the bishop a heretic, said that he has grown to accept many of Pike's theological and social views. One of the surprise responses came from Francis W. Lickfield, retired Bishop of Quincy. (In 1964 Bishop Lickfield was president of the American Church Union, many members of which have now retreated into "traditionalist"

schismatic groups.) Lickfield now says that "insofar as I can recall them, I would support all issues he supported."

That Pike left a legacy to the church is obvious from those who write about how their minds have changed over the years. His real contribution lies, many believe, in his influence on the great church movements of the '70s: Women's ordination, revision of the prayer book, "secular theology," and freedom of theological inquiry. His late developing interest in the supernatural, the psychic and spiritualism, whatever its etiology, has not been his major contribution. Since some work in these areas is being done by a few English theologians, however, it is possible that years from now Pike will be affirmed as one of the pioneers.

Eighty percent of the responders said that Pike had substantially or partially influenced the cause of the ordination of women to the priesthood; only 14% said that he had not. With regard to the revision of the prayer book, 61% said that he substantially or partially influenced that development, although 34% said that he had no influence at all. On present day "secular theology" there appeared the largest number of "substantially influenced" responses: 48%, with 31% saying that he partially influenced the course of theological inquiry since his lifetime. Of the 15% who said Pike had no influence in this area, most were those who had opposed him or had mixed feelings about him.

Pike's influence in contemporary theology, call it Tillichian, Bonhoefferian, Heideggerian, secular, process, or Incarnational theology, is the subject of hearty discussion and debate. The works of J.A.T. Robinson, Gregory Baum, Norman Pittenger, Hans Kung and many others reflect "secular theology" today. Pike undoubtedly borrowed thoughts from some of these writers. The majority of responders felt that Pike's influence was that of a popularizer. But in comparison with Robinson, for example, John Hines remarks, "Pike was more incisive than Robinson was; in his popularization he was more original."

Most of those who thought that Pike's influence was great said little on the matter, but those who commented at length seemed to be more defensive. Bishop Jonathan Sherman, retired Bishop of Long Island, for example, pointed out that "we have all of Bishop Pike's books in the Mercer Library; his cards do not reveal any great interest in his books."

Sherman Johnson, former dean of Church Divinity School of the Pacific, called Pike "an able and clever theologian though not in the top rank. Many of the ideas that he publicized and in which he was in agreement with John Robinson are of course important, and theism must take them into account." On the other hand, Charles Price of Virginia Seminary said that "before he became Bishop of California, he was a most useful and articulate popularizer of a brand of Niebuhrian-Tillichian theology which had — and probably continues to have — a fairly widespread following. He was *not* an original thinker." Price concluded that Pike's work was more an "haute vulgarization."

Regardless of what Pike's detractors and the skeptics say, he evoked a storm of protest over his theological and ethical writings, especially the books *A Time for Christian Candor*, *What Is This Treasure?* and *If This Be Heresy*, plus a few articles in *Look* magazine and others. I would guess that the answer to the question of Pike's theological influence today lies somewhere in the mind of each beholder. As a result of the uproar over Pike's writings and lifestyle came one of the most salient contributions he made in the church — forcing the church to make a presentment and censure him in the House of Bishops.

More comments appear on the whole issue of Bishop Henry Louttit's presentment of Pike and Pike's subsequent censure by the House of Bishops in 1966 than on any other questionnaire issue. The remarks run from unqualified backing for the House's action to outright condemnation. The feelings are still intense.

Much of this issue formally centered on the question of heresy in the church with regard to Pike's teachings, although his style seems to have been actually more weighty. While almost all bishops thought heresy to be a crucial issue in the church of the mid-'60s, the respondents are now almost evenly split on whether the whole question is dead. Their comments were likewise polarized. Remarks upholding the censure are like the sampling which follows.

"I felt that the House of Bishops was right in censuring him. It was the only way the church could separate itself

Statistical Information

Questionnaires sent	99
Interviews	1
Total contacts attempted	100
Questionnaires returned	63
Percent of response	64%
Those receiving questionnaires	
Episcopal bishops	64
Former & current seminary deans & professors	14
Episcopal priests	19
Others	3

N.B.: Recipients of questionnaires were those whose ministries were contemporary with Bishop Pike, specifically those who publicly voiced opinions during the 1950s and '60s. Respondents had the choice to remain anonymous and many did.

from his statements on theology and many subjects" (Frederick Lawrence, retired Suffragan of Massachusetts). "It was not so much his views that irritated the House of Bishops as his individualistic and anarchic behavior. It is one thing to say a doctrine (e.g., the Trinity) needs reinterpretation; it is quite another to ridicule it. He was correctly censured, because he was no longer one of us" (Richard Emrich, retired Bishop of Michigan). "I was a member of the House of Bishops and voted for censure. I would have voted for his deposition if it had been proposed" (a retired bishop). "The

censure was of his practice of compromising fellow Bishops" (Chandler W. Sterling, retired Bishop of Montana).

Allan Brown, retired Bishop of Albany, writes poignantly of the whole House of Bishops as being guilty in the "Pike Affair." "I believed then as I believe now that almost every man had a share in the responsibility for the Pike affair. If I read him correctly his fundamental concern was with the inadequacy of human language to communicate spiritual truth. Here he was a prophetic theologian. Unfortunately he lost his sense of perspective for whatever reason and became more enamored with Pike the prophet, Pike the egoist, Pike the publicity seeker than the cause itself. How easy a thing to do! But we all shared in his guilt: Some would not listen to what he was attempting to say because of theological rigidity and refused to face basic issues. Others were so lacking in theology as to face no issues as long as he seemed to espouse 'liberalism.' Others were afraid to challenge him publicly because of his considerable knowledge, skill at debate, and articulateness. Others should have said, 'Jim we love you, but you are wrong — let us talk this through.' To have been silent, to have been irresponsible to the whole church or to a brother in need, to have been cowardly is quite as offensive as anything J.P. may have done or said. The censure was inevitable and perhaps even inadequate, but the guilt involved most bishops at that time and I certainly do not exempt myself."

Bishop Welles, himself censured for his participation in the Philadelphia Eleven ordinations in 1974 said, "As a bishop who has been censured since Bishop Pike was, I feel the censure was justified as a means of showing official disapproval of an as yet unaccepted theology or action; I favor censure and then moving on to the church's mission. I tell those who still feel censure is not severe enough: 'then why don't you try us, and if we can be convicted, depose

us?" But not enough bishops are willing to go to a trial; reason: charity or lack of guts; some bishops fall in each category, and a trial might not convict! Many bishops also believe a trial would hurt the church more than help."

Process 'Ridiculous'

Those who feel that the whole censure process was ridiculous expressed themselves as frankly as their opponents. "I largely supported him on the grounds of theological liberty of thought, and I thought the Wheeling trial unfair and farcical. I voted against this censure" (Leland Stark, retired Bishop of Newark). "As for the 'heresy' trials, they were a farce. Unfortunately Bishop Louttit turned it over to incompetent persons to draw up the charges" (an anonymous respondent). "I think the question of injustice is superfluous in this instance; what the church leaders did was stupid, divisive and immensely costly, especially in terms of driving out many of the better minds in the church. So much fear of intellectual and moral openness was manifested that it became difficult to maintain any level of respect for the 'authorities' of the church. In terms of the attitudes which were revealed in Pike's 'persecution' it could be seen as inevitable that such a program would have occurred one way or another" (a California priest).

"There was little effort to grapple with his views or engage in dialogue on them; rather there were attacks on his style and methods without fairness or due process" (George Barrett, retired Bishop of Rochester). "I really feel that the church is 'larger' today than in the '60s in accepting attitudes, data, feelings and even innovative thinking. Some day perhaps it will be as creative as the first parish" (John Riley, priest and longtime friend of Pike). "Procedures of the House of Bishops in dealing with heresy were so changed, as a result of the Pike issue, that is now virtually impossible to prove that charge" (Bishop Hines).

Whatever one feels about the influence of Pike's personality on his legacy, Pike as bishop was more often than not "cautious and conscientious. this is specifically verified in Pike's pastoral letters, which repeatedly appeal to biblical citations and ancient practice" (Stringfellow and Towne, *Death and Life of Bishop Pike*). John Hines agreed that Pike was "very pastoral" as a bishop, particularly in the prickly thicket of the glossolalia matter. One of Pike's pastoral letters which was to have a far-reaching relevance in the next decade was his letter on the phenomenon of "tongues-speaking" and the growing Pentecostal movement in the Episcopal Church in California. The joint letter with his Suffragan, Bishop George Millard, was required reading in the diocese in 1963. Pike and Millard said that the "religious categories and practices borrowed from Pentecostal denominations raise serious questions as to their consistency with the sacramental theology of the Holy Catholic Church and with the role of the three-fold ministry; and the imbalances and overemphasis of this other system of thought and practice present the church with heresy in embryo."

The respondents were almost equally divided on this now more current issue. John Hines and others said that again the problematic word here is "heresy." He feels Pike was correct in his judgment, "especially where the incipient sidetrack manner of the charismatic movement" is concerned. Sherman Johnson remarked, "I have said that Jim was correct in his pastoral letter about the charismatic movement, because as I remember it he did not condemn it out of hand but warned against a heresy that could develop. When the movement goes beyond the bounds of *I Cor. 12-14* it is of course destructive."

Others felt that Pike erred or was treading on shaky ground. Bishop Campbell, retired, of West Virginia, said, "All theology is 'heresy in embryo'

including Pike's books." A priest who was a member of the Georgia clericus charging Pike with heresy said, "I suspect Bishop Pike felt they (the charismatics) believed too much." One retired bishop noted that "it is one of the few spiritual movements alive in the Church today."

There were almost as many opinions as to Pike's place in Episcopal Church history as there were respondents, but only four persons referred to Pike as "a heretic." Nineteen thought that he was "a confused and mentally ill person." The majority considered Pike to be "a theological pioneer" or "a prophet" in the church. Three even felt that he should be included in the prayer book calendar under "lesser feasts and fasts."

Negative Sampling

A sampling of negative assessments follows. "Admittedly Jim was a Unitarian . . . Jim served as a tutor at the General Seminary, but as far as I can determine, he never had a tutor, i.e., one who would help him to analyze his own prefabricated theological ideas before he turned from law to the ministry. He was brilliant and courageous in applying Christian ethics to current issues, but I doubt that he can be resuscitated as the theologian for our time. *De Mortuis Nil Nisi Bonum*" (Jonathan G. Sherman). "With many ancient heresies he espoused, he did influence theology in his time, especially from St. John Divine pulpit" (Joseph Harte). "I look back at his life with sorrow at the waste of so many gifts and wish I had Diane's (Pike) confidence who told me that on Jim's death, she saw the Heavens open up and our Lord and Martin Luther King and President Kennedy awaiting Jim to usher him into the land of promise" (Charles U. Harris, former dean of Seabury-Western Seminary).

From among those who thought that Jim Pike was a prophet and a theological pioneer came the statements that follow. "He was a valuable gadfly"

(Bishop Campbell). "He was very open and liberal in his ideas about homosexuality and sex for the non-married. He would have been leading the attack for the sexual freedom of the non-married. At first he was anti-gay but made a real about face in the mid-60s" (Robert Cromey, once Canon to Bishop Pike). "He had a great capacity to articulate issues; an excellent and compassionate pastor in an honest and powerful way" (Bishop Barrett). "His effect on the Episcopal Church was enormous. He was a galvanizing and polarizing element. He compelled most people who took their call and vocation in ministry seriously to reexamine their feelings in light of what he said. Jim Pike took his role of bishop seriously, but he saw his willingness and ability to move into theological controversy as part of his office to lead wherever — this was part of life" (Bishop Hines). "Jim was a prophet, and it is not required of all prophets that they be orthodox or mentally stable in every respect; what is good in such people continues" (Sherman Johnson).

Three things about Pike touched one priest's life. First, "when we were fighting for admission of blacks to Sewanee . . . he placed the issue on the front page of the *N. Y. Times*, the church had to face it, and Sewanee (I believe) was saved." Second, "when Mrs. McNair and I got a divorce in Philadelphia in 1960, he personally brought me to CDSP and was first on this issue." Third, "he publicly announced he was an alcoholic in *Time* magazine, and was first here. Pike is about the only American bishop that has stood for very much in his lifetime" (Dr. Robert McNair).

One of the most intriguing assessments came from Bishop Lickfield, who has definitely changed his mind about Pike. The former president of the A.C.U. says "He was a liberal catholic, far ahead of his time. The Episcopal Church has not caught up with him, though some Roman Catholic and Protestant thinkers have. I voted for his censure but regretted it later and still do." He adds that Pike "might some day, in the light of a more

distant view" be a person worthy of inclusion in the prayer book calendar under lesser feasts and fasts.

Pike was in many ways a product of the ferment of the '60s and was undoubtedly a prophet about many things that were to happen in the church of the '70s and probably into the next century: Women's ordination, "secular theology," human sexuality, the charismatic movement and its influence. It appears that his critics continue to put him down over his personal life but do not really grapple with his message and his writings. Perhaps the most important contribution that Pike made came about as a result of his censure for "heresy." Since that time others have felt much more free to question the traditional stand of the church in theology and ethics. The questioning that was once the domain of seminary scholars is now possible publicly throughout the rank and file of the church. This is Jim Pike's greatest legacy, and for that and much more we thank God for his life. ■

THE PREACHER SAT IN THE PEW

by Eldred Johnston

Recently I was out of town for the weekend. I attended incognito (without collar) a church near my motel. I came away with a startling new insight: *It's much easier to preach a sermon than to listen to one!*

For one thing, there is the contrast in physical settings. The preacher is free to move: to stretch the arms, shake the finger, bend the knees, twist the head. The listener is pinned between two

other captives; the most one can do is slump.

Then, there is the difference in levels. The people are not seated around a table where they can look the preacher in the eye as in a conversation; they must look upward. They are at a distinct disadvantage gravitationally; the ponderous phrases come rolling downhill and there is nothing to dodge behind.

One also feels like the dental patient: the mouth is full of three immense instruments while the dentist gives a lecture as to why

pastors should spend more time praying rather than reading *The New York Times*.

Finally, the person in the pulpit asks too many questions which one has no chance to answer. The preacher asks the question, then, without pausing for a response from the pew, proceeds to answer it. In the first place, I wasn't interested in the question posed; in the second place, I had several questions to ask but I was never given an opening.

Thank goodness, I won't be in the pew next Sunday. I'll have it easy. I'll be preaching!

The Rev. Eldred Johnston was rector of St. Mark's Church in Columbus, Ohio, for 20 years prior to his retirement.

Continued from page 2

points to the Incarnation and guards us against docetism. The experience of the Risen Lord in the lives of men and women would still seem to be the best place from which to begin theology; this is fully attested to in Scripture for persons of each gender. Eastern Christians appear to have this worked out very well. While giving Mary, the Mother of God, great reverence for her part in God's salvific plan, they also point to Peter who was the first to confess that Jesus was the Christ. Since they interpret this passage soteriologically rather than institutionally, each one of us believers can become another Peter on whose faith Christ will build his Church. There are plenty of other examples which could be given of persons whose lives are examples to us all as expressed liturgically in the Prayer Book, but Christ is still head of the church.

Edward Franks
Church Divinity School
of the Pacific
Berkeley, Cal.

Mary Obscure

Professor Ruether's interpretation of Blessed Mary's revolutionary declaration in the Magnificat is cogent and compelling, but might not the statement that "without human response God cannot act," the idea of the "dependence of God on humanity" be somewhat presumptuous? With the next breath so many others have so tediously reiterated: "humanity invented God; He is a figment of our fantasy, a myth." Being omnipotent, God can certainly act without human response, even outside of human knowledge and

perception. To put the human response before the divine act is like putting the cart before the horse.

What Mary accomplished by her "Fiat," her faith, was no manipulation of God-head, but re-alignment of man: re-uniting the creature with his Creator. She did not introduce God into man's dimension, (He already encompassed that, being the Author of human history) but made possible the readmission of finite man into God's eternal dimension.

Yes, Our Lady, Mary, was "a poor woman of despised race" who could claim the top spot, "head of the church." But like her Son, who in taking upon Him our humble estate, forsook the glory that was rightfully His at the right hand of His Father in heaven, she chose to serve rather than be served, content to live where true freedom is to be found — in obscurity. We poor and oppressed are no longer that when we occupy preferential position.

How, I wonder, except for St. Luke's sensitivity to the subjugation of women, does Professor Ruether account for the fact that, beyond this one revolutionary declaration, the Magnificat, Holy Mary did not pursue, further, or otherwise live out a revolutionary, liberation-type role in either the church or secular society?

One answer might be that she didn't have to: She was FREE in the eternal dimension, as we, too, can be in the Love of JESUS.

Jean Hennig-Baarson
Canaan, N.H.

U.S. Lost Before

That was an elegant September issue, devoted to the work of the Urban Coalitions, and a real charge upon us all to get moving again. Only one thing: "American troops returned from Vietnam, without victory for the first time"? (page 4).

General Robert E. Lee and the entire Confederate Army would deny this myth. So would any survivor of the War of 1812, in the unlikely event he is still among us. So would every American Indian. And please note that all of these are "Americans" as much as any denizen of New England or the Middle Atlantic States.

The only reason it is important lies in

the dangerous fact that there are all too many Ultra Machos among us anxious to avenge this "stain upon the national honor." Viz, *Mayaguez* and its attendant idiocies; and the current talks about the existence in Cuba of fewer than 3,000 Russians. It is time we learned to live with the notion of ourselves as occasional losers; as survivors in the struggle toward a fuller humanity, and away from the current Dance of Death we seem to be engaged in.

True, it's a nit, but I pick it because of its potential for fatal misunderstanding. Otherwise, full congratulations to you, to Janette Pierce and to the Black United Fund.

Ruth Malone
Swarthmore, Pa.

Kindness Oppressive

I like your literature but I consider you to be unacquainted with the folks you espouse and oppressive in your kindness. "Helping" is only helping when one does not think he or she has solutions. *To Hear and to Heed* described well, but heed Paulo Freire: You have to be part of the problem to be part of the solution. You do not get involved by saying you are coming to help. But I do think you're the better part of the Episcopal Church.

Louise Loomis
Hartford, Conn.

Eager to Subscribe

Many of us interested in Integrity/National are grateful for the support which THE WITNESS has provided to this cause of human dignity and rights. It is because of this that I am eager to be a subscriber.

Clinton R. Jones, Jr., Canon
Christ Church Cathedral
Hartford, Conn.

Correction

THE WITNESS neglected to identify the Rev. Richard W. Gillett, author of "Christian Tactics for the 1980s," in the December issue. He is the newest addition to the staff of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, charged with development of the Church and Society Network, and for the past six years has served as director of community outreach for All Saints Church, Pasadena.

CREDITS

Cover, page 8, adapted from a graphic in *The Catholic Worker*; p. 12, Rini Templeton; p. 14, Bill Plimpton.

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Urban Caucus Gains Momentum

by Jan Pierce

The mounting churchwide interest in the plans and programs of the Urban Bishops' Coalition and the Church and City Conference has amazed and delighted both the staff and leadership. All signs point to maximum participation in the important assembly which the two groups are sponsoring in Indianapolis Feb. 13-15 to form an Episcopal Urban Caucus.

Among indicators of increased interest in the church's mission in the cities is the positive response to last fall's regional institutes. The planners of the Southeast Institute in Atlanta reported difficulty in holding enrollment there to double the number originally expected.

The December institutes in New York City and Los Angeles also reported excellent response. At press time interest was running high in the January institutes scheduled in Boston and Detroit.

The Rev. Jim Friedrich's slide/tape show, "An Urban Pilgrimage," which

received high praise at General Convention has been booked solidly with four copies in almost constant use. Showings throughout the winter and early spring are being booked now through Jan Pierce, 1930 Chestnut, 11th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19103 (215-564-2010).

The revision of the draft study document first presented at General Convention is also going forward under the leadership of Bishop John Krumm of Southern Ohio. The revised document will be ready for debate at the February assembly.

Final plans for the assembly were approved Dec. 12 at a meeting of the leadership of the Urban Bishops' Coalition and the Church and City Conference in Washington, D.C. The assembly will enable those attending to establish a long range national agenda for the caucus by clearly defining the issues which confront the church and to develop action strategies for urban congregations and dioceses. Participants will also decide on a structure to help the caucus and its

members carry out the agenda and will develop an "ongoing, self-conscious process to encourage theological reflection and practical evaluation for parish, diocesan and national work."

In issuing a call to the assembly in mid-December, Bishop John Walker, chairman of the Urban Bishops' Coalition, and the Rev. Michael Kendall, chairman of the Church and City Conference, described their vision of the caucus as an organization which will "provide material and spiritual support for those already engaged in urban mission, continue to confront the whole church with the urgency of this mission, and create a base within the Episcopal church from which we can join hands with other religious and community agencies to address the plight of our cities and their people."

Response indicates many Episcopalians share both their concerns and their vision. For information on joining the Episcopal Urban Caucus, contact the Rev. Hugh White, Urban Bishops' Coalition, 4800 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48201.

Jan Pierce is news editor of *The Episcopalian* and a member of the Steering Committee of the Urban Bishops' Coalition.

THE

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WITNESS

On Woman Bent Double

Dorothy Irvin
Alice Dieter
Dan Berrigan
Elice Higginbotham





Letters to the Editor

Abortion Not the Way

In the November WITNESS, Georgia Fuller challenged the "pro-life" Christians to prevent the causes of abortion. My answer is simple: Limit sex to the Judeo-Christian teachings — within marriage.

However, we all realize that we live in a fallen world and that, even though we are created in the image of God, we are less than perfect — a blurred image. I am one of those "genetically damaged children" about whom Ms. Fuller speaks. I thank God my mother could not have me aborted in those days. Knowing my mother, who is full of love, she would not have done it even if it was legal. And just because abortion is legal doesn't make it right.

I am an Episcopalian and a physician and urge you all, in the spirit of Galatians 3:28, to realize that fetuses are persons, not non-persons, as pro-abortionists would have you believe. One of the best definitions of life that medicine has given us is the ability to produce dying cells. The ovum and sperm cannot do that; the fertilized ovum can. The fertilized ovum has all the necessary raw materials it needs to develop into a viable person. At the time a woman first knows she's pregnant, (approximately 18-21 days after fertilization) the fetus' head and extremities are present, the heart is beating, and the face will grimace if painful stimuli are inflicted.

I fit into Ms. Fuller's "fanatical fringe" but not into her mold. I believe that capital punishment and U.S. military superiority are wrong and that racial, women's, and fetal rights have not advanced far enough. The answer, Ms.

Fuller, is to be more Christ-like, more loving of those in trouble, sorrow, deformity, or even pregnant when they don't want to be. If a woman is so distraught by pregnancy, let her be introduced to Birthright or organizations like it which shower love and care on the pregnant woman.

To prevent unwanted pregnancies, responsible sex within marriage must be taught. To those who are caught in unwanted situations like incest or rape I strongly suggest prayer. No male can sexually molest a woman who is in fervent prayer — witness the story in a Detroit paper a few years ago of how a man was not only unable to rape a praying woman but asked forgiveness and a chance to repent.

Bradford E. Friedrich, M.D.
Red Wing, Minn.

'Female Conspiracy'

About 15 years ago, when abortions were not legal in most states, I did a research paper on abortion for an undergraduate class on Psychology of Social Issues. I was about 35 years old, and the very word "abortion" was not used in my polite society.

The main thing I learned, and I remember it to this day, is that an estimated one million illegal abortions were performed every year in the U.S. I read with amazement personal accounts, case studies and statistical reports of women from all walks of life, all age groups, married and unmarried, all racial and ethnic groups, and all religious persuasions. When I had finished, I titled my paper *The Female Conspiracy*, and I came away with a new respect for the strength and determination of women to control their own bodies and their own lives.

Later, I worked to help legalize abortion in my state, so that millions of other women would not have to be alone in their hours of need, would not have to risk infection or pay horrendous amounts of money to unlicensed practitioners, or, worse yet, would have to suffer irreparable damage and even

death from their own self-induction attempts.

That research project proved to me that, as long as there are no simple, guaranteed contraceptives, as long as women have unwanted pregnancies for whatever reasons, women will have abortions—legally or illegally, safely or at risk to themselves, with or without the knowledge and support of their mates, families, friends and religious communities.

Marie Wells
Kentfield, Cal.

Dr. Fuller Responds

Many thanks to Marie Wells and Bradford E. Friedrich for responding to my article. Ms. Wells documents the pervasive nature of abortion, calling it "The Female Conspiracy." We, as women, have been the principal victims of that conspiracy. The conclusion to draw from Ms. Wells' research is that the only sure way to stop abortion is to stop unwanted pregnancies.

My article suggested that we need to stop "rape, contraceptive failure and incurable genetic disease" in order to eliminate the need for abortion. Mr. Friedrich correctly points out that "incurable genetic disease" was an over-generalization. I was referring to a serious disease or deformity resulting in a very early death or the inability to function. The definition of "early" and "inability" belongs to those who must care for the fetus as it grows, perhaps to childhood. This means the pregnant woman and hopefully, a supportive family.

The answer for unwanted pregnancies is not so simple as "go to Birthright." Neither Birthright nor similar organizations can uniformly deal with the magnitude of the problem. I know that such groups need 10,000 times more support and resources. We have a pastoral obligation to help people make difficult decisions that accompany unwanted pregnancies. Too many support systems begin a speedy withdrawal when the abortion is over or

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THE WITNESS

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Co-Creating With Jahweh

Robert L. DeWitt

What do we make of the Bible? Many different things. From some it elicits a profound respect not unlike that accorded the Constitution of the United States — a deep reverence based upon scanty familiarity or understanding. They feel that even though “The Good Book” contains sayings we do not always know how to apply, they are at least wise and good: “With God all things are possible,” or “Do unto others as you would have others do unto you,” or “A soft answer turneth away wrath,” or “No man can serve two masters.”

Others see it as the telling of the long story of God’s self-revelation, culminating in the coming of Christ. Indeed, some see that as the only justification for the entire Bible. Said a twice-born Episcopal priest: “We are not governed by the teachings of the Old Testament prophets because we are the people of the new covenant in Christ.” (If one has a new covenant, why bother with the old?)

There are still others in this secular age who find the Bible sufficiently vindicated solely on the basis of its unmatched excellence as literature (the King James version, please). And of course there is an impressive number of people — and a suggestion that their ranks are growing — who view the Bible as the literal Word of God, divinely inspired and intended to be taken at face value.

The biblical quandary for many of us is that we fall neatly into no one of the above groups. We give nodding assent to fragments of each. We agree it is a very considerable book, but we do not know how to consider it. Roman Catholics are perhaps not so vulnerable as most. They revere the Bible, true, but for them it is filtered through sacrament, dogma and tradition. The church interprets the Bible for them. Most Protestant groups do not have it that easy. They

have put most of their eggs in the biblical basket, and the texture of the weaving of that basket is such that they are not quite sure what it holds, or whether it holds.

It is important, therefore, for all “People of the Book” — Jews and Christians alike — to know that there are insights arising from biblical studies, particularly in this century, which are deeply provocative. Informed by archeological discoveries and by sociological methodology, some of these studies are making a strong bid to lift the veil of mystification and superstition which enshrouds so much of biblical history.

The recently published *The Tribes of Jahweh* by Norman Gottwald, for example, finds new and persuasive evidence that the people of Israel, prior to the establishment of the kingdom by David, were an insurgent people. The picture begins to emerge of a people coming out of bondage in Egypt into the land of Canaan, a land dominated by tightly organized city-states. In that feudal culture, the former slaves of Egypt, over a period of many generations, made common cause with other groups who were also resisting the oppression in Canaan and they jointly became the “People of Jahweh.” Their common resistance to the hierarchical structure and oppression of the Canaanite feudal cities both shaped and was shaped by a developing understanding of a deity who was concerned deeply and irrevocably with justice and equality.

This emerging picture of the Bible, and the faith it bespeaks, is both old and new. It is old, because those of us with even the most casual acquaintance with the Bible know that it reveals a God who is concerned with

Continued on page 8



Bishop Theodora

Archaeology Supports Women's Ordination

by Dorothy Irvin

The Vatican "Declaration on the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood," like most statements coming from Rome, has served the valuable purpose of letting us know what points the controversy will hinge on. Issued in the spring of 1977, its formal purpose was to squelch definitively any thoughts that women might have in that direction. But its actual impact has been to set debate (which it certainly has aroused) on the footing of now-we-know-where-we-stand.

Whether this is the conscious intent of Roman statements I cannot say, although a glance backward at "Humanae Vitae" and others lead me to believe that this is the curiously involuted Roman way of taking a step forward, while meeting the needs of both conservatives and liberals at the same time.

Once the parameters of debate had been established, Arlene and Leonard Swidler took the next step of organizing the opposition in the form of a volume of essays commenting on individual phrases of the Statement (*Women Priests: A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration*, Paulist Press). Subsequently, the Women's Ordination Conference took up its "Second Argument Project," collecting signatures and theological material to

Dorothy Irvin received her doctor's degree in theology from the Catholic Theology Faculty of Tübingen University, Germany, with specialization in Old Testament and ancient Near Eastern archaeology. She is currently on the faculty of the Theology Department, College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minn. and is available for slide-lectures on women's ordination in the early church.



counter the Statement's argument that priests must necessarily be males in order to project the image of Jesus as a male. The difficulty of dealing with this argument begins, I think, with our inability to maintain a straight face and sober credulity upon hearing it, thus losing us several points in the opening round.

A more "respectable" issue is the Statement's contention that to ordain women would be against the tradition of the church: "*The Catholic Church has never felt that priestly or episcopal ordination can be validly conferred on women. . . by calling only men to the priestly order and ministry in its true sense the Church intends to remain faithful to the type of ordained ministry willed by the Lord Jesus Christ and carefully maintained by the Apostles. . .*"

This assertion has been countered so far by the weak argument that tradition should not be permitted to be normative on this point, which is a simple and inadequate appeal to justice by the have-nots against the haves, a technique seldom effective in any realm — certainly not among Christians.

And it would be a shame to abandon tradition here, for all along our suspicions should have been alerted by the Statement's use of words such as "never" and "only." Behind such absolutes are sure to lie motives which narrow the interpretation of our history to what is desirable for those in power. The scope of Christian tradition should not be gauged by the wishfulness of the present clergy.

For several years before the appearance of the Statement, I had been trying to ascertain the breadth of Christian tradition in the matter of the ministry of women in the early Church. Given a first impetus by Joan Morris' scholarly history of women in high ecclesiastical office through the centuries, *The Lady Was a Bishop* (Macmillan, 1972) I put my background in ancient Near Eastern archaeology and iconography to work in the area of early Christian archaeology.

I was photographer for the Biblical Archaeological Institute at Tübingen for several years, and among my many photos are frescoes, mosaics, and inscriptions which, when interpreted in the light of the legal and sociological ambience of their times, provide proof that women functioned as priests and bishops in the early church. Although it is not perfectly clear what constituted ordination at different times and places in the early centuries of the church, archaeological evidence shows women as receiving ordination and exercising ministry on a par with men. The archaeological material is confirmed by written sources. I have presented this material in the form of slide lectures in England and the United States, and the first question is always, "Why haven't we heard this before?" Joan Morris provided a clue when asked why *The Lady Was a Bishop* carried no photographs of the subjects she wrote about. She said that the publishers were unwilling to go to the expense, and this answer contains, in microcosm, all the

elements of the larger problem.

But before probing that further, let me describe the types of archaeological material here:

- Inscriptions from the Roman period, from tombstones or for legal-financial purposes, which name women who bore the titles *archisynagogos*, (ruler of the synagogue), “mother of the synagogue,” and *presbitera* (the feminine of presbyter). These titles were used by Jewish, Jewish-Christian, and Christian communities. We have inscriptions of the same type giving men these titles, in the masculine form. We also have burial inscriptions of the wives of men who have such titles. These have a different form from that in which the woman herself bears the title.

- A fresco, dating to the end of the first century, in a Roman catacomb, which depicts a group of seven women celebrating a Eucharist. Several similar scenes from a later date depict groups of seven men.

- A fourth century catacomb fresco, also in Rome, showing a woman being ordained by a bishop. I do not know of any scenes of the ordination of a man, although all agree that men were ordained at this period!

- Many frescoes of women (as well as men) dressed in liturgical vestments and standing in attitudes of liturgical leadership.

- A mosaic, dating between the fifth and ninth centuries, showing a female head, with superscription, also in mosaic, *Episcopa Theodo(ra)* “bishop (feminine) Theodora.” She wears a coif, indicating that she is not married.

- Tombstone inscriptions of women bishops, for example (*hono*)*rabilis femina episcopa*, “honorable woman bishop.”

The orthodoxy of these sources, so far as I am aware, has never been questioned. That is, they have never been identified as Gnostic or Montanist records, i.e., from groups of heretics or schismatics.

In view of the unpolemical nature of the sources mentioned above, in contrast, for example, to texts which oppose the ordination of women, these sources must be taken seriously.

Although this is not the place for penetrating study of the attempts to intrepert, or sometimes, interpret away, this archaeological evidence, one reason why we haven’t heard of it before is closely related to the comparatively brief time it has been “rediscovered.” Most of this material has been known for only about 100 years or less, with the exception of the Bishop Theodora mosaic, which as far as I know, has always been visible in the Church of St. Praxedis in Rome since it was first made. We haven’t heard about the inscriptional material — the tombstones and votive

inscriptions — because they are published in scholarly books and journals, hidden away in seldom-visited basements of libraries, often not even photographed. Sometimes the original stone has disappeared or been lost, and we have only a copy made many years ago. A well-photographed collection of the tomb inscriptions of women presbyters from the catacombs of Rome would do much to raise our morale, and would remind us of how we have been deprived of our history.

In some cases the reason we haven’t heard of a piece of evidence is intriguing, in a somewhat Machiavellian way. The fresco of the women celebrating a Eucharist in the Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome was uncovered and cleaned in 1893/94 by Wilpert, working under the direction of de Rossi, and is today visible to tourists, who can buy postcards and slides of it. Those who see it, however, are frequently unaware that they have seen a group of women celebrating. This faulty perception is due in part to a copy of the fresco, made into a mosaic and displayed in the chapel above. Changes that have been made in the chapel version are clearly identifiable when postcards of both are projected simultaneously. When I present them in slide shows, they evoke roars of laughter from my audiences, because most of the women have been changed to men, in particular the figure at the left of the group, early identified as the principal celebrant (with some of the others as possible concelebrants). Although this figure’s ankle-length skirt has been retained (men at this period wore knee-length skirts) a beard has been incongruously added by the makers of the chapel mosaic.

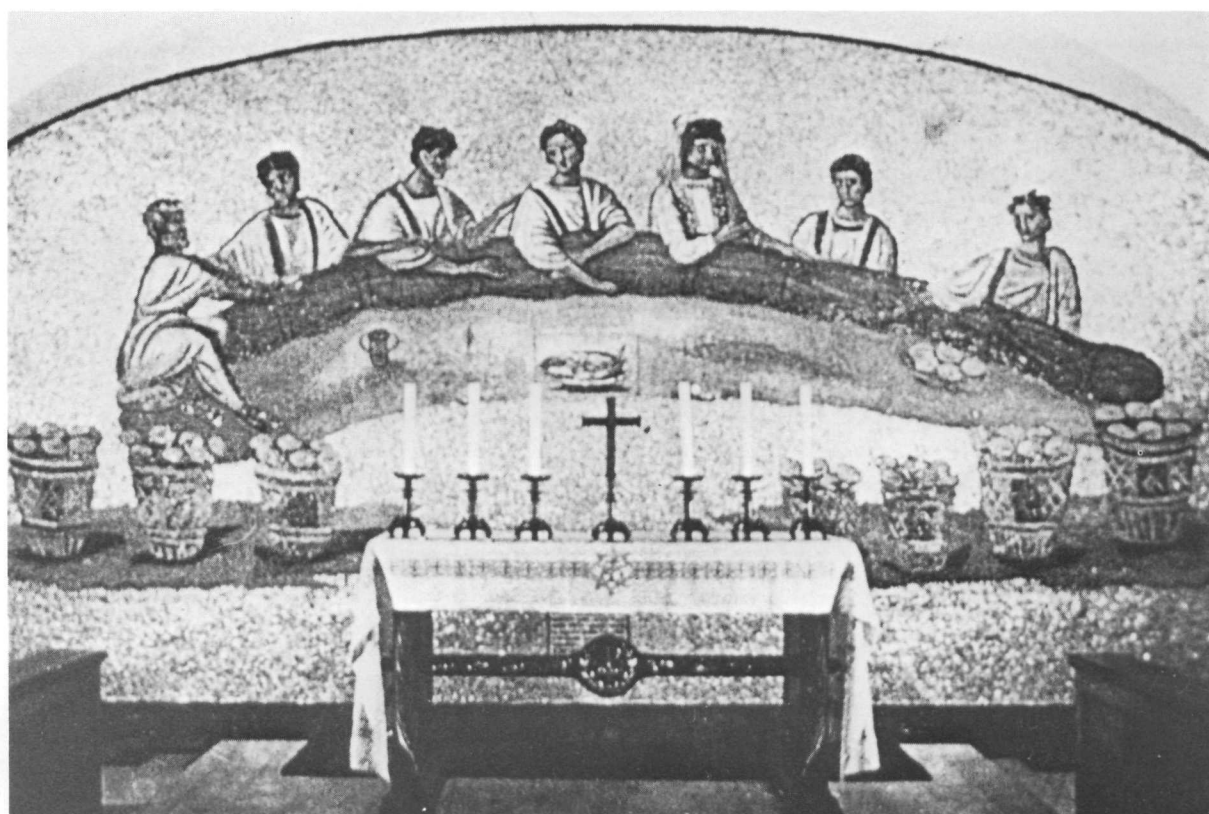
The tourist in Rome is also likely to see the impressive mosaic of the Bishop Theodora over the doorway of the Zeno chapel in the Church of St. Praxedis. But if the tourist relies on the postcards and guidebook — for sale on the premises — to refresh her/his memory a curious thing happens.

In *these* photographs of the mosaic, a dark shadow falls on the upper left corner, right over the words “*Episcopa Theodora*,” rendering them illegible. A visit to the Archaeological archives and to a photographic firm specializing in archaeology fails to unearth a sharper reproduction. But thanks to Joan Morris I have a slide of it so clear that when I show it to an audience, 4-year-old children have been known to spell through the inscription out loud with me.

A final reason we have been unaware of this important evidence can only be described as “mindset.” Here I must admit to having been a victim of that sociological phenomenon, noted by perceptive minorities and feminists,



Fresco of women
celebrating the Eucharist



Sex changes in
mosaic copy

by which the view of the oppressor is accepted by the oppressed themselves as true, even when it is contrary to what can be observed in reality. For example, before my consciousness was raised, I found and photographed in a small German museum many beautiful mediaeval carvings and paintings of women holding the host and chalice, of women preaching, and of women singing the office — all public liturgical acts for which ordination was required. (I must leave aside here the dating of these sources and possible variations of interpretation.)

I visited that museum many times over a period of 10 years before I realized what I actually saw before me, and began to wonder about its significance. I hadn't "seen" these things although I had often studied them, because I assumed they *could not* be true. And I was not even conscious of assuming that they could not be true!

Such rejection of evidence may well take place without hypocrisy or dishonesty; in fact, it is scarcely to be described as rejection. However, sound historical method now teaches us to overcome the suppressing of certain facts to preserve the status quo. We now know that these sources attest to the breadth and diversity of the early church and must not be ignored in favor of what church practice has become today. By reclaiming our history, we can solve many problems, not the least of which is how to bring the Good News to women.



Continued from page 3

justice, who wills that people be released from bondage of whatever sort, and that pursuant to that divine will, God led the people of Israel out of Egypt. We know of God's support of the Israelites in their struggle against the false values and false gods of Canaan. We recall at least fragments of the thunderings of the Old Testament prophets against their own people, a people who, like us, forget where God's real investment of concern lies. This is old stuff.

But this picture of the Bible is also new. We had assumed that when the canon of the Bible (the actual books included) was closed, the story had ended. We had felt that to be religious was to believe that the Bible contains the ultimate deposit of religious truth, tedious though it may be to quarry, difficult though it might be to structure our world with what we extract. On the contrary, to be religious, in the sense that the ancient Israelites were religious, would be to become prospectors, searching for religious truth. It would mean finding out what had to be done to master our social problems, and, in attempting to achieve that mastery, to identify the religious principles and the political process which could enable us. This would include readiness to modify and discard old religious and political models, and to create new ones suitable to our situation. This is what happened in the Israelite breakthrough into their new religion of Jahweh, which was based on the foundations of *their* old theology. It would call for us to be so experimental and radical in our religious thinking that later generations could say of *us* that we had "founded a new religion."

And in so doing, those of us who consider ourselves Jews or Christians will discover that we are confessors of that same faith, holders of that same hope, which was forged centuries ago on the anvil of a covenant between God and people in their common quest for justice and righteousness in human affairs.

"What do we make of the Bible?" Perhaps the question should be rephrased: What is God, through the biblical revelation of that covenant with God's people, trying to make of us? ■

CREDITS

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Mormon Action Undermines Trust

by Alice Dieter

Excommunication is not a word most of us worry about these days. It lacks the punch it once had when the ringing threat of isolation in its syllables could bring recalcitrant kings to heel.

But since most of the Western world is no longer administered as a theological exercise in politics, the princes of the church don't go tossing excommunications around with much abandon.

That is why it is dangerously easy to underestimate how terrible excommunication really is.

The Mormon Church has excommunicated Sonia Johnson, a fifth-generation Mormon, wife, mother and church organist. The word from the church is that the action has nothing to do with Johnson's political efforts to organize and act as "Mormons for the ERA." We are, instead, asked to believe that this family-centered church has severed a devout woman from her family for all eternity for some other venial, heinous but unnamed crime.

That doesn't wash.

The rest of us remain convinced the Mormon Church has excommunicated a faithful member of their group because she broke ranks politically with its official position on a civic issue.

A bishop of my own particular household of faith was once asked to describe expectation of eternal life. He was a stern man and a precise scholar. He turned a rather withering look on the

questioner and snapped back, "Just what do you think you are living?"

In that context of eternal life we can all believe that the Mormon Church has truly excommunicated Sonia Johnson. Her father rejects her, her brother will not speak to her and her children are now forced to the destructive division of loyalty between their mother and the supportive church environment in which they have been raised.

I happen to believe there are alternatives available to this family unit through which they will find grace and support. But my view of her alternatives does not change the shattering action publicly administered as discipline over political disagreement with church hierarchy.

I think Sonia Johnson's excommunication also tears at the fabric of trust between Mormons and non-Mormons.

A case in the Idaho courts critical to the legal status of the Equal Rights Amendment is to be heard by a judge who is a Mormon. The issue of his impartiality to hear the case was raised. Marion Callister considered his state of mind on the subject and decided he could act fairly and impartially although he is not only a Mormon, but a high official of his church.

I have not met Callister. But I do know another member of our judiciary fairly well who is also Mormon. I admire his integrity and clear thinking and I would unhesitatingly trust his judgment. My

trust in him was transferable to his colleague . . . before the Johnson excommunication.

But the excommunication strains that web of trust. I do not want my potential legal status under the U.S. Constitution to be decided by anyone acting under any threat or fear of permanent and eternal separation from family and from grace. I do not believe anyone's judgment made on critical issues could be impartial under such potential pressure. Because I believe excommunication — in its full psychological effect — is completely and totally real.

The Mormon Church, as an institution, opposes the ERA as a threat to the stability of the family. (The amendment would guarantee that equal protection of the law would not be abridged because of sex.) I think the church's argument is absurd and rendered more so by its callous and destructive act against the Johnson family.

It smacks of that sophistry in Vietnam, where we had to "destroy the village in order to save it."

That also was excommunication. ■

Alice Dieter is a member of Church and Society who works in corporate communications with a forest products company in Boise. She is a regular columnist for the *Idaho Statesman*, from which the above is reprinted with permission (Dec. 12, 1979).



The Woman Who Was Bent Double

From generation to generation
The long line of the righteous
Piously parade their pomposity
Smiling contentedly as they think
Everything is under their control.

The bound woman, bent double,
Crippled with centuries of oppression
Cries out in her agony for healing
The Man of Compassion declares
Your bonds are loosed, you are free.

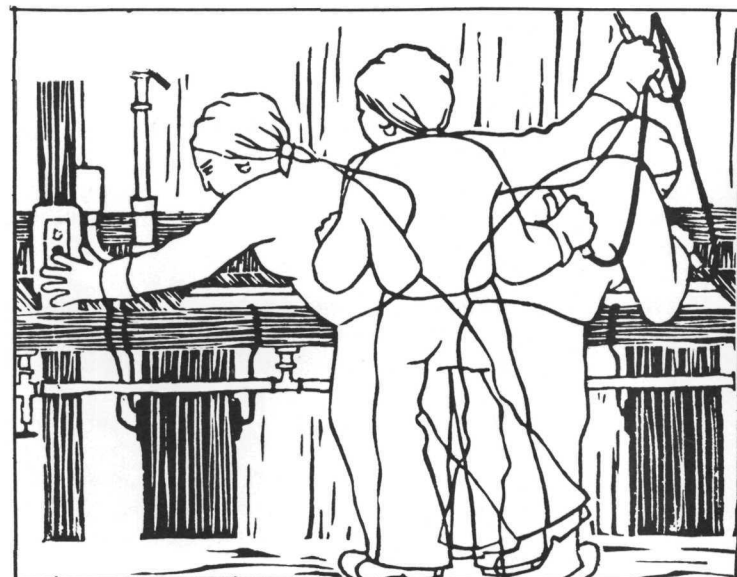
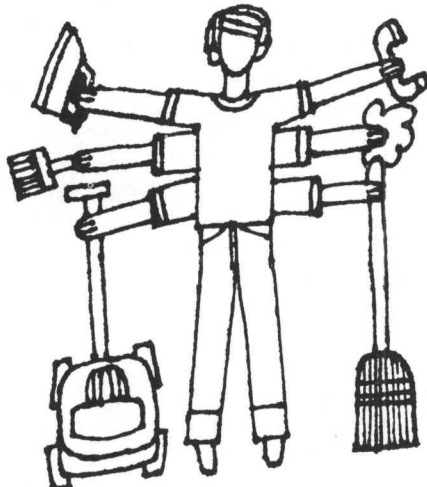
Obeying him, she stands straight and tall
As their anger breaks like a dark sea
Beating its waves against the Rock;
But there is anger in his eyes
At the hardness of their hearts.

Obey the law, wait until sunset
for lamentations at Lambeth.
Wait for the Synod to decide.
Wait until darkness covers us
And all our Sabbaths are ended.

The crippled woman stretches herself,
Strong in her faith, her bondage ended.
His compassion cannot wait.
Light cannot wait upon darkness.
Love cannot fail to care.

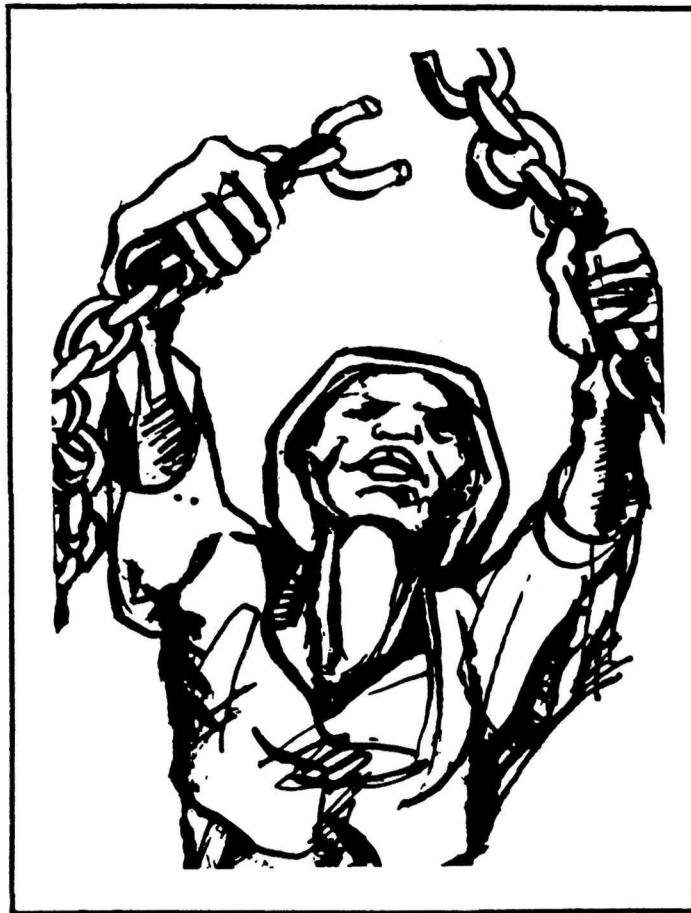
--Phoebe Willetts

Deaconess Phoebe Willetts, knowing she was dying of cancer, concelebrated the Eucharist with her priest-husband, Alfred, at their parish in Manchester, England in 1978, three weeks before her death.



Standing Free

by Daniel Berrigan



The healing of woman bent double, in *Luke 13*. Nuanced and delightful! I cannot for the life of me, find anyone who treats it adequately.

She was bent over, Luke says (and he ought to know) by a diabolic spirit. Could it be that she was fated to dramatize in her frame, the fate of women, in that culture, in every culture? No one says so. Males write history generally; then to place things beyond doubt, they write male commentary. But Luke steps aside from all that; or better, Jesus does. In freedom, he walks over those puerile taboos and drawn lines. He takes the initiative with the woman: "He called her over when he saw her condition. . . ." Then he

"laid his hands on her," and simply announced her cure.

She straightened up. And "she gave glory to God." How sublime! A woman bent double (bent doubly) under the burden of hideous culture, and worse, religion, is healed of this evil spirit. For a spirit is at work in her, not a disease; or better, a diseased spirit. The culture, and the religion, are rightly regarded by Jesus as demonic. The woman must be exorcised, of culture, of religion. Then she stands upright, then with all her wit and will, she responds to God. Can you see her face at that moment?

The keepers of the status quo are of course, outraged. If we know anything, we know why. The miraculous is of no account to them. Religion is business. The rule is business as usual. Business is good.

But something deeper than this is in question; the healing of — a woman. Her face, alight with hope and joy, is an affront to their consecrated gloom, the atmosphere of a sanctuary which is a counting house.

Would they have struck back with such irrational fury had a man been healed under the same circumstances? One is allowed to doubt it.

In any case, Jesus is at pains to note that he has liberated not a man, but a "daughter of Abraham." This is her dignity. He refers to it, against all custom. A daughter of Abraham stands, upright; stands up, as we say, for her rights.

In the Gospel, the title is unique, where macho "sons of Abraham" abound. In the Jewish bible, the title is unthinkable. But no commentator notes these things, as far as I can find.

The Rev. Daniel Berrigan is a noted Jesuit author, poet, and peace activist.

From Submissive To 'Subversive' Theology

by Elice Higginbotham

Women in Latin America found little to rejoice in at the Third Latin American Bishops' Conference in Puebla, Mexico, a year ago. As Faith Annette Sand reported in April in *THE WITNESS*, the concerns of women were largely left to the sidelines. "Women for Dialogue" provided a forum for a variety of discussions of women's issues, as did a few other groups and organizations — but all safely outside the bishops' discussion halls, where a woman's voice was rarely heard.

Given such a recent negative historical experience, what more might women expect at the upcoming Fourth Conference of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians, scheduled for February, 1980, in Sao Paulo, Brazil? Might an ecumenical, and more geographically diverse, body be expected to be more open-minded about including the experience of women?

That Puebla's easy dismissal of women not be repeated was uppermost in the minds of the planners of the Latin

American Women's Theology Seminar in Mexico City in October, 1979. Nineteen women from eight countries, plus three carefully-chosen men, spent what surely must have been one of the most exhausting and exhilarating weeks of their lives delving deeply into the specific situation, needs and contributions of women — an experience that has until now, largely been ignored not only by traditional church structures, but by the Theology of Liberation as well.

Women, equally committed to political and social liberation and to the liberating word of the Gospel, have been as invisible in this new process as they have been in traditional theology and the church. Men have been the subjects, the actors, the ones whose perspective was considered normative. Women have been the passive recipients, both of male authority and, if they were of the exploited classes, of political authority — a double oppression.

Members of "Women for Dialogue" were the planners and coordinators of the seminar. From the event, however, emerged a new, more broadly-focused organization, Women for Theological Reflection in Latin America, defining

itself as "a group made up of Christian women committed to people's struggles, whose purpose is to carry out and promote theological reflection from the context of the women in Latin America." The new group and its members are to be characterized as "ecumenical, inter-disciplinary (not limited to "professional theologians") . . . involved in popular struggles — members of Christian base communities — and having feminine consciousness." Two seminar participants were selected, by vote, to represent the new organization at the Sao Paulo conference, and a document prepared at the seminar will be offered at Sao Paulo.

But that was the culmination of the week.

The excitement I felt during the course of the seminar came, I believe, from the sense that something almost entirely new for Latin American women was happening. Women were looking at their own situation, not only within a broader class struggle, but *as women*, and then helping to build, from and for themselves, theology and expressions of faith appropriate to their context. For these women, this meant neither rejecting men or men's contributions to

The Rev. Elice Higginbotham is on the staff of the New York Conference of the United Church of Christ.

theology, nor creating a different political analysis based on categories of sexual, rather than class, oppression.

The participants were selected with an eye toward: political commitment to the struggles of the poor, demonstrated in actual practice through work or some active political affiliation; consciousness of the special needs of, and discrimination against, women in society at large, in the church and in progressive political movements; self-identification as a practicing Christian, though not necessarily through traditional church structures. The result was a group of women of amazing talent and energy, whose work ranged from direct base community organizing to seminary and university teaching; half were Roman Catholic religious or former religious; two were ordained Protestant ministers (myself and the Cuban delegate among them); several had ceased attending Mass nor did they retain any loyalty to traditional church practices, yet they found Christian symbols deeply meaningful in the struggle for freedom from oppression. Seven Latin American countries were represented: Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico and Brazil. (I was the only North American observer, strictly speaking; two women of Latin American background, who now reside in the United States, also participated.)

Context is primary for the Theology of Liberation and for a class struggle orientation toward the causes and cures of oppression. Thus we spent several sessions examining the Latin American woman's context, her role and history in society, in the church, in liberation struggles.

In traditional theology (the European kind, which I was taught in seminary) one begins by describing God, and from the established definitions of Him (definitely *Him*), one begins to generalize about the human condition and the appropriate response and

relationship to Deity. Recent Latin American theologians, however, have begun to turn the process around. We begin theologizing, they state, by describing *ourselves*, our condition, our context, our needs. From this self-understanding, we read the scriptures, we study the history of the Christian body, and we begin to describe God and God's relationship to human beings, and the implications of that relationship for human behavior. This new process has brought renewed vigor and commitment to many churches and Christians throughout Latin America (at the same time as it has brought dissension and repression) — but it is only reiterating a truism to point out



that virtually all these “theologians of liberation” are males.

Although I handle Spanish fairly fluently, it took me a day or two to grasp the significance of the effort to perceive women as *sujeto*, or “subject” of theology. In English, we tend to think of “subject” more or less as “topic” — “The subject of my paper (or speech or anecdote or book) is such-and-such.” The “subject” is that spoken or written about; grammatically, we could say that, in English, we actually use “subject” to mean “object,” or that which is acted upon. In Spanish, however (and in grammatically correct English, too), “subject” — *sujeto* — is understood to be the *actor*, the initiator,

the one from whose point of view an analysis is made or an action taken. In Mexico, we began by seeing women — ourselves! — as the *subjects* of history and of theology. We began to appropriate our own lives, thoughts, needs and experiences as normative, as a framework for seeing ourselves and our world. Women of the oppressed classes spoke loudly and clearly, through the voices of an administrator of a consumer cooperative in rural Mexico, the organizer of a domestic workers’ union in Peru, an exiled political activist and wife of a *desaparecido* (disappeared person) from Argentina.

Reading the Bible *historically* was stressed in presentations on theology, Christology and Bible study. The Bible is a history of the meeting points between the forces of oppression and the forces of liberation, a seminary professor from Costa Rica pointed out. Only in taking seriously this dynamic can the oppressed truly appropriate the Gospel as theirs. And only from this perspective can women see that a liberating Gospel emerges even from a written tradition fraught with males and masculine images.

For the first time in my experience with Latin American Christians, an attempt was made to begin to deal with the whole concept of sexuality, recognizing that this biological characteristic affects all human actions and relations in some way. The presentation on sexuality was the only one in which a man participated; in fact, the speakers were a winsome middle-aged couple, both former religious, she originally from Spain, he a Chilean exile. Their paper was an initial attempt in a delicate field, but one in which sexual relations which are freeing, pleasing, self-identifying and fulfilling were defined as those to be sought after, whether confined to traditional marriage relationships or not.

Women’s role in the left and their

relationship to men in liberation struggles were constantly on the minds of all participants. Several political activists described their own attempts to be truly themselves and to take the leadership tasks of which they are capable within these movements. As a Protestant, I was enlightened by the growing understanding of the Catholic women present of the Virgin Mother as a (potentially subversive) liberating symbol of strength, independence and solidarity, rather than the submissive, ethereal, sexless creature that I usually have seen held up as the model of "pure Christian womanhood."

Two contrasting events provided dramatic background for the seminar. One was the recent victory of the Nicaraguan people in their struggle to free themselves from 40 years of repressive, U.S.-backed dictatorship. A Nicaraguan sister (who presently resides in Costa Rica) brought in news clippings that demonstrated the progress of the young revolutionary government as it slowly rebuilds that devastated country and builds new

structures that will take seriously the needs of all the people. Proudly, she shared with us anecdotes of the active participation of women in the Nicaraguan struggle.

As if to demonstrate how far we have to go, that was also the week of Pope John Paul II's visit to the United States — acknowledged by all present as representing a setback for Roman Catholic women. The Mexican press chronicled the Pope's every move and speech, and groans were heard every morning in our meeting room as the front-page articles were passed around.

A few impressions of deeply touching moments . . . a sister from Colombia reading a letter from prison, from a 16-year-old high school student who had been detained and tortured; in the middle of the letter, the reader's voice broke, and she handed the page to the woman seated next to her: "I'm sorry, I can't go on; she's a friend of mine." . . . A moment in one of the nightly sessions for evaluation of each day's process and activities: "It seems to me we've been a little undisciplined with regard to the

daily clean-up tasks we agreed to share among us. Remember, if we were a gathering of men theologians, we'd have women to do these things for us; as it is, we've got to take the responsibility ourselves!" . . . Tears in the eyes of most participants at the seminar's closing ecumenical eucharist, in which the bread and wine were served by the ordained woman from Cuba; most had never attended a worship service in which a woman presided, and many verbalized the deep emotion and sense of solidarity they felt at walking into the room and seeing a woman seated behind the communion table.

For some participants, the Mexico City seminar was one of a long series of experiences in confronting their own female identities in church and society; for others, it was a first experience in a gathering of militant Christian women. All left expressing the feeling that this meeting had been unique, and had buoyed them up to continue, as women and as fighters for liberation, in the struggles which they confront in their home countries. ■

Urban Caucus Assembly Underway

As THE WITNESS goes to press, plans are reaching final form for the Organizing Assembly of the Episcopal Urban Caucus in Indianapolis Feb. 13-16.

Conceived by the Urban Bishops' Coalition and the Church and City Conference of the Episcopal Church, the project will be convened by Bishop John Walker of Washington and the Rev. Michael S. Kendall, heads of these two groups, respectively.

The Assembly will open with a dinner in the Indianapolis Civic Center. Keynote speaker will be Ms. Mattie Hopkins, a teacher in the Chicago public school system, vice-president of the Union of Black Episcopalians, and a

trustee of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Two to three hundred are expected for the event, and interest throughout the church has been high.

The Assembly will form an Episcopal Urban Caucus of laity, clergy and bishops to reassert the church's mission and ministry in cities large and small. Strengthened by ecumenical contacts with other denominations and secular groups, the Caucus proposes to represent and lobby for the concerns of the urban mission of the church.

Plenary sessions will alternate with meetings of strategy groups, the latter to address themselves to the revitalization of parishes, economic development and

community organization, the arms race and the threat of nuclear holocaust, the response of the church to the energy crisis, and to the purpose, goals and organization of the Caucus.

Several regional institutes have been held throughout the country in preparation for the Assembly, at which attention has been directed to *The Challenge for Evangelism and Mission*, the document which will serve as the agenda for the Assembly. This Assembly is the outgrowth of a series of open hearings on the urban crisis held by the Urban Bishops' Coalition in 1977-78, at which the needs of the urban areas were strongly impressed upon the bishops. ■

Tax Resistance: **Another Kind of Vote**

by Kay Atwater

Coming out of the closet seems to be the rage these days. Well, here goes: I am one of those people who resist the payment of taxes for federal military expenditures for reasons of conscience. There are a lot of us, perhaps as many as 20,000 who hold back the tax on their telephone bills (earmarked for defense during the Vietnam War), and an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 who refuse a portion or all of their income tax.

Some have been to court, only a few have gone to jail, many have had their property seized, most have carried on some kind of dialogue with IRS representatives as well as with their senators or representatives. No court case has been decided clearly in favor of the taxpayer's right not to support military expenditures on constitutional grounds, but tax refusers agree that resistance is worth all the trouble, since each case adds to the witness for justice and peace.

The military emphasis in the United States and our policy with regard to other nations and ideologies in the world has disturbed individual citizens and groups since early in our history. WITNESS readers are familiar with the peace movement and with the arguments for disarmament, not the least of which is that basic human needs suffer as a result of the heavy military budget. Those who refuse taxes on the grounds of Christian conscience usually contribute these refused taxes to organizations working for peace or to alleviate human need directly. Half of my income tax for the last two years has been sent to the World Peace Tax Fund Escrow Account, a budding organization started by Georgia and Ed Pearson of Bellport, Long Island. The World Peace Tax Fund is a proposed arm of the federal government which would collect taxes from those who oppose war on the grounds of

conscience and would use these funds for peace programs. The bill has been introduced periodically (HR 4897, S 880), but has only a modicum of support. Meanwhile, the Escrow Account is holding, in federally insured savings accounts, refused taxes designated for peace. The interest from this money supports administration and publicity.

Many tax refusers prefer to put their money to work in alternative funds, such as that of the Brandywine Peace Community or the War Resisters' League, or give it to a church fund for the relief of suffering.

While the idea of tax refusal was germinating in me, I spotted a short notice in *The Other Side* magazine, inviting inquiries to the newly formed Center on Law and Pacifism in Philadelphia. Bill Durland, an attorney with theological integrity and legislative

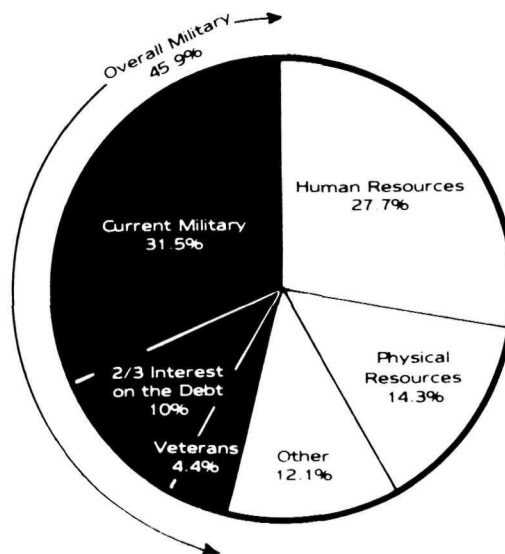
experience, and his wife Eugenia Smith-Durland, author-activist, started the Center in 1978 to give tax resisters information and legal advice and support. A newsletter is published bi-monthly, and other literature, including legal briefs, is available on all aspects not only of tax resistance but of institutional violence, and the efforts, including civil disobedience, being made to combat its many forms. The staff and board of the Center are ecumenical. Conferences and workshops are sponsored regularly, and legal counseling is done by a sizable staff of attorneys located in many different parts of the country.

By far the bulk of tax cases, at least up to the point of actually going to court, are *pro se*, planned, executed and defended by the individual taxpayer with supportive guidance only — a kind of do-it-yourself method which has proven most appealing to all concerned. Since there are so few precedents, each new case exhibits creativity in its presentation.

Durland reports on each of the court cases he has argued, among them that of Episcopal priest Howard Lull. Lull's argument is based primarily on the Ninth Amendment, which states that "the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." One of these prior, inalienable rights is the right of conscience, which we may take to include the right not to kill. Howard and his wife Barbara have refused military taxes for the last seven years and will continue to do so. Their case is one of only four that have reached the stage of a formal petition for a hearing by the Supreme Court. The Lulls' petition was denied. "I don't know why there are so few of us refusing taxes. It's so obvious!" Lull said.

Why professing Christians continue to pay for war and preparations for war while they speak out and pray for peace is a question that has occupied better

minds than mine. It has been suggested that the endorsement of the church by the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century brought the church into a too cozy relationship with the political state that continues to this day. The goals of church and state became intertwined. Armies were conscripted, and the "just war" theory came into being, one of its staunchest defenders being St. Augustine. But no war is just. For killing does not make life, but death, both physical and spiritual.



No great civilization has escaped the dread and shame of war and the longing for peace. The idea of peace has been central to religious belief since antiquity. In ancient China, for example, the Taoists taught that we are all part of a magnificent natural order, and to the extent that we can attune ourselves to it we are at peace with each other and with God. Peace is taken for granted as inherent in creation. Similarly with Hinduism. The *Bhagavad Gita* ("Song of God") contains the seeds of the philosophy of nonviolence, taught and used successfully by Mohandas Gandhi in the early part of this century. Freedom is achieved through acting out God's all-inclusive love with a "holy indifference

to the fruits of action." Peace in the Jewish tradition, *shalom*, means not only the end or absence of conflict, but also signifies a working together, a harmony between nations, family members, even between separate components of the human personality.

The Christian way of peace carries the idea yet a step further: "Resist not evil, but repay evil with good." *Active* nonviolence is required to sustain peace. It is not enough to refuse to fight. Violence must be overcome with acts of love, even toward those who are considered hateful enemies. For the early Christians it was unthinkable to take up arms against another human being. When Jesus disarmed Peter just before he was arrested, he made it clear that the sword was not to be used, for that would only perpetuate violence.

The first Christians were known for their strange customs. The refusal to fight, even to defend oneself, or to pay taxes (early Christians refused to pay taxes in support of Caesar's Temple in Rome) is still thought to be unpatriotic and unusual, *even by most people who say they are Christians*. And yet, some of the noblest and clearest pronouncements have come from church leaders: "War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord, Jesus Christ." (Lambeth Conference, 1930, 1968, 1978) In 1978 the following was added: "... the modern technology of war is the most striking example of corporate sin and the prostitution of God's gifts. We ... call Christian people everywhere to engage themselves in nonviolent action for justice and peace and to support others so engaged, ... recognizing that such action will be controversial and may be personally very costly."

Last year at the 66th General Convention of the Episcopal Church these resolutions were adopted, along with a resolution opposing the draft. Working both up front and behind the

scenes on these actions was the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, a Washington-based organization long noted for its support of conscientious objectors and its opposition to any church involvement in the things of war. A Joint Commission on Peace was also established, with organizational funding for three years. The Fellowship invites both draft and tax resisters to register with them, and publishes a newsletter.

Long before the Episcopal Church became involved in the peace movement, there were conscientious objectors to war taxes among Brethren, Quakers and Mennonites, to mention those most active. The reader is referred to *The Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the United States*, a splendid pictorial history edited by Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski and published cooperatively by 35 organizations (Peace Press, 3828 Willat Ave., Culver City, CA 90230; \$7.95). Seen as a continuous witness, the movement gathers momentum in times of war, and experiences less activity in times of peace — except for the present, when the threat of oblivion from nuclear war brings to it a new urgency. The many marches, demonstrations and peace missions in recent years have had strong consciousness-raising effects and have shown mass support for peaceful negotiations and cooperation between nations and ideologies.

The anti-nuclear constituency, whose voice has been so prominent since Three Mile Island, has also made an impact. Environmentalists and conservationists point us to the fragility and interdependence of all life, highlighted by the spectacular photographs of our Earth brought back from the moon shot. We can look back to the success of the popular outrage against the War in Vietnam, but we must also look forward, to see how we can preserve this tenuous sheath of life. I think it will take more than letters and marches.

One of the most difficult impediments for the tax refuser to conquer is the withholding system. If one can prevent taxes from being collected by one's employer and turned over to the IRS, the procedure is easy. In order to do this, one must revise the W-4, the form that reports the number of individual allowances, and by which the employer is guided in figuring payroll deductions. If more allowances are claimed, less tax will be withheld. But in order to claim these extra allowances one must be prepared to claim either a Peace Tax Credit or Deduction when filing the 1040.

The first return on which I claimed this credit was filed without the benefit of these extra allowances. Naturally, the IRS came back to me with a bill for what appeared to be an amount I still owed. Even though I had enclosed with my return a statement outlining my reasons for claiming the Peace Tax Credit and the resulting refund, I had to repeat this statement in my response to the initial audit, which I did. More dialogue ensued, the most recent notice asking that an appointment be set up to discuss my case with local representatives. Just before Christmas, however, I did receive the refund I had claimed, with interest! I turned it over immediately to the World Peace Tax Fund Escrow Account. No one has contacted me, yet, to set up that appointment.

A tax refusal is usually processed fairly, though it may take a few years. Throughout, the dialogue is important, for it confronts IRS personnel with the dimension of conscience over and over and over again. What they do about it will depend in large part on the measure of sincerity and good will presented.

Anyone considering a tax refusal action should certainly get some information and guidance, either from someone with experience or from one of the organizations listed below. The right to petition the government for a

redress of grievances is in the First Amendment, along with the basic freedoms of religion, speech and the press and the right of assembly. I would like to think of this right as a *duty*. For if our democracy is responsive only to an elite sector of its citizenry, then one *must* petition, or that condition will continue.

Specifically, I do not want my children or anyone else's children to die or be maimed in another war; but more than that, I do not even want them to have to participate in a victory if it means that other human beings will die. It's my opinion that much more could be done at negotiating tables to settle disputes than is done at present. Since half of our national budget is spent on war, past, present and future, my refusal to contribute to this effort is my vote against distrust, stand-off and hostile confrontations, and in favor of cooperation and mutual assistance between nations. The reservoir of moral strength in the free world has scarcely begun to be tapped and put to the purposes and goals we all long to achieve.

Resources

Center on Law and Pacifism, 300 W. Apsley, Philadelphia, PA. 19144. (215-844-0365). Information, publications and legal support.

Episcopal Peace Fellowship, Hearst Hall, Woodley Road and Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D.C. 20016. (202-363-5532). Support group and registry.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY. 10960. (914-358-4601). War Tax Packet, \$1.25.

World Peace Tax Fund Escrow Account, 44 Bellhaven Road, Bellport, NY 11713. (516-286-8824). Same address: Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, registry for pledges to refuse war taxes when 100,000 signatures are obtained.

Continued from page 2

the baby born.

Mr. Friedrich seems to prefer a literal interpretation of the Bible. He advocated limiting sex to the Judeo-Christian teaching — within marriage. I would plead, however, for a more situational interpretation in view of Biblical passages condoning polygamy and gang rape, among other practices. (See Genesis 19:4-8 for Lot's offer of his two young daughters to satisfy the rabble who came for his angelic visitors.)

Mr. Friedrich also claims that he fits into the "fanatical fringe" but not the mold. I used "fanatical fringe" to refer to that segment of the pro-life movement found, by a sociological survey published in 1978, to be pro-fetal life amendment, pro-death penalty, pro-military might and anti-racial minority progress. People who do not fit the mold are not part of the fringe. Those with a pacifist-egalitarian outlook that includes support of fetal life are not among the fanatics bombing women's clinics and engaging in other acts of social, political and personal terrorism-in-the-name-of-God.

Finally, I believe that our theology and ethics must grow from deep reflection on our real-life experiences. For this reason, I was moved by Mr. Friedrich's reflections on being a genetically damaged child. I respect that experience and sincerely apologize for the pain my over-generalization may have caused him or others. By the same token, I demand respect for my experience — that of a sexually abused child. A recent report from the National Council of Churches, "Sexual Violence," reveals that one in every four girls will suffer molestation by the age of 18. Half of the reported cases will be incest. And sexual abuse is disproportionately high within "families with strict religious backgrounds." Just as women had to bring the experiences of unwanted pregnancies into the open, I believe we must bring the experiences of child abuse into the open. Regarding Mr. Friedrich's suggestion that targets of rape and incestuous attacks should rely

on prayer, I respond from my own experience, "Bull!"

**Georgia Fuller, Chair
National Committee
on Women and Religion
National Organization for Women**

Editor's Note: "Sexual Violence," is available from the NCC Joint Strategy Action Committee, Room 1700A, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. Cost is 20¢, plus a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

A Purple 'Right On'

In reflection on your editorial in the November WITNESS dealing with the Spears report (on homosexuality) and the resolution by John Krumm, let me simply say, "Right on." Pax.

**The Rt. Rev. Richard Trelease, Jr.
Albuquerque, N. Mex.**

Outraged and Saddened

I am outraged and deeply saddened by Paragraph 3 of General Convention's action on homosexuality and ordination. The grave danger lies in its hypocrisy.

God will surely not suddenly stop raising up for ministry some persons whose capacity to love trespasses the sexual behavior rules, occasionally or by responsible intention. Now that the Convention has legislated the possibility of intrusive inquiry into private sexual behavior by anyone involved in screening candidates, the only sensible alternative for such a person is to lie. What a vicious double message!

As a theological educator and life-long observer of clergy in action, I am certain that a high degree of authenticity is one of the few irreducible qualities of the faithful and effective priest. Now for some of our candidates, we intrude a "higher" value, either conformity to a behavioral code, or cynical deception in order to exercise ordained ministry. I want a passionate priesthood — able to confront the demons and the angels,

subject to risks of failure and sin. I don't want only a bland easily-conventional army of managers.

And hypocrisy infects the whole body, not just those directly affected. When I was a young Presbyterian "postulant," my adviser told me that if I didn't believe the Bible to be literally the "only infallible rule of faith and practice," to say it anyway, tongue-in-cheek, in order to get approved for ordination. I refused. When the Methodists were requiring the "pledge" on tobacco and alcohol, countless faithful pastors had to lie in order to exercise their ministry. What a cost, in eroded credibility and distrust. The whole church suffers from hypocrisy, not just one part.

What would I have us say? Preferably nothing, when we don't know. Or, that the church does not yet know clearly how to translate the real standard of morality, the love of God disclosed in Jesus Christ, into universally applicable sex norms.

**Paul Nicely
Methodist Theological School
Delaware, Ohio**

In Liberal Corner

I've been delighting in THE WITNESS for more than a year now. Since all my worst predictions came true at General Convention, I feel I have to put my money as well as my heart in the liberal corner. We can find solace, I guess, in the fact that our more rigid sisters and brothers see us as enough of a threat to vote against us. Before we didn't count enough to worry about. Keep up the good work.

**Ann Willis Scott
Walnut Creek, Cal.**

Confession About ERA

In thinking about the unthinkable — that women of the oft-thought sophisticated Episcopal Church would defeat (in Triennial, September, 1979) a resolution calling for the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment — I decided to review the action as confessional. "What were these particular representatives of mine saying?" I choose to ask that

instead of disavowing that they were representing me. While that might appear easier, I would then disavow that by God's grace we are all one body in Christ.

The confession I see: We, the women of the Episcopal Church, do not know how to follow our Lord's advice to "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

My duties as a citizen are of direct concern to the state's enrichment. The extent to which God cares about what's happening in matters of human governance is incarnate only to the degree which the body of believers is active physically and/or spiritually in those affairs. Without our best efforts we know that humanly contrived systems often become instruments of oppression rather than instruments for furthering the free state we understand God created us capable of achieving.

Personally, I am oppressed by the present inability of the United States to ratify the simplest possible statement of policy regarding the general impropriety of discrimination on the basis of sex. Initially, I was embarrassed that women of my church would not make an intellectual and civil response to that. Then, I was angry that they would choose to compromise the "credibility" of Episcopalian credentials in that way.

Now, I'm recognizing that the bondage of years under sexism will not be put to flight easily or eradicated from the body's consciousness. We have become accustomed to the state's operating without our best efforts! I have never lived in a civilization that welcomed or incorporated the ideals of peace and justice that lie close to the hearts of many women I know. We have never seen female citizens exercising even an equal degree of authority with men in affairs of state. Some churches are barely beginning to address that in affairs of the Kingdom. And, we need training. Collectively, women do not know how to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's (although occasionally we see an individual — Shirley Chisholm, Barbara Jordan, Gloria Steinem — who seems to have more understanding of the process than we do). But many women, I suspect, do not want to be told "how."

My confession: I am still waiting for the church to take me and all my sisters personally. Stand under us for awhile if you would truly understand us. Seeing resurrection in tokenism is something we may be prone to do.

**Ann Knight
Christ Church
Ontario, Cal.**

Filled With Truth

Your October issue, "Theological Education Today: In Caesar's Household" — is filled with truth. Congratulations. I hope it spurs all of us to move into the future with more honesty and courage.

**Pat Kluepfel
Mystic, Conn.**

'Caught in Mystery of Sexuality'

Following General Convention's action concerning homosexuality and ordination, Bishop Robert Rusack of Los Angeles circulated among the people in his diocese the letter which appears below:

The General Convention's House of Bishops has affirmed the "teaching of the Church on marriage, marital fidelity and sexual chastity." But, as it has done this, it has also opened the door to discourage close pastoral relationships between a bishop and his clergy in the whole realm of sexuality. Indeed, by including a recommendation to the church 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," the majority of bishops have placed themselves in a difficult position. The passage of this recommendation brings more disunity.

Let it be said that I stand firm on the centrality of the family in our culture and in the church, but we cannot deny that there are those in the family of God who cannot live out their lives in the context of a family. Some have attempted to do so, with grave consequences for the partners and often children involved. There are homosexual clergy and laity of our church who have rendered great service to Christ and his people, and have been heterosexual. This bishop has "no intention of ordaining irresponsible persons or persons whose manner of life is such as to cause grave scandal or hurt to other Christians." (From statement prepared by bishops opposed to the recommendation passed by the House.) I trust our Commission on Ministry and Standing Committee to continue to thoroughly screen all

persons making application for postulancy and ordination. This, I truly believe, should not be dictated by powers beyond the diocese, for the total pastoral responsibility of a bishop with a postulant or priest is at the diocesan level.

To pass a recommendation that excoriates a large number of members of the Body of Christ in an attempt to keep a bishop from ordaining a homosexual or promiscuous heterosexual is folly. We hurt many who are caught in the mystery of their sexuality, desperately needing the care and concern of the Body, the family of Christ.

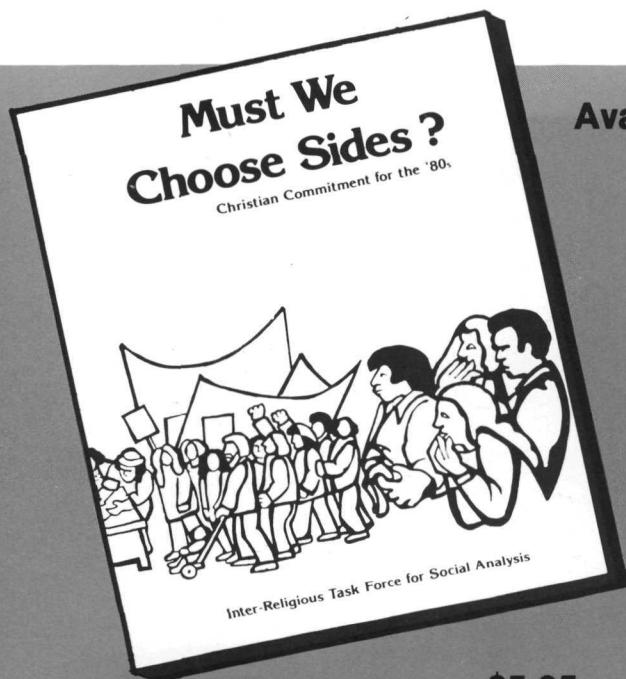
We in the Diocese of Los Angeles have long been caring and loving people, ever loyal to our God—a God of justice, mercy and love. Time and again in the last 15 years I have been overcome by the graciousness of clergy and laity as they have been forbearing and forgiving even in the face of grave excesses on the part of some clergy and some laity. They have been willing to trust those into whose hands pastoral care is placed.

In this pastoral situation of ordination, we must continue to trust the clergy and laity who assist the bishop in the screening, shepherding, schooling and finally ordination of fit persons to serve Our Lord and his church.

**The Rt. Rev. Robert Rusack
Los Angeles, Cal.**

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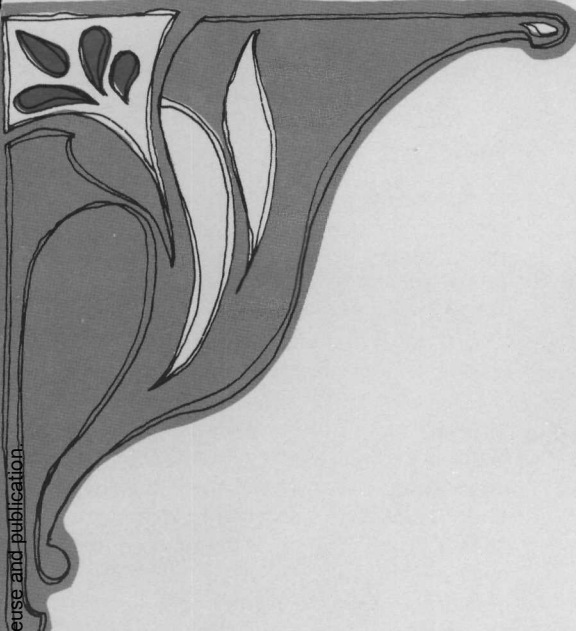
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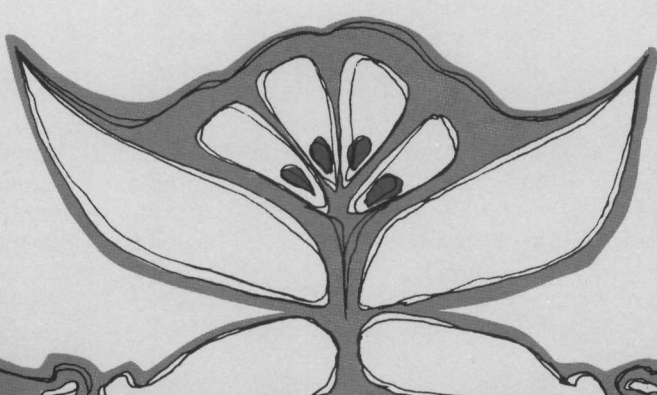
VOL. 63, NO. 3
MARCH, 1980

Social Mission

Charles Rawlings
John Hines
Richard Hawkins

Feminists Respond To John Paul II

Jeannette Piccard
Rosemary Ruether
Suzanne Hiatt
Ruth Fitzpatrick
Sheila Collins
Esther Stine





Shaul Calls for Action

The main thrust of D. J. Kirchhoff's argument ("Believers in Capitalism Must Fight Back", January WITNESS) is that if any organization in this country criticizes corporations, it must be dedicated to destroying capitalism, fomenting revolutionary violence and bringing Marxism to power. He indicates that this applies as well to people in the churches who are raising questions about the policies of multi-national corporations.

The business community and our religious institutions may be healthy enough to meet this threat of a new McCarthyism head-on, by exposing and rejecting every manifestation of it as it appears in their midst. I do not expect that to happen. Moreover, my experience in this country and in Latin America over the last three decades has convinced me that the longer we put off taking a clear stand against emerging repression, the less we will be able to do to oppose it effectively. I therefore want to call for decisive action now. For me this means the formation of small groups of Christians and others in local situations—and the building of a wider network—dedicated to several specific tasks:

1. Careful and thorough study of economic developments, the examination of alternatives for the future, and vigorous debate about them. Such groups can demonstrate an openness to social analysis and criticism as well as to proposals for new solutions from whatever source they may come. They can welcome into their midst those who have a vision of a

transformed society and are struggling to make that vision a reality, trusting that as they engage in a common struggle, they will help each other to move beyond the limitations of their respective viewpoints and ideologies.

2. Constant vigilance: the identification and exposure of efforts, especially on the part of the business community and religious groups, to repeat the sort of attack I have described above. If and when this reaction manifests itself more widely in our society, we will be challenged to come to a deeper understanding of why it is happening; we will also be challenged to draw on and communicate to others the resources of faith for living in a time of crisis and incoherence.

3. The willingness to provide support, material and otherwise, for victims of such attacks. During the McCarthy era, the hopes and the careers of thousands were destroyed. This same thing is happening today in many Third World countries; and in this country, much more of it may be going on than we realize.

4. Out of this struggle, groups and movements can develop which will be able to seize the initiative in working for an open society and a more human future. I recently spent several weeks in Korea with Christians involved in the human rights struggle there. What most impressed me was the fact that, in a situation of almost overwhelming repression, they have done precisely this. Consequently, they are the ones who are setting the terms for that struggle. The ruling regime is thrown on the defensive. It has no way of dealing with them except to throw them in prison, and that strategy breaks down when increasing numbers of men and women are no longer intimidated by it. Moreover, their witness kindles hope and inspires action in others. My hope for our country lies in my belief that there are those in the Christian community here who are capable of a similar response.

Richard Shaul
Princeton Theological Seminary
Princeton, N.J.

NACLA Backs Research

In our opinion, D. J. Kirchhoff's article represents a disheartening escalation of the "attack-by-innuendo," so well developed by the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, a style which we had hoped would not reappear in the U.S. political tradition.

If NACLA questions the practices of agribusiness, it is because United Nations estimates show that 460 million people are suffering from malnutrition in underdeveloped countries, which each year are less able to feed their people because of exports by agribusiness corporations. And the Federal Trade Commission notes that consumers are being overcharged by more than \$2 billion a year (some say \$20 billion) resulting from the monopolization of 13 food lines; by the year 2000, only 80 corporations will account for 90% of world industrial production and services related to food.

We are proud of our work and stand fully behind our research. While not all of our readers agree with our conclusions, few have ever challenged the integrity of our research. With no special interests backing us and a total yearly budget of but one-half of the salary of a top executive of Castle and Cooke, we, along with many others—have nevertheless been able to make the giant corporations disclose more about their operations, and, in a few cases, modify their behavior when they were acting in a manner inconsistent with the interest of their workforce or consumers in general. We look forward to continuing this service in the future.

Steve Volk, NACLA
New York, N.Y.

Resolution Caricatured

D. J. Kirchhoff's imputing of motives to church "antagonists" is difficult to comprehend, except as an abominable strawman argument. A shareholder resolution requesting information on workers' wages and benefits in several developing countries becomes a

Continued on page 19

THE WITNESS

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Slouching into Mission

Robert L. DeWitt

The setting was the Episcopal House of Bishops meeting in Port St. Lucie in 1977. The Presiding Bishop had just electrified those assembled by his statement that he could not, personally, accept the ordination of women, despite the fact that the General Convention had already spoken affirmatively on that issue. At the recess following, one bishop commented, "We are witnessing the break-up of our church as a national entity of any significance."

Since the Presiding Bishop was putting his hopes in "Venture in Mission" (the \$100 million fund raising program) as an instrument of strengthening national church unity, possibly he felt that voicing his reservations about the ordination of women would help hold a number of bishops who shared his views. It was as though he had said, "Even the Presiding Bishop shares your disappointment over Convention's action, so stay with us."

But other forces and factors were at work. A great majority of the bishops did not share his feeling about the ordination question, and were offended by his statement. Further, a sizeable minority of bishops had organized themselves into the Urban Bishops' Coalition, and the signals from the national VIM office continued uncertain as to how and even whether any significant proportion of the total raised would be designated for breaking new ground in urban mission, as the Coalition hoped.

The result has been a large number of dioceses conducting "VIM" campaigns, but only on the terms of retaining most of the funds for local designation. VIM is clearly no longer a national entity of any

significance, but a series of roughly concurrent diocesan campaigns. While this is not "the break-up of our church as a national entity of any significance," it is a straw in that wind.

Be that as it may, this course of events has led to serious examination by the dioceses as to what their own priorities in mission are, and how they can best be furthered. A number of dioceses, for example, are making a heavy commitment to new initiatives in urban mission. A spirit of local enterprise is abroad. The articles in this issue of THE WITNESS are illustrative: Bishop Hines reminds us of the venture which is truly our mission . . . Richard Hawkins asks, how can the church select candidates for ordination who will be committed not primarily to the church, but to its mission . . . Charles Rawlings speaks to one of the issues in our society most radically incompatible with that mission. The pope is subjected to strong contradiction, even as he, too, attempts to create an aura of unity in his own jurisdiction. Truly, these are days not friendly to institutional unity.

In the Episcopal Church this is a situation of some irony. A proposal for a nationally unifying fund raising endeavor of considerable proportions has splintered off into a series of diocesan efforts. The prestige and impact of the national church, as an institution, has been blunted. But the dioceses may, by their responsible and self-determined efforts at mission, be the vehicle for the church to have a greater national impact than otherwise would have been the case. The disassembling and restructuring of Venture in Mission may be the occasion of venturing more boldly into our mission. ■

Gregory Leroy Bowders



Youngstown:

Runaway Plants, Throwaway People

The following testimony by Charles Rawlings was given in Youngstown, Ohio, recently before the House Subcommittee on Trade. Rawlings was one of the members of the ecumenical coalition which sought federal support for the re-opening, under worker ownership, of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube steel mill facilities which had been summarily closed by management in 1977. Those efforts have thus far proved unsuccessful. In his testimony, Rawlings explains how the government has become an adversary to innovation.

The crisis that faces Youngstown and many other communities famed for their historic role in making steel for our country involves one of the most fundamental domestic public policy

The Rev. Charles W. Rawlings is Officer for Church and Society of the Episcopal Diocese of Ohio. For the past two years he has been on special assignment for Bishop John Burt as part of the Ecumenical Coalition effort to revive the economy of the Mahoning Valley and its steel-making capability.

questions of this century. This city has lost 10,000 basic steel jobs in just two years. Other cities—such as Johnstown, Pa.—have, or may soon, suffer similar fates. Such a catastrophic job loss in an abrupt time period raises fundamental questions about the responsibility of private corporations to communities and workers who provide the work and stable atmosphere upon which corporations depend, and which enables them to thrive as Youngstown's steel mills have for almost 100 years.

Likewise, such grave threats to human welfare raise the question which this Subcommittee on Trade seeks to address in terms of asking what is an appropriate role for government given a growing pattern of disinvestment in the steel industry, the resulting job displacements, and our consequent increasing dependence on imported steel?

Our testimony is directed at three areas in the hope that this will help the Subcommittee in its very serious

intention. We want to talk with you about (1) The viability of the older, brownfield steel-making facilities; (2) The productivity innovations we proposed for one such facility here in Youngstown; and (3) The unfortunate and negative role the government played as the opponent and adversary of such innovations. We have preferences for a creative role for government and will mention them in our conclusions.

Viability of Older Steel-Making Facilities

Much of our understanding of the shape of the problem we face today in steel is provided by the industry itself. When the Lykes Corporation closed the Campbell Works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube in 1977, it was U.S. Steel that paid for banners to be hung all over Youngstown and vicinity emblazoned with the words "Foreign Steel—It's a Job Robbing Deal" or "The Threat is Real from Foreign Steel." Together with the rest of the industry, articles were published throughout the land that old mills must die and fade away. This industry slant on the problem only yielded gradually to information that had to be developed from other sources. Gradually the Ecumenical Coalition pieced together a different story:

- We learned through a Freedom of Information inquiry that the Attorney General in 1969 had been advised by his anti-trust staff that if Lykes were permitted to acquire Youngstown Sheet and Tube it would milk the company and use its cash flow for other purposes instead of the modernization and maintenance schedule needed. The advice was ignored, the acquisition approved, the company duly milked of its productive resources, and shut down eight years later.

- We talked with the former managers of the Campbell works and heard of the neglect of that mill over a 10

Workers Occupy U.S. Steel Building

Some 1,000 angry steel workers stormed the U.S. steel headquarters in Youngstown and occupied the four-story building on January 28, only one month after the Rawlings testimony reported here. The workers took over the building for one day, and withdrew only after assurances that U.S. Steel would negotiate with them.

The issue: The workers want to discuss the possibility of their buying the Ohio and McDonald plant of U.S. Steel, running it as a cooperative enterprise, and retaining the present management team for the operation.

With negotiations for national steel industry labor contracts imminent, this development takes on added significance. Most significant, perhaps, is the entrance into the struggle of Youngstown's U.S. Steel Local 1330, a dynamic and aggressive rank and file union involving some 3,600 workers. The national impact of the Youngstown issue is underscored by the fact that five different congressional committees are now investigating the matter.

year period. One manager said "The failure to install a cross-over costing \$15,000 cost hundreds of thousands in production efficiency."

- We learned that American Commercial banks withdrew credit to American steel companies in 1974-77 and advanced credit to foreign steel companies in increments of 200 and 300%.

- We learned that what Barron's Weekly called in a recent editorial the "foreign devil" threat is largely mythical. That is yes, imports are hurting American steel, but through outcompeting us. We learned that many major American steel companies pocketed their earnings in the 1950s and '60s, over-priced their product, failed to modernize and innovate technologically and then cried unfair competition.

- We learned that there were other older steel facilities making money in the steel business today; and that there were facilities that had modernized, remained competitive, and were doing much better than the Lykeses, LTVs and U.S. Steels.

- We have listened to seasoned plant managers talk about how a profit could be turned at the Campbell Works if

properly run, maintained and modernized.

- We have learned of a U.S. Steel proposal to build a greenfield steel plant on the shores of Lake Erie—where they now grow grapes—and where there is no city for steelworkers to live in. The cost would be double the cost of modernizing brownfield steel facilities. Conneaut's proposed cost of \$3.5 billion would modernize several Youngstown facilities *and* build the unit train operation for efficient transport of raw and finished materials to and from the Lake shore.

Productivity Innovations For Reopening Mills

Following the Campbell Works shutdown an extraordinary development unfolded in Youngstown. Many urban communities were suffering increasingly from such dislocations with disastrous human consequences. Backed by the highest religious bodies in the country, local bishops and church executives formed a coalition in Youngstown to design a creative response to the lay-off of nearly 5,000 workers. Local mayors, county

commissioners, civic leaders and others responded to the Economic Development Administration's (EDA's) insistence on a unified direction as a prelude to a "partnership" with the government. A feasibility study began to create a modernized, community/worker owned steel mill.

The intention was aimed directly at the most frequently mentioned cost problem in the industry: *low productivity*. The proposal intended to give workers a new and more participatory relationship to the ownership and management of the plant. It would be *their* company. Although intended to be managed by professional steel managers, the company would seek to build a new relationship of cooperation and creativity with the owner-employees. The long-neglected modernization would be implemented.

Work toward the feasible design of this idea was badly hindered when the Carter Administration repeated in June 1978 the error of 1969 and approved the new merger of Lykes with LTV. Although an unprecedented and unanimous recommendation of the entire anti-trust division of the Justice Department called the merger proposal anti-competitive, not justified by the presence of a failing company, and therefore illegal—once again, as in 1969 an Attorney General (Griffin Bell) ignored the recommendation and permitted a merger that made design of the community/worker owned mill more difficult and, moreover, led directly to the shutdown of the second steel facility within a two year period: the Brier Hill Works and 1,400 jobs.

Nevertheless, although slowed further by an unaccountable two month delay in HUD funding for a market study, the Coalition entered the most creative three months of its life from January to the end of March 1979. During that period an operations manager formerly with the Indiana

Harbor Works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube sat continually with the Coalition in its planning. Independent engineering evaluations were made of the Campbell plant facilities with positive reports. Two major corporation law firms, Thompson, Hine and Flory and Benesch, Friedlander, Coplan and Aronoff, and a Wall Street investment banking house, Warburg, Paribas, Becker, began working closely with the Coalition on its calculations of financial feasibility. Most important of all, officials of the International Office of the United Steelworkers of America met frequently with the Coalition and with unemployed steelworkers. The result of those sessions was an agreement concerning labor costs in the area of seniority, incentives and manning tables that amounted to a 21% reduction in labor costs. This was a major breakthrough.

I want to stress to the subcommittee members, and indeed to the whole of Congress, the great excitement and anticipation felt in Youngstown at that time. We had been promised a partnership with the federal government. We had labored hard, against the odds posed by the merger, and we had created a scheme steel managers with years of professional ability felt they could make work. We had achieved a breakthrough on costs of production even before seeking to obtain the more subtle benefits we hoped would develop from the fact of worker-ownership. In reviewing our financial calculations in detail with the president of a major integrated steel company, we not only learned he believed the conditions were favorable but that upon his retirement at the end of the year he would consider becoming chairman of the Board of our new firm to be called Community Steel, Inc.

The Ecumenical Coalition, the United Steelworkers of America, the Mayor and civic leaders of Youngstown

had come up with an alternative that avoided two possibilities most people feared. On the one hand, people felt themselves to be facing the demise of a major steel manufacturing unit. On the other hand, many persons warned of the dangers of nationalization. But this was a third alternative: community and worker ownership.

When we turned to share our accomplishments with the government partner represented by EDA we were thunderstruck to discover that they were not the partner of this community. EDA was this community's adversary.

Government as Adversary Of Innovation

In a topic which all too often sees government scapegoated for all the problems and failures of the steel industry, it is sad to see the Ecumenical Coalition discover it too must turn critic of the government. But here, roughly speaking, is what happened at the hands of EDA.

1. EDA, together with HUD, was party to the government partnership consummated in a \$200,000 grant to a unified Youngstown community in December 1977. Robert Hall, EDA's Assistant Secretary, convened community leaders in Washington and invoked the partnership principle.

2. EDA's Robert Hall told the Coalition in October 1978 that \$100 million in loan guarantees was being reserved for a viable steel project in the Mahoning Valley. Presidential assistant Jack Watson reiterated this in writing. To the *Washington Post* and the *Youngstown Vindicator*, Mr. Watson said \$300 million was not out of the question.

3. In January EDA leaked an evaluation of the *pre-merger* study on the feasibility of the project prepared by Professor Rosenbloom of Harvard. Both the Coalition and the United Steelworkers of America rebutted by

pointing out that the study Rosenbloom evaluated was not the post-merger study still under preparation.

4. In February and the first three weeks of March EDA caused certain memoranda to be prepared evaluating the Coalition's proposal—even though final submissions were not given to EDA until after these memoranda were written.

5. Although the full Coalition and its consultants made a formal presentation of all its calculations to EDA on March 21 (after EDA written material had been completed *but not shared* with the Coalition), few questions were raised and a week later a definitive rejection was sent EDA, through White House channels, ending eighteen months of productivity-promoting, unified, innovative planning by Youngstown and its leadership. It is only through the Freedom of Information requests that we have been able even to learn the detailed questions that EDA had put on paper to itself.

Mr. Chairman, the impression we drew in sharp terms, was that EDA had little interest in seeing steel revived in the Mahoning Valley. After the exciting breakthrough on productivity, EDA never once asked a single question or posed a single problem to the Coalition on the productivity issue, except in the letter of rejection where it was casually and negatively characterized, as if negligible in importance.

Compare EDA's treatment of Youngstown's imaginative proposal for the revival of its steel industry with EDA's relationship to Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel. That company's application for loan guarantees was the subject of extensive exchanges of views, correspondence and memoranda between the applicant and the grantor, EDA. The file—which we have seen as a result of a Freedom of Information request—is inches thick and reflects a process of proposal, critique, refinement and reproposal that

Youngstown never enjoyed. We had to learn of EDA's objections in a summary letter terminating our proposal and through yet another Freedom of Information request. Or compare EDA's relationship with Father William Hogan of Fordham University. EDA sought out Father Hogan, asked him to recommend proposals for the steel industry, apparently including Youngstown, worked closely with him and developed a proposal for a coke battery to be located in the Youngstown, Mahoning Valley area.

Mr. Chairman, it has been ironic to read a few short days after the latest steel shut-down announcement in November 1979, that EDA's Robert Hall was going to make \$100 million available for a coke battery employing 300 to 600 persons, would make another

“Any steel policy that does not renew our steel towns and our country is ethically and morally unacceptable.”

\$125 million available for other industrial development and would assign a staff person to work with Youngstown leaders. Ironic because that is approximately what he said after the 1977 shutdown. Also ironic because the staff person to be assigned never appeared. Supremely ironic, because the total of his generosity—\$225 million—is almost exactly what we asked for last Spring and he refused to make available.

But all irony aside, the foolishness of the EDA coke battery proposal is not just that it employs so relatively few persons in a city suffering more than 10,000 lost jobs in basic steel. Its supreme foolishness is to be found in the fact that Youngstown soon will have no blast furnaces for which EDA's coke battery could be a supplier!

But, Mr. Chairman, the worst of this story lies in the failure of the partnership. Opening a steel mill is a complicated task. It should be EDA's business to raise issues, ask questions, voice criticism, in order that the plan may be perfected. We found there was no partnership. Instead there was an adversary who would not even share the criticism that could have led to a new clarity and perhaps improved viability.

In my 25 years of facing tough urban issues, I have found nothing sadder nor more tragic than when citizens who are essentially disinterested parties, who stand to gain nothing personally, who are good people, such as Bishop Malone, Bishop Burt and Rev. Sharick—when these kinds of people are cast out after offering sacrificial effort on behalf of the common good. It is the dubious honor of the Carter Administration to have treated with contempt a national demonstration project in a singularly unified city, backed by the combined Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish communities nationally.

Today Youngstown is faced with yet another plant closing; both the Ohio and McDonald Works of U.S. Steel. The last heat will be poured at Brier Hill this afternoon. The real story behind these announcements is, I believe, disinvestment. U.S. Steel, increasingly, is simply getting out of the steel business. Although they champion the Jones-Connable bill for accelerated tax depreciation, it is important to note that the bill does not require reinvestment in steel facilities in the brownfield communities such as Youngstown or Pittsburgh. It does not even, in fact, require a reinvestment in steel.

What we in the Ecumenical Coalition have observed is that when we suggested that mills other companies no longer wanted to operate be more modernized and reopened by the community and the workers, such suggestions were strongly

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Reflection on VIM:

The Risks of Discipleship

by John E. Hines

A portion of Jesus' charge to the Twelve recorded in the Gospel according to St. Matthew reads: "Do not take the road to the gentile lands . . . Be on your guard. . . All will hate you for your allegiance to me. . . But, the man or woman who holds out to the end will be saved."

I am not at all certain that I could have qualified as, or would have made a reliable first century Christian witness, much less one of the Twelve whom Jesus sent forth with such a harrowing warning in that earliest "venture in mission."

But Jesus was just being himself, the obedient one, painfully honest. He was an accurate reader of the risks implicit in discipleship under his yoke. An accurate reader of the covert wickedness and the overt self-serving that plague human nature. An accurate reader, as well, of the potential unto the sublime, which is human nature's glory.

For Jesus was saying then and is saying now that commitment to Christian mission is not just fun and games, not just peace and contentment, not just reconciliation and holding hands, not just hymn-singing, and certainly not public acclaim and public honor, not even innocuous pulpit-pieties, but strife, misunderstanding, divisiveness within one's own family and among people we love. Betrayal, rejection, indifference—all of these things and more. And yet mitigated, mysteriously redeemed by that wild leap of faith that takes Jesus at face value, when we hear him say: "But the man or women who holds out to the end will be saved."

There is a timelessness about Jesus' shattering "caveat" (recorded in St. Matthew), just as there is a timelessness about Jesus' call to "follow me" and "to go." And the exquisitely painful choices which the call poses, as well as the veiled dilemmas with which it confronts men and women in a revolutionary time are no less brutal in the 20th century than they were in the first century.

You know as well as I that this is an exciting and a difficult

time to exercise a faith commitment grounded in the Judeo-Christian tradition. There are very real, if deceptively subtle, pressures immediately operative against both the individual and voluntary institutions that openly back the precious value of a single human being and the quality of human rights against the brutalizing terror that highly organized principalities and powers can and often do become.

I am not at all certain that we are not, at this moment, upon the threshold of another era of retrenchment and repression and not-so-subtle control by the power-brokers of this world, that has as its aim the keeping of the free, enquiring human spirit on leash. That spirit may be bereft of its power to challenge, in the name of responsible liberty and self-determination, the principalities and powers that, for calculated self-interest, would manipulate people, exploit the powerless, and thwart human justice. It may be an era in which the ancient and destructive heresy of the confusion of means and ends will take its toll in the ranks of inherited institutions and among the defenders of individual human rights. It is an era, thanks to the appalling mysteries of the nuclear age, that already has a leg up in establishing the name of the game as power—naked power—and its self-serving, uncontrollable uses.

In such an era, if and when it appears, everybody loses. Not only the powerless and the unorganized, but the superman and the superstructures as well. There are honest and good men and women who in less confusing, less violent times would stand by the constitutional guarantees of every kind of person, and be willing to identify with the underdog, and fight fiercely for an open society in an exploitative world order. Today, it is all too easy for them to bend more than a little under the threats that the wicked and the bigoted can generate, and sacrifice the painfully demanding principle to the less costly but politically effective expedient.

In such a time—and, ominously, signs from Jonestown, to Iran, to Afghanistan seem to signal its reality now—there have to be people well-trained enough to discern the issues, principled enough to be incorruptible, and committed

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enough to pay the cost of a witness, anchored in the Judeo-Christian tradition and powered by an informed faith.

In concluding his remarks at the Theology in the Americas Conference in Detroit in 1978, Gustavo Gutierrez proposed that the religious question of our time is not one of academic theology but the practical question of the credibility of the love of God in our suffering world.

When in a church-wide thrust such as Venture in Mission we raise the issue of the social and political relevance of a Christian faith-commitment and the not inconsequential risks implicit therein, I believe we are talking about that credibility, about a witness to the love of God. And Edna St. Vincent Millay articulates the inescapable consequences of the social essence of such a commitment in unforgettable words:

*A man was starving in Capri;
He moved his eyes and looked at me;
I felt his gaze, I heard his moan
And I knew his hunger as my own . . .*

*All suffering mine, and mine its rod;
Mine, pity. . . like the pity of God.*

If religion is the source of reverence for the significance of every human being, just because he or she is a human being, so that we are gripped by a preoccupation with living and suffering men and women, hostile to everything that is weighing them down, finding it intolerable that anyone should be morally sacrificed, that any life should be remorselessly used up and flung aside as worthless. . .

If religion is the very antithesis of self-seeking, facing us with our supreme goal: "Our Father, who art in heaven. . . Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on . . ."

If this is the Christian religion, then it should be intolerable to us, who profess it, that any other group should be more passionate than the church in seeking the ends of human justice, relentlessly seeking the institutional readjustments and systemic transformations that will enable all men and women to live their lives well and to participate in their God-given destiny, as Christians perceive it, in the life, death and resurrection of the Lord Christ.

"If your altar is merely a refuge," said Studdert-Kennedy, in those searching, trying years of World War I, "if it enables you to put your fingers in your ears to shut out the cries of the world, if it is a matter of private comfort, then you had better watch out. It won't last. The wind of God will come along and blow away that refuge. And the fire of God's love will burn and burn it, until there are not left even the ashes of regret."

And in the face of the judgement which is a fear-filled, "me-first" world today, cowering before the threat of atomic annihilation, the company of believing Christians—if we

plan to make a difference—will have to realize that Studdert-Kennedy's words are true.

An ancient European proverb says, "The devil rides outside the monastery walls." Today, substitute church for monastery. "The devil rides outside the church walls."

I know—and so do you—that Episcopalians would not buy that completely. A bit of the knowledge of original sin clings to us. We would be more inclined to say, "The devil rides inside the church's walls." Someone has suggested that, perhaps, a truer version would be, "The devil rides atop the church's walls."

Now and then, he tumbles to the outside as when the "demonic" in the life of the church becomes transparent in the shape of dying, inner-city churches, which refuse to alter their traditional pattern of doing things to meet new needs. Or in the quiet, too-slick complacency of some suburban churches, which think that they "have it made."

Now and then, the devil tumbles to the inside as when the "demonic" is represented in passionate concern for the frills, the non-substantive, or in the idolatries of institutionalism, or the inhumanity of insensitive bureaucracy, or in self-advertisement. But now and again, the devil keeps his balance atop the wall, putting the fear of God into church people, both without and within.

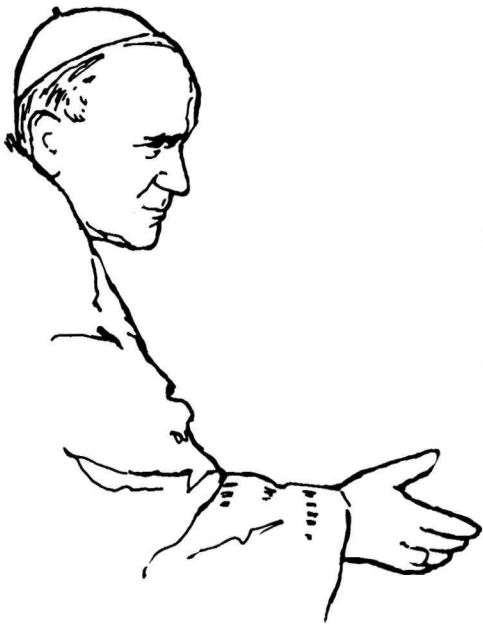
This would be a good place to end this Venture in Mission reflection, by saying that such an acrobatic, derring-do devil may be able to render all of us a service. He can remind us—bishops, priests, deacons, and communicants alike—that for the moment the church is better off with the idea of mission, rather than with the idea of missions, until the church learns more precisely the true nature of Christian commitment in which missions play a rightful part, but not the only part.

Role of the Military: 1984

By 1984 the military will become a major instrument for youth socialization, assuming a large portion of the role once dominated by the family, the church, the school and the civilian work setting. The Department of Defense will also be assigned a major role in helping induct youth into the American work force.

By 1984 the military and education will enter into a massive new partnership symbolized by modern learning centers on military bases around the world.

**—Thomas Carr, Director
Defense Education
Department of Defense**



Was Mary Present At the Last Supper?

by Jeannette Piccard

Pope John Paul II was quoted recently as saying that the Virgin Mary, Mother of Jesus, was not present at the “Last Supper where the priesthood was established.” (New York Times 11/15/79) If indeed he did say that, the statement reflects, I think, not something that he has considered seriously but rather something that he was taught as a child, that I, too, was taught when I was young and which is portrayed by the late 15th century fresco by Leonardo da Vinci. One tends to accept as absolute truth anything that one has been taught when very young unless something happens to raise a question about its validity. Once that question has been raised, one must ask who said it first? Where? When? Why? What is the Scriptural and historical evidence to support it?

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None of the four Gospels says explicitly that any women were present at the Last Supper but neither does any say that no women were present. Luke says that Jesus “sent Peter and John” telling them “Go and prepare us the passover, that we may eat it” (*Luke 22:8*). Historically women, not men, prepared meals in Jewish homes of that period. Conceivably, after the incident when Martha complained about being left alone to get dinner for 13 extra men, Jesus taught the Twelve to cook and prepare meals but that takes a little stretching of the imagination.

Conceivably, if there were no women around, Jesus and the Twelve might have managed by themselves; or, the householder (whether male or female is irrelevant) who supplied the “large upper room” may have supplied servants along with it. That Jesus and the Twelve might have been alone is not physically impossible but why should they be? They weren’t normally and we

know that there were women at the crucifixion “who came with him (Jesus) from Galilee” (*Luke 23:49*). They must have been there the day before. (I’m tempted to add that they didn’t get a frantic telephone call after the betrayal in the Garden of Gethsemane and fly in by Eastern, or Western, or Northwest Airlines. They were there.)

There is significance in the fact that both Mark and Luke mention that the meal took place in a large room (*Mark 14:15*; *Luke 22:12*). My subconscious has asked for years: why a large room? They were only 13. And why did they need to ask where to prepare the meal? If they were all staying somewhere together why wasn’t that place big enough and the normal place to be? But maybe Jesus and the Twelve weren’t all staying together by themselves. Maybe Jesus and his mother and her sister Mary, the wife of Clopas (*John 19:25*) were staying at one place. Maybe John and James were with *their* mother in

another place. Maybe Mary Magdalene was with Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, or with Salome. Does that take too much imagination?

Whether they were all scattered about the city in small places or whether Jesus and the Twelve were together in one place and Mary was somewhere else with the women is, however, irrelevant. The law of Moses (*Exodus 12:3-4*) required that they get together by families. Thirteen men would only need a room of ordinary size but if they were all, both the men and the women, to be together for the passover a large room would be necessary. The women would have to ask where they could find such a room.

The word "disciples" is a key word in all three synoptic gospels and one that is open to interpretation, rather like the word "man" today. It can have an inclusive or an exclusive meaning. It can mean only the Twelve (the Apostles as we use the word Apostle today) or it can mean the Twelve plus others, and sometimes it seems to mean persons other than the Twelve. Therefore, it is significant that in telling the story of the Last Supper both Matthew and Mark make a distinction between the Twelve and the "Disciples." Both *Matthew 26:17* and *Mark 14:12* say that "the disciples" came to Jesus and asked where to prepare the Passover. Matthew does not say how many were sent to make preparation but does say that "when evening was come he (Jesus) sat down with the Twelve" (*Matt. 26:20*).

Mark, the oldest Gospel, gives more important testimony. Mark says that Jesus sent *two disciples* (14:13). "*And in the evening he (Jesus) cometh with the Twelve*" (14:17). According to Mark there were at least two other persons present since it is most unlikely that having prepared the meal they would have left when Jesus came with the Twelve.

This does not prove that those extra

persons were women. Still we know that women who were eager to serve Jesus were there in Jerusalem at the time. It stretches even my imagination too far to assume that Jesus sent men to prepare a meal when there were women there to do it. There is nothing in either Matthew or Mark to indicate that Jesus' mother, Mary, was one of those who prepared the meal, except that we know she was there in Jerusalem. Tradition as well as the Gospel of John (*John 19:25*) says that she was there. In the traditional "Stations of the Cross," Jesus meets his Blessed Mother at the Fourth Station.

All three synoptic Gospels note that this was the Passover. Historically, the Passover meal is a family affair. If there is any meal in the year when women are present, it is the Passover meal. The Passover is the one meal where men would not be without their families. It is inconceivable that Jesus or any of the Twelve (except, perhaps, Judas and the thought may do him an injustice) would have sat down to a Passover meal without the members of their families, or that any of the women who "came with him from Galilee" (*v. cit.*) would have been left dangling in Jerusalem to fend for themselves on the night of the Passover. It is unthinkable. Those who have thought it have not been thinking in Jewish terms but in terms of Greek and Roman culture. St. Luke was a Greek.

At this point the argument can be made that, "Yes, the women were there but they were in the kitchen and only served the meal. The women did not participate. They did not receive the bread and wine." It is true that according to all three synoptics (*Matt. 26:20; Mark 14:17-18; Luke 22:14*) only Jesus and the Twelve sat or reclined at the table.

In the words of Institution, both Matthew and Mark say that Jesus gave the bread and the cup to the "*disciples*." Luke adds another insightful point.

Even though the tradition that only Jesus and the Twelve were present at the Last Supper must have come from this Gospel, Luke notes that it was *after* supper that Jesus took "the cup" (22:20). After supper the women would no longer have been excluded. Both Matthew and Mark emphasize that "all" were to drink of the cup. There would have been no need to say that to the men. They would naturally share the cup but etiquette and the women's "natural modesty" would have made them hold back, even after supper. Jesus had to give them specific instructions, "*All of you drink. . .*"

In addition to the Scriptural and historical evidence there is a psychological factor. It seems to me most unlikely that if women had not been present at the Last Supper any women would ever have been allowed even to be present at Mass let alone receive the Sacrament itself. If the disciples who prepared the meal were men and not women, or if the women disciples did prepare the meal but we assume they were only peeking out of the kitchen or clustered around the door just watching; or, if the words of Institution "all of you drink" did not include the women, the position of Christian women today would not have changed as it has over the centuries. The worshipping community, both lay and clergy, would still consist of only male persons. That is the orthodox rabbinic tradition. Women would still worship at home or behind a grill, or in a separate "porch."

The fact that women do, and always have received the Sacrament on an equal basis with men is, perhaps, in and of itself, the strongest evidence that women did attend the Last Supper, where (according to Pope John Paul II in the New York Times) "the priesthood was established." The evidence points to the presence of women at the Last Supper. If any women were there, Our Lady must have been among them. ■

Selection System for Ordination:

Jumping Through Hoops

by Richard T. Hawkins

Why do certain kinds of persons tend to “show up” as our ordained ministers? It is not that theological education creates and molds a personality type, though indeed it may affirm and encourage existing characteristics of personality (see Dean Snyder’s article in the October *Witness*). Nor is it that only those with a particular psychological disposition are necessarily drawn to ordination. At the end of a selection system there is a particular kind of person because that system *screens out* certain types.

Looked at practically, in an era of more ordained ministers than the church has paying jobs, we can afford the luxury of making applicants jump through our hoops. In so doing, nevertheless, we are unable to pinpoint

ahead of time just what hoops measure potentially outstanding clergy. (This is not surprising; nearly all the great generals have graduated in the bottom half of their class at West Point.) The old system, relying in the final analysis on the intuition and wisdom of bishops, did not provide unfailing results. But the new system insists on an endless variety of testing procedures which must be applied according to the intuition and wisdom of a variety of people. The results may be no more perfect than the original method. Worse, given the broad consensus required, they will be more predictably monochromatic.

Since the leadership of the institutional church as it is structured in the West in no small way determines its direction and effectiveness, it is appropriate for us to look closely at the system of selection for ordinands. God will determine and judge any “success”

of the 21st century church, but we are accountable to provide able instruments to achieve God’s will. The effect of a system may not be recognized until the results overwhelm us. The system is established to do good and is administered by people of good will. Therefore, we hesitate to evaluate it critically. Nevertheless, it is wise to reform or discard a system at its early, more malleable stages if it does not produce the results we desire.

This is more easily said than done. It is difficult to transcend oneself and one’s situation in order to be objective about a system affecting oneself. It wasn’t until I had been out of the Army for some time that I recognized that the military bureaucracy in which I had been imbued for four years as a USMA cadet was not entirely a part of God’s Great Original Plan. Now that I am rector of a large suburban parish, it is easier to see objectively the effects of

The Rev. Richard T. Hawkins is rector of St. Thomas’ Church, Whitemarsh, in the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

bureaucratic systems among corporate executives. It is only in my more sober, reflective moments, however, that I recognize that bureaucracy also exists in the parish—but there it is necessary—and, of course, good. Having been the first chairperson for two terms of a Diocesan Commission on Ministry, I helped to create its local bureaucratic system and its place in the larger bureaucracy. Being away from it now for a couple of years, I still hold it to be good and necessary in its general concept, but upon reflection I am not as sanguine as I might have been earlier about its results.

In 1970, the General Convention (the legislative body of the Episcopal Church which meets every three years) approved the proposal of the Board for Theological Education “to provide a responsible body of priests and laypersons to assist the bishop in the life of the ministry in the diocese.” They hoped that their terminology would not be misunderstood (and undoubtedly it was not at the 1970 Convention) when they used the term *ministry* to mean *professional ministry*. The body “fashioned to help bishops express ever more adequately their pastoral concern for all in their diocese engaged in professional ministry” was a Diocesan Commission on Ministry. Prior to 1970, each diocese had a Board of Examining Chaplains who determined the competence of candidates in academic subjects required by canons. The Commission on Ministry replaced that board. At the same time, General Ordination Examinations (administered by a National Church General Board of Examining Chaplains) became the vehicle for measuring academic competence; the Commission on Ministry had only to certify that the person was qualified in the subject matter.

The Commission on Ministry, then, was freed from this narrow academic orientation, to be given a wide range of

responsibilities from “birth to death” for the professional church worker. Its focus, nevertheless, increasingly became the interviewing of candidates in order to recommend for ordination as it gained authority. As originally conceived in 1970, the bishop’s influence was strongly felt, as the Commission interviewed candidates before all ordinations *only* in the presence of the bishop and under his guidance. The latitude of the canons made it possible, furthermore, for the bishop, if he so desired, to appoint himself as chairperson, to appoint the Commission and, contrary to the norm, to appoint only the clergy members of the Commission (which is made up of clergy and laity) to act on behalf of the whole Commission in the interviewing process.

Of course, organisms have a life of their own. The Board of Theological Education, in 1970, also proposed that

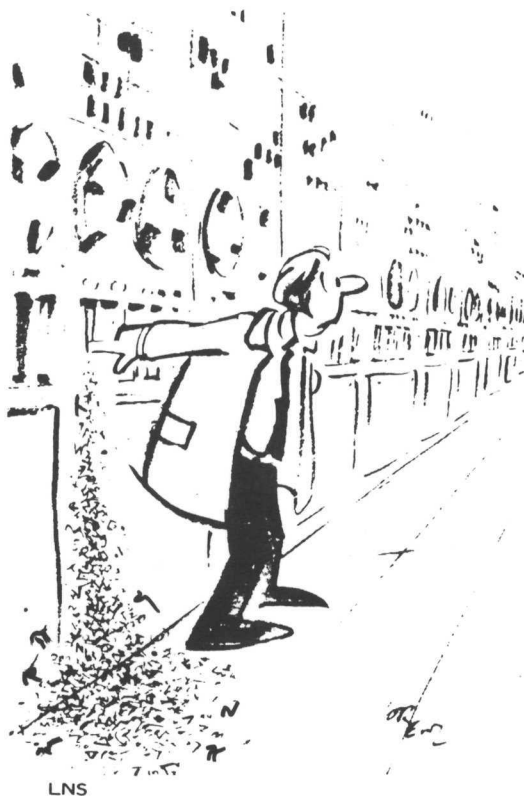
persons be permitted to enter seminary without being postulants and proceed to candidacy directly after a “trial year.” That came to fruition in 1973. To effect the process, the Commission was given the new authority to meet alone with the applicant in order to prepare a recommendation to the bishop and standing committee.

In 1976, it was decided to return the extra step of postulancy to the process. This was based on the fragile idea of a need to identify those entering seminary who have an approved status in their dioceses. The effect of this was again to increase the authority of the Commission on Ministry as they were also to endorse in writing the readiness of a postulant to be received. The result of this switching back and forth: at the first two levels (as applicant and postulant) the bishop’s presence and oversight of the Commission no longer exists canonically.

In addition, whereas the Commission on Ministry formerly assisted the bishop in his guidance of candidates, now the *program* of preparation for the ordained ministry as well as the person must be approved independently by the Commission on Ministry. The Commission had certainly increased in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man.

This is not to imply a Machiavellian plot. It is simply in the nature of systems to grow more complex and attract power. There is not much glory in being a Commission member; and it is just plain heartache to meet with a person who feels called by God to the ordained ministry, has told relatives and friends, quit his/her job and moved his/her family to seminary for a “trial year” — to meet with that person, look him/her in the eye and say you aren’t going to recommend him/her. Afterwards, you go home and throw up! Commission members are not going to go through *that* kind of agony more than once if the

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Feminists Respond to Sr. Kane, John Paul II on Ordination

At the end of Pope John Paul II's tour of the United States, Sister Theresa Kane, R.S.M., president of the Leadership Conference of Women Religious, faced him with a dramatic plea to change the patriarchal model of the priesthood. In the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C., she asked that the Roman Catholic Church include women "in all ministries of the church."

*This unprecedented confrontation with authority brought, on the one hand, a barrage of protest, and on the other, a new momentum to the women's movement in the church. **Theology in the Americas** asked a dozen feminists from various denominations to respond to the incident. **THE WITNESS** presents excerpts from five of these. The complete set, in addition to "what the Pope said" and "what Sister Kane said," are available as Document No. 11 (for \$1) from *Theology in the Americas*, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 1268, New York, N.Y. 10027.*

Will Pope Dialogue With Women?

To understand the impact of Sister Theresa Kane's words to Pope John Paul II in Washington, D.C., we have to consider not just the content of her remarks, but the context in which it took place. For a week the popular, charismatic and multi-lingual pontiff had been touring five U.S. cities with enormous media exposure and popular applause. A traditionally anti-papal Protestant country, but one hungry for authentic spiritual authority, was apparently won over. The pope had taken the opportunity, not only to make some general points about human rights, in the secular context, but to emphasize a highly conservative set of teachings about the internal life of the church, mostly about women and sexuality, and all very unpopular with Americans as a whole, including Catholics. This conservative message had, as its capstone, the reiteration of papal authority as the center of teaching magisterium. Enthusiasm for the pope's style had prevented most of the media from taking much notice of this.

Then Theresa Kane took the microphone in the shrine of the Immaculate Conception and the credibility of the whole image of authority projected by the pope was shattered. Few people heard much of what she said. I am sure the pope picked up only part of it. But what everyone, including the pope, could not miss was that she had asked for the inclusion of women in all the ministries of the church. She had asked for something which only a few days before the pope had declared to be impossible because, in his opinion, God's will was against it. In asking for this Sister Kane was questioning the pope's insights into the will of God! She was saying, "we don't agree with your views of God's will. We think God's will means justice for all, and this is not compatible with the exclusion of half the human race from the ministry of the church." The pope was being called to come down from his pontifical cathedra and engage in mutual search for the truth about this matter as a brother in Christ.

At that moment the spell that the pope had cast over us was broken. We knew what we had always really known,

"You can have the power
and the glory
of your carpeted offices
and big musty churches.
Just give me the homes,
the streets,
the hungry,
the lonely,
the elderly,
the rebellious youth,
the dying ...
the kingdom." *

*From testimony of a Catholic woman
in *We Are Called*, published by the
Women's Ordination Conference.

but wanted for a moment to forget, like children absorbed in a fairy tale, that the pope was another fallible human being like ourselves, culture-bound by virtue of his Polish, male and clerical culture. About some spiritual and social truths he knew considerably less than we ourselves.

What the pope said in response to this doesn't really matter. What is significant is that his famous charisma and spontaneity completely deserted him. He was unable to respond to Sister Kane at all except by a despairing hand gesture and turned instead immediately to his prepared text. The real question about his response has to do with how he will assimilate this experience in the coming months. Will it turn him to a recognition of his need to understand the experience of women, to read feminist thought, to converse with people like Sister Kane? Or rather will he throw up further defenses against this by seeking to repress the autonomy of Catholic religious women?

Rosemary Radford Ruether
Garrett Theological Seminary
Evanston, Ill.



Painful Decisions, Needless Loss

On the occasion when Sister Kane made her statement, the pope did not respond, nor has he responded directly since. His remarks that day were necessarily composed before he heard Sister Kane, and they are quite unexceptional (putting aside his plea for "simple and suitable religious garb"). But months have passed and every sign

indicates that if John Paul II heard Sister Kane at all he was, like Queen Victoria, "not amused."

Many have made excuses for this seemingly jovial, intelligent new Bishop of Rome. He is, we are told, Polish, and therefore to be excused for his intransigence in all matters dealing with changing views in the West on sexuality (clerical celibacy, birth control and family planning, abortion and women's ordination). After all, he has spoken out on matters of justice and human rights—the "really important" social issues in our world.

Abraham Lincoln once remarked that "if slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong." Millions of people, some of them Christians, are saying the same thing about sexism in our world. The pope cannot be excused for promoting injustice and repression in the church because he speaks out against them (in general terms) in the world at large.

In the Episcopal Church women are ordained to the priesthood, at least sometimes and in some places. The symbolism of that fact is enormously important and the overcoming of resistance to what it says about the humanity of women is long and slow. I have noticed, since October, a chilling of the hopes though not of the resolve of my Roman Catholic sisters called to priesthood. One or two have made the painful decision to leave their church and join ours because the call is so compelling and the church so deaf. What a sad and needless loss for the Bishop of Rome.

The Rev. Suzanne R. Hiatt
Episcopal Divinity School
Cambridge, Mass.



'Open Windows' Vs. Repression

When Theresa Kane, Religious Sister of Mercy, asked (the pope) for change in the male attitude toward women, she brought the women's movement in the church out of the shadows and into the light.

Others had tried. The insensitivity of the decision that only priests could distribute communion at papal masses outraged and spurred people around the country to plan prayer vigils, protest sexism in the church, distribute leaflets, wear armbands. Everywhere the pope went, people showed their resentment, not of John Paul himself, but of the structures that oppress.

The Catholic Church stated its official position on women priests in 1977 when it issued the "Declaration on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Priesthood," approved by Pope Paul VI. In effect, the declaration says that woman priests are taboo, and the sign of that taboo is that they lack a physical likeness to Christ. The world waited to hear John Paul's opinion. In the Philadelphia Civic Center, in an address to seminarians and priests, he expressed for the first time, his opposition to the ordination of women. The perpetuation of the myth of the superiority of man was spoken to men. The insensitivity of their immediate and sustained applause was shocking, but the signal was clear.

But the message that really gained media coverage was that of Theresa Kane's. Letters, phone calls and telegrams poured in from across the country to her office and to her motherhouse. In a few week's time, over 5,000 messages came in. The response was divided though mostly positive. The question of the "role" of women elicited irrational, emotional responses from men and women, including a Mother Sixtina, (from the same town as Phyllis Schlafly), who put an ad in the *Washington Post*

apologizing for Sister Kane's "public rudeness." "The Church," noted one woman, "has taught women well to love their oppression."

Although the pope, in effect, ignored Theresa Kane's request, a subsequent reaction was an order from the Vatican to the Superior General of the Jesuits to remove the Rev. William Callahan, S.J., from his association with Priests for Equality and with Quixote Center. Previously silenced on the subject of Women's Ordination, Callahan was told not to advocate publicly the ordination of women in opposition to "clear decisions of the Holy See."

The message is: repression can grow stronger, theologians can be brought to trial, priests can be silenced and transferred. The response is: Others come forward to say, "You can't silence all of us, You can't close the window on Vatican II."

Ruth McDonough Fitzpatrick
Women's Ordination Conference



Sr. Kane Dared To Reclaim History

Although women in my own denomination have been ordained since the late 1950's, I was as thrilled as anyone who has ever stood up against established patriarchal authority when Theresa Kane made her witness on behalf of women's ministry. That public gesture, the televised image of a woman daring to reclaim history for the sake of her sisters, spoke volumes.

In the long and often bloody struggle for justice, the act of differing in public

with a respected authority seems like a mild form of protest. Popes and other ecclesiastical authorities, however, possess the power of social ostracism, the power of economic deprivation, and most potent of all, the power to define sinfulness and righteousness, damnation or salvation.

The power to stigmatize, using the authority of heaven itself, is a powerful weapon for those who are religious. When Theresa Kane speaks of women having experienced "intense suffering and pain" as a result of their second class status in the church, she is talking about a suffering which has concrete psychic, physical, economic and political manifestations.

In later reading the full text of Theresa Kane's remarks at the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, and then in reading the pope's statements to the women religious, I was immediately struck by a profound difference in language. Theresa's simple and direct request, through its references to specific groups of people (women religious, the world's poor and oppressed), concrete events (Vatican II and the religious renewal which followed it), and their consequences for people's lives (suffering, pain, joy) reflects a sense of movement, of context and of a rootedness in history.

No matter how eloquent he may be when talking about the world's poor and oppressed, when speaking to and about women, the pope flies off into rhetorical flights of fancy. Latinisms abound, women become abstract functions whose duty it is to cloister themselves from the suffering humanity he talks about in other settings—as if women, themselves, did not constitute more than half of that suffering humanity! The church becomes a mystical object of devotion and Christ a docetic figure stripped of any resemblance to the cantankerous carpenter of Galilee who spent his time with tax collectors, working men, crazy

people, sick people, prostitutes and women who weren't to be seen or heard in public.

Perhaps my English major's nose for style and form has stumbled upon a deeper reality here. The difference between Theresa Kane and Pope John Paul II is the difference between the Hebrew and the Greek worldviews, between a religion that is rooted in the experience of the people and religion that is spun in the minds of the elite. It is the difference between the religion of the Son of Man and the religion of the Pharisees.

Theresa Kane, thank you for standing up for women, but more importantly, for calling us all back to the roots that time and again the church too easily forgets.

Sheila Collins
Board of Global Missions
United Methodist Church



Marks of Spirit Gaining Priority

If a contradiction between principle and practice can be easily swept aside by casuistic response, the context which Theresa Kane presented and the theological issues which formed the ground of her statement cannot be so easily disposed of. To these deeper formulations of the issue the pope did not respond at all. Basically, Sister Kane raised the question of "on what grounds should one be considered as qualified to request entrance to the

sacramental ministries?" She responds to this question by pointing not simply to principle but primarily to history and experience: (1) to the historical reality that women have been "catalysts of growth" for the church in the United States; (2) to the fact that women entered deeply into the renewal efforts of Vatican II; (3) to the present commitment of women in the United States to the issues of social justice as outlined by Pope John Paul himself. What emerges from these historical examples is the mark of obedience (commitment) to the church. She also appeals to the experience of women in and through this commitment as being one of joy, suffering, and pain.

I suggest that in doing this Sister Kane is drawing a powerful image of the work of the Holy Spirit. She is suggesting that the grounds for consideration for ordination are ultimately related to the marks of the Spirit in the history and life of persons. "Holiness" as a way into ordination is experientially and historically evidenced in the image of the faithfulness and suffering of Christ as he is being formed in the lives of persons. This is a far cry from the image of women religious as the "spouse" of Christ and thus with a religiously differentiated role from that of the male who is "the brother" of Christ. Sexuality as the source of priestly images is being replaced by the marks of the Spirit. The work of the Spirit—holiness—is obedience, faithfulness, joy, suffering, and commitment to the cry of the poor. The sacramental life is the ground for the sacramental ministry.

Sister Kane has spoken out of the lived life of the Gospel. To this, John Paul has no response. The ground has shifted under his feet, and he has remained oblivious of the shift.

Esther C. Stine
Associate for Leadership Development
United Presbyterian Church / USA

Continued from page 13

bishop thanks them kindly and proceeds to accept the person anyway. The Commission is not going to wrestle with hard choices if it feels that the bishop is going to make his own decisions. So the bishop, if he desires Commission members who will report hard truths as they see them, must back up their recommendations. In fact, the bishop becomes a rubber stamp for the Commission. This will increasingly be the case as bishops seek strong and able persons to serve on their Commissions.

How authority is exercised is another matter. It is a responsible body; no doubt, but it is a human body. Let's contrast the old way of the bishop acting almost unilaterally and the current system. After realizing, with their heads, the vast variety of ministries needed in today's world, both church financed and otherwise, the members of the Commission are face-to-face with an individual. The bishop, on the other hand, with that same individual considers with his head *and heart* the variety of pressing needs in his diocese; that is a natural consideration for him and the key to the process a decade ago, when the bishop alone ultimately exercised the power to determine who should be ordained. It is just as natural for the laity (it is the norm to include the laity in the interviewing process) to consider in their heart if they would want the individual as rector, or if the individual is one with whom they might share a personal problem. For the clergy on the Commission, the natural focus is on the individual as a potential colleague (or for a senior priest, if the individual would be an effective assistant). The point is that with their heads (intellectually) the Commission may have the same view as the bishop of what is desirable (or acceptable) in an applicant, but with their hearts (emotionally) the perspective is quite different from that of the bishop acting alone.

The result of a heart perspective produces, I believe, a narrower range of personality types than is likely to occur from the perspective of a bishop whose vision of the varieties of ministry is necessarily wider. It is true that individual bishops have sometimes had odd requirements and unusual standards that were unfair to individual aspirants. We don't want to go back to that system! Is the present system, however, fair to the whole church? Is it likely that a Commission on Ministry (not ours, but the one in the next diocese) will approve many of the type who, as rector, would go to a march on Washington on a Saturday, against his bishop's advice, knowing full well that he may be in jail on Sunday and leave his parish in chaos? Will it approve the type who will go to Selma for an indefinite period of time despite the disapproval of the vestry? Maybe we don't want a church full of that type, but don't we want some? Although I think pacifism is unrealistic, I nonetheless thank God for the pacifists in the Christian community who remind us that pragmatism isn't the only philosophy of life and remind us of our ideals. We need prophets and those who "walk sideways," and I'm not at all confident that the present system will provide an adequate salting of them to make the next generation of the church very tasty.

Mother Knows Best

There is more that we can say about the future product of this system than the narrowing of variety. A personality profile of that narrowed range begins to emerge. I have described, in general, the way the rules of the game change every three years. To persevere in attaining a goal under such circumstances requires an attitude of "mother church knows best." Perhaps only those with such an attitude can survive.

I have described changes in the system itself but have not described the

steps within the system. The steps of the four stages of those seeking ordination to the priesthood (applicant, postulant, candidate, deacon) are manifold. Eight are required for the applicancy alone!

The first step, quite properly, is for the aspirant to consult with his/her pastor. Subsequently the pastor would take some time with the applicant before telling him/her "to persevere." After all, careful inquiry has to be made into the physical, intellectual, moral, emotional and spiritual qualifications of the applicant! How many conferences does that take?

The canons encourage a lengthy exchange with the Commission on Ministry. It is good that the whole future of the applicants not hang on the results of a 30-minute interview, so a two or three day conference of interviews with Commission members and their consultants is common.

The latest addition by some dioceses is to institute an "Intern Training Program." In the initial process the applicant contracts to spend 10 to 12 hours each week in a parish other than his/her own for a period of from three months to a year (depending on the diocese). During that time a typical "Intern Training Program" also requires a couple of weeks of full time commitment!

Jungle of Red Tape

Some steps appear to be minor details, but some are obviously major hurdles. Each of the four stages includes an extensive list of both details and hurdles which must be filled decently and in order. Taken individually, each seems eminently reasonable and wise. It is hard to argue against a single one. But the cumulative effect is a lengthy, time-consuming, detail-conscious, bureaucratic jungle of red tape. What kind of person is most likely to put up with it for years, literally? It would make faint the heart of any aspirant zealous to get on with the Lord's work.

In an era of mid-life career changes, to hold to the theological position of the indelibility of orders requires a careful selection process and an applicant who realizes the implications of the potential commitment. It is sad, indeed, to see a person 10 years after ordination feeling trapped. We have a duty to help people avoid that.

As the present system gathers momentum the profile of the clergy will be even more sharply defined. What kind of personality is most adaptable to being told how to order life for as many as five years to fulfill the beginning of a dream? A dependent personality would respond well to such measures. Where in that pipeline will you find those who stand on their hind legs and say "*Do you want me or not?*" or "*That is my personal life and none of your business!*" or "*Stop playing games with me.*"? Those who sail through are more likely to be passively exclaiming, "*I appreciate all your attention (only give me more)*" and "*Isn't it wonderful the way the church cares for us*" and "*I'm*

learning so much about myself with all this feedback."

This may appear as a harsh indictment of the system. But my sense of what is subconsciously operative is harsher still. Applicants are convinced that the Holy Spirit has called them to the ordained ministry. Theologically and emotionally it is a humbling and fearsome prospect to say, "No, you are not called. I will not permit you to proceed." It is far easier to construct an obstacle course with the rationalization that those who complete the course *must* be called by God. Good-hearted people, with the best of intentions, construct it. The survivors get ordained. The survivors of a patronizing and manipulative obstacle course become the leaders of the church in the 21st century.

That system needs to be evaluated in terms of the types of persons needed for the ordained ministry in the future, and re-designed to function in a way that will encourage such persons to answer God's call. ■

Continued from page 7

opposed by the giant companies such as U.S. Steel and Republic Steel. These same companies which seek to maintain their freedom to close, wish to deny the local community freedom to reopen. They want Jones-Connable without the obligation to modernize Youngstown, without even an obligation to keep steel viable in America. They not only close these mills, but stand in the forefront of the opposition to the community's effort to survive and renew its steel production.

It is clear to us in Youngstown and elsewhere in the tri-state area that the process of disinvestment poses major problems for America and American security. But the underlying reason for concern continues to be what happens to people, to the common good, to the Youngtowns and Pittsburghs of the country? In one direction we find the

popular wisdom that these are structural changes made necessary by economic logic. But in another direction—and it is our direction—we see new opportunities to help communities and workers help America be independent of foreign steel by rebuilding and reclaiming its own steel capacity and its need for steel in solar and rail transport needs of the future. Loan guarantees, interest subsidies and tax depreciation schedules may all offer various answers, when properly qualified, to steel modernization in this country. But it should be a modernization for high moral purpose: for the productive future of America and its people; for their homes, churches, schools, hospitals and communities. Any steel policy that does not renew our steel towns and our country is ethically and morally unacceptable. ■

Continued from page 2

"radical resolution," somehow endangering the very existence of Castle & Cooke and the entire free enterprise system. The proponents of the resolution are caricatured (not by name, but by implication) as dupes of a sinister international Marxist plot. These church groups supposedly use their vast financial resources to fund terrorists and manipulate the media.

In fact, the scenario is a bit different. The United Church of Christ, which initiated the resolution, is the parent church of Samuel Castle and Amos Cooke, the two 19th century lay missionaries who founded the company. The Passionists, a Catholic religious order, co-filed the resolution out of concern for Castle & Cooke's Philippine workers, 80% of whom are parishioners of Passionist missions in Mindanao. The Christian Church also co-filed and likewise has missions in developing countries where the company operates.

The illogic of Mr. Kirchhoff's heavy-handed assault on these church communities is ultimately based on an incomplete understanding of the mission of the church. The church is called to service, but this is not, as Mr. Kirchhoff would have it, the fullness of "sound religious commitment," beyond which any other form of social involvement becomes some sort of vile secularism. There is also the prophetic dimension of Judaeo-Christian tradition. Isaiah and Jeremiah stood in the courts of the kings and called to task the powerful of their times for failing to place the welfare of the poor and oppressed first.

One might ask who is overstepping whose bounds when a corporate executive can say, "We must overcome Western Civilization's growing sense of guilt. There is nothing evil about profit... our path, rather than theirs, offers more hope for the future."

Lawrence M. Rich
Passionist Social Concerns Center
Union City, N.J.

(Editor's note: More letters to the editor concerning the Kirchhoff/Kalke articles, as well as responses to William Stringfellow's open letter to the Presiding Bishop in the January issue, will appear in the April WITNESS).

Kudos for December

I often dismantle my issue of THE WITNESS and extract articles for filing for future reference. I thought it ironical as I clipped the articles by Richard Gillet, Helen Caldicott and John Gessell from the December issue that in the remnant was a letter from Mrs. Terry M. Diehl cancelling her subscription because she "could find no point in the author's ramblings" for the past six months.

I suggest you send Mrs. Diehl a complimentary copy of the December issue so that she may have the exposure of the excellent work done by the three mentioned authors.

Could it be that Mr. Gillett is on target when he quotes from John Gardner of Common Cause: "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." Your December issue was superb.

Thomas O. Feamster, Jr.
Paris, Tenn.

For Nuclear Energy

Like many others, I find myself provoked by some of your articles. I certainly don't agree with some of your writers, whom I think are still "journeying" in some of their views. But the strength of a community is its ability to reconcile divergent views in love and peace — so I read every issue thoroughly, hopefully with an open heart.

I am a Nuclear Engineer, so I am interested, to say the least, in some of the views expressed in your magazine on nuclear weapons and nuclear power. My prayer is that the controversy over these issues can be resolved through the

inspiration of the Holy Spirit. My hope is that we have a caring and sensitive expansion of power generation by nuclear stations, with due attention given to the pressing needs of waste disposal and operator training. I believe our nation needs this source of energy, without disregarding the supplemental role of conservation and alternate sources.

I deeply support your attention to the poor and oppressed. The ordination of women I consider to be God's will, so let's get on with it! Also, we Christians should work to draw nearer to the other great communities of faith. The current events in the Muslim world cry out for our understanding!

Earl A. Turner, Jr.
Walnut Creek, Cal.

Nice Christmas Package

I love the December WITNESS including the cover! The star is both "Christmas-y" and explosive -- a sign of history past and future and of the articles within. "Another Time, Another Mary" seems at the same time prophetic and inviting rebellion. A very well put-together package!

Annette Jecker
W. Milford, N.J.

Impressed by Caldicott

I am tremendously impressed by the relevance, clarity and potential in "At the Crossroads of Time" by Dr. Helen Caldicott in your December issue. It is the best thing I've seen on this subject. The writer makes the sometimes confusing complexities of nuclear power so penetratingly clear.

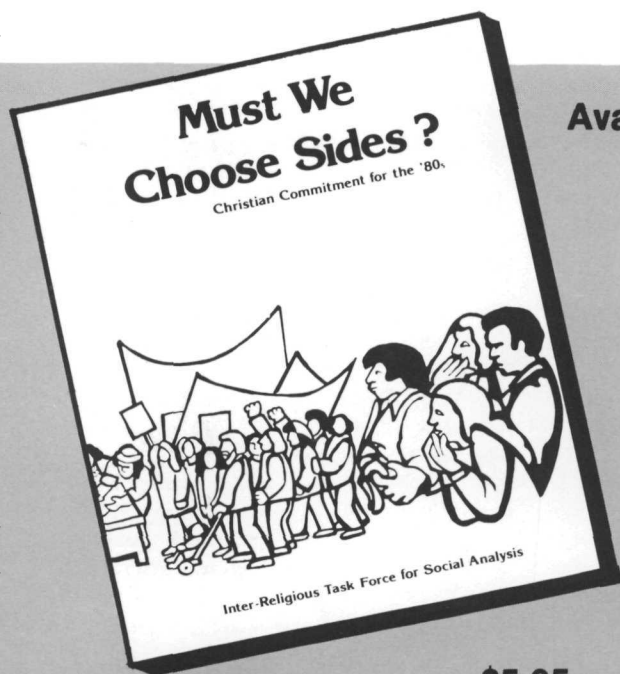
Don West
Pipestem, W. Va.

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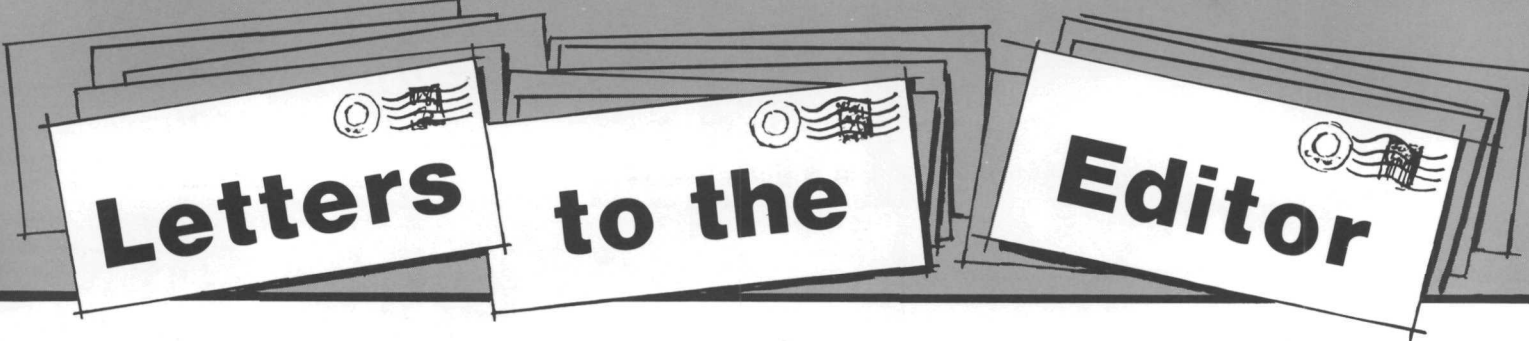
Black Church & Social Change

William Howard
Mattie Hopkins
Cornel West



Lessons From Three Decades Of Civil Rights

Anne Braden



Letters

to the

Editor

Forum for Controversy

This is simply a reflection of my feelings, intended as support for the work which you are doing. I particularly address your publishing of William Stringfellow's "An Open Letter to the Presiding Bishop" in your January issue. This took courage to publish, and I for one, greatly respect that courage.

Although I do not feel as strongly as Mr. Stringfellow, I think that the church today very much needs to hear this sort of thing. I am delighted to see THE WITNESS allow itself to be used as such a forum.

I have had the experience of writing for publications whose editors have chosen to rewrite my material to remove any suggestion of controversy and give the material a "rose tinted" hue which was not intended. This sort of thing must be countered with efforts such as yours. Bravo for taking the risk.

The Rev. Richard Bridgford
Norfolk, Va.

Support Stringfellow

For a long time we have been aware of the absence of any stand on vital issues on the part of the Presiding Bishop, John Allin. Furthermore, we were shocked when the Presiding Bishop ignored his subpoena to testify at the Wendt Trial. We were shocked at his remarkable position taken contrary to the General Convention against women priests. And more than anything else we were shocked that he was partially the cause of imprisonment and then total lack of support of the two women on the Hispanic desk, who for their Christian ethics went to jail—receiving no assistance until under pressure a meager sum was squeezed out of the Presiding Bishop's discretionary fund.

We also call for the resignation of John Allin as Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, U.S.A. Thank you, Mr. Stringfellow, for having the courage to write your Open Letter to THE WITNESS, which has expressed, and pinpointed, the feelings of a vast number of the membership of the Episcopal

Church, both lay and clergy.

And to THE WITNESS, thank you for your courage in sharing and giving us the opportunity in turn to express our beliefs.

Frances L. E. Ruegg
Mary F. Brinley
Chestnut Hill, Pa.

Christian Candor?

I ought perhaps preface this comment on William Stringfellow's Open Letter to the Presiding Bishop by stating that "I am not now, and never have been" a great defender of Bishop Allin's occupancy of his office. Still, I am moved to rise to his defense in not replying to the Stringfellow letter, as I would to the defense of anyone subjected to such an onslaught.

In the name of pastoral responsibility and concern for Bishop Allin as a human being, Stringfellow supplies him with a crushing picture of himself which is neither objectively verifiable nor subjectively tolerable. His "image of

Continued on page 22

An Open Letter to William Stringfellow

My brother, peace! I write this letter within the context of my deep respect for you, and my sincere admiration for your work and ministry. I write also in basic agreement with your "Open Letter to the Presiding Bishop." I do not write to attack, or to disagree, but to seek, with you, to serve our church and the Church Universal through ache, mutual search and mutual hope.

I wonder if, in your own Open Letter, you do not miss something of the special and unique charism of our beloved PECUSA? Believe me, as a radical myself, I am not sure I like taking a

"conservative" side. And I am *not* saying that "though what you write is true look what we have done!" I am saying rather that I see our church and the Anglican Communion of which it is a part as the singular most prophetic manifestation of Catholic Christianity in centuries.

Two questions come to mind. Though what you write is true and I applaud your integrity and your courage, do you see this other side of which I speak? If so, the second question: Given this special charism of our Communion and church, is not the Presiding Bishop—necessary as he might be for order and

organization—somewhat of a non-issue? What I am saying is, (and I accuse myself of this) do we not spend too much energy in anger over little people who ultimately have little to say? The Presiding Bishop may not swallow the ordination of women but the ordination of women is a fact and it will be the women and not the P.B. who will overcome. The Presiding Bishop (and many another) might be cruel to homophiles—but the persons who are so oriented will overcome. And for every John Allin there is a Paul Moore, a

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THE WITNESS

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Cult, Cause & Commitment

Robert L. DeWitt

How do we keep hoping in the face of discouragement? How do we maintain a faith when it is challenged by harsh and bitter realities? These questions, unasked, were nevertheless brooding in the atmosphere in Indianapolis in mid-February when some 500 laity, priests and bishops met to form an Episcopal Urban Caucus.

Gathered together were many who had been prominently identified with the significant issues of social mission which have claimed national attention over the past two decades. Stubborn issues, refusing to go away. A case in point is the continuing tragedy of racism, addressed in many of the pages of this issue of THE WITNESS. A casual observer might have found the tone and resolutions of the assembly quite predictable, and might well have felt it was all just an emotional and ineffective exercise recalling the hemorrhaging hearts of the do-gooders of the '60s.

But such an evaluation would have missed a deeper dimension of what was going on. The social mission of the church for some years has fallen on hard times. Those gathered at the Assembly were the weary warriors who had not bowed the knee to Baal, and were looking for the consolation of Israel. Indeed, the analogy is suggestive. During the great feast days in ancient Israel, the league of tribes gathered for a deeply meaningful cultic event. On those occasions they recalled what God had done for them, and what God expected of them. And out of this cultic remembering there arose a new resolve that strengthened them to be faithful to their side of the covenant. Those great feast days were

precursors of the Easter Festival which, in commemorating the Resurrection, looks back in gratitude to a mighty deliverance by God, and looks forward to a life of renewed faithfulness. Christians signalize this heritage of gratitude when they sing the familiar Easter hymn:

*Come, ye faithful, raise the strain
Of triumphant gladness.
God hath brought this Israel
Into joy from sadness . . .*

Indianapolis was in that tradition. Not one vital cause was left unnamed in the lengthy litany of social concerns. It was a cultic event. It was a remembering, and a resolve. As in those days of ancient Israel, when the tribes of Judah, of Manasseh, Levi and the others would have their own particular input of remembrance and concern, so it was at this assembly. Women, Hispanics, Blacks, Appalachians, those on relief—each was anxious to hold up its concerns to the other “tribes.” And out of these shared concerns came a common resolve. This league, like ancient Israel, had a sense of solidarity, manifested in their electing a governing board of four bishops, four clergy and eight lay persons. These have been charged with the responsibility of gathering up the intercessions in the assembly’s “litany” and establishing coherence and priorities for the actions to follow.

As with the community-building efforts of ancient Israel and of the early Christians, so it is

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*The civil rights movement did not die
a natural death; it was aborted by wealth and power.
Lessons learned during that struggle merit
serious study in the '80s as the political Right
gains momentum.*

Civil Rights Movement: How It Succeeded, How It Failed

by Anne Braden

I want to recall the history of the civil rights movement of recent decades in this country, not as history in the abstract, but because I think this movement provides lessons that this nation needs desperately to hear at this moment. In fact, I think that the very future of this country, and maybe whether we have a future or not, depends on whether the lessons produced by that movement are heard and heeded.

What we usually call the civil rights movement developed in the Southern United States in the late '40s, and actually continues to this day. But unfortunately there is a great deal of confusion about exactly what this movement represents and what happened to it.

Anne Braden is an Episcopalian journalist who has been active in movements for civil rights, civil liberties, peace and labor for the past 33 years. She is co-chair of the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice, and vice-chairperson of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. Her recent address at Haverford College, sponsored by Students for Democratic Education was taped for THE WITNESS by Muhammad Kenyatta. Excerpts appear above.

One reason is that a couple of myths have arisen. The first myth tells us that the civil rights movement achieved its goals and simply faded off the scene. That is patently untrue. The civil rights movement accomplished many things, but it did not achieve its basic goal. In the early days people involved in the movement used to talk about what they called the Beloved Community. Just what that meant was not always spelled out but it was a powerful idea, and because people believed in that idea they were willing to risk their lives. Some of them died, gripped and inspired by the vision of a whole new world. And that basically was what the civil rights movement was about. The Beloved Community was not just to be people loving each other, although that was certainly a part of it. It was to be a just and fair society, a society in which racism and oppression had been eliminated. That was the goal; obviously, it was not accomplished.

To emphasize that, let me give a few facts. In Mississippi in the 1960s black people represented 26% of the state's poor people (poor by official government standards). By the mid-'70s that percentage had risen to 34%. In the 1960s in Harlem the infant mortality

rate among blacks was 37 deaths for every 1000 babies born; in 1976 it had gone up to 43. Among black teenagers the suicide rate *doubled* between 1965 and 1975. A few years ago the median income among black families in this country was about 62% of the median income of white families, but the latest figures show that black median income is 57% of white, getting worse. A few years ago unemployment rates among black people were 1½ times as high as among whites. Today black unemployment rates are 2½ times as high as among whites. Again, getting worse.

The most appalling situation of course is the unemployment figure for black youth. Even by official government figures, at least one third of our black youth cannot find jobs. But according to unofficial and certainly more accurate surveys that have been made by groups like the Urban League, at least 60% can't find jobs. And in some inner cities the figure is 75 and 80%. A whole generation of young black people in this country is systematically being destroyed. It doesn't take much imagination to figure where a lot of them will end up—either in prison, or in military service, or dead. This is a

national disaster, and the fact that it is not being treated as such is evidence of how deeply ingrained racism is in the United States. I'll guarantee you that if 75% of young white people couldn't find jobs, something would be done. So the idea that the civil rights movement won its goals and faded out of existence is clearly a myth.

And then there is the second myth, the totally opposite view, that the civil rights movement accomplished nothing at all except to elevate a few blacks into positions of prestige and/or into the middle class, and left life for the masses unchanged. And a corollary to this myth: the goals were really unattainable, so people just got frustrated and gave up. But that is not true either. In the first place the civil rights movement accomplished some remarkable things. It tore down the structure of public segregation in the South. Twenty years ago people said that was impossible. And it won the right to vote for *everybody* in the South. I grew up in Alabama in the days of rigid segregation, and I don't know anybody who would want to go back to the days when it was worth a black man's life to walk into a white

restaurant. Or when whites who challenged the status quo could also be met by howling mobs. As for the vote, it may not have made a revolution, and black elected officials don't always do what the black man and woman on the street wish they would do. But if one is going down to city hall to protest police brutality, or to the school board to try to deal with racism, it makes a difference if there are some black people in public office.

Beyond these concrete achievements, there is the undeniable fact that the civil rights movement changed the way millions of people in this country think. It certainly changed the way black people think. For it spread across the land the conviction that blacks didn't have to continue to live in the oppression under which they lived for 300 years. It changed the way many white people think, too, and made them reexamine the racist history of this country.

But I have another theory about what happened to the civil rights movement. Neither did it accomplish its goals and fade away, nor did the people involved in it grow frustrated and quit. I think that beginning in the mid and late 1960s

that movement was thrown into temporary disarray because it came under a staggering and sustained attack by powerful forces in this nation which were determined to kill it. Thus, it became an aborted revolution. It is important to understand what those in power did and why they did it. To do that we must analyze just what the civil rights movement represented, what it accomplished and why people in power were afraid of it.

The modern civil rights movement had its beginning in Montgomery, Ala., in December of 1955 with the Montgomery bus boycott. It was not the first time that blacks had fought for freedom. That had been going on since the first slave ship arrived on these shores. But Montgomery marked a qualitative change. Black people in Montgomery decided in mass that they would take no more, that they would not be second class citizens any longer. And they moved. And from there the concern spread, as there were more bus boycotts in cities and hamlets all across the South. People challenged at first the symbols of segregation, such as segregation in public accommodations. But they also challenged segregated



hospitals that had been letting black people die on waiting room floors. They challenged segregated schools, and black children walked through the mobs to go to token desegregated schools in those days. In 1960, a new generation of black students came onto the scene, moving into action, sitting at the lunch counters, going to jail, winning victories. And then moving out into the community in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama—the deep South—to organize young and old people to win the vote and human dignity. Across the whole country, people were catching that spirit of freedom, and demanding change. A mass movement of black people in this country started in the South and spread from there. It was a movement joined first by a few and then by great numbers of white people who said: Your struggle is our struggle. You are fighting for all of us. We'll go to jail too, and we'll die if necessary. And some of them did. Let's look at the setting in which that happened.

In 1955 this nation was gripped by a great silence, a great social fear. After World War II the people who own and run this country moved to try to control the world and establish the "American century." So they set out to do what they called "containing communism." At home they tried to move to regain the ground they had lost during the upsurges of people's movements in the 1930s, when this nation's industrial workers organized for the first time and forced economic reforms. So we had the witch hunts, the Red scare, the loyalty oath, the purges, the splitting of the labor movement. We had the beginning of "the silent '50s." And then, in the most suppressed section—the black community—and in the most unlikely of all places—the cradle of the Confederacy, Montgomery, Ala.—a new movement started. Over the next decade it grew into mass proportions and the results were electric and

contagious. Suddenly white students found that they, also could speak and act. In California, white students were inspired by what black students were doing in the South and from California that student movement spread all across the country. About the mid-'60s, among women and other sections of the population, a massive movement was building to stop the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In the early '70s it won the support of the majority of the people in this country and stopped the war.

Let's never forget that the people of this country organized and turned their government around and away from the crimes it was committing at that time in



Southeast Asia. Meantime, catching the winds of the times, poor people across the country, white as well as black, jobless people in Appalachia as well as displaced black sharecroppers in Mississippi, were also organizing. White women began to talk about their own oppression as women and we had the beginning of the new women's liberation movement. Suddenly white workers in the South began to think about what the black freedom movement meant for the mid-'60s. They began to see that it was to their advantage to link up with that movement. Black and white woodcutters, for example, in the mid-

'60s began to organize in the deep South.

In the mid-'60s the civil rights movement moved on from the symbols of segregation to address itself to economic issues. People in the movement across the South were beginning to say: "What good is it to be able to sit at a lunch counter if I don't have money to buy a hamburger?" So the movement began to look to the struggle for jobs and the right to organize a union. And in 1968 the Poor People's campaign was launched, designed to unite poor Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans and Whites in this country in a giant demand that this nation reorder its priorities and begin to deal with the needs of people. Martin Luther King, Jr. went to Memphis to help the garbage workers there in their fight for a union. The way was being cleared for a massive merging of the civil rights movement and a new grass roots labor movement in this country.

If you were one of the people in power when all this was happening—one of the people who owned and controlled the nation's resources—what would you have been thinking? Obviously, that movement was threatening your wealth and your power. I think you would have done everything you could to stop it. And that precisely is what the people who run this country did. They saw that the key to the whole thing was the black freedom movement, and if they could destroy or even cripple it temporarily, they could destroy the whole movement, or at least delay it for their lifetime. So Martin Luther King was murdered in Memphis. Key organizers of the black freedom movement across the land were suddenly under attack. Some were murdered in cold blood—as witness the attack on the Black Panthers. Many more black organizers were framed on ridiculous charges and sent to prison for long terms. Meanwhile those in power moved to

weaken and destroy organizations, to infiltrate them, to co-opt people who could be co-opted.

Don't ever let anyone tell you that the movement in the late '60s and early '70s simply died. At the very moment when it was on the verge of accomplishing some basic changes in this society, it was at least a temporary victim of the people who wanted to kill it and knew that it was in their interest to do so. The fallout from that massive attack of the late '60s set in motion forces that plagued us all through the decade of the '70s, and pose a grave danger to the future of this country.

Racism, which had been on the defensive through the '60s because of the force of the civil rights movement, was on the offensive again. In academic halls, pseudo-scholars began to peddle ideas that had been discredited decades ago about light-skinned people being superior to dark-skinned people. The Ku Klux Klan, which had been virtually destroyed by the momentum of the '60s movement, had a resurgence all across the country. The courts began to retreat on human rights issues. Congress began fencing in the civil rights legislation it had passed a decade earlier. Suddenly the idea of so-called reverse discrimination was gaining popularity. We were being told that black people had made too much progress, and it was white people who were discriminated against. That is what is being said by the Ku Klux Klan, and a lot of people are listening to it. Klan leaders say that they are for equality for everybody, but right now, black people are getting everything, and somebody has got to protect the rights of white people.

That is why the Klan has come to Decatur, Ill., to San Rafael, Cal., and why it's going to Long Island, N.Y. Those who argue for reverse discrimination in court rooms, academic halls, and respectable publications may say it more politely, but they are also saying the same thing.

If those things weren't being propagated in high places, the Klan couldn't be reviving as it is today. At the beginning of the 1980s we probably face the greatest time of crisis that has ever existed since the birth of this nation. We are living in a moment when society is literally falling apart before our eyes. The economy is in trouble, people are finding it hard to survive, middle-class people as well as the poor. Our cities are decaying, our school systems are deteriorating, and many people are becoming cynical. And the only answers the people who run this society seem to have is to build more and bigger prisons, and to spend more and more of our nation's resources on so-called defense when we already have enough nuclear arms to blow up the world several times.

In this situation, thousands or maybe millions of white people are being sold on the idea that if they can't get a job it is because a black person got the job as the result of an affirmative action program. And if they don't have enough to live on because prices and taxes are too high, it's because their pay checks are being eaten up by government spending on so-called give-away programs to blacks.

If enough white people become convinced that it is blacks and other people of color in this country who are causing their problems, then the needed scapegoat has been found. We can well have the potential mass-base for fascism in this country. We don't have a fascist society at this point, but the foundation for a police state is being laid.

We are the richest country in the world. But the people who run the economy are either unwilling, unable,

or both, to make the changes necessary to insure enough for everybody. In that situation, the people in power have apparently made a *de facto* decision—that if there is not enough for everybody, black people and other people of color can do without. If there is not enough decent housing for everybody, black people can live in slums. If there is not enough good health care for everybody, blacks can die young. The very essence of racism is the proposition that where burdens are to be borne, black people must bear them.

But once we tell people they are going to be oppressed, in actions if not in words, they are going to rebel. Eventually those in power are going to have to set up a police state to keep them under control. The task of the police will not be to protect, but to control the community. And that is why we are seeing all over this country a rise in crimes of police against the people, and that is why they are building more and more prisons. Ultimately, a police state must use storm troopers. And that's what the KKK, small in size now, could be.

Before the civil rights movement, the South was the closest thing to a police state that ever existed in this country. The people who ran it in the old days had decided that if there were burdens to be borne, the blacks could bear them. To maintain that state of affairs they had to create a police state. What some of us who are white learned was that once that happened, it imprisoned not only blacks, but us as well, except for a few in power.

It took the blood and the tears of the civil rights movement and it took the lives of some to break that police state. We were able to do it only because we had help from all over the country; it is almost impossible to break a police state from within. I suggest that if the South moves backward, the political climate moves to the right, and the

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CREDITS

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Gospel Liberation Themes: A Challenge to Blacks

by William Howard

Some writers indicate that the Black Church's deviation from its militant mission became more pronounced soon after the Civil War. Then, legal slavery had ended and the challenge of giving order and normalcy to black life was first on the agenda. By no means was the black community ever free from tyranny and intimidation in this period; if anything white terrorism showed a marked increase.

But clearly we can say that for the first time during their history in the United States, black people were in a position to proclaim what they wanted, not just what they *didn't* want. They were able for the first time on these shores to complete the phrase: "TO BE FREE IS. . ."

There were three options: they could return to their African homeland; they could struggle to build a structurally more just society in the United States; or they could work to be included in the on-going life of the young nation.

Our history will show that each of these options was pursued by different segments of the black population, although at the time the primary motive of each group was to insure its survival in the best way it knew how. The choosing of options in a detached and objective way was too sophisticated a luxury for a people newly freed from



bondage in a hostile environment.

But clearly, far more Africans chose to work for "civil rights" within the context of the given America, than chose to repatriate to Africa or to work for the fundamental transformation of the socio-political order of the country.

To this very day, those of us who consider "inclusion" to be the best alternative still prevail, and this is just as true in the church as it is in the greater community of black persons. We have seemingly put all our marbles together in one basket. Either we win an equal opportunity here in the United States or we will go down trying. This perspective is being promoted by some black people and a few liberal white people as the

only chance for authentic liberation and human fulfillment that is available to this country's black population. This has been the line of all the major civil rights organizations, and it has certainly been the line of those pastors and churches which have cried out for justice over these many years. But who among us has asked about the implications of inclusion? Inclusion for whom and for what? Who among us has really analyzed what it means to be included in the political, economic and social system in which we live? Such analysis would surely reveal that not only is it impossible for us to have justice within the present order, but as long as the machinery of this order

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functions, and functions well, it continues to insure imperialistic domination of peoples in most other parts of the world. And in the face of this conclusion, which road do we choose? Perhaps that is the most important question for us in this generation. Will we confine our struggle for a just society to a domestic affair or are we searching for international or global conceptions of the factors which control our fate?

It is imperative for the Black Church to meet these questions head on and to explore them to their greatest depths, because more and more our congregations are stimulated by what they observe in their daily lives, to question much of what we have taught in the past. It is hardly likely that many will derive a clearer understanding of our world order if it does not come from the church.

What earthly message can the Black Church bring to explain corruption in high places; what explanation can it bring to rising inflation, the declining value of the dollar on international markets; what explanation for the rising trade deficits or the high rate of unemployment among our youth?

Or better yet, how can black clergy who worked so hard for Jimmy Carter explain why his performance for the poor has been so lacking?

Could it be that our understanding of the situation is faulty? Do we still presume that if a few well-intended, good people could just be placed in the proper positions, then they will

"The Black Church which teaches that upward class mobility, the acquisition of things, and electoral politics are the best signs of hope against the lingering ravages of slavery is a Black Church which is doomed to be judged by its own sermons."

maneuver and make things better? Then, we really have not yet realized that the structure of our society breeds injustice. Its very fabric breeds oppression and requires selfish competitiveness. *And* it is this structure that we want to include us—this structure in which we have chosen to sink or swim. Do we think that we can humanize a structurally unjust system by participating in it, or is it really our hope to get in on the action—corruption, greed and all the rest—and “git while the gittin’ is good?” If the latter is our hope, we have not only abandoned the large majority of our people and our link with the radical origins of the Black Church, but we have given up all claim to Christ’s Gospel itself.

What, then can be our alternate course? Is it not our charge to build this kingdom on earth? Is not this kingdom a center of life, of love, of caring one for another? Is it not that place where animal and plant life are in harmony, where race and class no longer contain human relations? Where conservation and ecology abound? Where each person has his worth?

Oh, what a beautiful city!

But will we ever get there? Will the *new day* just evolve from nothing? Do we think, one morning when we rise up, we will magically look out upon the

acceptable year of the Lord, without struggling to free the captives or to give sight to the blind?

We know that day will never come. And we know in our hearts that if the new day will come, it will be the least of our brethren who bring it.

That is precisely where our whole Black Church tradition hangs in the balance: will it continue to preach the coming of a new day without taking up its cross and ushering the new day in? Will it continue to disdain oppression, while pushing hard to be enveloped by a structure that proliferates oppression?

Our people need opportunities to think and examine without fear “what are the chains that bind them in this world.” Just a little bit of observation will tell us that these chains are not confined to our neighborhood; not even confined to our city, state or nation. Instead, we will learn that one of our greatest and most formidable enemies is a world-wide economic system which thrives on cheap labor, which thrives on cheap natural resources, which thrives on an almost mindless, insatiable public bent on *consumerism*. This system respects no national boundaries, and those who would resist it are compelled to reach out to people of many nations to form relationships of solidarity and mutual opposition.

Without these global relationships with other oppressed peoples we are unable to recognize certain relevant signs of God’s kingdom. This will be true because we will be too blinded by our own luxury and flamboyance. We will be too limited by our own conviction that to consume is superior. More and more, the Black Church which teaches that upward class mobility, the acquisition of things, and electoral politics are the best signs of hope against the lingering ravages of slavery, is a Black Church which is doomed to be judged by its own sermons. ■

In Partnership With Apartheid

My remarks today will focus on observations made in connection with our 17 day visit to South Africa. I first want to attempt to describe, in some measure, the South African arrangement. The apartheid system in South Africa is brutally enforced by the police and upheld by racist laws which represent a daily violation of the humanity of the black population in South Africa. We talked to a number of business leaders among white South Africans who fully agree with that estimate. The South African government does not recognize black humanity.

One could say, "Well this is bad and we oppose it, but what does this have to do with U.S. foreign policy?" The U.S. involvement with that racist regime—the economic, political, diplomatic, military, and cultural ties between our government and the apartheid regime of South Africa—constitutes a partnership of serious import. Three hundred and fifty U.S. business corporations operate there. These 350 U.S. corporations employ about 60,000 blacks in mostly menial, low-paying jobs with no union and another 40,000 whites, mostly in upper salary, white collar occupations and managerial positions. These circumstances put the U.S. government and our corporations in an uneasy partnership with South African apartheid.

Economically the apartheid regime needs a 7% annual growth rate. From their own capital they can generate 3 to 3½% a year or about half of what they need. The system needs \$600 million to \$2 billion a year in new capital to grow. If we insist upon disinvestment because of disenfranchisement, then we would make a valid contribution to the liberation of black people in South Africa.

What do South African blacks think U.S. companies

should be doing? Although opinion is divided, most think they should be disinvesting. We talked to dozens of workers in American owned plants and none of them were willing to compromise a few token concessions of an affirmative action type as a substitute for their full human rights in South Africa. Black South Africans who talk of disinvestment do so in private conversation for to do so publicly would be to risk jail. They informed us that Section 2 of the "Terrorism Act" prohibited any South African or "non-citizen" (i.e. blacks) from arguing the case for disinvestment under penalty of a minimum of five years in prison.

We met with the leaders of the Mobil Corporation of South Africa at Mobil House in Capetown. When we asked the company leadership if the oil they sell to the South African government is resold to Rhodesia and was thereby in violation of the embargo that is supposed to be effect, they replied that the South African "Official Secrets Act" prevents them, by law, from answering any questions regarding where they get their oil or to whom they sell it. Furthermore, they said that the General Law Amendment Act of 1974 requires them to apply to the minister of economic affairs to get permission to answer questions like the one we were asking. This is an example of the extent to which U.S. corporations accommodate the rules of the apartheid regime.

We visited Ford in South Africa and found that 80% of its labor force is nonwhite, but 88% of its supervisors and managers are white. We asked the representatives of the Ford plant management if their company was in compliance with U.S. Commerce Department regulations issued in February of 1978, regarding sales to the South African government (police and military). Their reply was the following: "Our company has told us that these regulations apply to U.S. origin products only, but that products licensed elsewhere can be sold to the South African government." They went on to say that about 10% of their sales are to the South African government and that they hesitate to refuse sales because the government has the power to affect a general boycott of Ford products in the South African market.

We visited General Motors of South Africa, their assembly and manufacturing plant in Port Elizabeth. They

The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, national director of Operation P.U.S.H. (People United to Save Humanity), spent 17 days touring South Africa in July, 1979, at the invitation of the United Congregational Church of South Africa and Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches. The above is excerpted from the Rev. Jackson's testimony before the House Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Africa Sept. 6, 1979, and reprinted with permission of the *Corporate Examiner*, publication on the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility.

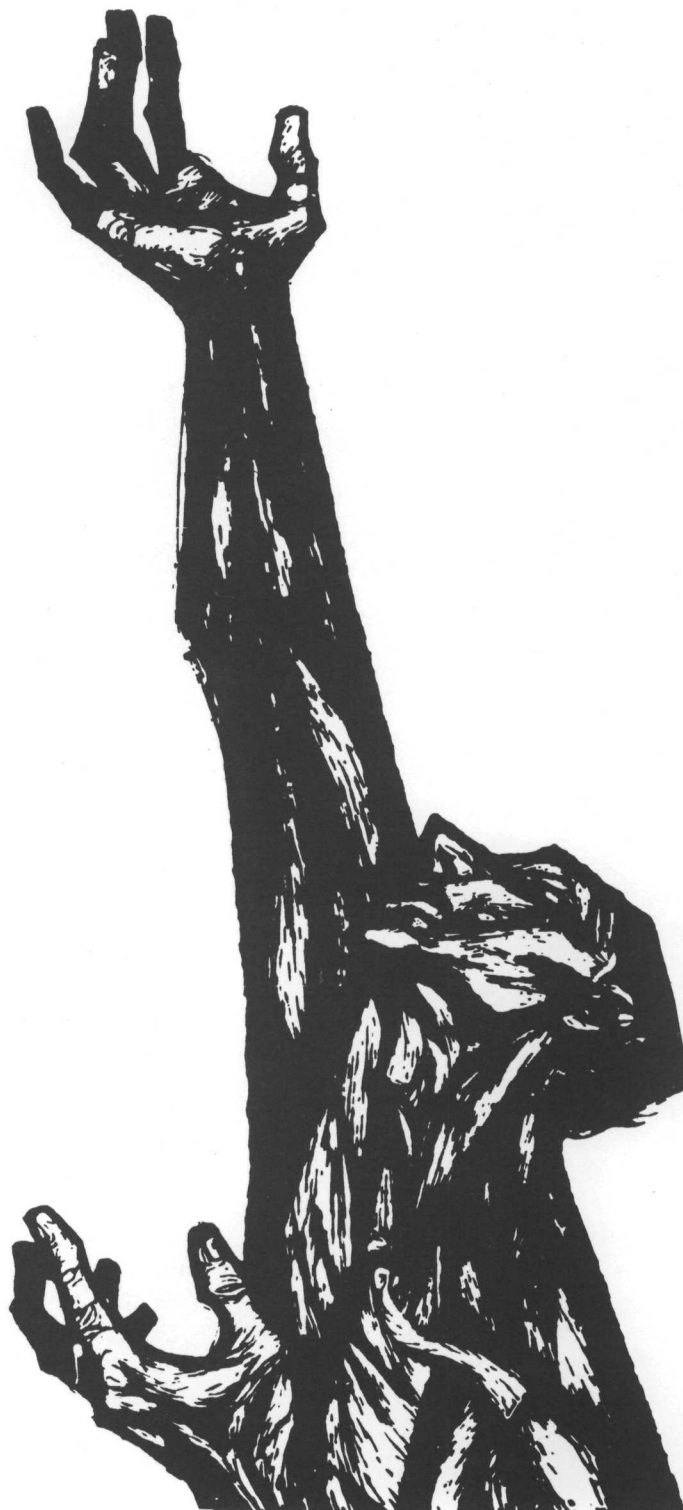
by Jesse Jackson

have one African foreman and no black employees in such white collar jobs as the timekeeping department. We asked the leaders of the GM plant how they would describe their relations with the South African government. Their response was, "Good. The South African government is a big customer."

In terms of assessing current U.S. policy toward South Africa, it is clear that the United States is a partner with South Africa, with its capital in the form of investments and loans. And capital attracts capital. The United States contributes to the social acceptance of South Africa. U.S. companies exploit cheap labor. U.S. companies abide by South African law. Additionally, South Africa makes \$1.2 billion a year from the sale of the gold krugerrand and more than half of this amount, roughly \$600 million, is money or foreign exchange earned by South Africa from sales of the krugerrand in the American market. So America must make a decision about South Africa. The United States must determine which side of history it chooses to be on.

Finally, if I may be permitted a very personal word. Some persons were critical of us because they said, "You haven't been here long enough and you don't understand apartheid." And there may be some things that I do not understand about South African apartheid. But I doubt there are many. I told the press when they challenged me, "*You* apparently don't understand. I was born and bred in apartheid—not in South Africa, but in South Carolina." The division on color is nothing new to me. I waited on tables. I catted and shined shoes while the white boy was the cashier. I grew up where it was against the law for a black boy to know what a white boy knew. I know about the signs in buses reading, "Colored from the rear." I know about "Three-fifth human," Plessy vs. Ferguson, "Separate but Equal," Dred Scott, "A black's got no rights that a white man must respect." I told them, "Maybe y'all don't know me, but I know y'all."

Change is going to come in South Africa. Whether it will be essentially economic, political and peaceful or whether violent and relatively sudden is yet to be determined. This lies largely in the hands of those with power in Pretoria. I am also convinced that the United States for moral, economic, political, national interest and national security reasons ought to help facilitate the change there.





7 Tensions Enroute To Social Revolution

by Mattie Hopkins

The following is a condensed version of the keynote address given by Mattie Hopkins before 500 persons at the Indianapolis Assembly in February which organized the new Episcopal Urban Caucus. Ms. Hopkins is an educator and community activist from Chicago.

You are being asked to join a revolution! Now, I was warned by a long-time friend not to use inflammatory words that would upset people and turn them off. I mean, by revolution, something very simple—an elementary dictionary definition. I mean a complete change, a turning around in ways of thinking and acting. Let me paraphrase from the paper Dr. Nathan Wright presented at the Convocation of Black Episcopalians in April 1978:

Our accustomed approaches to the world reflect the self-interest and limited life experiences of one particular group of the human family . . . The unfortunate aspect

of such an approach is that all who are brought up in a pro-white culture tend to think and feel and act in pro-white ways.

So first, we need a revolution against this pro-white view of the world.

Now we should all recognize that there has been a revolution of self-perception among Black Americans, among Hispanics, among Native Americans, Asians and others. This has also been generally true among the colonized, exploited and impoverished people of the world. However, the church has not been attuned, nor particularly sympathetic to the changes in self-perception of either its members or the nonmembers in the communities

which surround its properties. Let me paraphrase Dr. Wright again:

White religious tradition, at its best, tries very hard to make life better, while the people cry that life needs to be changed, transformed. A religion related to a culture of power seeks to lessen the burdens of the poor, while the poor desire full release from poverty. Making the penal system more humane may seem to be a worthwhile and Christian goal, but the prisoner longs for release from captivity (all of the captivities that have brought about the physical one). Those whose religion is the status quo want to minister to the helpless, but the helpless yearn to be self-sufficient.

If, as the testifiers urged in the hearings held by the Urban Bishops Coalition, and as our Lord commands, we are in fact to be “advocates of the poor,” we are discussing *revolution*! We must face this squarely and relinquish the view that: “Well, everything isn’t perfect, actually nothing is. But, isn’t it much better than it was?” Or, “I’ve just returned from extensive travel, and how grateful we should all be that we live in America.” This is an ever-so-subtle implication that God would not have been so good to us, if somehow we weren’t just a little bit better, a little bit holier, a little more deserving. But men, women and civilizations wax and wane. The Egyptians, the Syrians, the Babylonians, the Greek and Roman civilizations rose and fell. Modern Italy, France and England have lost their places of prestige and power. God has not promised immortality to the culture or the power of the United States.

If we decide to join this revolution we must be prepared to join it where it is; and to follow the lead of those who want aid but not domination or subjugation.

And I emphasize here to *join* the revolution. That means that it is already

going on! The question to the church in general, and to Episcopalians specifically is, “Which side are you on?” We do not have the power here to decide whether this revolution should occur. It is occurring. It may succeed, it may be doomed, it may again be temporarily slapped down—but it is! Dr. Frederick Williams at the same Convocation of Black Episcopalians said in his paper:

“There are those who believe that the struggle for equality and survival belongs only within the context of black history! They too are wrong! It goes beyond the history of one people. It belongs to all who know that until all are free, none are free . . .”

Understand also that revolution is not new. Throughout history revolts have gone on—slave revolts, peasant revolts, labor revolts, black revolts, Irish revolts. Our purpose here is to find out where we fit in. What is the unique quality, the power, the talent in the Episcopal Church that can serve the revolution in long term. This is complex, and not for those who want a quick and easy victory, or for those who bore easily and turn to other issues.

It is obvious that we do not have the answers to the ills of cities and are only beginning to perceive the root causes. I believe that the root causes for our condition today are racism and the insatiable greed for wealth and power. The Rev. Joseph Pelham’s analysis in *To Hear and To Heed* comes to the same conclusion:

“As tired as our society may have become of being confronted with the reality of racism, it is clear that no effective response to the problems of the cities can occur which does not include a more serious effort to neutralize the effects of white racism than has ever been undertaken, both by the whole society and by the church. The crisis of the cities is a crisis wrought by the results of the

persistence of this flaw in the American character. Any attempt to escape from or evade this fundamental fact will condemn all responses to this crisis to ineffectuality. Likewise sexism, classism and domestic colonialism as causal factors in the crisis must be faced and addressed.”

Racism is a complex and deeply rooted manifestation of sin. It assumes racial superiority and it must be accompanied by power. Persons or institutions may be prejudiced, discriminatory or biased, but it is only when they have the power to exert their influence or superiority that they are racist. I don’t believe in black racism, brown racism, for those groups have no power. Racism is woven into the woof and warp of this society and affects social status, political participation, economic opportunity, cultural acceptance, and most importantly, life and death. The organized church and particularly this church, has had a long history of racism. What it has done is to be part and parcel of the secular society’s sin rather than the bearer of the Good News.

Given the current history of the divisions in both society and the church, it is hardly necessary to remind you of the havoc that sexism has wrought. Here again the church has faltered behind the secular society in righting this flaw in its fabric.

The economic problems that we will be discussing here are also long term and complex. John McKnight, urban affairs analyst, poses the puzzle of a society, technologically advanced, where fewer and fewer workers are needed. This is not new. Planners have been warning us for many years about cybernation. Labor unions have fought the introduction of machines that replace workers. The technology is here—much that we don’t even know about—ready to take our places not only in the factories and on the farms,

but in the offices. What we have left then, are people with nothing to do, “a useless class”—John McKnight’s designation. Of course we have other designations, some we know better: welfare mothers, ne’er-do-wells, lazy, unmotivated, unskilled, uneducated, misfits. And around them has grown up a whole industry of workers who serve those useless ones: social workers, counsellors, therapists, etc., many of whom spend a good deal of time decrying the depravity of the persons who are responsible for *their* jobs! But will this society with its value system continue to tolerate useless consumers? Will it continue to pay for services to people who are nonproductive? There are many suggestions by those in power of the answer to that question: the gearing up of the war machines, the expansion of the drug traffic, the cutting back of essential goods and services to the cities, mandatory birth control, euthanasia, fatal force, the death sentence.

Panthers Quoted

When President Carter made his State of the Union message he said that the United States would protect the Persian Gulf “by any means necessary, including armed struggle.” Now, let me repeat that. “By any means necessary, including armed struggle.” How many of you have heard those words before? Who from? That’s right, the Black Panthers. I just want you to know whom your President quotes.

How shall we, as a church people, respond to this reality? I’m not a Biblical scholar but the measuring rods for our behavior and action seem clear to me:

“Thou shalt love thy neighbor as *thyself*.” “Forasmuch as you have done it to the least of these, *you have done it to Me*.” “Forgive us our sins *as we forgive others*.” “Your kingdom come *on earth as it is in heaven*.”

As we analyze causes, and plan our

actions, there will, of course, be tensions. First, there will be the tension between binding up the wounds and changing the system. Some testifiers brought to the Urban Bishops’ hearings great gaping wounds and serious hurt. Just this week I watched a community cry in anguish and curse in anger as they recounted their many attempts to get the city administration, the insurance companies, the fire department, the arson investigators, to do something about the fires in their neighborhood. And now seven people are dead because of greed and neglect. Other testifiers spoke of the length and depth of the deterioration of the American fabric, the degeneration of the system. How do we deal with the tension between the immediacy that requires time, manpower and money to alleviate pain as against engaging in the long-term struggle to change the system? The two are not exclusive, and one does not supersede the other. However, the wounds must be bound in such a way as to be a first step toward changing the system. That is not always easy to do. The recent experiences of this church with GCSP are a striking example. People who haven’t the faintest idea of what the goals of that program were, or who spent the whole six years trying to kill it, are still bad mouthing this attempt at community empowerment. Perhaps it is the internal war waged against attempts such as this that makes the cynics brand the whole church’s involvement in the ’60s as an intervention on the side of the status quo—buying off leadership, substituting palliatives for cures, rerouting agendas.

Secondly, there is the tension between individual witness and collective action. Many feel that pietistic self-searching, dedication to self-improvement and personal closeness to God, and making a personal witness with their lives is sufficient. There are those who want to

work only on the one-to-one basis, who believe strongly that that is the only way progress is made. How do we continue developing ourselves and our one-to-one relationships and still involve the institution in a war that needs concerted action, powerful economic pressures as well as moral suasion to be joined successfully? Already tension has developed over whether to work through the parish, the diocese or the national church. The strategy groups cannot allow themselves to argue the relative effectiveness of working at each level. Problems come in all sizes, enough to be tackled by any size group.

Thirdly, there’s the tension between Evangelism and the Social Gospel. It cannot be overlooked that “evangelism” is a code word also. Part of this has to do with the fact that some of the most evangelically-oriented denominations are the most racist, the most politically reactionary, and the least interested in the welfare of anything except their coffers. It was just at the close of a period of unprecedented (for Episcopalians) involvement in some of the battles against oppression that the church, turning its back on that involvement, turned to Evangelism. The implications are hard to ignore! It never ceases to amaze me that there could be any tension here. There are so many scriptural references to the work to be done in the “vineyards,” so many calls to “go forth” and so many denunciations of selfish piety while the brother suffers, that I hope that, at least among those who have cared to come here, this would be a minor tension.

Fourthly, there is the tension between our commitment to the cities, vs. the suburbs, rural areas, small towns, etc. There are those who would distract from the central task of dealing with the cities by insisting that the same ills apply elsewhere. As *To Hear and To Heed* points out, the problems are concentrated and acute in the central cities. It attests to the failure of the

"systems" that the problems follow wherever you go. Concomitantly, if solutions are found for the cities, those solutions will be applicable elsewhere. There are also those who say we can't solve the problems of the cities alone. We must involve suburban church members. Well, most suburbanites know what's happening in the cities better than the urban dwellers. Many of them are part of the problem. But the best way to capture the interest and involvement of the suburbanites is to raise some hell in the city.

Next there is the tension between what Joseph Pelham calls "cities in distress" and "people in distress." We have all seen federal, state and local funds put into downtown monstrosities, malls, shopping centers; the destruction of old housing to make way for highrise, over-priced apartments, quickly turned into condominiums to make sure that the poor have no opportunity to return. Meanwhile, funds for rehabilitation of housing in communities for small businesses, banks or essential services run dry, and the inhabitants are pushed out or left to die.

An examination of any city's planning commission records will show a consistent movement towards the ultimate goal of clearing out neighborhoods, moving people and establishing the citadels the "system" needs for its convenience. For the last 20 years the systematic removal of people and reclaiming of Chicago's lakefront has withstood every effort, no matter how well organized the opposition, as the banks, the political structure and the universities have moved unerringly toward their goal.

Last year in the Chicago area, one of the mainline white ethnic churches in one of the white ethnic neighborhoods was in head-to-head combat with its parishioners because it wanted to tear down housing and small shops to make room for a shopping mall and parking. The church had the city declare the area

a "slum"—a term usually reserved for black and brown enclaves. I don't know how the matter was resolved, but here was the church fighting its own people, to improve the "city."

If I were running the revolution, the first thing I'd do is change the language. First, second, third, fourth worlds? Non (as in non-white). Others (as in other than white). The city dwellers are largely "others" and I quote from the Rev. Richard Tolliver's testimony at the National Hearing:

"Just as the operationalized concept of 'urban renewal' in the mid '50's became synonymous with 'black removal,' so too the term 'urban crisis' has become a referent to the meshing of pathologies which engulfs the lives of most central city dwellers, namely Blacks and persons of Spanish heritage. The U.S. Bureau of Census' most recent demographic studies clearly indicated that the majority of the Black and Hispanic population of this country resides in the central cities of the 12 largest standard metropolitan statistical areas."

A few pages of statistics later, he declares:

"I have gone to great detail providing this demographic data so that our urban bishops can be very clear that when they talk about developing a strategy for the church's mission to the cities, they are referring to the formulation of an urban policy for Black and, to a lesser extent, Hispanic Americans."

Which side are you on?

Then there is the tension between service vs. servant. Churches and church people are always about the business of doing a service for someone or something—good deeds. But the Biblical concept of the mission of the church and of the Christian has always been cast in the "servant role." One

point bears making here. Among other things, a servant takes—does not give—orders. Are we ready to join the revolution where it is and accept leadership from those most intimately involved? Or do we, despite our dismal failures, still believe that we know best? Are we ready to stop analyzing the victim, and to attack the victimizer? This revolution requires that complete turnaround in thinking and attitudes that have kept us from dealing sanely with the world about us. As long as we believe that the welfare mother wants to be on welfare, and is happier than those who work; that the underemployed are happy, happier than those who have the responsibility of keeping the "system" going; that the children don't want to learn, and wish to grow up to be unemployed and on welfare; so long shall we excuse our failures and ignore the challenge.

Finally, there is the most important tension of all: between intellectualizing, studying, analyzing, and action!

What we are here for is to plan action. This is not a workshop, or an institute or a non-credit course. This is an action-oriented assembly where we are to design our marching orders and then go forward to implement them. From 1976 to this point, this movement has been very proper—very non-threatening—very Episcopalian. It shall remain so through February 16. What it becomes after that is in our hands.

We must decide what we want and believe that we can do it, devise ways of doing it, think through who will help us to do it, set up our timetable, costs and other details which will take these plans out of the realm of fantasy and into feasibility.

This is the challenge!

God, in God's infinite mercy—or in absolute desperation—calls us Episcopalians again, to choose up. We're late, but as we plunge toward World War III, we may just come in at the nick of time! Which side are you on?

Black Theology & Socialist Thought

by Cornel West



Cornel West is Assistant Professor of Philosophy of Religion at the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. The theme of this article is amplified in his chapter on "Black Theology and Marxist Thought" in *Black Theology; A Documentary History, 1966-1979*, edited by Gayraud S. Wilmore and James H. Cone, published by Orbis Books.

"Black socialist theologians hold that a refusal to come to terms with class inequality results in a highly limited view of black enhancement."

Black Theology is at the crossroads. Academic legitimation threatens to dilute its content, curb its rage and render it complacent. The rise of multiple liberation theologies—Latin American, Feminist, Hispanic and Gay—has removed it from mainstage and made it one voice among a chorus of often persuasive critiques of the Christian heritage.

The present challenge facing Black Theology is twofold. First, how can it best promote the liberation power of the Gospel in the face of the escalating siege upon the black community? Second, how can it aid in the stage-setting for the badly needed dialogue between prophetic and progressive elements in our society and world? I suggest that Black Theology can best promote the liberating power of the Gospel, on the existential, political and socioeconomic levels, by *turning more seriously and humbly* to the Black Church. I also suggest that this more authentic embracing of the Black Church, or more concrete rooting of Black Theology, would serve as the springboard for a genuine theory and practice which could bring together diverse prophetic and progressive elements in our society and world.

Black Theology, as a distinct movement in the past decade, was initiated by a courageous group of black preachers and theologians who actively opposed white racism in American society, especially in its religious establishments. The history of black theologizing, as a distinct set of reflections and practices, began the moment black slaves tried to make sense of their lives and understand their situation in light of biblical texts, Protestant hymns and Christian testimonies. The *Black Church*, a term which designates a set of distinct institutions, came into being when black Christian slaves decided, often at the risk of life and limb, to share with each other their common sense of purpose and similar understanding of their circumstances. As with any Christian community, this theological sharing contained many voices, some more prophetic than others. The evolution of this multiplicity of voices constitutes the theological traditions within the history of black theologizing, with some of these traditions still to be unearthed. Black Theology is linked to a particular tradition

within this history, a prophetic one whose voice was heard clearly in the past decade.

The first point, and paradox, in regard to Black Theology is found in the name itself. This designation for a current movement linked to a particular tradition has two noteworthy consequences. First, it tends to downplay, even neglect, certain aspects of antecedent black theologizing. In this sense, it can be viewed as slightly ahistorical. Second, the designation tends to make a particular movement within the history of black theologizing appear as *the* tradition in this history. In this sense, it can be viewed as monopolistic.

These two consequences resulted when gifted, outraged and impatient black theologians endeavored to make their voices heard—critically against and vociferously to white society—without a well-developed knowledge of the history of black theologizing. Yet, such theologizing was, at the time, necessary and legitimate.

The second point regarding Black Theology is its present relationship to the Black Church. From its inception, Black Theology has considered itself at the service of the Black Church. And since Black Theology is but an historical instance of the theologizing of the Black Church, this subservient role is an appropriate one. Yet two questions arise. First, how is Black Theology actually accountable to the Black Church? Second, to what extent is Black Theology merely an academic critique of the Black Church?

When I suggested earlier that Black Theology can best promote the liberating power of the Gospel by turning more seriously and humbly to the Black Church, I meant that Black Theology must not only *consider* itself a servant of the Black Church, but also more importantly, *be* a servant of the Black Church. To be a servant is to serve. Black Theology can best serve the Black Church by institutionalizing its understanding of the Gospel within the Black Church. This institutionalizing primarily consists of establishing more strong *ecumenical* bodies and groups, such as the past National Conference of Black Churchmen or the present Black Church Union; and, in a more grassroots manner, creating institutions which produce Sunday School materials, Baptist Training Union lessons, published sermons and media messages in light of the liberating power of the Gospel.

Academic legitimization of Black Theology runs the risk of reducing Black Theology to a mere academic critique of the Black Church. Black Theology must be critical of the Black Church. Every theological heritage stays alive and thrives on self-criticism. But effective criticism presupposes a situating and positioning of the critics. As Max Weber has taught us, institutional affiliations lead to institutional loyalties. Therefore black theologians—any theologians, for that

matter—must be in Academia, but not of it. Academia must be viewed as a means to church service, rather than an end in itself. Only this kind of attitude ensures that Black Theology remains a vital part of the history of black theologizing of, for and by the Black Church, rather than a reified and rarified activity which merely titillates academic theologians.

Black Theology has suffered from the underdeveloped knowledge of the history of black theologizing to the extent that certain moves within this history have only recently received attention. The particular move I have in mind is that made by black socialist theologians in the past and present who have grappled with the relation of the Gospel to racial oppression, class exploitation, maldistribution of national and international wealth and white socialists' paternalism.

The black Christian socialist presence in the history of black theologizing deserves serious attention for three basic reasons. First, we live in a fallen world in which life-and-death debates and struggles regarding the morality and merit of capitalism and socialism are continually occurring. Black theologians (including, of course, black preachers and conscientious lay women and men) ought to play a crucial role here. Knowledge of what black Christian socialists have said and are saying may aid in black theological participation in these debates and struggles.

Second, Socialist and Communist movements in the West, especially in the United States, have had peculiar relations with the black community. Black theologians ought to know the context of these relations, what the opinions of black Christian socialist participants in these relations were and what the status of these relations presently are. Third, knowledge of the lives and thought of black Christian socialists may teach black theologians not so much how correct the former were, but rather, may indicate the serious shortcomings of other major prophetic figures in the black theological traditions.

It is highly significant that the major prophetic figures in the history of black theologizing—from Richard Allen through Marcus Garvey to Martin Luther King, Jr.—have adopted some kind of race analysis of American society. Race analyses assume that the major obstacle which impedes black enhancement is the institutionalizing and legitimizing of the idea of white supremacy in U.S. society. Race analyses assert that black people are socially degraded, politically oppressed and economically exploited primarily because of their color and culture. Therefore proponents of those analyses promote and encourage the deep sense of group-consciousness in the black community and holds

white racism to be the main enemy.

Race analyses result, ironically, in two widely divergent dispositions toward American society and two different views of black enhancement. The first disposition heralds a complete rejection of U.S. society. This disposition reflects the belief that white racism so deeply pervades and permeates society that any hope for genuine human interaction, integration or alliances is doomed. This viewpoint claims that black distrust of whites requires either a black return to Africa or a separate black nation in the old Southern Black Belt. This Black Nationalist view—that of Marcus Garvey, Chief Sam and Elijah Muhammad—may sound ludicrous in light of the interdependence of the world, but it is important to note that this view had been supported by impressive black mass movements in the past and continues to be a vital element in present black movements. The point to accent here is that this solution reflects the desperation of black people who are reacting and responding to a deeply-felt white racism.

The second disposition of race analysis proponents is that of complete inclusion within U.S. society. This disposition reflects the belief that black group-consciousness can serve as the basis for a potent interest-group, thereby facilitating black entree into the mainstream of society. Therefore, this viewpoint—that of Frederick Douglass, R.R. Wright and Martin Luther King, Jr.—promotes various programs of black politics and black capitalism in an attempt to acquire a bigger black piece of the pie.

Race analyses have been the dominant mode of understanding U.S. society in the history of black theologizing. This had been so primarily owing to this country's unswerving commitment, from its inception to the present, to the institutionalizing and legitimizing of the idea of white supremacy. We can expect race analyses to play a prominent role in black theologizing until this commitment is annulled in practice.

Racism, Class Hierarchy

Black socialist theologians, such as Bishop James Theodore Holly and the Revs. George Washington Woodbey, George Frazier Miller, Samuel J. Comfort and perhaps the later James Cone, acknowledge that a major obstacle which stands in the way of black enhancement is the concept of white supremacy in U.S. society. They then go on to link this obstacle to another impediment, namely, class hierarchy in this society. Black socialist theologians hold that a refusal to come to terms with class inequality results in a highly limited view of black enhancement.

It is important to point out that black socialist theologians understand the notion of class in a Marxist, rather than Weberian, way. Consequently, they view class as

a particular relation of a group of people to the land, instruments and capital necessary to produce goods and services in U.S. society. The group which owns the land, instruments and capital constitute the capitalist class and the groups which do not own the land, instruments and capital constitute the noncapitalist classes. The noncapitalist classes are divided, to put it crudely, into the group which is hired (and fired) by capitalists, namely, the working class, and the group which remains chronically unemployed, namely, the underclass. Within the complexities of post-industrial capitalist America, the capitalist class—or ruling class, since its primary aim of profit-maximization is the most dominant and successful one in American society—consists essentially of transnational corporations which own large segments of the means of production and employ a disproportionate number of the citizenry. Of course, elected and appointed government officials also rule. But, since their rule is undeniably sedimented, permeated by and usually subordinated to the primary aim of the capitalist class, it is appropriate to designate the latter, the ruling class. The most glaring example of this relationship between the capitalist class and government is the historic refusal of the latter to ever even raise the issue of redistribution of the wealth by calling into question the primary aim of the former.

Black socialist theologians reject the Weberian understanding of class. This view of class merely equates class with income or financial remunerations of peoples' employment at the marketplace. This view permits such vacuous notions as an upper class or middle class to flourish. For example, in this view the upper class consists of those who either receive wages or possess the wealth over an arbitrarily selected level and the middle class consists of those who receive wages between that level and an arbitrary minimum.

This Weberian understanding of class, as exemplified in the recent controversial book, *The Declining Significance of Race*, by William Julius Wilson, is not wrong. It is just trivial. It does not help us grasp the internal dynamics of post-industrial capitalist America, its power transactions and its fundamental problems. Instead, it merely provides an income measuring rod which tells us who and how many make what. Since it robs the notion of class of its power components, it can never yield persuasive reasons as to *why* who and how many make what. For example, Marxists and Weberians agree that 0.5% of the U.S. population has owned over 20% of the wealth throughout the 20th century. Yet, Weberians see only an *upper* class and the highly dispersive character of ruling, whereas Marxists see a *ruling* class and a highly ideological character of Weberian

analysis.

The Weberian understanding of class also leads to gross misconceptions regarding class equality. In this view, class equality consists of everyone receiving the same amount of income, regardless of what people do with their lives. Such an utterly ridiculous egalitarian vision is often associated with socialist notions of a classless society, or society of class equality. Nothing could be further from the truth. In Marxist terms, a classless society means a society in which those who produce goods and services collectively own the land, instruments and capital necessary for such production and democratically control the distribution of the goods and services produced in society. In short, socialists favor a decentralized *democratizing* of the production process, not a vulgar *leveling* of incomes.

Top Political Agenda

Black socialist theologians hold that black enhancement is best achieved by simultaneously calling into question the institutionalizing and legitimizing of the idea of white supremacy *and* actively promoting the democratizing of the workplace in American society. As we saw earlier, the former has been and still is central in the history of black theologizing, whereas the latter has been and still is marginal in this history. The goal of black socialist theologians is to understand both in light of the liberating power of the Gospel and put both at the top of the political agenda of the Black Church.

The Black Church has remained, for the most part, aloof from U.S. socialist movements because of two basic reasons. First, the perennial tyranny of white racism, in its most vicious or its most subtle forms, over the black community has compelled the Black Church to keep group survival at the top of its political agenda. Second, the paternalistic practices of past U.S. socialist movements lend little credence to the idea that black survival has something to do with socialism. The major perspectives on the race problem within U.S. socialist movements—from the ethnocentric views of Victor Berger through the hands-off policy of Eugene Debs to the black pseudo-deification platform of the Weathermen—provide no basis for serious interaction between the Black Church and socialist movements. In fact, the only major Socialist group in America ever to make significant inroads into the Black Church has been the Communist Party. And this owing to the large black influx (in the 1930s) into the Communist Party, including Benjamin Davis, James Ford and Angelo Herndon, who had some understanding of the dilemma and predicament of the Black Church, caught as it was between survival and vision. The exit in the late '50s of many blacks from the Communist Party left this brief dialogue in shambles. Only

in the past few years has it been renewed.

The future of the relations between the Black Church and socialist movements in the United States is open-ended. First, and most important, it depends on cultivating the black Christian socialist tradition within the theologizing of the Black Church. If a meaningful dialogue is to take place between the Black Church and the socialist movement in this century, there must be a cluster of trustworthy black Christian socialists *within* the Black Church, black Christian socialists who view themselves as committed to the preservation and perpetuation of the best in black religion. Second, U.S. socialist movements must acknowledge that there can be little substantive black participation without a dialogue with the prophetic and progressive leaders of the Black Church. This is not to overlook the significant presence of black secular elements in socialist movements, but to call attention to where most of the grassroots leadership, be it progressive or pragmatic, lies in the black community.

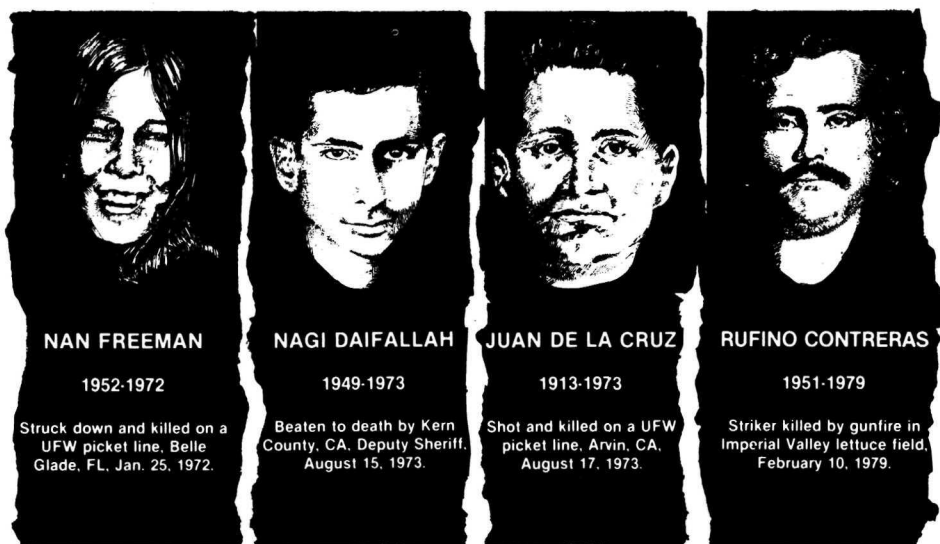
If there is to be a socialism which protects liberties and precludes poverty in the United States, there must be a major Socialist Party. If there is to be a major Socialist Party, it must consist of a multiracial, white and blue collar working class alliance. Obviously, if this party is multiracial, there must be substantive black representation. If there is to be substantive black representation, progressive black preachers and theologians must be present. This presence will be guaranteed only if black theologians accent the black Christian socialist tradition in the past and present of the theologizing of the Black Church, and if non-black socialists acknowledge the indispensability of the participation of prophetic black preachers and theologians within the decision-making processes of the Socialist Party. This is the road Black Theology ought to travel, the political agenda the Black Church (and community) should promote, and the particular outlook non-black socialists, be they Christian or non-Christian, must support. ■

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with us today as we face the mandates of mission that thrust before us the awesome challenges of racism, sexism, classism and imperialism. Our hope and our faith are set in the context of an ongoing dialogue with the harsh realities of our life. God has spoken, what is our response? For the newly formed Episcopal Urban Caucus, until it meets in its next assembly one year hence, heavy responsibility for the answer to that question lies with its newly-elected board. ■

FARM WORKER WEEK 1980

April 28 - May 4



Declaration on Liberation of Farm Workers

We, the farm workers of America, have tilled the soil, sown the seeds and harvested the crops. We have provided food in abundance for the people in the cities, the nation and the world but have not sufficient food for our own children. While other workers have overcome economic injustices, we have inherited the exploitation, the suffering and the poverty of our fathers and their fathers before them.

But despite our isolation, our sufferings, jailings, beatings and killings, we remain undaunted and determined to build our Union across the land—as a bulwark against future exploitation. Just as work on the land is arduous, so is the task of building a union. We pledge to struggle as long as it takes to reach our goals. Above all we believe that men and women must act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood and that our Union shall guarantee that all are treated equal in dignity and rights.

We remember the marches and

pilgrimages and struggles of our past. We remember the lives of our martyrs: Nan Freeman, Nagi Daifallah, Juan de la Cruz and Rufino Contreras. With their sacrifices clearly in view, we do solemnly declare before the civilized world which judges our actions and before the nation to which we belong the plan we have formulated to end the injustice that bears down on us and our children.

(1) We know that the poverty of the Mexican and Filipino workers in California is the same as that of all farm workers across the country, the Blacks, poor Whites, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans and Arabs. We will continue our social movement in fact and not in pronouncements by uniting under the banner of our Union all farm workers regardless of race, creed, sex or nationality.

(2) We will seek the support of all political groups and the protection of the government, which is also our government, in our struggle. We will no

longer be treated as a special, lower class who are supposed to be content with an equality which is not quite equal.

(3) We will demand recognition by our employers and the public of our right as farm workers to organize and to engage in collective bargaining.

(4) Because we are among the poorest workers in the land we are beset with the twin evils of substandard wages and crippling inflation. We will negotiate to change our condition. From our employers we seek only that they bargain in good faith.

(5) To gain the just ends we seek, we will engage in the following actions, using the way of non-violence:

a. We shall strike. We are poor, we are humble; and our only choice is to strike at those ranches where we are not treated with the respect we deserve as working men and women.

b. We will boycott. When our employers use cruel and unjust

means to weaken our strike we will not surrender to their corrupt power; instead we will take our cause to the people of the cities and world who will support our strike with their boycott action.

c. We will go to court. We will use the laws of the land to protect our right to strike and boycott and to punish those employers who stray from what is lawful in their dealings with their workers.

d. We will engage in political actions. We will register, we will

vote and we will use our political strength to reward our friends and defeat our enemies.

(6) In pursuing our reasonable goals we shall work and cooperate with our brothers and sisters in the labor movement, with the churches and the synagogues, with other civic, social and political organizations and with all men and women of good will.

(7) In cooperation with our friends we shall oppose the recruitment and mercenary smuggling of men, women and children to break strikes; with equal

energy we will fight against professional strikebreakers and against the infamous bracero program and all slave labor programs, no matter what their name.

As farm workers we have suffered and we are not afraid to suffer more in order to win our cause. Our men and women and children have suffered at the hands of a cruel agricultural system. Now we will suffer for the purpose of ending the poverty, the misery and the injustice. The time has come for the liberation of all farm workers. *Viva La Causa!* ■

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machinery for a police state now in embryo develops more fully, the nation is going to be in a much more tragic situation than we in the South experienced over the last few decades.

This doesn't have to happen, if the lessons produced by the civil rights movement be heeded today. We know that every gain that black people made in the last few decades actually opened up new opportunities for a better life for whites. For example, I know white children who are doing better in school because they were able to go to Headstart programs. That, like all those so-called compensatory programs in education, came along with the black parents' struggle for a better education for their children. I know poor and middle class white young people who are able to go to college today because they got a federal grant. Those didn't exist until blacks struggled for educational opportunities. I know white youth who couldn't find a job until they got into the CETA program. That came about because blacks struggled for jobs. Think of all the whites who get help with legal problems through the whole network of public service projects. Those are direct results of the civil rights movement. Think of health clinics which have been set up because blacks have been struggling for health care.

There is also the larger picture: The black struggle cracked open this whole society in the silent '50s and made it possible for everybody to struggle; made possible the anti-war movement in the '60s, made possible the new women's movement, made it possible for workers in the South, white as well as black, to organize unions, made it possible for the elderly of all races to organize and demand some sort of decent life in their old age, made it possible for handicapped people in this country to organize and demand their rights.

The oppression of black people is the basic economic, political and social fact of this society. Essentially this nation was built on the fruits of slave labor. Oppression of black people is woven into the very fabric of the country. Thus it is only natural that when measures are taken to end that oppression, the key to changing the whole society has been touched. If the foundation stone of a building shifts, the whole building moves.

Recently I came across a quotation of Bob Moses from a speech in 1964. Bob Moses was the young black man who inspired and led much of the civil rights movement in the early '60s in Mississippi. He said: "The Negro seeks his own place within the existing institutional framework, but to

accommodate him, society will have to modify its institutions, and in many cases to make far-reaching fundamental changes. The struggle for jobs for Negroes forces questions about the ability of the economy to provide jobs for everyone within our present socio-economic structure. Lack of legal counsel for Negroes brings into focus the general lack of legal counsel for the poor. The function of the white American is not so much to prepare the Negro for entrance into the larger society, to clean him up, straight-jacket him, necktie him, make him presentable for the supper table, but rather to prepare the society for the change it must make to include Negroes."

That's what Bob Moses said 15 years ago. That, of course, is what white Americans have failed to do. We are left with a society that still doesn't have room for black people. And I submit that a society that doesn't have room for black people will ultimately not have room for any of us. Even if it did, it would not be a place fit to live in. Conversely, once this society is changed so that there is room for black people, it will be a society where there is room for everybody. These are the lessons it seems to me that the civil rights movement of recent decades has to offer America, lessons that America so desperately needs to hear. ■

Continued from page 2

ambivalence and elusiveness" was noticeable in the controversy over the ordination of women after an "initial hysteria" over the Philadelphia ordinations. His behavior must stem either from "lack of conviction . . . or expediency," and in either case is "incongruous" to his office. The suffering he caused the two church employees is due either to "deliberate intent or omission." His attitude toward the ordination of homosexuals is both "cruel and hypocritical." The only good word to him is that he is probably a "victim of the present malaise of the Episcopal Church." In some fashion he is thus "not to blame" for all that is amiss, though he is "blameworthy" because he is the Presiding Bishop. An interesting distinction.

I am much concerned about what Stringfellow describes as lack of leadership in dealing with issues now confronting the church, most recently in the matter of the continued use of the 1928 Prayer Book. But I can't imagine that Stringfellow's "analysis" of Bishop Allin's actions and of the person who lies behind them can be helpful to anyone except the author and those who agree with him. Reinhold Niebuhr used to try to divide people (usually Republican

politicians) between "fools and knaves," but did it just for fun—not as an exercise in Christian candor. I just don't see how Stringfellow's letter "gits us forrader" at this point.

Floyd G. Patterson
Episcopal Divinity School
Cambridge, Ma.

No More Beige Mush

In response to William Stringfellow's open letter to the Presiding Bishop, I wish to commend you for your decision to publish the letter and to applaud Mr. Stringfellow for his insight and courage.

I was touched by his poignant remarks concerning etiquette and caring. It does seem that the Episcopal Church as an institution cares mightily about etiquette, good taste and good form. In many instances, to be found in bad taste is to be judged as having made a more significant and egregious error than to be found untruthful or unfaithful. So often when attempting to come to grips with an issue or a person in the church, I have found myself dealing with beige mush and have been informed that beige mush must be the order of the day, because after all to confront, to contend, to wrestle, to struggle was in bad taste. Beige mush and good taste translate

into nobody being genuinely present to anybody. We are left pacified, aimless and on the road to insanity.

Jacob wrestled with the angel at the river Jabbok, and although the angel showed a breach of etiquette and bad taste, and although the wrestling permanently wounded Jacob, it likewise saved his life. John Allin has been given a similar gift. As the angel was reluctant to loosen his grip, I hope William Stringfellow does not back off.

The Rev. Michael Chase-Dwinell
Cape Elizabeth, Me.

Cancel My Sub

Unfortunately, Stringfellow is still as corrosive as he is intelligent. You cannot, however, heal a sick body by scolding it—no matter how shrilly or inexorably. Nor can you heal it by removing one organ no more diseased than the rest. The same holds for editorial policy, of course. Please remove my name from your lists.

Gilbert E. Doan, Jr.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Whither 'The Witness'?

Prior to the General Convention I had high hopes that William Stringfellow's series of articles on critical issues in the

Open Letter *continued from Page 2*

Coleman McGehee—and a William Stringfellow—to keep them honest.

I guess I am saying that the P.B., as much as I care for him, is very small potatoes. I do not deny that your letter should have been written, and I applaud it. I simply wonder, after years of ache and crying out myself, what is the use of it. The church—as club—serves us; she names things, facilitates Eucharist and so forth. But all in all "religion" is a bummer and *Christ* is life. I get the feeling that the church (as club) shall go on (someone once said "so will organized crime as long as someone pays the bills"). But "the club" is not *the* church—at least does not limit the church to her own lines, and one learns, I think, to live with her—at times enabler and at times the one organization that

"kills its own wounded."

I love her, Bill (and I know you do also)—and at the same time I still cringe for I know that Jim Pike, Jr. died largely because the church opted to be safe rather than holy; that his father suffered needlessly because the church was frightened, little, whining and breathless (which is to say lifeless). Even now, in this area, I face the rejection of the righteous to an extent that I cannot narrate—and I am no real threat, a poor monk, with a little cottage, without influence.

But our church speaks by her agony, by her fear and by her ache—and by those whom she has brought forth into life, not the least of which is yourself. Yes, we could use a man or woman P.B. helping us and enabling us rather than

standing in the way, with too many cares to answer your own Open Letter. Yes, things could be better. But have we refused to accept the fallen nature of persons and churches (and monasteries and hermitages)?

I don't know.

If I had your ability and talent (and maybe even holiness) I would state my own case better and probably shorter. Perhaps my case is this—that the Presiding Bishop is not all that important. There is life in this PECUSA, and there is a certain humility and within it one can meet God—with or without John Allin.

Christopher Jones, O.M., Prior
Transfiguration Retreat Monastery
Pulaski, Wisc.

life of the church would help us to realize the wholeness and unity that we all long to achieve.

But Stringfellow's post-convention piece that was commissioned by THE WITNESS did not answer the question of "Where does the church find itself after Denver?" In it, he turned instead from issues to personalities and elected Presiding Bishop Allin as a scapegoat for the sins of the House of Bishops if not the whole world.

Indeed, I feel THE WITNESS owes its readers a clearer picture of its own philosophy in supporting such a partisan, political viewpoint. Is THE WITNESS a witness for truth or for the prosecution?

Martha S. Miller
Ft. Washington, Pa.

Lacks Logic

Concerning the open letter to the Presiding Bishop, written by William Stringfellow, I find it most petty, disruptive, and lacking in logic or reasoning. While I disagree with Bishop Allin on one or two items, he does express spiritual leadership, long lacking in the Episcopal Church.

Charles S. Peete, Jr.
Memphis, Tenn.

Best Issue Yet

I have been a reader of THE WITNESS since its re-birth in 1974 and while all the issues have been mind-provoking in different ways I've never commented on anything. Yet the January issue is in my mind the best yet and I would share my comments on two articles.

Bill Stringfellow's letter to the Presiding Bishop sums up my feelings about the man. Indeed, he has done more to harm the church in these past years with his own lack of collegiality among his fellow bishops, lack of concern for sister and brother clergy and his inability to deal with the mission of the church at home and overseas. His own conduct during the Wendt trial and his lack of support for the women of the church, no matter what he feels about the question of women in the

priesthood, leads me to ask, when will we once again have a bishop who presides?

Second, "The Loveable Paradox" by Bob Semes brings back all sorts of fond memories about Jim Pike. I only knew the man from a distance, yet his influence on my life is what in part led me into the ministry of this church. It's about time we consider the full impact he has had and may still be having. Perhaps, even a date on our church calendar should be set aside lest we forget. It could read, *James Albert Pike, Bishop and Martyr.*

Vincent F. Scott
Penn Yan, N.Y.

Wants Extra Copies

I have just finished reading the January issue of THE WITNESS. As an Episcopalian, I appreciated Bill Stringfellow's letter and feel that unfortunately he is right on target. It comes as no surprise to me that there will be no reply to that letter.

However, I am writing to you not about Bill's letter, but about the articles by D.J. Kirchhoff ("Believers in Capitalism Must Fight Back") and David J. Kalke ("Unmasking the Strategy of Multinational Corporations"). I agree that few issues could be more crucial to the social mission of the church in this particular time. I would like to share those two articles with members of our staff. As you perhaps know, Church World Service has over 25 offices in this country. The staff often must deal with the issues covered in those two articles. I see them as important, ongoing professional staff development and education materials.

Ronald E. Stenning, Director
U.S. Program, CWS
New York, N.Y.

Timely Explanation

Every copy of THE WITNESS has many pertinent articles but the January issue was especially good. The articles by Daniel Kirchhoff and David Kalke are very timely. We hear references to them, especially on talk shows, but no one ever takes time to explain the situation as

these two articles do. I am enclosing \$10 for extra copies so that I can distribute them to advantage.

Although 1979 has been a great year, I suddenly seem to be living my age—86. It is all I can do to accomplish the necessities for my 96-year-old brother and myself. May 1980 be a creative year.

Ruth Haefner
Portland, Ore.

Keep Debate Going

I feel the necessity to say that Vol 63, #1, was a courageous issue. David Kalke's article was incisive and the failure of Daniel Kirchhoff to deal with specific instances of abuse indicates the basic policy of transnationals, namely, "Watergate" style coverups. Keep the debate going!

James W. Wiberg
Salem Lutheran Church
Ironwood, Mich.

Suggests Resources

Thank you for the interchange between Daniel Kirchhoff of Castle & Cooke and David Kalke of Theology in the Americas. As Kalke notes, Kirchhoff's speech shows how defensive and intolerant the multinationals are becoming when faced by responsible church criticism.

Readers who wish to learn more about Castle & Cooke may be interested in an excellent slide package entitled "Managing the Global Plantation," which was produced by the American Friends Service Committee in Hawaii. It is available for a suggested rental fee of \$15 from the Michigan Farmworker Ministry Coalition, P.O. Box 10206, Lansing, Mi, 48901. Also, a packet of information about the churches' challenge to C&C is available from the Latin America Task Force, 1524 20th St., Detroit, MI. 48216, for \$2. In addition, those interested in the living and working conditions at the Michigan Mushroom Farm, a C&C subsidiary, may send \$1 for our report on that issue.

The Rev. Joseph Mulligan, S.J.
Latin America Task Force
Detroit, Mich.

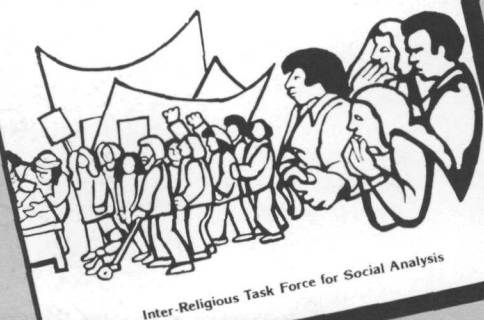
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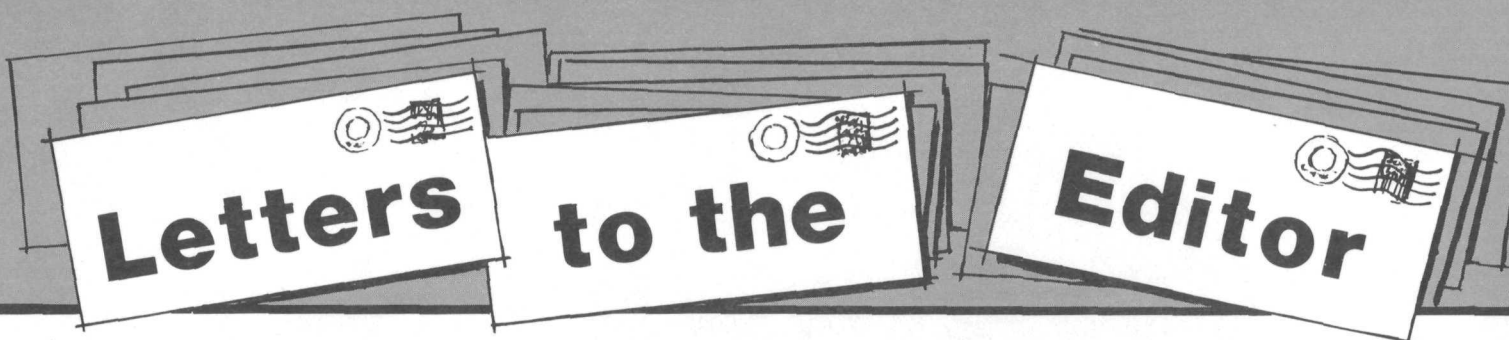


VOL. 63, NO. 5
MAY, 1980

THE WITNESS

Retirement:
First Class or Steerage?
Peg Ferry

Idolatry and Promise
of the Church
George McClain



Letters

to the

Editor

Diggers Interested

I read with interest the article by Dr. Dorothy Irvin, "Archaeology Supports Women's Ordination," in the February WITNESS.

A student brought it in, so I xeroxed it and sent a copy to Dr. Carol L. Meyers of the Religion Department, Duke University, who has also published on the role of Women in the Bible, Women in Ancient Israel, etc. She and I are both Associate Directors of the Meiron Excavation Project, which has been digging in the Galilee for the past 10 years.

James F. Strange
Tampa, Fla.

Wants Slide Show

Dr. Irvin's article aroused my curiosity and interest. It seems incredible that such information has never come to light, given the intense amount of heat which the issue of women's ordination has generated.

I am hoping Dr. Irvin might come to Texas in the future and share her findings with a wider audience. Several of my colleagues seem interested in having her speak and show her slides. I would hope that inquiries from other places would evolve into a feasible schedule for us all. Meanwhile, I am delighted to have her article.

The Rev. Canon Ray E. Wilson
Houston, Tex.

Questions Scholarship

The lack of scholarship in Dr. Dorothy Irvin's piece was rather surprising, given her background. Detailed study in the early Christian period has shown the impossibility of pin-pointing precisely dates, names and geographical

locations, even with the most reliable records existing. The most sophisticated means of dating relics now requires the total destruction of fragments of the object and then they can't come within a century.

Such stylized pieces as frescoes, which we know have been partly destroyed and often altered a great deal can't be used to support much of any fact.

Ms. Irvin's doctoral field, I believe, can supply a much better answer to the question of lady priests and bishops. Of the three Theodoras recorded in Christian history, two were canonized, one by popular acclaim, and one by the Eastern Church. The earliest certainly had as much influence in Christendom in her day as any bishop, whether she acquired a mitre or not.

The theologians of our time can supply us, if they combine their efforts and forget some biases which divide modern Christians, with an answer as to whether we need lady priests and bishops and popes right now. History can't supply the answer. Neither can popular vote or papal decree.

John Winters
Muskegon, Mich.

Editor's Note: Reader Winters' skepticism was not shared by the Baltimore Sun and Toronto Star, which ran front page stories about Dr. Irvin's article in THE WITNESS. It was also picked up by several wire services and reported in other publications, with WITNESS credits. See details in Mary Lou Suhor's column, page 8.

Worth the Struggle

Thank you for your February issue focusing on women and the church. The process of standing straight—"standing

free" after lifetimes of being "bent double" is not always miraculously sudden as in the Bible story. More often, it is painfully slow—but is well worth the struggle, for both women and men.

Thank you for helping to give us a vision and a theology for human liberation.

Nancy Van Scoyoc
Women In Transition
Washington, D.C.

Scripture for Women

I am forwarding several enclosures for you to send on to Dan Berrigan as support for his recognition that the bent-over woman is the scripture for women today "standing upright and praising God."

Among them is the fact that Jean Dementi, priest from the Episcopal Diocese of Alaska, used this theme at a Eucharist during Easter week, 1979 for the Roman Catholic Women's Ordination Committee. Her sermon concluded with these remarks:

"Mary Magdalene, in great sorrow and in utter despair, bent over to look into the tomb. The first word out of that empty tomb was 'WOMAN!' You can believe she didn't stay bent over very long. She met her risen Lord. He made her an apostle. . . he sent her to tell the Good News to the men. She did it! Now after hearing that story, how can any woman stay bent over?"

Mary Eunice Oliver
San Diego, Cal.

Grave Injustice

This is a heartfelt thank you for the February issue of THE WITNESS, which highlighted the continuing oppression and repression of women, and the

Continued on page 19

THE WITNESS

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Proper Business of a Free People

Robert L. DeWitt

"Caesar had his Brutus — Charles I, his Cromwell — and George III. . . may profit by their example." So Patrick Henry spoke before the Virginia House of Burgesses on the eve of the War of Independence in the 1770s. Shouts of "Treason! Treason!" greeted his remarks. And treasonous they seemed to many of the colonists from Maine to Georgia in those confused times. But, "When, in the course of human events it becomes necessary" for a people to assess their political structures and make hard decisions about their future, it also becomes necessary to risk the charge of treason as a part of the price of seeking freedom.

Many of the most astute observers of the current scene agree that there is a growing "Tory" climate in our world today. The crises created by the way things are presently put together in our world, politically and economically, place a premium on loyalty to the status quo. Patrick Henry never heard the word "fascist," but he would have understood it. He, too, was aware of the pressures brought to bear by a threatened system as it sought to keep the dissidents in line, to mute dissent, to quiet any criticism, to punish those who rebel. From South Africa to El Salvador to Bolivia to the Philippines, to cite only some of the most newsworthy current examples, this is the plot of the tragic drama being enacted.

As Americans, heirs of the independence whose start was heralded by Patrick Henry, we usually assert strongly that it is different here. And so it is. What we are saying in this issue of THE WITNESS would be proscribed in many other countries today. But as Michael Harrington pointed out in the June 1978 WITNESS, freedom comes in different kinds. There is political freedom, and there is economic freedom. Political freedom we enjoy in this country in generous measure compared with most of the world. Economic freedom, however, is not so easy for us to come by. In this country a person is politically free to speak, write or demonstrate disapproval about being unemployed; but that person feels powerless to alter the economic fact of being without a job.

Then why does not that person use political freedom in order to deal with that powerlessness? Precisely. If there be any hope in the American system of government it will be because people actively seize the political freedom they have to change an economic governance they recognize as tyrannical. That was how the American system began. Committees of Correspondence, pamphlets, open debate, testing the traditional assumptions about colonial rule and taxation,

Continued on page 19

Retirement: First Class or Steerage?

by Peg Ferry

As the weekly countdown continues toward the mystical date of my 65th birthday, I keep asking myself the old question, "How old would you be if you didn't know how old you were?" How old, indeed!

Would I be as young as the optician and the dentist suggest? Or would I take my cues from my physician and from society? Am I my eyes and teeth, or am I my kidneys? Or am I a reflection of TV programmed learning?

"You're only as old as you feel!" Compared to what? Yesterday or fifty years ago? How am I supposed to feel?

Margaret E. Ferry is a health care consultant and a doctoral candidate in Health Education at Temple University. She is a member of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and the Church and Society Network.

Why do I feel older than my college classmates but younger than many of my contemporaries? Luck plays a large part, I am sure.

But what is luck in the story of aging? Have I just been on the fortunate end of the status quo, the recipient of the goodies reserved for those born into upper middle-class families — good home, good nutrition, good health, and a good education?

How do most people experience aging? The United States spends time, talent and money studying aging today. We have become very conscious of the elderly, those people 65 and over who constitute an increasing proportion of our population. We talk about them and study them as if they were a homogeneous population, a class unto

themselves without roots deep in the past or a series of diverse experiences which has shaped each of them into a peculiarly unique individual.

We view the aging process as one of foreordained degeneration which is tied to a biological clock. Medically we sometimes distinguish between the young old (65-74), the old (75-84) and the old-old (85 and over). These are the statistical watersheds for the appearance of multiple chronic ailments, or terminal diseases. And we follow the progressive deterioration we see or hear about with a kind of macabre fascination. We institute services to help the elderly adjust to the psychological stages of disengagement, mourning, or impending death. Huge industries have emerged to care for the

expressed needs of the elderly and to create new needs which the elderly never knew they had. Who profits most from this new-found concern for the aging—the elderly or those who study, cater to, or care for them?

Gray Panther leader Maggie Kuhn is one of the few who have consistently challenged the stereotyped notion that the elderly population's lot in society is occasioned only by diminishing energy and loss of cognitive function, by "the normal aging process" whose automatic transmission shifts into low gear as the chronological cuckoo clock chirps "sixty-five!" She has worked to focus attention on the socioeconomic structures that create the problems of the elderly and on the interaction between the elderly and the total society.

David Brodsky, political economist from the University of Tennessee, has responded to Maggie's challenge to get off the victim's back and look elsewhere for the source of the problem, and to remember that a problem is only a condition so defined by the dominant members of a society. Brodsky is convinced that the elderly, as a group, experience hardship primarily as a result of the workings of the economic system. By the most conservative measures, approximately one in six older Americans lives in poverty as defined by established criteria. More than three out of four receive an income considered inadequate by the standards of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This

poor and near poor status is closely related to the exclusion of the aging from the labor market. In 1976 only 16% of the aged had jobs. Although recent legislation concerning age discrimination may affect this level of participation in the future, the elderly will continue to be discouraged from participation in the work force as long as unemployment and society's perception of the elderly continue unchanged.

Both Brodsky and Jim Ward, sociologist at the University of New South Wales, Australia, suggest that the economic problems encountered by the aging stem from economic and social structures which have defined the young and the old as "relative surplus populations." These populations are an embarrassment to an economic system in which one sector is devising ways to replace workers with machines while the other is busy trying to think of programs to take up the slack. Profits accrue to industry in the first instance, taxes to citizens in the second. Inclusion of college students and the elderly in the formula for calculating the unemployment rate would be unthinkable. On the other hand, a relative surplus population which is waiting in the wings can be a source of comfort to an industry which wants bargaining power or to a government that needs many hands in time of war. Remember how popular women became in industry during World War II?

Brodsky makes another key point. He says,

Analytical perspective suggests that public officials will attempt to resolve such diverse situations as the depression and the problems facing older Americans today with programs or policies intended first to protect the economic system and then to meet the other ends.

This is illustrated regularly in programs purportedly designed to meet the needs of the elderly. These programs have provided employment for thousands of middle-income workers who assist the elderly to adjust to their devalued status. They subsidize bus companies to carry the elderly at reduced rates during hours of low utilization, and assume it is the elderly who are the primary recipients of benefits. They purchase surplus food to feed the elderly in nutrition centers; this is construed as a reward to the elderly, not a subsidy to agribusiness. Medicare will pay the physician and the hospital, after the aged have paid their yearly premiums and the initial yearly "down payment" on health care. Physicians have fared well under Medicare; their incomes have risen. So have the premiums and down payments of the elderly. "Eat, heat or see the physician" has become an increasingly difficult choice to make as medical costs and food and utility bills continue to rise.

It is not my intent to denigrate the many worthwhile efforts which have

our lives shall not be sweated from
birth until life closes;
 HEARTS STARVE
AS WELL AS BODIES;
BREAD & ROSES!
BREAD&ROSES!

been made to help the elderly. It is, instead, an attempt to underline the palliative effect of remedies which treat the symptoms presented by the aging but fail to examine the causes. No attempt has been reported which examines an economic system that rewards the citizens who have built it with poverty or near poverty existence and exclusion from the U.S. symbol of identity — a job.

Age does not determine class in this country. Frequently the reverse is true; class determines age insofar as it relates to health, income, and activity. Working class people, stripped of their pay check, can no longer take comfort in the great American myth of upward mobility. The myth is certainly not true for the aged. Workers have reached the end of their usefulness to the capitalist system; they are indeed a surplus population, except insofar as they are able to consume. Workers have reached the end of the rainbow, and neither Social Security nor the company pension has proved to be a pot of gold. They are dependent on Social Security and/or a pension, both of which they have earned, but rumblings suggest that either or both sources of income have

been built upon sand. Although welfare measures have helped to keep many working class people above the level of poverty, that is no reason to ignore the tremendous gap which exists between the rich and few and the poor and numerous among the elderly.

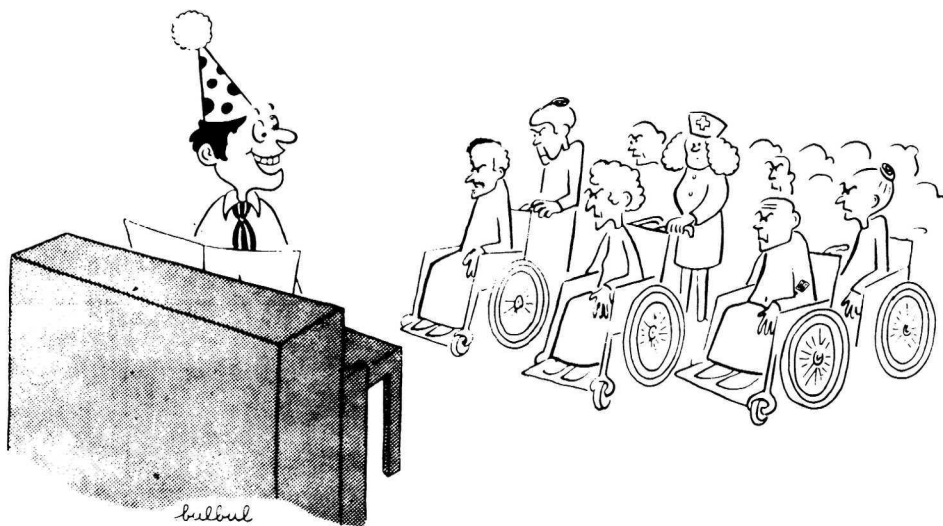
For those elderly who are among the privileged few in American society, and for those who serve the immediate interests of the few and share in the distribution of corporate profits, aging policy in the United States operates effectively. In case of illness, Medicare bears the major share of the expenses incurred after an initial down payment, which is no hardship. The privileged elderly can supplement Medicare with Medi-Gap and catastrophic health insurance. Research monies have encouraged the development of exquisite techniques in tertiary care. Such persons can afford them. Social Security provides pin money, so to speak.

Well-nourished, well-educated and housed over a lifetime, well-to-do elderly people have many options. The owner of a profitable business may work or retire as he chooses. A highly placed professional can continue his

work indefinitely. (The use of the masculine pronoun in this context is deliberate — and usually accurate.) The principal stockholder can exert power until his death. Even then, he can die complacent because he knows that his will will be done. He has selected the recipient of his inheritance carefully, and class remains entrenched. He has chosen that it will be so.

Aged wealthy women can tour the world, or have their faces lifted. They can patronize the arts (a worthy cause, to be sure, but a telling verb), and support good works. In turn, these good works are usually very supportive of the system. These women are unlikely to suffer hunger, cold, or a lack of adequate medical care. Those who see the aged as a homogenous class remind us that the wealthy, too, have their personal sorrows and problems that are rooted in their age. Of course they do. So do the children of the wealthy have their sorrows and problems which are related to *their* age, but this does not negate their membership in the class of the wealthy. It only certifies their common membership in the larger class of humankind. And within that class the poor experience trouble in a qualitatively different way. Money, not age, determines class.

In a curious way the American myth of reward for hard work is destroyed in old age. If someone whose Social Security is minimal persists in working to have a decent standard of living, half of all those earnings over \$5,000 (a more generous limit than previously imposed) will be Uncle Sam's. If, on the other hand, one's Social Security is at the maximum and one enjoys an inherited fortune as well, any income from tax exempt bonds is without limits. Work not, want not! One can understand the peculiar economic logic behind all this as it relates to the good of the system. It is baffling, however, why we cherish a system whose needs take precedence over those of people. Was



Alright, boys and girls—all together now. See how loud you can sing—
“There’s a Long Long Trail a-Winding into the Land of My Dreams. . .”

Old Isn't a Problem

Concern for the elderly has resulted in an increasing professionalization of those who care for the old. This professional concern was expressed by the title of a recent conference convened by a major midwestern university: "Frontiers In Aging: Life Extension." The 700 participants were caring professionals from all the disciplines that help the aging.

Having been asked to speak to this group, I immediately consulted my mother-in-law. She is 81 years of age, comes from a Lithuanian background and lives in an apartment near our home.

We call my mother-in-law Old Grandma. She likes that because she believes it makes her an authority.

When I told her that a

John McKnight is Associate Director for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. The above is excerpted from an article in *Co-Evolution Quarterly*; reprinted with permission.

conference called "Frontiers in Aging: Life Extension" was about her, she shook her head. She couldn't imagine they were talking about her because their language is of a different order than the words Old Grandma knows.

Words like "frontier," "aging," and "extension" are about *going*, *becoming* and *moving forward*. Old Grandma doesn't think those words relate to her life. To her, old is *being*. When Old Grandma says "old," it isn't good or bad. "Old" is like saying she's a woman. It is a condition, a state. To her, old is something that is not associated with problems. A problem is how to get the janitor to get the steam heat up to the right temperature. But old isn't a problem.

For Old Grandma, old is:

- finally knowing what is important
- when you are, rather than when you are becoming
- knowing about pain, rather

by John L. McKnight

- than fearing it
- being able to gain more pleasure from memory than from prospect
- when doctors become impotent and powerless
- when satisfaction depends less and less on consumption
- using the strength that a good life has stored for you
- enjoying the deference
- worrying about irrelevance.

Old Grandma's "old" cannot be counted. Therefore, people who count things will never know about her old. They are trapped by the tools of counting. The economists, social scientists, census takers and actuaries are closed out of her world because they don't count what counts to her.

Old Grandma wonders about the problem of people who have a conference on "old." She thinks there is a problem with people who think old is a problem.

not the system, like Sunday, made for people?

Perhaps the problems of the elderly will clarify for all of us just how the system works. The elderly way of life caricatures our system as a whole. The rich are richer, the poor are poorer; and scholars spin theories about the normal aging process and social disengagement. To repeat, how old would you be if you didn't know how old you were. It depends largely on your class status. You are only as old as you feel. True, perhaps, but it is probable that you will feel younger if you are upper class, and your going will be more comfortable.

Resources

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Tooting Our Own Horn

THE WITNESS scored a journalistic coup with Dorothy Irvin's article in the February issue. "Archaeology Supports Women's Ordination" has caused a stir in circles ranging from the *National Catholic Reporter* to the *National Enquirer* (yes, the latter is the tabloid in your local supermarket).

To refresh your memory, Dr. Irvin, a theologian and former photographer for the Tubingen Biblical Archaeological Institute, said that she had photos of ancient mosaics, frescoes and inscriptions that show female priests and bishops were in the early Christian church. Three of Dr. Irvin's photos accompanied our article.

Shortly after our article came out, Patty Edmonds, news editor of the *National Catholic Reporter*, called to ask permission to reprint it in their March 21 issue. Then Frank Somerville, religion editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, spotted Irvin's claim in THE WITNESS and called our office. He did a front page story, which was seen by Tom Harpur, religion editor of the *Toronto Star*, who called us and also ran a front page story.

Meanwhile, Jerry Renner of *Religious News Service* told us he would circulate the story, and *Canadian Churchman* phoned for a copy, having seen the *Toronto Star*. A reporter from the *National Enquirer* telephoned, saying she was going to interview Dorothy Irvin and wanted the February issue. Is this beginning to sound like the biblical "begats?"

At the end of March, George Cornell, Associated Press religion writer,

circulated the story on the AP wire. And we have seen references to it in *The Christian Century* and *The Living Church*, both citing THE WITNESS as source. We wouldn't be at all surprised to see Bishop Theodora staring at us from the *Enquirer* on our next trip through the express checkout counter. Just remember, you read it first in THE WITNESS!

We are still getting clippings in the mail (for example, from George McClain, who sent us the story in the *Staten Island Advocate*; Becky Kershner, from the *Schenectady Gazette*, and Gini MacDonald, the *Bangor Daily News*). Has anyone else out there seen it?

Heady from that success, we happily moved into production of our special April issue on the Black Church and Social Change, but our pride was punctured by the typo in the title of the story on page 4, "Civil Rights Movement: How It Succeeded, (*sic*), How It Failed." It was good for our humility and goes to show that we at THE WITNESS, who write so frequently about the poor and oppressed, have a lot of trouble dealing with "success."

★ ★ ★

Requiescat in Pacem

Bill Stringfellow told us in our last telephone conversation that he was waiting for the Spring thaw so he could bury the ashes of his friend, Anthony Towne, in the garden at Eschaton, a home they shared for many years.

Anthony, a poet whose work has appeared in THE WITNESS, died January 28 at Westerly Hospital, at the age of 51. As part of the requiem service, his friends from the Block Island Writers Workshop read several of Anthony's recent writings.

Seneca once said that "*we are mistaken when we look forward to death; the major portion of death has already passed. Whatever years lie behind us are in death's hands.*"

Perhaps something like that was in Anthony Towne's creative imagination when he wrote his own mock obituary, read as part of the celebration of his life. He also wrote "A Short History of Anthony Towne," from which we quote below, picking up where Anthony has just finished describing his boarding school days at Andover.

"One thing leads to another, and Andover leads to Yale. At Yale, Towne discovered God. He had been raised as something called a Universalist (because his father shared with the minister a conviction that the Republican Party was God's gift to mankind) but he had never associated religion with God, and from Sunday school had developed the notion that Jesus was a guy who had everything going for him and blew it.

"One Christmas vacation from Yale, Towne informed his father that he had decided to become a Roman Catholic. Edwin G. (for

by Mary Lou Suhor

God-Almighty) Towne, Jr. replied that so long as he was paying the bills at Yale his son would become neither a Catholic nor a Communist. The poet-to-be thought this over carefully and elected to become an Episcopalian. He has been an Episcopalian ever since (and an admirer of what somebody has called 'the Anglican genius for compromise'), although his enthusiasm has waned as he has gradually discovered that whatever Jesus may be said to have been he certainly was no Episcopalian. Towne's discovery of God at Yale was interrupted by another discovery: military service. He enlisted in the army where he would rise to the high office of corporal. . .

"When he finally outgrew Yale, Towne found himself with funds sufficient for a year or so of frugal wandering in Europe. At the passport office a young lady inquired what might be his occupation? The thought had never before entered his mind. He replied that he was a poet. Shortly after that he wrote a poem. He has been a poet ever since. . ."

THE WITNESS staff offers prayers and condolences to Anthony's mother, Margaret, his sister, Joan, and to his—and our—beloved friend, Bill Stringfellow.

*Copyright, The Block Island Writers' Workshop, 1979.

Scapegoats or Culprits?

by Jack Woodard

Bruce Griffith was a dope pusher who killed policeman Arthur Snyder, who was trying to arrest him after a "buy" a few blocks from St. Stephen's. Griffith happened to be black and Snyder white. Two to three thousand people showed up for Griffith's wake. This has led to much speculation in the media and on the street about whether the crowd was a sign of worsening inter-race relations and/or police hassle on 14th St.

Let's get a few things straight:

Dope: Nobody in the inner city wants dope around except the vultures who profit from it. A guy of any race who starts pushing dope has gone to war against the neighborhood. He's nobody's hero. But it may well have been the only way he could make a living.

Police: I've worked in other city areas where I dared not call the police because the odds of brutality were too high. That's not true in this neighborhood. The police are no angels (who is?), but they're highly professional, quick to respond, and in many situations I have yet to see hassle or unnecessary force. A cop locking up a pusher is doing the neighborhood a big favor and obviously at some personal risk.

Race: I do *not* believe inter-race relations on the urban scene are seriously deteriorating. Recently, nearly as many people turned out at St. Stephen's for the wake of a black football coach as were present at Bruce Griffith's wake. But it was not

sensational, so it received little attention, though it was a black funeral conducted by a white minister.

I *do* believe class relationships are close to disruption and disorder. The culprit is not race nor the police. It's not even dope. The real culprit in the Griffith/Snyder tragedy is *increasing economic injustice*.

I mean money for basic human needs slashed to provide increased budgets for the Pentagon; energy profiteering and real estate speculation causing thousands of poor and middle class people to be evicted or otherwise lose their homes; runaway inflation beginning to make pension and welfare checks run out long before the end of the month; inequitable tax laws building a rage within the middle class.

If Griffith, black or white, had been able to find a job and to hope for a future, both he and Snyder would likely be alive today.

A new underclass may be forming out of the poor and middle classes. If the real culprit is finally identified in the public consciousness and a new alliance forged against the wealthy and the business and political structures of the country, there will be drastic changes.

There is little reason for optimism that any political leadership presently in the picture will try or be able to act upon these opinions of mine.

But certainly as long as you and I make scapegoats out of each other racially, or out of either Griffith or Snyder, the injustices will continue—and more Griffiths and more Snyders will bite the dust.

The Rev. Jack Woodard is rector of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church in Washington, D.C. The above vignette appeared in the parish newsletter, *Bread*.

Picheta



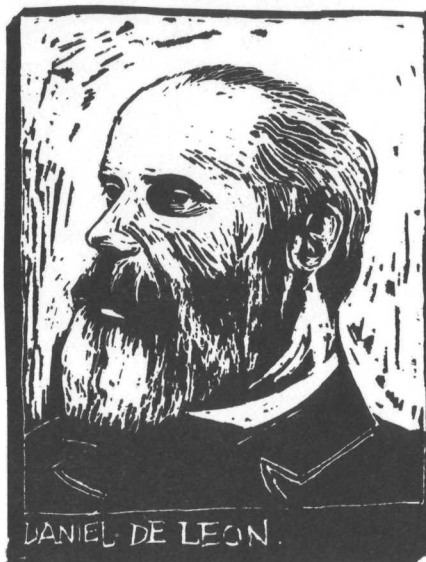
W.E.B. DU BOIS



MOTHER JONES



EUGENE V. DEBS



DANIEL DE LEON



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

Which Side Are We On?

Some 8,000 copies of Must We Choose Sides?—the new Study/Action Guide introduced at the Episcopal General Convention—have been sold by the Inter-Religious Task Force for Social Analysis, leaving only 2,000 residuals from the initial press run after only seven months of sales.

A companion piece, which answers the first with another question, Which Side Are We On?, will be available for distribution this month. Designed as tools for social analysis under the general rubric, "Christian Commitment for the '80s," Volume 1 has proved useful in parishes, religious orders, and schools. The second volume, 200 pages, moves into a deeper understanding of inflation, unemployment, the danger of war, and explores alternatives other than capitalism.

As with the first volume, we are sharing a brief description of the contents of Which Side Are We On? with WITNESS readers, since the Episcopal Church Publishing Company played a vital role in its production. We have reproduced the introduction, orientation and overview directly from the book.

Orientation and Overview

During the early waves of migration to the United States, as the Statue of Liberty beckoned to the oppressed, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free," this country was referred to by some as a melting pot of hardworking people seeking to fulfill the "American dream." As we enter the 1980s, that "melting pot" is more like a seething cauldron.

In the intervening years, many people have participated in an historic and intensifying struggle between capitalism and socialism. As capitalism gained hegemony over the world in protracted imperialistic lunges, the economic crises at home and abroad deepened and resistance took many forms. The world has seen tremendous upheaval and momentous events; nation after nation has sought revolution.

Over this period of time, the people in the United States have seen their dreams deferred as the economic system of capitalism in which they worked treated them, in the words of Carl Sandburg, "as a child, to be pleased or fed; or again, a hoodlum you have to get tough with," but seldom as though they were "a cauldron and a reservoir of the human reserves that shape history."

In recent times, people felt they had burst into a new era. Freed from the restrictive atmosphere and loyalty oaths of the McCarthy period of the '50s, they participated in shaping the politics of the '60s. Riding the crests of waves made in struggles of Civil Rights, Anti-War, Poor People's and Feminist Movements, the people saw themselves on the move.

But the sobering '70s were a setback as working people, without strong leadership and organization, stood defenseless as the gains they had won were taken back again. The capitalist system proved a resilient and powerful opponent. Equal rights for women and affirmative action programs gave way as workers lost ground to inflation; right-to-work laws, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, anti-busing, red-lining and runaway shops all took their toll. The people were numbed.

Negativism set in, exacerbated by the fact that the two-party system offered no real choices. Elections were determined by the

amount of money candidates could pour into them, how they could influence opinion polls, and how they could impress audiences by their "TV images" as created by public relations firms. In a Nevada election, people's cynicism reached its zenith when the slot, "None of the above," received more votes than the candidates listed.

During the '70s it seemed as though people stopped to regroup — minds reeling after the decade of the '60s with its frenetic politics, marked by murder and assassinations — the Kennedys, Martin Luther King, Jr., Fred Hampton, Viola Liuzzo, the students of Jackson and Kent State, among them. And so it appeared that in the '70s the people were immobilized. "The mammoth," as Sandburg termed them, "rested between cyclonic dramas."

As we enter the decade of the '80s, the mass media has recorded a dramatic shift to the Right, but that is only half the story. Concomitant with that has been a dramatic, though unheralded, movement to the Left as well. People not only "rested" but also looked inward to draw upon a new reserve of strength. They analyzed and evaluated past experiences. They studied Marxism, as a method of analysis, and they reclaimed a proud history of Left tradition in this country once lost to public memory because of fear and '50s Cold War repression.

Today there is a simmering, growing, renewed readiness for activism. Movement is building slowly and subtly nationwide. It is not marked by the romantic fervor and heady idealism that characterized protest in the '60s. The movement of the '80s is rooted in a more deliberate and less spontaneous activism. The ardor and the short-fused anger of the '60s have been channeled into a deep commitment to long-term struggle.

Those experienced activists from previous decades who carry many physical and mental scars from the struggles against racism, sexism and imperialism have, upon reflection, come to a number of conclusions. One is that a system based on profit and greed cannot solve our major social problems. Secondly, attacking that system by focusing on single issues is not effective. The pervasive powerlessness now felt by racial minorities, women, gays, and others is the powerlessness resulting from fragmentation within a system which pits one division within the working class against another. Working people today have rediscovered the conviction that spurred previous generations of activists: Together we can take control of the forces that shape our lives.

As we enter a new "era of limits" and we recognize that U.S. influence in the world is on the decline, we can see that the middle ground is quickly eroding. People are moving off center to the Left, at the same time the Right is organizing a well-financed offensive. The nation is entering another period of worsening relations with the Soviet Union. SALT II is shelved. Detente is said to be dead. The armaments budget is skyrocketing while social services are declining. The Cold War is on again and threatening to become a hot one. A new imperial foreign policy, "the Carter Doctrine" has been formed. Draft registration is being reinstated. The military is making preparations to war over our oil addiction under the guise of "national security." The Soviets have invaded Afghanistan and paranoia shows signs of setting in for another long run. In part, this is the kind of environment that spawned McCarthyism 30 years ago. These dangerous times require courage and clear thinking. Strategy becomes very important and it can only be developed based on sound analysis. It

is that fact, above all others, which motivated the formation of the Inter-Religious Task Force for Social Analysis and the production of this study guide, *Which Side Are We On?*

Equally motivating was the fact that the editors believed that for Christians, political consciousness-raising and ideological struggle within the churches go hand in hand. An analysis, therefore, which links the radical salvation history of the people of God to an understanding of the primacy of the economic system in determining the social health of the whole human family is essential.

A companion publication entitled, *Must We Choose Sides?*, is available from the address listed on the back cover (\$5.95 plus \$1 postage and handling) for those who find these readings and exercises too advanced for their constituencies, or who have not bought these two volumes as a set. That earlier edition tackles subjects at a more basic level, gives suggestions on how to form a study group, and provides details about the origin of this task force.

Let us merely repeat here that we initiated a collective editorial process, and our editorial working group consists of six women and seven men — people who are lay, ordained, or members of religious orders. Our religious affiliations are Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, Reformed Church of America and Disciples of Christ.

Readers of this guide will find no blueprint for revolution. As with the attempts to scale the heights of mountains, the trails leading to a better society are punctuated with the record of tragic failures. History is replete with accounts of counter-revolutions, coups, conquests and utopian experiments, many of which are recalled in this book. Some have been cynically cruel, some merely romantic, others hopelessly idealistic. Some, however, have been cogent, careful, constructive.

Some have plunged humankind into decades of decadence, others have opened new windows of hope for millions. But the quest goes on, as it must, because the unquenchable human spirit, reflecting its divine source, refuses to be daunted in its search for a society that is just and humane.

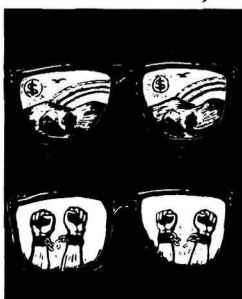
As editors of this book, we are not of one mind on the particulars of what that new society will look like, nor are we of one mind on the

point of view expressed by all the readings in this book. We are, however, unified in the endorsement of the contents of this volume as a serious and considered effort to make a contribution to the struggle for our future.

We also feel it important to stress that we have been taught to resist socialist ideas in this country, especially by the class-controlled media. This book is an attempt to shake us loose from the one-sided information we have been given since youth, into a liberating experience of discovery of both our radical heritage and an understanding of the present forces that will shape our future. Into that search we are drawn by the fact that our existence is inescapably, and crucially, a social existence. The texture of our economic life with others and the quality of our society determines our humanity, as the pages of this book seek to make clear.

Session 1: Understanding Political & Religious Ideology

In this first session we are invited to examine the fact that theology has never been neutral nor have ideologies ever been "objective." As theologian Juan Luis Segundo explains it, any attempt to put through a radical change in the existing structures must present itself as an ideology. But, any attempt to support the status quo reflects an ideology as well. In this way, theology and ideology have always taken sides in class struggle.



Along these lines, we have heard, perhaps, of "Christians for Socialism," but not of "Christians for Capitalism." While people do not organize under that rubric, many are wittingly and unwittingly joined to carry out a strategy of exploitation against the workers and the poor. The exercise in this session helps us to "unmask" our own political and religious ideology,

Session 2: Capitalism in Crisis

Working people — or the eight million unemployed — do not need a long litany of facts

and figures to prove to them that capitalism is in crisis. They awake every morning to news of rising costs and shortages, and experience the consequences in sacrifice and suffering. But key to proposing solutions for change is the way we analyze the crisis, which, in turn, is influenced by the ideological perspective from which we approach it.



This session employs an ideology committed to the interests of the working class and the poor. Its purpose is not only to understand the crisis, but to change the economic system which spawns it. The exercise asks us to analyze the role of the media in undergirding the capitalist ideology and fragmenting our view of the news.

Session 3: Class Struggle in Our Times

We live in a society that is divided into classes. That observation seems simple enough. But when we try to analyze the concept of class struggle, our task becomes far more complicated. The struggle is not so simplistic as the workers and the poor vs. the owners and the rich. Contradictions abound among the workers themselves, and the owners as well, as each class tries to organize in its own interest.



And, of course, it is always to the advantage of the capitalist class to exacerbate conflict amongst the workers, to keep them off balance and disorganized in ethnic and sexist disputes; so much so that capitalists have financed a right-wing offensive against workers. This session initiates exploration of all the above aspects of the class struggle.

Session 4: Exploring the Alternatives

First, we test the validity of a number of myths we have heard all our lives about socialism — myths mostly propagated by that class

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which controls the educational institutions and dominates the media. Then, on a positive note, we take on a study of the political economy of socialism, examining four components: Social ownership, working people's power, laws of socialist economy, and socialist values in everyday life.



Finally, this session provides an ambitious overview of illusionary alternatives to capitalism. Included is a critique of various individualistic, incremental, and structural change alternatives (pietistic religion, human potential movements, pacifism, liberal reform, populist and social democratic movements, and fascism).

Session 5: The Socialist Movement in U.S. History

History as written from the "top" — or dominating class — is quite different from history as lived from the "bottom" — or the exploited. This session recaptures for us those lost moments of a proud history which we must know to strategize for the future. We live through workers struggles as seen through the eyes of Mother Jones, and striking dockworkers in San Francisco.



Mother Jones

Ironically, many U.S. citizens know more about the history of the Left in other countries such as the Soviet Union or China than they do about the Left in their own. Further, as this book is written, no one party has emerged to attract the imagination of the masses here. Since real success for such an organization depends on an analysis of why past attempts have failed, this session is crucial to our political future.

Session 6: Christians and the Socialist Option

In this session we become acquainted with a number of Christians whose lives reflected

that they had successfully dealt with the relationship between faith and politics. As theologian Gustavo Gutierrez points out, "human reason has become political reason. For the contemporary historical consciousness, things political are not only those which one attends to during the free time afforded by one's private life; nor are they a well-defined area of human existence. It is the sphere for the exercise of a critical freedom which is won through history. It is the universal determinant and the collective arena for human fulfillment. Nothing lies outside the political sphere understood in this way."



In a world where politics is the fundamental human dimension, then, Christian love can hardly be apolitical, as proven in the lives of those described in this session. Needless to say, socialist Christian history has been ignored, as has socialist history, in this country, especially in the wake of the McCarthy period. In that regard, we are also reminded that "the cross" will always be part of class struggle.

Session 7: How Do We Organize?

Now comes the hard part. Having taken a class stand, where do we go, what political entity will guarantee the rule of the working class majority, who are our allies, where are the resources, what is the strategy? Hard questions, these, only some of which we can help to answer in this book. To offer a blueprint would be naive and utopian. But there are some vital steps we can take at this point.



This session helps us to develop a method for evaluating our own political action, to distinguish between substantive reform and reformism, and to build upon our strengths. The appendix that completes this book lists extensive resources for continued study and action.

The Idolatry and Promise of the Church

by George McClain

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because God has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. God has sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

(Luke 4:18-19)

The above passage is key to understanding the social mandate of the Christian Gospel, for with these words Jesus announced his ministry, and therefore shaped the nature of the ministry we carry on in his name.

The meaning seems quite straightforward and, in fact, radical in its implications, placing the Christian message implacably in opposition to economic poverty and political oppression. Yet we repeatedly encounter interpretations, among both liberals and conservatives, which would divest the Gospel of all that is radical.

The Rev. George D. McClain is Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action and editor of the MSFA bimonthly publication, *Social Questions Bulletin*. This article first appeared in Vol. 69, Nos. 5 and 6 of the SQB, and is in Vol. 2, *Which Side Are We On?*

For instance, the author of the Moffatt Bible Commentary writes:

On Jesus' lips the "good news" has a purely religious import. . . The term the poor is to be taken in its inward spiritual sense. . . and similarly the expressions captive, blind, oppressed indicate not primarily the downtrodden victims of material force, such as Rome's, but the victims of inward repressions, neuroses, and other spiritual ills due to misdirection and failure of life's energies and purposes.

This sort of "spiritualizing" of the Bible and Christian message permeates all North American church life. How is it to be explained?

Christians today who work among victims of economic poverty and political oppression, both in the United States and Third World countries, immediately challenge the Moffatt commentary as a serious distortion. In seeking to uncover the reasons for this type of interpreting, these Christians are discovering the usefulness of Karl Marx's understanding of how ideas are rooted in economic reality.

Marx's analysis is predicated upon the importance of "material" life, the

basic and essential day-to-day tasks of meeting human needs. This philosophical outlook of *materialism* (not to be confused with the notion of consumerism and a desire for more and more "things") recognizes that our consciousness and our ideas are decisively shaped by the experiences we have in the course of living and working in order to survive as human beings. Materialism differs from the philosophical outlook of *idealism* (not to be confused with commitment to high principles) which contends that people's consciousness and ideas are primarily shaped by exposure to ideas themselves and by mysterious forces beyond our control. Gracie Lyons, in *Constructive Criticism* gives the following explanation of the difference:

Suppose we're trying to explain the fact that many of the older white women in our community organizations don't speak out at neighborhood meetings. An idealist approach might yield explanations such as "Women are just naturally more passive," or "It's just women's instinct to be receptive rather than aggressive." A materialist approach, on the other hand, would focus its



attention on the concrete work experiences of women, experiences determined by the way labor in our society has been divided along sex lines. If a woman's daily life experiences consist mostly of doing unpaid housework, and raising children in the isolation of the home, we can easily see the material basis for her quiet behavior.

In our society ideas are usually accounted for by idealist explanations. These tend to obscure the down-to-earth struggles by certain groups and assure that idealism, not materialism, dominates the cultural and religious scene.

While Christians would not go all the way with some versions of Marxism which account for mental or spiritual phenomena solely on the basis of philosophical materialism, our long-standing idealistic bent desperately needs to be corrected by the materialist perspective.

Marxism asserts that the trends in intellectual history depend upon who controls the economic base by which a society meets its material needs, by who controls the means of production. The capitalist class in our system controls not only the economic base through which are created the essential elements for human survival (food, shelter,

clothing, etc.). It also dominates the political, cultural, legal and governmental institutions which tend to perpetuate the economic system and the interests of the ruling class, who are its chief beneficiaries. For instance, the legal system in a capitalist society always protects the supposed "right" to accumulate wealth and to own unlimited amounts of "private" property. Were this not the case, capitalism could not exist.

Thus, through control of the economic base, the capitalist class is able strongly to influence political and cultural institutions and the ideas and images which they continually market. Marxism contends quite convincingly that the dominant ideas of a society tend to be those which are for the most part compatible with the continued control of the ruling class through the dominant economic system. The current spate of narcissistic and self-centered pop psychology books, such as *Looking Out for #1* and *How To Be Your Own Best Friend*, embody in a crass way the individualism and selfishness which capitalist institutions foster. This perspective on the source of dominant ideas provides us with a powerful tool for understanding why the church as an institution has tended to give support, first to feudalism and then later to capitalism and now even to monopoly

capitalism and its transnational corporations.

Given the constant pressure upon religious, cultural and educational institutions to provide ideological support for capitalism, it is not surprising that religious thought tends to take place within certain limits that appear to be self-imposed but are in fact imposed by the exigencies of the system. This means that the institutional church is constantly under pressure to interpret the Scriptures, celebrate the sacraments, and preach the Word of God in a manner acceptable to the capitalist view of life—often called the "American way." As a result, clergy who have spoken out against racism, sexism, capitalism and imperialism often bear significant scars—such as the loss of their pastorates.

Most of the time these limits are imposed, not through overt coercion, but rather through the internalization by church leaders and followers of the prevailing cultural ideology, which includes a stress on individualism, self-sufficiency, personal responsibility for one's lot in society, the supremacy of "free enterprise," and a visceral and unquestioned anti-communism.

While normally the limits on the church's social thought are indirect and self-imposed, these limits could become overt and direct, if necessary. Imagine for a moment what would happen if the church in North America suddenly were to put its whole institutional weight behind a movement to reject capitalism. Corporations would begin to threaten the financial livelihood of churches and their vast array of institutions by cutting off direct and indirect corporate and foundation contributions, as well as the large personal gifts that enable the churches to command such vast resources. Significant membership losses would follow, not only among the capitalist class, but also among those in the middle and working class who rightly or wrongly identify their

personal well-being with the existence of capitalism. In recent years, even the few and generally mild questions raised about aspects of capitalism by the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches have been met with threats by the wealthy to withhold contributions or leave member denominations. Further down the line, we could expect governmental authorities to use their powers to curb the privileges the churches enjoy, such as tax-free status, and to find ways, probably "legal" ways, to harass the church.

Sometimes the assumption is made that while right-wing fundamentalist Christianity clearly plays the role of defending prejudice and free enterprise while countering alleged communism, middle-of-the-road or "liberal" denominations do not participate in this defense of the status quo. This is not true. Although explicitly right-wing religious lobbies and churches may act as the "shock troops" against any deviation from the tacit Christian-capitalist alliance, so-called moderate and liberal churches and their leaders are perhaps more effective in providing religious support for capitalism.

In fact, as the North American peoples have become educated and secularized, the unsophisticated forms

of other-wordly religion (biblical literalism with an emphasis on the fear of hell and escape to heaven) have been increasingly less useful in providing the individualistic and spiritualized interpretation of Christianity required by capitalism. Thus, liberal churches have developed theologies which do not conflict with natural science and literary criticism of the Bible. They have also specialized in providing for every age level a sense of community (something very lacking in a competitive society). Finally, rather than address the underlying causes, they have developed various forms of outreach, mostly of a charitable nature, that meet gaps in the delivery of social services—such as providing meals for senior citizens, hosting child care facilities and sponsoring government funded non-profit housing. The Advertising Council of America even encourages this religion-in-life approach.

Several mechanisms are employed to proscribe church life in such a way as to render it safe for capitalism. One is to stress individual concerns, basically in isolation from social realities. Here the emphasis is on a "pastoral" orientation which provides personal and religious support for the inevitable crises of life. Generally speaking, these crises are not interpreted in the counseling situation

as possible openings through which God may be calling a person to move toward a new, broader and more biblical and political understanding of life. How many times, for instance, have women counseled with pastors about a basic dissatisfaction with their lot in life, only to have their socialization as traditional subservient housewives and full-time mothers be reinforced rather than challenged? How seldom has any pastor ever told a dissatisfied worker, "Well, you know, to work for somebody else's personal gain is by definition to be ripped off—no matter how well they pay you!"

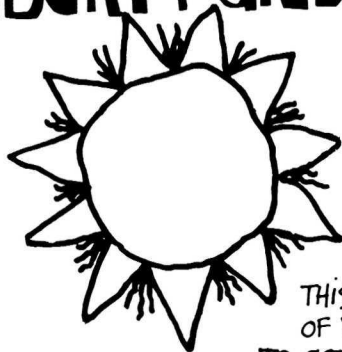
Another technique is that of interpreting every biblical passage so that only psychological and "spiritual" realities are taken seriously. The principalities and powers which oppress are here limited to spiritual, interior ones—personal sin, the temptation to dishonesty, low self-esteem, etc. As in the earlier example regarding Jesus' announcement of his ministry, to free the oppressed applies only to the *spiritually* oppressed; to liberate the captives means to free only the *spiritually* bound.

Finally, to the extent that social issues are confronted, the technique is to treat the victims as objects of charity (as do most hunger projects) rather than

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THE LIBERATION PROCESS
OF ✕ OUR PEOPLE..."
-Mons. ROMERO, ARCHBISHOP OF SAN SALVADOR-

Archbishop Oscar A. Romero, El Salvador's most liberal Roman Catholic Bishop, was assassinated March 24 as he celebrated Mass.

LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL



THIS IS WHAT YAHWEH ASKS
OF YOU: ONLY THIS,
TO ACT JUSTLY, TO LOVE TENDERLY
AND TO WALK
HUMBLY WITH YOUR GOD.
MICAH 6:8

as persons to be empowered to change the system which created the hunger and oppression. Where specific divisive issues do emerge and the church cannot avoid a choice, a frequent tactic is to treat the issue as one to be debated or studied, so that "both sides may be heard." If a side is taken, then care is taken to limit the matter to a harmless resolution and avoid, if possible, actually engaging in any action that confronts an evil and demands a change. "Politics is really for the politician." "We don't know enough about the issue to get involved." "The church's job is to be involved not in conflict but in reconciliation." These are frequently used rationalizations for passivity. If some action is taken, it may well be offering the church's "good offices" to both sides in the dispute, a thoroughly non-controversial role which in most cases serves to maintain the status quo.

When Marx stated that religion was the opiate of the people, he was commenting on the role of organized Christianity in his day. Whether one looks at Christianity past or present, the churches, with some notable exceptions, do play this role of opiate, justifying the existing order and keeping

people unclear about the cause of so much human suffering—suffering which could be radically diminished if the profit motive were not the final arbiter of life in our society.

Given this pessimistic analysis of the alliance between the church and capitalism, we may wonder if there are any possibilities for the church to cross the boundaries informally set for it and respond to the Gospel.

Marxist criticism of religion, as generally interpreted, would assert that religion ultimately is based on an illusion and can make no lasting contribution to the building of a new, non-capitalist society.

Before rushing to reject this possibility, we should acknowledge how helpful Marxist criticism of religion is in revealing how religion becomes permeated with a capitalist ideology and how religious institutions, even "liberal" ones, tend to play a reactionary role. Religion under capitalism has served as an opiate of the people, a mystifier of the actual realities of society, and for this we in the church must repent in the full biblical sense of turning away from serious wrongdoing toward a radically new life.

Marx serves the function of the

modern day prophet to the church in our era, indicting it for its idolatry and enabling Christians again to take seriously Jesus' teaching, "No servant can serve two masters. . . You cannot serve God and mammon (money)."

As Christians seeking to be faithful, we know the basic stance of capitalism is anti-Christian, for it is built upon the maximizing of personal profit, the nurturing of an impulse to be grasping, the promotion of individualism instead of community, the exaltation of the strong over the weak, and the subordination of human life to economic gain. As biblical people, we know the judgment of God in calling the church away from idolatry and back to faithful obedience. We also know of significant instances of the church throwing its support behind revolutionary efforts, as in the role of the black church in the United States in the struggle against racism, and in the current involvement of countless Latin American laity, religious and priests in the struggle against capitalism on their continent. In some smaller or larger way, most of us know of circles of Christians who have broken through the limits imposed upon the church, and have become active and uncompromising agents of radical change.

We, therefore, may proclaim the hope that the church—or at least a saving remnant of it—can be the courageous and effective bearer of the Gospel message that the will of God is opposed to capitalism and to the church's alliance with capitalism; further, that the way of obedience in our time is to call for a new social and economic order built not on exploitation, but on the sharing of God's gifts among all the people. Early in this century Karl Barth wrote, "Real socialism is real Christianity in our time." Perhaps now is the time when such words will fall on fertile soil and, by the grace of God, bring forth a hundredfold yield. ■

Continued from page 2

struggle against these evils.

I would like to point out a group of oppressed women not mentioned in any case of the articles: the women of the Episcopal Church in dioceses whose bishops will not or have not ordained women. The General Convention which approved the ordination of women to the priesthood did so by approving Title III Canon 9 Sec. 1: "The provisions of these Canons for the admission of Candidates to the Ordination to the three Orders, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, shall be equally applicable to men and women." The House of Bishops met a month later, Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 1977 in Port St. Lucie, Fla., and adopted "A Statement of Conscience" to qualify their position on the ordination of women. The concluding section reads:

In the light of all this and in keeping with our intention at Minneapolis, we affirm that no Bishop, Priest or Deacon or Lay Person should be coerced or penalized in any manner, nor suffer any canonical disabilities as a result of his or her conscientious objection to or support of the 65th General Convention's action with regard to the ordination of women to the priesthood or episcopate.

The fact is, numerous women are

penalized and do suffer "canonical disabilities" because they act on their belief that the ordination canons do apply equally to them. For there are bishops, standing committees, commissions on ministry, dioceses that have arrogated to themselves the right *not* to consider the canons as applying equally to women and men by denying women access to "due process" under the ordination canons.

I believe there is grave injustice being done. The Episcopal Church is behaving irresponsibly and unethically in not addressing this issue as a church. It is not just our problem as women, or that certain dioceses are a "problem"; it is the whole church that is and has the problem, although I have yet to hear anyone publicly address it.

**Wendy Williams
Sewanee, Tenn.**

All Under Judgment

I must speak out on two subjects: the urban caucus meetings and the ordination of women. The support you have given the Episcopal Urban Caucus is fine except that I wonder if you know how "set up to fail" the whole event is?

First of all, with the price of registration, hotel rooms and transportation, who but the wealthy bishops and priests involved can

attend? The really involved people are certainly not in a position, with inflation choking us, to attend. The really affected Episcopalians are either burned out by now, or have been forced underground by what Bill Stringfellow calls "the priorities of bishops" in refusing candidacy to social activists and other deviant seminarians! Stringfellow himself is a valid model of inner city ministry, but is he ever listened to, really?

On women's ordination: you have consistently spoken out and let the voices of women be heard. The appalling lack of response, or brutal response as a result isn't surprising. I have known several of the women personally, and just want to ask others to lay off the backs of these people. These women are not our whipping posts, for God's sake. No one has given the Episcopal Church an excuse to destroy itself through in-fighting. Until the millenium arrives, we all are under judgment, not only the few we have singled out as controversial.

**Dorothy McMillan, M.Div.
Geneseo, N.Y.**

CREDITS

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provided the access to a freedom they felt was an inalienable right of which they were being deprived. And basic to that process was a lot of hard and clear deliberation by a remarkable group of thinkers, many of them self-taught. Jefferson, Madison, Adams, Franklin and the others studied and argued about Rousseau, Locke, the classical Greek democracy, looking for clues as to how to create in the new world a government which would be of the people, by the people and for the people. Whether the governance which resulted from their efforts proves viable in our time depends in large measure on whether we have the same dedication to freedom in our time as they did in theirs.

The people who publish THE WITNESS have collaborated with an inter-religious task force to create tools for helping people make a critical analysis of our society, how it functions, and why it so often works poorly. It will indeed be surprising if there are not cries of "Treason!" The forces of a threatened system, now as always, will seek to discredit and denounce such criticism of the status quo. This is our heritage, to pay that kind of price for the search for freedom. We invite you to join this search with us. For it is not just thirteen small colonies, but an entire world bound together in one economic unit that is desperate for its full measure of freedom, politically and economically. ■

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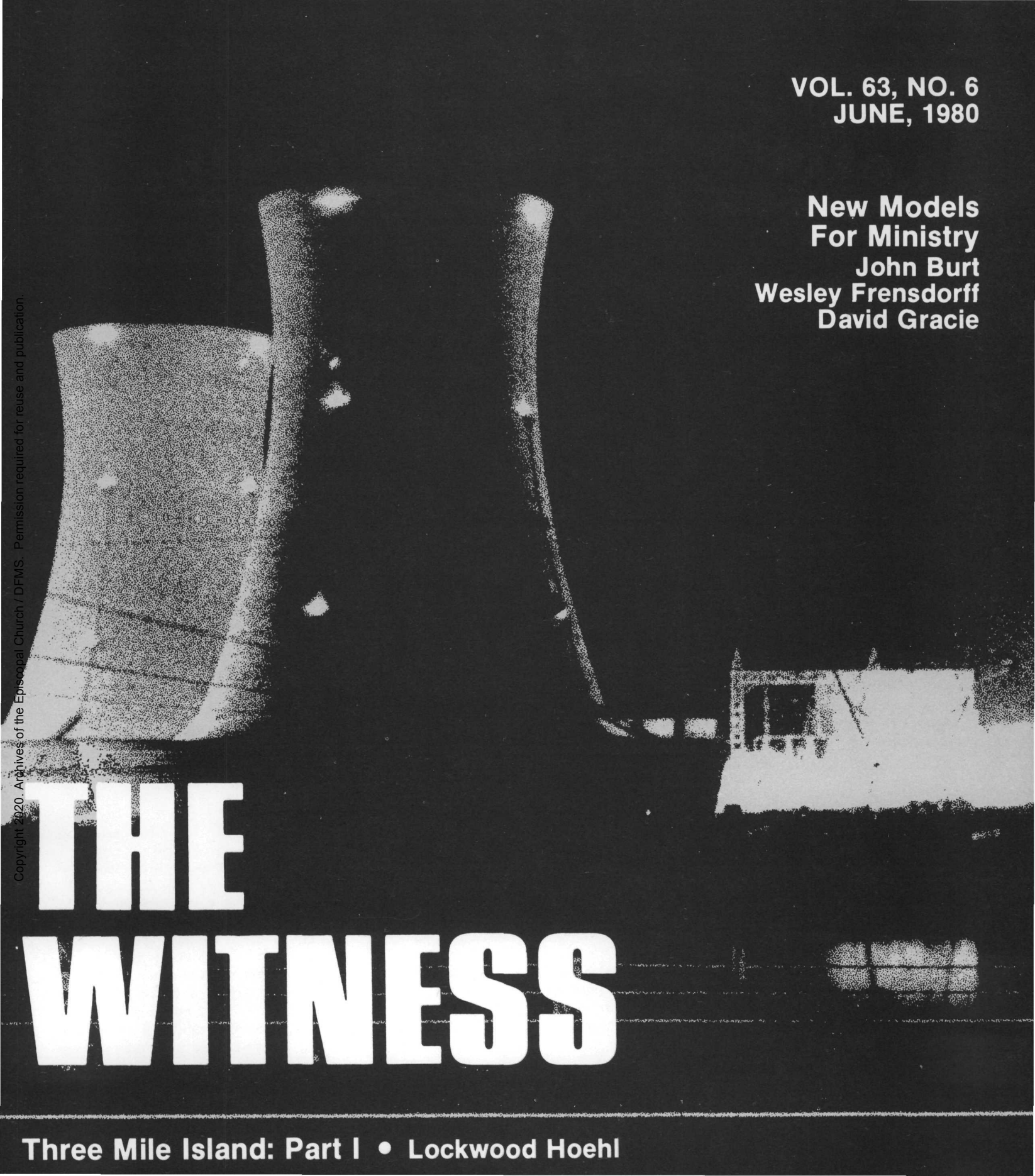
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THE WITNESS

Three Mile Island: Part I • Lockwood Hoehl



Letters

to the

Editor

Ordination Process Adds More Hurdles

As one not terribly long out of seminary, I still remember some of the agony of going through the ordination process in the Episcopal Church. Since I am fortunate enough to have been tapped by two dioceses to serve on Commissions on Ministry, I am not unaware of the pressures brought to bear upon members thereof.

Richard Hawkins' article ("Jumping Through Hoops," March *WITNESS*) causes me to put in writing some of the problems I have personally witnessed these past several years.

Hawkins has gifted us with an excellent appraisal of the selection process for candidates seeking ordination, touching on several sensitive issues. A few more questions about this process are equally vexing. With the advent of Commissions on Ministry and nationally administered canonical examinations, many persons hoped for a breath of fresh air to come through an at least cracked door. Perhaps no longer, some fantasized, would candidates for Holy Orders be

subjected to the whims of local diocesans and examining chaplains, many of whom had not set foot in a seminary for two or more decades, let alone read a book on theology more contemporary than Daddy Hall's work on systematics.

Despite the new rules, the fact is that the door to ordination in many places is more closed than it was two decades ago. The revamping of process has only added a few more hurdles. Is it not rumored that one large East Coast diocese is headed by a bishop who queries each of his female aspirants whether the orgasms they experience are vaginal or clitoral? One psychological report to a Commission on Ministry stated in rather matter-of-fact fashion that the candidate was indeed heterosexual, and, in fact, a virgin. Is the proper response to yawn and sigh, "so what," to weep at such "personal misfortune," or to become enraged at such ecclesiastical impropriety and insensitivity?

Hawkins worries about the nature and

quality of persons reaching ordination: "Will the system approve the type who will go to Selma for an indefinite period of time despite the disapproval of the vestry?" Chances are the process will not be so lenient as to approve a person who wishes to serve in a specialized ministry (e.g. a chaplaincy in an institution), let alone one who might be attuned to contemporary social concerns. Chances are the system will not be so lenient as to approve study at Duke, Columbia or Harvard Divinity Schools, let alone honor the validity of specialized study *for credit* in recognized experientially-based growth programs. An area untouched by Hawkins, but of great significance, is the interpretation by Commissions on Ministry of Canons III-8 and III-10. How odd, for example, that success at business (and especially military service) often carries more weight under Canon III-10 than do excellent Graduate Record Examination scores for applicants under Canon III-5.

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Authority Roles: Servants or Bosses?

The article, "Collegiality, Resource or Bondage," by John E. Skinner in a recent issue of *THE WITNESS* magazine inspires this reflection:

Our fall conference discussed the lack of trust in our society's institutions, including the church. The discussion turned to the meaning of authority. Does authority come from the position that one holds — bishop, priest, teacher, policeman, general, president, parent, doctor? Or does it come from the way in which that position is practiced? Jesus taught "as one with authority — not as the Scribes and Pharisees." The Scribes

and Pharisees had positions in society's institutions. Jesus had no such position. What then was, is his authority?

I have recently had the special privilege of serving with and among the Navajo people of the Four Corners area of New Mexico. In 1974 three indigent, alcoholic, Navajo men were brutally torture-murdered by some white high school students. This incident inspired the formation of the Coalition for Navajo Liberation (CNL), a group which provided the focus for carrying out a succession of protest marches on the city where the murders occurred. I

attended most of the CNL meetings, held in the basement of our chapel. I observed much that taught me about the nature of authority and leadership. All who wanted to speak were allowed, even encouraged, to do so, as long and as often as they wanted. The meetings would go on until 2 or 3 a.m. Coordinators would sum up and propose courses of action, but only when there was consensus would decisions be made and specific actions planned and carried out. Authority lay not in one's position but in seeking to

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THE WITNESS

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Action Vital to EUC's Future

by Hugh C. White

Our guest editorial this month is by the Rev. Hugh C. White, who served as chief of staff for the many months of preparation leading to the organizing assembly of the Episcopal Urban Caucus in Indianapolis earlier this year. White was asked to reflect with the new Governing Board upon some of the hazards and opportunities which lay before them. Excerpts from his remarks follow.

The Episcopal Urban Caucus has the potential of being a real force within the church. Its major objective is redirecting the resources of the Episcopal Church and of ecumenical associates to social mission in the cities. It is critical that the Caucus accept its fundamental task — "mission action."

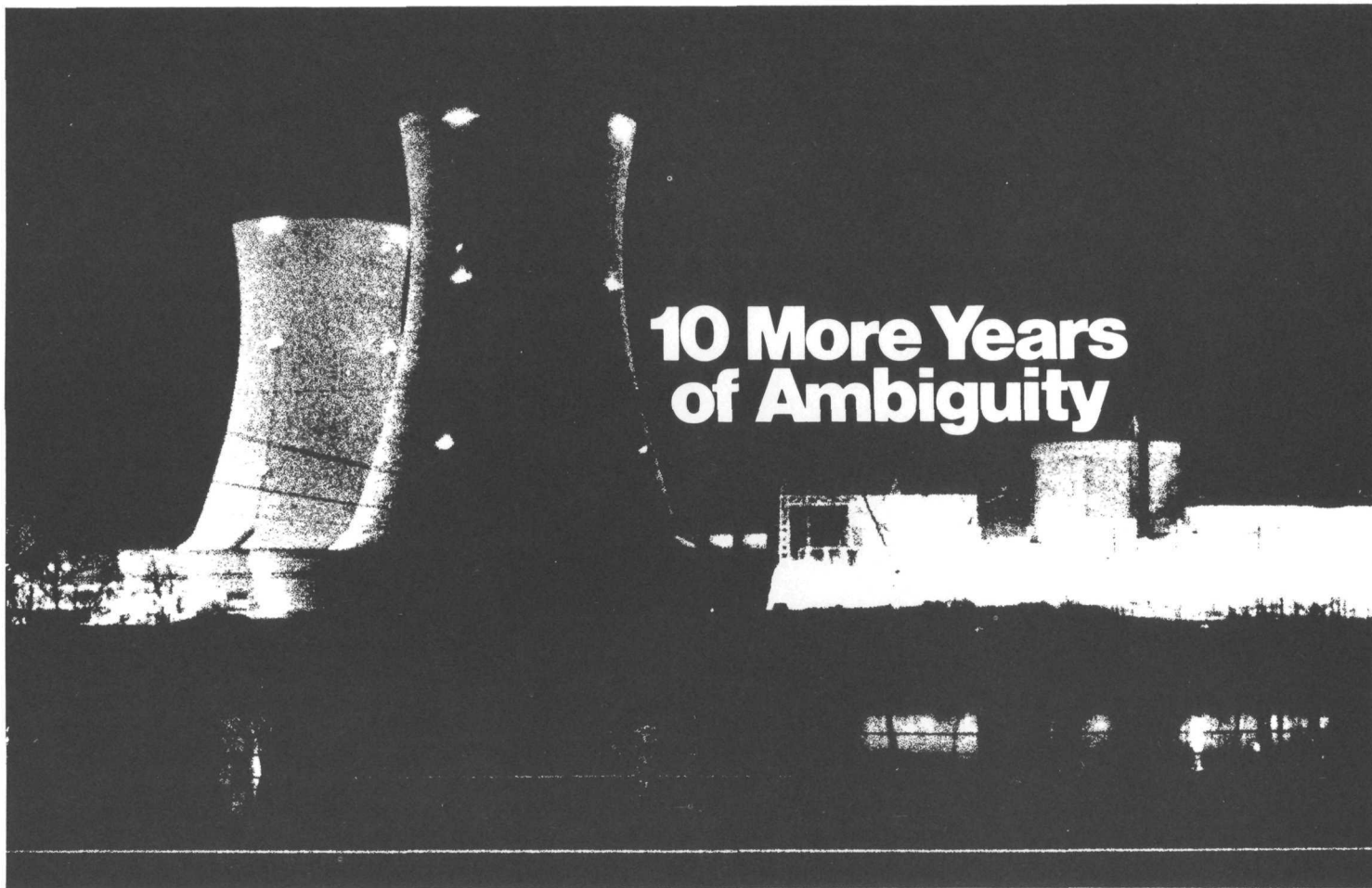
Now that the Caucus is in place, and a skeleton action program has been identified which is timely and consistent with our historical struggle, the Governing Board must be alert to the fears and apprehensions which action always provokes. The alternative is reverting to a coalition solely for "conscientizing" — a step backwards.

Some members of the Caucus will insist that we are not ready for action, that we do not understand the issues well enough, and that we need to do more study. That implies the basic misconception that ideas move history. Ideas do not move history; history generates the ideas and understandings which free us. Action will force us to do the study and training appropriate to being faithful to Jesus in our time. Jesus preached the Kingdom of God, and not himself. Jesus did not simply talk about "God," but spoke and acted in behalf of the Kingdom of God. The recognition of these facts, if

taken faithfully into account, would empower us to assert the church's mission and ministry today.

Think for a moment of the essence of our historical struggle. During the '70s, the Northern and Western nations, especially the United States, were preoccupied with the survival of liberal governments. There is evidence that the chief concern of the '80s will be the survival of private economic interests. In our world today, the economy is characterized by the focusing of power to the benefit of multinational corporations, widening the gap between the rich Northern countries and the Southern countries condemned to underdevelopment. In this situation, marked by growing unemployment and escalating inflation, the transnational economy is growing faster than the economies of the industrial countries. More and more, private corporate interests are convinced that the liberal democracies are not governable any longer and so they are promoting a "new system of ethics" which justifies the existence of a "restricted democracy." This would make possible a better control of public opinion, of the citizens themselves, and bring about a reduction of wages and salaries,

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10 More Years of Ambiguity

by Lockwood Hoehl

With this issue THE WITNESS begins a series of articles on the ambiguities felt by lay people and clergy in the Three Mile Island area one year after the nuclear accident.

More than a nuclear reactor was damaged by the accident at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania. A trusting, unassuming way of life for Harrisburg and Middletown area residents has been irreversibly disrupted.

Life will never return to the way it was before the March 28, 1979 accident. The question now is, what will it be like when life finally settles to a new normalcy? Or, to put it another way, what will it be like five or ten years from now when the accident, TMI's

continuing threat, and the controversy aroused are no longer constant preoccupations for people in the area?

Normally, the disaster itself would be the source of reconciliation, of unity. Whenever a flood, for example, hits a region — as happened in 1972 to this very Harrisburg and Middletown area — residents usually join together with a new sense of solidarity to overcome the effects of the disaster. But, as Lee Barker, minister of the Unitarian Church of Harrisburg, says about Three Mile Island, "The accident did not draw us together. Rather, it fragmented us."

If Barker means by "fragmented" that a wholeness has been shattered into

Lockwood Hoehl is a free lance writer and photographer who lives in Pittsburgh.

parts, he has surely hit the mark. Persons, homes, neighborhoods, communities — interpersonal relationships on all levels — have been fragmented, shattered, separated. The cause can most likely be attributed to the ceaseless disagreement on almost every issue related to TMI among experts, among government, industry and utility officials, and among pro- and antinuclear factions. In general, there are those who blindly accept any information that supports nuclear power and those who unquestioningly accept any word against. But, between these extremes, the majority floats in frustration on a sea of conflicting information.

Divisions Apparent

The fragmentation became blatantly apparent last March, when the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) and Metropolitan Edison Company, owner of Three Mile Island, announced the method chosen for starting the clean-up of the damaged Unit Two nuclear reactor. (TMI's other reactor, Unit One, was closed for refueling when the near meltdown occurred, and has not reopened.) Many residents think the proposed method is extremely dangerous.

No one has been inside Unit Two's containment building, which houses the damaged reactor core, to see how much destruction occurred during the accident, because it is filled with 22 million cubic feet of high level — 57,000 curies — radioactive krypton 85. The NRC and Met Ed have determined that the containment must be entered so that the damage can be assessed, and the possibility of future, perhaps worse, accidents caused by deteriorated equipment can be eliminated. They have decided, therefore, to rid the containment of the krypton by venting it into the atmosphere, a process many residents believe they — literally — cannot live with.

The proposed release of the radioactive krypton has been the prevailing issue since mid-March. It is the issue that transformed normally respectful citizens into screaming, frustrated protesters at a widely reported public meeting with NRC and Met Ed officials in Middletown on March 19. That outburst stunned officials because it was such atypical behavior for area residents.

Middletown's Mayor Robert Reid is disturbed by the division in his community, and he is fearful of what the future might bring.

"That plant has divided this town between the pronukers and the antinukers," he says in a *Village Voice* interview. "The tension is there. Sometimes I think there could be a civil war if they reopened Unit One."

Mayor Reid has reason to be apprehensive. It will be five to ten years before TMI's Unit Two is close to being cleaned up. In the near future, more controversial decisions will be made, such as how to remove 600,000 gallons of highly radioactive water on the containment building floor.

The March 19 protesters were, in a way, the lucky ones who were able to let their emotions boil over. Many residents just simmer in silence. And all the while, the damaged reactor also simmers only two miles — as the wind blows — from Middletown.

Release Ill-Timed

The announcement of the krypton release could not have been made at a worse time. It came amid researchers' reports of excessive infant deaths and increased infant health problems, particularly hypothyroidism, caused by radiation released during the accident. Also circulating were rumors of farm animals having difficulty giving birth, an increase of almost unheard of Caesarean sections among the animals, and offspring born with an unusual

array of deformities. The truth of these reports (which has been seriously challenged) is not so important as their mere existence and their contribution to the confusion.

People Suspicious

The release of the radioactive krypton concerns not just whether that procedure is safe, as Met Ed and the NRC say it is. In addition, many people, pro- and antinuclear, do not trust Metropolitan Edison to tell the truth at all about anything. They suspect that there are other less threatening ways of removing the krypton, but that Met Ed will not employ them because they are too expensive and would cut into company profits.

Personal reactions to the accident and its aftermath are widely varied. A commonly described experience is a sense of being torn from past assumptions about the future — in particular, about the future of nuclear power and the way of life promised by clean, cheap, safe, and abundant energy. Implicit in those assumptions were a trust in government and industry officials to care for the public welfare, and a trust in a people's ability to control the machines they create. To one degree or another, these beliefs have been shaken.

Will new assumptions and beliefs take their place? Or will the old ones be put back together and reestablished? And, if the latter, how will the repairing process come about?

Residents in the TMI area confront dilemmas outsiders rarely face. For example, the controversy and uncertainty about the connection between low-level radiation and genetic harm intrude into a couple's plans for having children. To whom does the couple turn for advice, for a definitive answer on which they can base a solid, comfortable decision? And to make the dilemma worse, what if one partner believes there is validity in the

connection and the other does not?

There are residents who think anything that approaches being antinuclear is hogwash. Those who are pronuclear seem to be genuinely baffled by their friends and neighbors who are so outspoken against venting and against nuclear power in general. Often, pronuclear residents cite as their authorities government officials and friends who work at TMI, so they accept assurances that the krypton release will be safe. As a result, they are frustrated, because they think those opposing the release are impeding progress.

So far, there is not an organized pronuclear movement. But pronuclear opinions are expressed, especially through "Sound Off," a readers' opinion column in *The Press and Journal*, a weekly newspaper serving Middletown and surrounding communities. Many of the pronuclear messages are worded in *anti-antinuclear* terms and encourage other pronuclear readers to speak out. Incidentally, the April 9 edition of *The Press and Journal* carried, in the Classified Ads section, the evacuation plan for Middletown, as signaled by a five-minute siren. Will residents now jump at the sound of any siren and look for the nearest clock, or check their watches?

Given the reactions of area residents to the events of the past year, there is little chance people will soon pull together to overcome the fragmentation that future decisions about TMI will likely cause. On the other hand, it is hard to imagine how the present situation can continue, or what it will be like if it gets worse.

The Three Mile Island area is in almost desperate need of a vision of the future, and leadership to guide it there. One of the tragedies of Three Mile Island is that residents have been left to wallow in confusion while experts and officials they do not even trust make

decisions that directly affect their lives and their descendants' lives.

Residents complain — with justification — that they, who live within a few miles of TMI, are left out of the decision-making process, and that many of those who do make decisions do not live near the plant, or even in Pennsylvania. Who has final decision-making power and who actually is responsible for the results of decisions is quite uncertain right now.

These concerns raise several questions. Can the government, industry, and Met Ed ever make decisions that are primarily and finally in the public's best interest? Can they determine what is the public's best interest? And, can they do it without the

"Residents in the TMI area confront dilemmas outsiders rarely face. For example, the controversy and uncertainty about the connection between low-level radiation and genetic harm intrude into a couple's plans for having children. To whom does the couple turn for a definitive answer?"

public's participation in the process?

Evidence suggests that the answer to all three questions is "No!", and that public participation in the decision-making process is needed. This does not mean allowing citizens to attend public hearings simply to be told what decisions have been made for their future. That is a surefire way to stage a repeat of the March 19 shouting match.

It means, in some way, citizens working day-to-day with documents, studies, and data available to authorities, with the consultants who advise the authorities, and with the authorities themselves. But, how can it be done? Who can initiate, support, and maintain day-to-day citizen participation deciding the future of

Three Mile Island?

If there be any group that could take on that sort of advocacy, it might be the religious community in the area, with support from higher judicatories. What other body professes the role of reconciliation in the world, or is better equipped to perform that role?

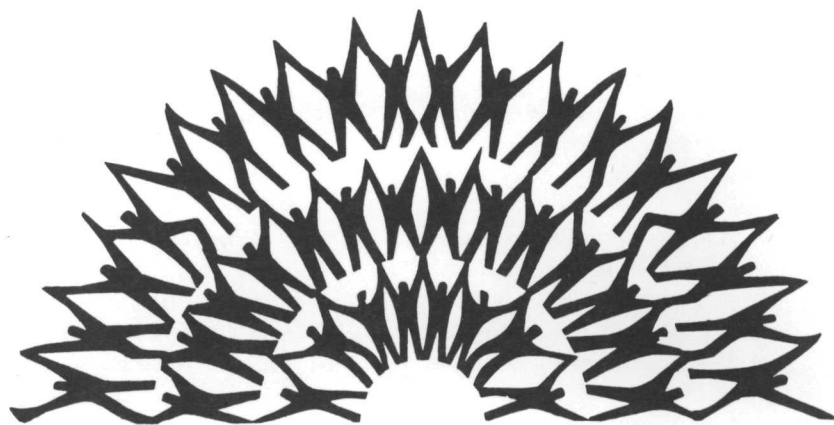
Ideally, the religious community would have no self-interest to serve, and, at the same time, could take everyone else's self-interest to heart. Its goal would be reconciliation of area residents to themselves and to their community by enabling citizens to participate fully in the decisions to be made about the future of Three Mile Island.

The religious community only now seems to be awakening to the deep needs of area residents. Whether and how it will respond is unknown. But in the not too distant future people may well begin to demand a response from the church if not in this kind of community leadership, at least by way of pastoral guidance. The five to ten year clean up period is a long time. As years pass by, more and more residents will reflect deeply on nuclear power and on the consequences of having it or stopping it.

Those reflections will basically question nuclear power's threat to life and the life support systems of the earth. And that will lead, at least to questions about lifestyle, about personal and community stewardship of the earth, and about the benefits and drawbacks of living in a nuclear world or a world with alternative energy systems. For some, such reflections will also lead to the connection between nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

The religious community in the Three Mile Island area has only begun to acknowledge and respond to these considerations. Time may well force a more definite response.

(Next: Interviews with clergy and lay people assessing the present ambiguities of Three Mile Island.) ■



For Better Results:

Theologize, But Indigenize, Too

by Wesley Frensdorff

Renewal of the church in the city was among several items on the agenda of the Episcopal Urban Caucus Assembly in Indianapolis recently. Our experience in rural or small town dioceses and in those whose urban areas are relatively new, may not offer much insight in addressing the serious social, economic and political issues of the inner city. There is, however, good reason to believe that our experience in ministry might contribute significantly to church renewal in our urban strategy.

For the church to be vital, alive and truly present in the city, it must be owned by the people of the city. It is my conviction that our traditional models of church life (ministry, organization and decision-making) are too hierarchical, money-dependent, and too centered on highly educated, professional, stipendiary clergy who normally come from the middle and upper classes. It is these models and

these dependencies which prevent effective renewal in life, ministry and mission.

My limited comprehension of liberation theology leads me to understand both "presence" and "ownership" as related to "control." Ownership and control are two sides of the same coin. Both are essential to presence. It appears to me that, together with its host of other problems, the church in the city must deal with the problems related to indigenization; and, as such, they are not so different from similar problems faced by the church in a variety of cultural and ethnic situations.

Among the recommendations resulting from the Hearings sponsored by the Urban Bishops' Coalition, we read, in *To Hear and to Heed*:

We must be willing to choose a new kind of presence in the cities, which calls less for money than for personal involvement in the struggles of the poor . . . We must decide to be present in the cities wherever the poor are

struggling to be free and not just in discrete "church" programs and operations. . .

In a dramatically surprising way, the most urgent plea to the church presented by those who spoke as or on behalf of the people of the cities was not for money, but for the church's presence and involvement in their struggle.

The effort to raise massive sums of new income leads to the assumption that nothing can be done until that income is raised. The evidence presented at the Hearings is clearly that additional funds may well prove to be needed, but much more can be done now with existing resources if the church will change its sense of priorities, its style of operation, and its basic commitments. (Emphasis mine).

In the 1920's, Roland Allen, an English priest, having served for eight years in China and subsequently studying Anglican missionary methods, wrote in *The Spontaneous Expansion*

The Rt. Rev. Wesley Frensdorff is Bishop of the Diocese of Nevada.

of the Church:

We constantly hear three terms, self-support, self-extension, self-government as if they were distinct and separate things . . . they cannot be rightly so treated . . . thus self-support and self-government are closely knit. As for self-extension, it is surely plain that a church which could neither support itself nor govern itself could not multiply itself. Thus self-extension is bound up with self-support and self-government: these three are intimately united.

Is there a relationship between the assertions in *To Hear and To Heed* and Roland Allen's conclusions? The common denominator is the incarnation — Jesus, fully "present" in and through the church, his body, indigenous in place, time and culture, among people who are its life, who exercise its ministry, and who carry out its mission.

The rather ambitious proposals of the Urban Bishops' Coalition, contained in the working document: *The Challenge for Evangelism and Mission*, raise important issues which seek to deal with the complex underlying causes of many of our social ills. Past experience makes it difficult to gather optimism for the funding of these proposals. However, as *To Hear and To Heed* has pointed out, there's much to do that does not require money, though it will require basic changes in the way we do ministry, call and train persons to holy orders, and model our life for leadership and decision making. Our traditional, suburban, middle-class models are no longer adequate for the church in the city to be truly indigenous. Herein lies a significant part of the challenge to evangelism and mission.

Is not much of our present paralysis in the inner city due to lack of real identification with the people who are there? There are many aspects to the urban crisis. Many of these are beyond

the church's ability to shape and change. But questions of indigenization, i.e., presence and identification, must be faced. Again, *To Hear and to Heed*:

A pivotal issue which relates to the church's stake in the city is the question of identification. To what extent is the Episcopal Church willing to identify the people of the cities as its people? The Episcopal Church moved toward the suburbs in the '50s and '60s because that was where 'its people' were present in ever increasing numbers. This exodus left the cities inhabited by people that the Episcopal Church has never identified as "its people."

"Our traditional models of church life are too hierarchical, money-dependent, and too centered on highly educated, professional, stipendiary clergy who normally come from the middle and upper classes."

If our church is to participate in both the pain and the opportunities for renewal of the city, this withdrawal has to be reversed by engagement and identification with the cities' people. So far our church has not been able, significantly, to deal with this problem.

Roland Allen concluded that the Anglican Communion — contrary to St. Paul's methods — had saddled its "missions" with methods of living, ministering and organizing which were foreign to their situation, resulting in a paralyzing dependency. A truly indigenous church, he pointed out, must be truly self-governing. It must "own" and "control." The conclusions of the urban hearings point in that same direction:

We must decide to be involved as a servant church which recognizes the priority and authority of the people it seeks to serve. As a servant church, we must listen and must be directed by the voice of the Lord as expressed by the poor and concede to them a decisive role in the determination of the priorities, program and shape of the church's life and expenditures.

To be indigenous, to own and control, requires more than self-government. It also requires self-support. It involves autonomy, not in the sense of isolation, but in the sense of being responsible (or response-able). Autonomy, in my mind, is not mere independence. It is to be capable of interdependence. "Autonomous" means having a strong sense of identity, purpose and ownership with the will and ability to act, and to act interdependently. A dependent person cannot be effectively interdependent; neither can a dependent congregation. However, our current model for autonomous congregational life — a parish, we call it — is based on having sufficient money to support buildings, the diocese and stipendiary clergy. As such, the model *guarantees* dependence on outside support for virtually every inner city congregation, as it does for rural ones. Real indigenization, with effective self-government and self-support, will require some radical changes for the church in people-poor or poor-people areas.

Can we, however, change those models which are basically hierarchical and dependent on professional, stipendiary clergy? I believe we can. Can we set the church free for renewal in ministry and local responsibility, without doing violence to our ecclesiology or to our theology of holy orders? I believe we can. Our problems are not theological; they are organizational. I believe our situation is

the result — for a variety of historical reasons — of attaching too many functions of ministry to those who exercise the ordained offices, and of locking up the sacraments for professional clergy only. This has placed the church in a ministerial and sacramental captivity.

As a result the local church is usually seen as a community gathered around a minister, rather than as a ministering community, and the life-giving sacraments are made dependent on the payment of stipends.

We can come out of this captivity to new life and mission to rebuild both “the temple” and the city. That, however, will require more radical changes than merely pouring new sums of money into old purses, or patching up the old garments. The church has to become a part of the people it is serving in such a way that *they* will carry out the ministries essential for their life and mission, as well as to raise up from *among them* priests and deacons. Together then, as a eucharistic servant community, in the name of Jesus and by the power of the Holy Spirit, they will minister and they will witness to their neighbors and, together with the rest of the church, they will shape the life of the city and call for justice and equity.

Title III, Canon 8, Of Admission to

Holy Orders in Special Cases, was originally intended to make sacraments available on a regular basis for special places and situations. Even its limited use has taught us many things. The most important of these is that unless it is used as part of a *total ministry model*, it is merely a lesser, cheap version of the old clergy-dominated money-dependent ministry model. However, once the church is understood as a ministering community in which each member offers his or her gifts in mutual service, both within the life of the church and in the church’s mission of witness and service, then the ordained offices of priest and deacon can take their special place in a different and vital way.

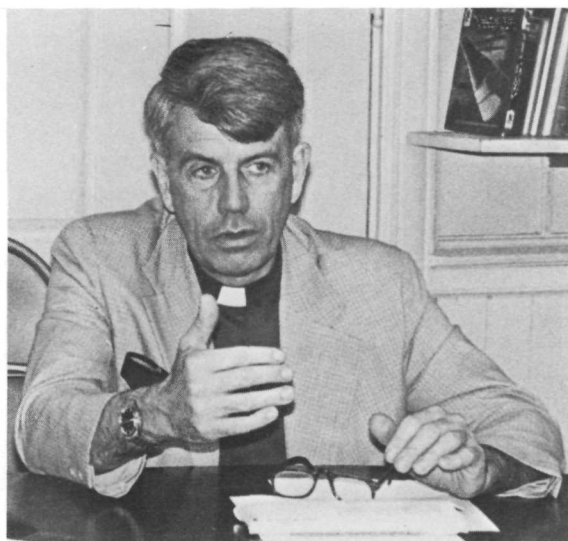
In a stimulating article published in the *Episcopal News of Los Angeles* (September 1979), the Rev. Charles Belknap points out that we have many marginal parishes because an economically stable parish with one employed priest costs \$50,000 per year. One priest attracts, on the average, a congregation of 160 adults. That requires better than average stewardship from an average upper middle-class parish, so for a congregation in an economically depressed area it would be impossible. Then what are we doing with this heart-

sick patient, he asks? Either we give periodic transfusions (support grants), or prescribe limited activity (part-time clergy), or do a coronary by-pass (rent the facilities), or we slowly squeeze the turnip to death. Father Belknap concludes his analysis with a call to redesign the heart, “to find new ways to be the church in the urban areas.”

If nothing else, economics will force us to take a second look at our mission strategy. The future will bring either inflation or depression, the economists tell us. All institutions based on voluntary funding need to face this truth. From past experience it is safe to say that no appeal will result in sufficient sustained funding to make a significant difference. If the primary strategy of a renewed urban program is based on “money,” we are likely to fail before we start.

For the church in the inner city to become present, to be owned and controlled, and thus empowered for mission, we need first to set it free to become fully *indigenous* in the life and culture of the people where they are. This calls for change — not small change, nor really big money either — a radical change in our understanding of modeling of ministry and the place of holy orders within the ministering community. ■





St. Barnabas/Philadelphia:

Seeking New Models For Inner-City Ministry

by David Gracie

I am the pastor of St. Barnabas Episcopal Church in West Kensington, which is an inner-city Philadelphia neighborhood. Our congregation is small (about 200 souls), the members are poor, either welfare recipients or working at the lowest pay jobs in the city. It is a black congregation with a sprinkling of Spanish-speaking. The neighborhood has the worst statistics in Philadelphia in terms of unemployment, low family income, abandoned housing, bad test scores of students in public schools, etc. As you can imagine, St. Barnabas is in many ways a unique congregation in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Its ministry has been highly valued and significantly aided by the diocese over the years.

When we were developing the "Theological Principles for Urban Ministry" at Trinity Conference Center, it occurred to me that I could illustrate them to some extent from our experience at St. Barnabas. Let me begin with what I think is the key concept in that draft document: "The church's task needs to be thought of as the creation of signs which point to the present reality of the coming Kingdom of God." What on earth does that mean? In particular, what does it mean for a

little church at the corner of Third and Dauphin Streets in Kensington?

Our members are poor and on the bottom rung. Let us remember that that puts people in a special relationship to the coming Kingdom. When we read at St. Barnabas Church: "Blessed are you poor, for yours is the Kingdom of God," people say to themselves, "Hey, that's us he's talking about." When we read: "Blessed are you who are hungry now for you shall be filled," families on a welfare budget (\$360 a month for a family of four, plus \$88 in food stamps), living in homes in varying states of collapse and disrepair, hear that their interests and the interest of God's rule directly coincide.

There is then no discontinuity between faith in God's coming rule and the struggle for better housing, higher welfare grants and improved schools. The draft "Principles" say that the Church "actively seeks to create institutions and movements which witness, so far as may be, to the personal and social imperatives of the message of the Kingdom (groups not directly of the church) so that the world as such may increasingly point to the presence and power of the Kingdom . . ." For city congregations like ours and the

Lutheran and Roman Catholic parishes in our neighborhood, this means primarily our role in creating, supporting and participating in the community organizations which are the people's instruments in the struggle for justice.

In our experience, they could not exist without the churches, and people in the churches could hardly carry out their social ministry without them. The relationship is so close that at times you could characterize the church as the community organization at prayer. An end to police brutality, drug pushing and the planned destruction of our neighborhoods are goals of the Kensington Joint Action Council; they provide a very specific content to our prayers when we say, "Your Kingdom come on earth as in heaven."

To illustrate further these relationships, let me share some recent Philadelphia history with you. In November, 1978, the then mayor of our city, Frank Rizzo, attempted to have voters amend the city charter so that he could run for a third term. He was a law-and-order mayor who was swept into power in the era of racial uprisings. Race prejudice and fear have always been big factors in his retention of

power. He promised white voters that he would keep their neighborhoods free from public housing or new schools which would mean racial mixing. He was able to keep these promises because the mayor's power is very great in our city. In this charter election he went so far as to urge people to "vote white."

His impact on our Kensington neighborhoods was often felt. The new high school which was to have been built at a location to attract blacks, whites and Puerto Ricans could not be built because that location was the home for some of the mayor's white backers. So our students go on attending a school which is a firetrap and which has the highest drop-out and absentee rates in the city. Police brutality went unchecked, especially in areas like ours, because the mayor, a former police commissioner, would do nothing to publicly discipline or suspend offending officers.

Organizing against the charter change had to be done on an independent, grass-roots basis because the Democratic machine was under the mayor's control. In West Kensington, St. Barnabas Church became the location for that organizing. There were no other institutions that were either willing or able (because of the mayor's power) to provide this needed space and sponsorship. Voter registration, poll watching and the rest were planned at weekly meetings at the church. Early on the morning of election day, it was requested that we meet in front of the church for prayers before going to our stations at the polls. Not everyone arrived on time and the prayers were very brief, but for some a spark of courage was kindled there.

When the votes were counted, the mayor had lost decisively in our wards and throughout the city. The following Sunday we offered thanks at the Eucharist. The sermon that day was delivered by a woman who has been a leader in our community for many



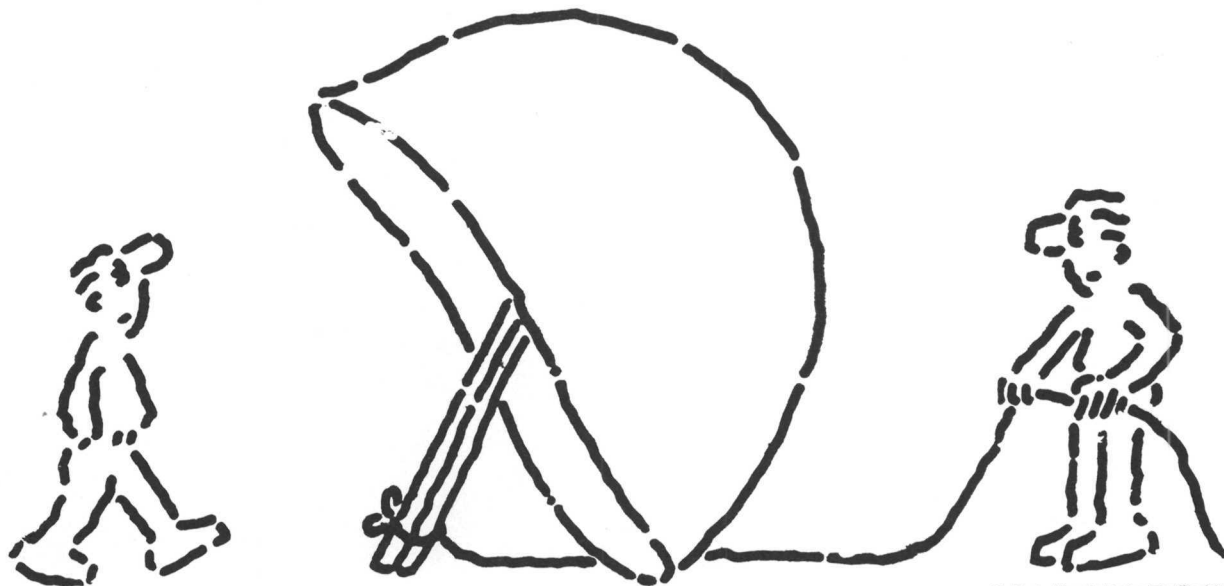
Four-year-old Tuere Rogers shows what she learned at St. Barnabas' Day Care Center to Nellie Parker, center, parish secretary and Ruby Parker, Day Care Center Volunteer.

years. "The hands that once picked cotton are now picking the elected officials in our cities," she said. Our service was a celebration of justice and of growing black political power. It was a thanksgiving to the God who puts down the mighty from their seats and exalts the humble and meek.

Since our interests and the Kingdom's coincide in this way, it might seem that the task of proclamation was made very easy. But that is not the case. It is still a narrow and difficult road that

we are asking people to walk upon. Few there are who will admit the need for the transformation and rebirth that is necessary over and over again for those who walk in this way. To begin with, both church and community organization must constantly teach that pursuit of self-interest has to be seen in community terms. Blacks and Puerto Ricans who live side by side must overcome real differences to find out and act on their common interest in

Continued on page 14



By Zarko Karabatic for The Washington Post

Right to Bear Arms — For Whom?

by Ron Freund

"Where is it written in the Constitution . . . that you may take children from their parents, and parents from their children, and compel them to fight the battles of any war in which the folly or wickedness of Government may engage it?"

Rep. Daniel Webster, 1814

"Draft registration is the cornerstone of a process . . . that reasserts the state's god-like prerogative of owning the lives of its young and gives the Executive Branch great flexibility to engage in . . . unpopular military actions."

Sen. Mark Hatfield, 1980

Despite the popularity of the current proposal to renew peacetime registration, and possibly the draft

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itself, history is clearly on the side of those who stand opposed to such an action. During the 204 years of American history, conscription has been in effect for only 36 of those years, less than 18% of the time. Of those 36 years, only 13 were during peacetime, accounting for 6.3% of U.S. history.

In fact, the fear of losses in political and religious freedom resulting from large standing armies was one of the underlying themes of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. George Washington had to rely almost entirely on volunteers to wage the War of Independence. (Some state militias provided conscripts to aid in the war effort.) During the debate over ratification of the Constitution, George Mason of Virginia stated, "Standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, and therefore ought to be avoided, as far as the circumstances . . . will admit."

The question of conscription first arose in 1790 when Secretary of War Knox proposed a combination of

universal militia service and a federal draft. It was soundly rejected by Congress.

Following a series of defeats at the hands of the British during the War of 1812, which culminated in the burning of Washington, President Madison requested Congress to conscript 40,000 men. A fierce debate ensued during which several New England states threatened to secede. Despite these threats, both Houses passed different versions of the bill. As the two Houses were meeting to resolve their differences, the war ended.

It was not until the Civil War that the issue of conscription was again raised. (The Mexican War of 1846-1848 was fought entirely with volunteers.) At the height of the fighting in 1863, Lincoln proposed a national draft. On March 8, 1863, the Union Congress enacted the first draft in U.S. history. The reaction which followed was prophetic of those which occurred in this century. Resistance was widespread, with rioting in cities throughout the North. They

reached a bloody climax in New York, where over 1200 were killed in street fighting. Troops had to be brought from the front at Gettysburg to quell the resistance, which lasted four days and damaged almost \$2 million in property.

It would be another half-century before the draft re-emerged as an issue.

Following the declaration of war on Germany, the United States Congress on May 18, 1917, passed a comprehensive draft law. Under this act, all volunteer enlistments were actually halted in 1918! Initially, all men between the ages of 21 and 30 were required to register. This was later increased to cover all men between the ages of 18 and 45. The Act was designed to evaluate each registrant's overall contribution to the war effort and induct those who were considered *least* valuable. Speaker of the House Champ Clark loudly announced to his colleagues, "In the estimation of Missourians, there is precious little difference between a conscript and a convict."

Although this was the first time that men had been drafted for fighting overseas, resistance was less violent than during the Civil War draft. The Socialist Party openly urged non-cooperation, resulting in the jailing of many of its leaders. Draft evasion,

however, was rampant, and more than 250,000 men failed to appear for induction.

On Sept. 14, 1940, with a war in Europe, Congress passed the Selective Training and Service Act, the first *peacetime* draft in American history. The Act provided for registration of males aged 21-36, and induction of up to 1.2 million men. Congressional opposition was intense. The debate was typified by comments like that of Senator Vandenburg of Michigan, who said, "Peacetime conscription is repugnant to the spirit of democracy and the soul of republican institutions."

Following Pearl Harbor and our formal entry into the war, general opposition diminished. However, over 15,000 went to jail for various draft law violations during World War II.

As part of the demobilization typical of post-war experience, the draft act was allowed to expire. Following its expiration on March 31, 1947, the Pentagon, with the support of President Truman, embarked on a massive campaign to enact Universal Military Training (UMT) on a permanent basis. The whole officers' corps was turned into a huge propaganda organization. Speaking tours by top officials were arranged at every available civic function. Releases proclaiming that the

nation was in a state of undeclared war with the Soviet Union were sent to newspapers and radio stations across the country. At that time, the Army became the *third largest advertiser* in the country.

The result of this campaign was that a peacetime draft bill passed Congress on June 19, 1948. However, it was not universal, nor was it permanent. It authorized induction for a period of only two years. By 1950, the Korean War had broken out, so Congress passed a new draft act which in 1951 was extended for another four years. The four-year extension became the pattern in postwar history. With low draft calls, little opposition was raised to Congressional extensions in 1955, 1959, and 1963.

By 1967, when the Vietnam War was escalating at a rapid pace, so did popular opposition to the war and to the draft. The Vietnam era witnessed the most broadly based opposition to conscription since the Civil War. Over 200,000 cases were referred to the Justice Department by Selective Service officials for various violations. There were over 250,000 who failed to register and were never prosecuted. It is estimated that over 60,000 men went into exile in Canada and Europe. Thousands of draft files were burned or bloodied. On one day, June 10, 1970, 12,000 men turned in their draft cards.

Although Congress passed one more four-year extension in 1967, it was the last of this pattern. By 1971, a compromise was reached to limit the conscription authority to two years. However, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird aborted the authority five months early following the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement on Jan. 27, 1973. In his release, Laird stated, "I wish to inform you that the Armed Forces henceforth will depend exclusively on volunteer soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines. Use of the draft has ended."

May it rest in peace. ■

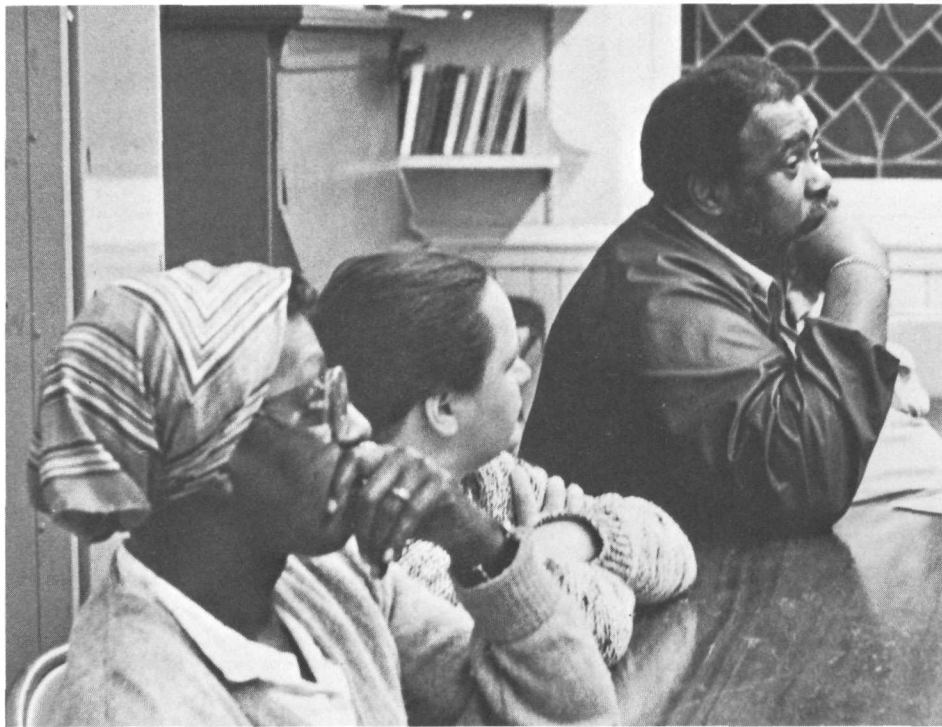
Draft Discriminates

The history of the draft shows that those who are the least powerful — the poor, the young, minorities and women — bear an unjust burden for America's military ventures.

For example: the percentage of black soldiers that died in action in Vietnam in 1967 (20.6%) was double the percentage of blacks in the population. Today minorities comprise about 30% of the Army (only 6% are officers) while urban minority youth unemployment is as high as 40%. The Congressional Black Caucus stated, on February 5, 1980, "Our young people are being told that money can be found to send them to war but not to put them to work. They are held hostage to the military budget."

Given the history of sex discrimination in this country, the outlook for women in the military is just as bleak. Today, 83% of enlisted women are in the four lowest military pay grades. Equal oppression has nothing to do with equal rights.

—Coalition for a New Foreign & Military Policy



Shown at a meeting discussing the future ministry at St. Barnabas are, from left, Mary Nelson, Joan Soto, and James Nelson.

Continued from page 11

better housing and education. And the whites on the other side of Front Street must be given opportunities to take part in the same struggle. Their privileged position is often only an imaginary one based on notions of racial superiority. That kind of unity is hard to achieve.

White neighbors marched with us, blocking traffic at a major intersection all day, to protest the city's misuse of federal funds which should be improving housing in the inner city. During the demonstration, black people suppressed the desire to sing "We Shall Overcome," in order not to offend whites in any way. White marchers called for us to sing "God Bless America," the Philadelphia Flyers' victory song. We did that for a while, and finally all got together on endless choruses of "We Shall Not Be Moved," which seemed to meet

everyone's needs. But after that day of unity in which we marched and even sang together, many whites dropped out of subsequent actions at City Hall because a black militant leader was getting all the press on the housing issue and they didn't want to be seen by their friends as his followers.

If we are agreed that the Kingdom is for the poor in a special way, we must go on to add that the Kingdom is rainbow-hued: members of all races enter it on an equal basis. Our Team Ministry is intended to signify that truth. It is made up of five small, struggling Kensington congregations — one black, three white, and one Spanish-speaking — doing together those things we cannot do separately. In Kensington any institution that moves to integrate its constituency is rare indeed; an institution that does it for the sake of love even rarer.

During the election it was a member of St. Nathanael's who appeared in the TV ad designed to demonstrate that a white-class Kensingtonian could be angry about the mayor's move to change the charter. Those of us who knew him as a dedicated member of the church also knew that he is a recovering alcoholic who had overcome the racial prejudice in which he had been brought up when he was thrown together with an alcoholic black workingman in a recovery program.

Perhaps a greater difficulty to overcome than our racial and ethnic divisions is the despair which can block a person's ability to struggle and to hope. "It doesn't matter if I vote." "I've been to so many meetings and the neighborhood still goes down." "Everybody's in it for himself." "Me? I'm nobody."

There is reason for despair. Frances Fox Piven says very bluntly (in *The Witness* for January, 1979); "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." When the victims of these policies become conscious of this fact, i.e. their own destruction, how should we expect them to react?

Speaking in Christian terms, despair means a lack of faith. It denies Christ's victory and the relationship of our daily struggle to a coming transformation of society. It leads to a self-centered existence in the worst sense, with all its manifestations in greed, crime, drugs and booze. Or it can lead to a form of religion which is itself a drug, a narcotic which takes away or deadens pain for a while, which denies a seemingly intractable reality and substitutes for it false signs of God's Kingdom. The sects and the cults are ever present on the streets of Kensington.

But the Kingdom of Heaven is like

someone who goes on sowing his seed. Piven writes about the critical role which is ours in the church in providing moral leadership to help poor and working people determine whether "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." She concludes her article: "There comes a time when a truly religious mission is a political mission as well."

The draft "Principles" states that our salvation "is a social reality, one of whose primary characteristics is that in it God is shown to be righteous and merciful through the establishment of final justice. . . . The Gospel. . . stands for the reconstruction and renewal of the logic of social relationships in the power of God's love in Christ." I think that proclamation of the Kingdom means involvement in political struggle by definition, since the Kingdom, no matter how else you think of it, remains a political entity.

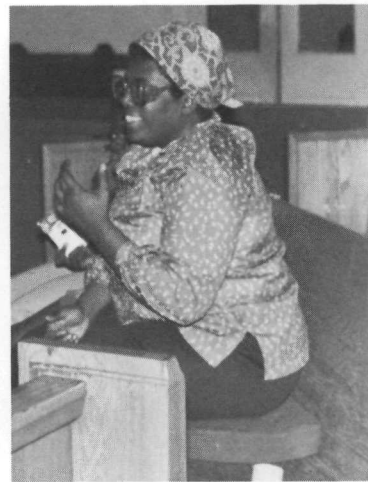
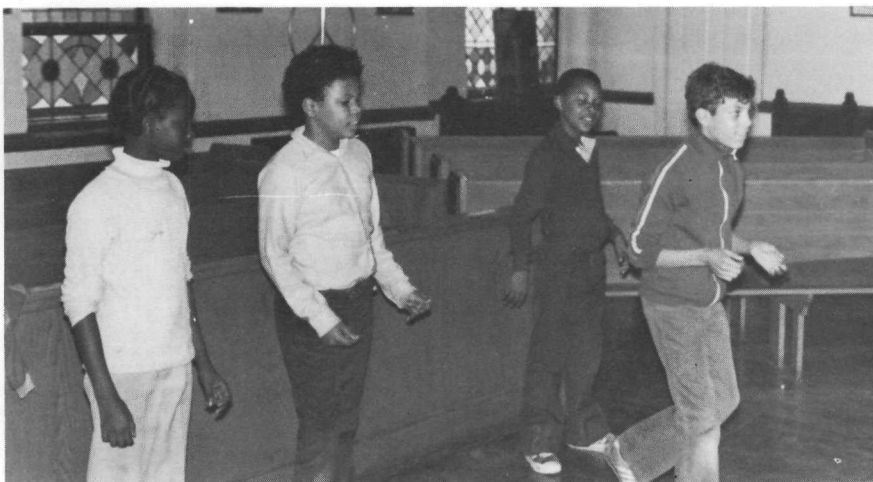
I think if you asked people at St. Barnabas for an image of our weekly

worship, the image of a family gathered for its main meal would predominate. Weekly Eucharist around the Lord's Table is followed by weekly socializing and brunch around a marvelous round table in our fellowship room. At the Eucharist there comes a stillness and a waiting for God which is unique in the lives of people who must live with a lot of noise and confusion every day. It is especially good because the children are a part of that quiet, and, along with the adults, reverently receive those central signs of God's coming rule, the bread and wine of Communion.

After the blessing the peace is exchanged (the St. Barnabas rite) and the noise resumes. There are happy sounds of greeting which flow into the fellowship room. It should be noted that in that room with the great round table is a painting of Martin Luther King done by a former parishioner. If you look closely you see that Dr. King is weeping. We don't make much of St. Barnabas Day, but January 15 is an important day in our calendar. This year as we kept that birthday celebration, in place of a sermon the members took turns relating what King's life and ministry meant to them.

There is much more to tell about St. Barnabas. The story of the founding of the Child Care Center and its continued strong ties to the community it serves. Adventures with young people in our various programs and trips. Our relationship with men at Graterford Prison. And the whole interesting process in which former Baptists have come to love the liturgy and the Book of Common Prayer while burying the Hymnal. I will save all of that, as well as a hard look at the contradictions of our ministry, for another time and place. But there is one more thing I want to share because it is an important illustration of our understanding of our witness to the Kingdom.

With funding from the national church, a black church school curriculum was developed at St. Barnabas. It is described in a chapter of *Homegrown Christian Education*. Elyse Bradt, the author of the chapter, has been music director, youth worker and member of our congregation for several years. I want to quote a few paragraphs from her description of the curriculum because they reveal a way of understanding God's salvation as a corporate reality and a present reality in



Youth of St. Barnabas practice for their version of *West Side Story*, to be presented June 15. Their music director, Elyse Bradt, who also serves on the Parish Revitalization Task Force of the Episcopal Urban Caucus, coaches at far right.

the experience of black Americans. I think they may also point to a weakness in the draft "Principles," which is their concentration on the proclamation of the Kingdom in the ministry of our Lord to the exclusion of any specific reference to God's dealings with Israel. Black Christians never move too far away from the Exodus story. Elyse says:

"If we are to bridge the gap between the Bible and our lives today, we need to first explore our own experiences in light of the Scriptures.

"The history of the Israelite people as recorded in the Old Testament is not the unique experience of one people in one place at one time. The faith of Abraham and the zeal of the prophets for justice are repeated at different times by different peoples throughout the world. The story of black people responding to God's call in naked faith and proclaiming God's justice to a selfish and indifferent people is sacred history too. . .

"What is the mission of a people on earth in relation to the Eternal? How can a people find meaning in the suffering that they as a group have endured? How can they deal with people whose lives and purposes are evil? How can they

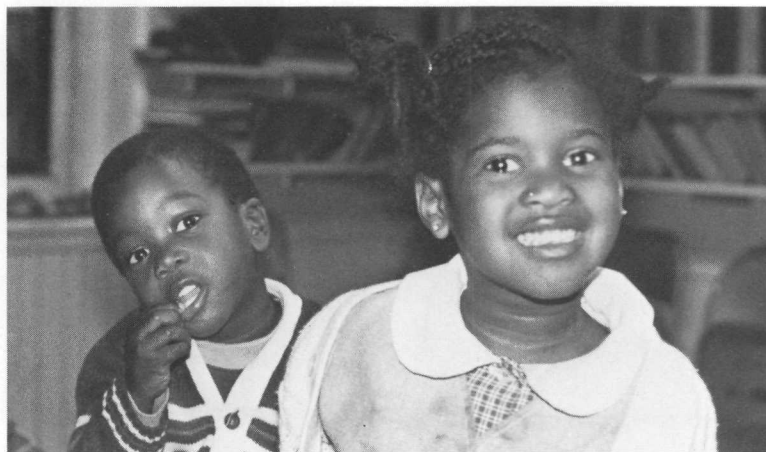
themselves avoid believing that the evil of their neighbors is actually right and good?

"The ancient Israelites faced these questions and others like them throughout their history . . . We need to examine our history to see clearly both how our ancestors have confronted and answered them and the historical situations that helped determine the answers they gave. We need to explore the possible response in our times . . ."

Elyse's vision has been shaped in large part by her years of service to the congregation of St. Barnabas. She ends her discussion with these words of faith:

"It is my belief as a Christian educator that the God of the Israelites is the God of today; that same God can and will use the city and its people as instruments to bring peace to this world."

Elyse, Nellie, Willie, Tom, Mary and the others who make up our parish family and our team ministry are people who are opening themselves up to God's grace and power in Word and Sacrament. They go on struggling, trying to build up communities of struggle and trying to maintain the hope of others. In all of this, they are salt and light, themselves signs of the Kingdom which is coming.



Signs of the Kingdom

On Beginning

Oh Lord,
Beginnings are
scary,
risky,
Life.

To stretch,
To risk
bear
seeds
of
Death.

Follow me?

Well,

Of course. I'll follow you.

Only

I couldn't do it that way. Why i might be wrong and my husband wouldn't like it at all and what will the neighbors think and it's never been done before and my children need me and women can't do that and i might fail, or worse yet, i might be only mediocre and You wouldn't want THAT to happen and, Oh, a hundred reasons why i shouldn't

and

Still,

Follow me.

— Margaret F. Arms

Coming Up . . .

in THE WITNESS

- Rosemary Ruether probes why male hierarchy and clergy are so threatened by women in the priesthood, as she examines two typologies of ministry: Preacher and Priest.
- John Gessell analyzes the alarming scenario in which U.S. tax dollars are spent to convince people of an external threat so menacing that only the most advanced state of military readiness, including first strike capability, will meet it.
- And Lock Hoehl continues the series on Three Mile Island, interviewing residents of the area.

Sleeping Through Revolution

by John H. Burt

Rip Van Winkle, the celebrated Adirondack sleeper, is remembered chiefly because in the late 1700s he slept through the American Revolution without knowing it!

Today, it is becoming increasingly clear that a lot of us have been doing the same thing in a modern economic revolution that is transforming our lives without knowing it.

Only a few years ago, most Americans took it for granted that the American dream revolved around either the possibility of riches through economic growth and territorial expansion, or around growth as a mystique which promises the good life through the marvels of science and technology.

The new reality of today, however, is that we are face to face with an age of scarcity and with a science fraught by nuclear terror. And this constitutes a revolution more substantial than anything previously known in this century.

The marks of this revolution are clear for any with eyes to see. We note, for example, that the President has issued a call for mobilization of the nation's youth in preparation for war in the Middle East over that primary subject in an age of scarcity: oil. We hear that the Ford Motor Company will close a

major engine plant in Cleveland casting 5,000 persons out of work in order to rebuild the same plant in Mexico where labor is cheap. Unemployment in our cities has skyrocketed with 135,000 auto workers off their jobs—many permanently—and over 35,000 jobs gone in steel in just two years time. Our older cities have been shattered—as if by a bombing raid—by the flight of capital, the removal of industry, and the opportunistic expansion of suburban growth. And this last citation is of particular discouragement to us in the church. For many years we have tried to involve suburban churches in relationships with inner city parishes. We have tried to involve our laity in business and the professions in the task of helping the city folk deal with their problems and solve them. We have said that minority people must have the same right and access to the American pie as the WASP majority. But, alas, the economic pie is not only shrinking, but what remains of the pie depends apparently on American control of other people's lands for even its present size and shape.

Worse yet, control over the pie is now largely in the hands of vast private conglomerates operating beyond the control of the community. Senator Roger Stewart of Alabama said in a recent hearing on the steel crisis that by shutting down large steel mills without adequate warning, corporations like U.S. Steel are having far more effect on the crisis in public welfare and public policy than anything he as a United

States Senator could do, despite the fact that protection of the public welfare is supposedly vested in the Congress by the U.S. Constitution.

To put the problem in capsule: the civil rights question of equal access and opportunity now gives way, in the age of scarcity, to a new question about control of resources, power and decisions that affect people's lives.

Let me illustrate with the following scenario being played out in Ohio. A steelworker who lives in Youngstown has recently been laid off permanently with the close-down of the mill where he and his father and his grandfather worked all their lives. During his working days, this steelworker regularly put part of his weekly pay into a savings account for his future use. His company also made payments on his behalf into a pension fund. Those funds in time became a part of a banking system that actually funneled his dollars into a worldwide investment pipeline, seeking their highest return on investment by the banks, and—among other things—helped modernize a steel mill in Japan which ultimately divested the steelworker of his livelihood in the old Youngstown mill where the company did not modernize. And the supreme irony of this situation is that the steelworker's own money did it.

The point is that many Americans have lost control of their own economy, their own productivity. In an earlier era the absence of control meant only that the pie was unevenly shared, or that there were dislocations of a relatively

The Rt. Rev. John H. Burt is Bishop of the Diocese of Ohio. This article is reprinted with permission from *The Episcopal News*, publication of the Diocese of Los Angeles.

localized impact. But in today's situation what is left of the American dream of riches involves investments in Indonesia, South Africa, the Philippines, Chile, Brazil, where dictators bestride the mechanisms of government with cruelty and where the investment reaps benefits for an increasingly limited number of Americans.

In a very fundamental way, the question of justice itself has always devolved from the issue of power and control. If the churches of the last thirty-five years rightly felt called to work for justice or balance or some sort of "light at the end" of an economic tunnel we still believed basically sound, it may fall to the church today and tomorrow to confront the harsher reality of the demands of justice in a time of scarcity. That means working for a justice focused less on the issues of opportunity and more on the issues of distribution of what must be shared for common survival. It means a justice concerned with power and control over the mechanisms of decision and planning for the common welfare.

So the question today becomes how we in this church shall be faithful to God's vision for his people, how we shall live out our faithfulness in this new age of scarcity where justice will change us all and mean that all of us must change.

A first requirement for the church's ministry in this arena is to mobilize and refine our capacity to address this problem. Gibson Winter has referred to the church as one of the last remaining free spaces in a society governed by themes of domination and technology. As some of us have worked on the steel shut-down crisis that now stretches from coast to coast, we have learned how important it is to have a responsible source of information apart from the machinations of either owners or labor. That is how we discovered that disinvestment, capital removal, and not

imports or EPA restrictions were the underlying reason for the death of the steel mills. It took the Ecumenical Coalition in Youngstown and the Tri-State Conference On Steel months and lots of dollars to develop the ability to understand this issue so that the right justice questions, the right kind of human advocacy could emerge.

Secondly, the church must be the vehicle for building the kingdom in tangible terms. In the cities and the

Proposals Pending

As **THE WITNESS** goes to press it seems clear that the Youngstown story refuses to die. Despite major setbacks to the proposals initiated by the Ecumenical Coalition for federal funding for the reopening of steel facilities under worker ownership, the cause is not yet lost.

On April 25, U.S. Steel was served with an injunction by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals forbidding it to dismantle or remove equipment from the closed facilities. The plaintiffs in that action were a coalition of ten groups, including locals of the Steelworkers Union and a number of individuals. The court has indicated it will hold a hearing on the Coalition's appeal in June.

Meanwhile, the newly formed Community Steel Corporation, with a board membership comprising workers and community representatives, has a proposal for funding under active consideration before the Economic Development Administration (EDA) in Washington, D.C.

countryside this means the formation of "development teams." These development teams need a five percent club. If we could recruit from among the laity in the churches just five percent of the talent and expertise resident there in everything from banking to law to corporate formation to planning, a new free space for rebuilding the cities could begin to unfold. Laity in our churches need some space beside that of the company in which to work out their

discipleship. Development—rebuilding the cities—could go forth in areas such as housing, service and producer cooperatives.

Thirdly, we need teams of folk drawn from our parishes who will link themselves with the ecumenical community, with secular groups, with scientists, with environmentalists, with rank and file workers, to struggle together for new forms of justice in a rapidly deteriorating world. The Christian as advocate for the victim of injustice, the oppressed person, must be prepared to link arms with his brothers and sisters on behalf of the Gospel's justice in concrete situations that can lead to change and newness of life for the community and its people. We need "issue coalitions" to discourage plant shutdowns, to build new forms of localized economic control and ownership, to change the issues and the public debate so that they are responsive to the suffering and plight of people.

Finally, I believe that we do need to make every possible use of the parish as a source of people and as a base of operations as we study, act, form coalitions, create development teams and engage in mission and evangelism. As we engage parish people and parishes themselves in the new challenge for mission and evangelism for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, we will create new models for the life of the parish and for the people of God in this world. It is a darkening world, but perhaps no more so than at any other time. The darkness is born of our pretenses of power, our stubborn equation of self-interest with the interests of the Kingdom.

When God is served by this church it will always glorify the creation, and our unity in Christ has always been and always will be the fulfillment of God's vision for his people: a vision of the city and the countryside as habitations of peace, love and justice. ■

Continued from page 3

assuring profits. With the cost of material resources escalating, human energy, specifically wages and salaries, is the major variable. This condition is also moving us toward fascism.

In the face of this reality, both in North America and in Europe, there are two major streams of thought and involvement in the Christian churches: one pietistic and spiritualistic, the other, establishment and materialistic. Both move toward a secularized Christianity. The churches see themselves, in both instances, as being above all conflicts, as impartial observers, and as places of reconciliation. Both streams are prominent in the Episcopal Church.

There is, however, a third point of view emerging out of the oppression of the Third World. This view holds that development models coming from Europe and North America, belonging to a certain class and race, have contributed to the alienation of the poor both in the Third World and at home. The liberation of the oppressed classes and races is the mission of the church, and faithfulness is seen and understood in and through the struggle of the poor. We need not come from the poor to embrace the ends of the poor in the world struggle.

From the beginning of the process to form an Episcopal Urban Caucus, that is, in the North/South Institutes, the Public Hearings and the Regional Institutes leading up to the Assembly, we attempted — not always successfully — to work from the ground up rather than from the top down. We were sensitive to the fact that we did not sufficiently know nor understand the poor, the alienated, the victims, so we went to see and to listen before we acted. To our surprise, we were told both by the poor themselves and their spokespersons that what was needed was our involvement, rather than our money. Quite frankly, this was a shocker. Involvement with the poor means working from the ground up rather than being chaplains to the powerful and the elite.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that the majority of the action strategies mandated are focused on the neighborhood/parish and the city/diocese. For example, the strategies identified by the Economic Justice group require the involvement and participation of the minority groups, women and youth that are oppressed by the economic inequities today. The Episcopal Equal Opportunity Commission and the Episcopal Empowerment Cooperative are instruments for empowering persons and groups formerly

disenfranchised. This does not mean forsaking the Caucus' obligation to connect its ground-up program at the regional and national levels. All issues today are connected in one way or another to regional, national and international controls.

The Assembly mandated that every urban parish should have a strong urban committee working at the parish's mission in the local community. Also, it mandated that every diocese should have an urban commission that would work for and assure priority being given to the church's mission in the cities. The focus of the Caucus should be from the ground up, beginning with the neighborhood and the parish. Involvement and action are primarily human pursuits. The first resource needed is people power.

Casson to Chair EUC

The Rev. Lloyd Casson, president of the Church and Society Conference, will chair the new Episcopal Urban Caucus. Others elected to the executive committee at a recent meeting in Detroit were Lydia Lopez of Los Angeles, vice chair; Sr. Arlen Margaret of Central New York, secretary; Bishop Richard Trelease of the Rio Grande, treasurer; and members at large Julio Torres of Massachusetts, Mattie Hopkins of Chicago, George Regas of Los Angeles and Deborah Hines of Tennessee.

Action task forces and their conveners include Economic Justice (Lou Schoen of Minnesota) Parish Revitalization (Elyse Bradt of Pennsylvania) Energy (Deborah Hines) and Arms Race (George Regas).

It appears that the formation of the Episcopal Urban Caucus has caught the attention of increasing numbers of persons and groups within the Episcopal Church. In Indianapolis there coalesced, gradual though it may be, the potential of giving priority to urban mission in at least a dozen or more of the major dioceses. If this be true, it is important that the Governing Board respect the momentum that has begun and give opportunity for redirecting substantial resources — personnel, properties and monies — to this task. This will require careful planning and laying larger demands upon the membership than has been the practice of the church in recent years. But the strategies of the Caucus are realistic and accomplishable. ■

The Puerto Rican Connection

When Carlos Alberto Torres and 10 others believed to be members of the FALN were arrested in Chicago recently, reporters from the *Chicago Sun Times* and Religious News Service called THE WITNESS to ask what we had to say about it. They knew that THE WITNESS had earlier tracked the jailing of Maria Cueto, Raisa Nemikin and seven others who refused to testify before Grand Juries investigating the FALN, which, as readers recall, is the militant Puerto Rican nationalist group suspected of 100 bombings across the United States.

When THE WITNESS began to cover the story in 1977, Cueto and Nemikin were executive director and secretary, respectively, of the National Commission for Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church. Carlos Alberto Torres had helped to translate catechetical materials as an NCHA member. He was to end up on the FBI's 10 most wanted list, because agents said they had found a "bomb factory" in a place he had rented.

THE WITNESS believes it important to distinguish what is different about the 1977 and 1980 events, and to examine at greater length the ramifications of the Chicago arrests.

In the earlier case, the FBI had asked Cueto and Nemikin to provide information not only about Torres

(which they did), but also about all Hispanics in the files to which they had access through their positions as church workers. The FBI had no information linking these people to the FALN. Neither were the women considered suspects in the case, nor were they accused of criminal acts. Cueto and Nemikin refused, claiming such a request was a "fishing expedition" which could only lead to harassment of their people.

More recently, Torres, five other men and five women were booked in Chicago on charges of possessing weapons, armed robbery and theft, and each assigned a \$2 million bond. Federal authorities continue to seek evidence linking them to the 100 bombings which took five lives. The 11 have refused legal counsel, claim to be prisoners of war, and are asking for an international tribunal.

(The Rev. Hugh White, Church and Society staffer, and the Rev. Henry Stines, Chicago C&S covener, met with Torres for an hour at the Cook County Jail to discuss the prisoner of war position. White said that efforts were also being made in the Ecumenical community to assure that the families of those in jail and Hispanics across the country who support independence for Puerto Rico would not be subject to harassment by officials, as happened in

the Cueto and Nemikin case.)

In Maria and Raisa's case, a major concern was whether the government has the right to use a person in a church position to gather information about others involved in that person's ministry (e.g., the Hispanic community). Or, can the church be used to provide information merely to obtain further information? In the Chicago case, the issues center around Puerto Rican independence.

Other concerns surfaced in the jailing of Cueto and Nemikin:

Grand Jury Abuse — The very structure of the Grand Jury system was being challenged and congressional legislation was pending to introduce reforms, such as allowing those subpoenaed to have counsel present (denied to Cueto and Nemikin).

Sexism — Two women in the national Episcopal Church structure were unsupported by the administrative male hierarchy who, instead, invited the FBI into their national offices for a night search of files.

Lay ministry — Lay ministry as distinguished from clerical ministry was at issue, a judge having refused to give official recognition that lay religious workers might enjoy the same confidentiality of client relationships as did priests.

Ecumenism — Other denominations

by Mary Lou Suhor

became alarmed when they realized they might also fall prey to FBI excesses. The National Council of Churches formed a special committee to follow the case, filed an amicus brief, and issued guidelines for church personnel in the event of an FBI visit.

THE WITNESS reported periodically on all the above, until those jailed had been released. In toto, approximately six years of accumulated time was spent in prison by the nine jailed. No indictments were forthcoming.

Now, back to Chicago. If one knows nothing about the history of Puerto Rico, it is plausible to think of the FALN as a bunch of "isolated loonies" or "terrorists," as the media calls them. But there is another view, which sees the FALN at the end of a long tradition of struggle for independence for the Latin American country of Puerto Rico. This struggle once enjoyed wide support, but was suppressed over the years by a careful and studied annihilation of those who believed in it. Spain, and later, the United States dominated Puerto Rico and squelched liberation attempts by its people. History shows that when suppression becomes more and more violent, survivors become more and more desperate.

Modern day history, according to supporters of Puerto Rican

independence, reveals that the United States has used institutional violence as well as armed intervention to convince Puerto Ricans that they should be happy under U.S. rule. Some examples:

- Over 80% of the Puerto Rican economy is controlled by U.S.-based multinational corporations. Twenty-four U.S.-owned chain stores control 90% of all sales. Foreign capital controls 80% of all manufacturing, 100% of air and marine transport.

- Puerto Rico has no control over its imports. Puerto Ricans must import 100% of the rice they consume (a diet staple) at a cost of \$70 million annually, although they could easily grow the rice themselves. But growers in California and South Carolina supply the rice, at great profit.

- Over 80% of the people qualify for U.S. Food Stamps, which furthers dependence and powerlessness.

- Approximately 10% of Puerto Rico's most fertile land is occupied by the Armed Forces of the United States. Over 70% of the Island of Vieques alone is occupied by the Navy/Marines, and the Navy uses the inhabited island for shelling practice, disrupting the life of the people, the ecology, and the economy of the fishermen.

- More than 35% of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age have been

Manifest Destiny

"American factories are making more than the American people can use. American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours. . . . Great colonies governing themselves, but flying our flag and trading with us, will grow about our posts of trade. And American law, American order, American civilization and the American flag will plant themselves on shores hitherto bloodied and benighted, but by those agencies of God henceforth made beautiful and bright."

Speech by Sen. Albert Beveridge
April 27, 1898

sterilized — the highest rate in the world. Sterilization, the irreversible method of preventing childbirth, was seen as the way to get at the island's extremely rapid population growth. Third World studies have shown that "overpopulation" is frequently cited by rich countries as the chief cause for underdevelopment to divert attention from their economic exploitation of poor countries.

It should come as no surprise that Puerto Rico is the leading country in the world in crime activity, the second in suicides, and among the top three in drug addiction and alcoholism.

Writing on the above in *Puerto Rico, the Colony*, the Rev. Eunice Veldez, Puerto Rican minister, concludes: "Ours is the story of the Black in the United States, the American Indian in the United States and throughout the hemisphere. Ours is the story of the African nations and of our brothers and sisters in Asia and Latin America. Ours is the classical story of the oppressed people of the world."

Let us state it clearly: Nobody wants violence and death — U.S. citizens or Puerto Ricans. But what one country calls "terrorists" another may call "freedom fighters." The history one has lived through and which side one is on determines the label. ■

Continued from page 2

We not only can do better, we must! I offer some questions which might well be asked of diocesans and members of Commissions on Ministry:

1) Can a person seeking ordination with the goal of serving in a specialized ministry be advanced through this diocese?

2) From among *all* AATS accredited schools, which seminaries may a person attend from this diocese?

3) What questions of a personal nature about sexuality are asked routinely of aspirants in this diocese?

4) Who makes the *real* decision in this diocese concerning selection of persons for ordination? (Hint — Quoting a bishop to his Commission on Ministry: "I just have a sixth sense about who will make a good priest and who will not — I can weed them out before you all ever meet them, and save us all a lot of time.")

5) What happened to the open-ended, situation essays which were designed to simplify canonical examinations and lighten the burdens of graduates from seminary? Are successful graduates re-examined locally in this diocese?

6) Where are we going to deploy those whom we sponsor for training in this diocese?

I believe with all my heart that there is a more simple and more humane way by which we can ratify Jesus' call to leadership in his church. As a part of the current problem, I openly confess my guilt and seek the help of each and every concerned Christian. Hawkins is quite correct, we simply cannot afford to go back to the old methods; however, there is nothing to keep us from going forward . . . is there?

The Rev. James A. Hammond
Williamsville, N.Y.

Lay Ministry Denied

In response to Richard Hawkins' on-target article "Jumping Through Hoops," a critical point in regard to ministry needs to be raised. The very fact that a body created "to provide a

responsible body of priests and lay persons to assist the bishop in the life of the ministry in the diocese" is to concern itself *only* with the "professional ministry" is a denial of the ministry of the laos, the people of God.

Of late I have become as sensitive to clericalism in the church as I am to sexism; it is as pervasive and as destructive. "Within our community God has appointed, in the first place apostles, in the second place prophets, thirdly teachers; then miracle workers, then those who have gifts of healing, or ability to help others or power to guide them, or the gift of ecstatic utterance of various kinds." (1 Corinthians 12:27-28.) The majority of these ministries are carried out by the "99%".

The elevation of ordained ministry into some special category is what leads, in many instances, to the heartache of the rejected candidate who truly feels he or she is called. How often does the church reiterate that we *all* are called? Not to a state of ordination, but to one of *subordination*, subordination to the will of God as revealed in and through our Lord Jesus Christ. The end result of neglecting that fact is a church full of clergy frustrated and overtaxed by the ministry as they perceive it, who have convinced themselves that the bringing in of the Kingdom is *their* job, not that of the whole people of God. And Commissions on Ministry that deal only with ordained clergy reiterate that mistaken assumption.

The future of the church, for me, will lie not in continuing to ordain more clergy than we have people, but in affirming and validating the gifts of each of the members of our community in Christ for the works of the Spirit. This will require acceptance, on the part of the clergy, of laity as co-creators, as well as the willingness on the part of the laity to participate in the risks and responsibilities, as well as the joys, of ministry. I believe that in Christ, in *love*, both can happen.

Mary S. Webber
St. Louis, Mo.

Why Drag In God?

As an atheist I have to admit that you and I are not very far apart on many issues. For religionists you do have a social conscience!

But why insist on beclouding everything by dragging in a God that doesn't exist? Isn't it enough that your own intelligence tells you the difference between right and wrong? Why muddy the waters by pretending there is a life beyond this one? Isn't it enough that we have this one marvelous chance? Doesn't it occur to you that the belief in an afterlife dissipates the effort to make this life and this world better? How can you ignore the bloody history (past and present) of religion?

I recommend that you read Thomas Paine, Robert G. Ingersoll, and some honest history books and rid yourselves of the evil that is religion.

Saul Jakel
Maplewood, N.J.

Where is God?

I have been quite displeased with the previous issues of THE WITNESS, especially relating to social issues. My question is, where or what is the church's concern with *God*?

Judy Brana
Minneapolis, Minn.

No Hope

Sorry, folks, I will not spend a cent or precious time to read the "junk" you call a magazine.

I have no doubt in my mind at all, that you have little concern for anything, anyone or mankind in general—other than yourselves, if of course you *are* members of the human race—God knows. God help you; I will not.

Willard D. Ziegler, Jr.
Hanover, Penna.

The Only One

Yours is the only honest and critical publication reporting on the affairs of the Episcopal Church. Thank God for *one* magazine that is not the official line of the old men who control the church.

The Rev. Gene Walker
Phoenix, Ariz.

Continued from page 2

serve the needs, concerns and sense of what was right for the whole group. There was a deep feeling of commonality—of caring—and of allowance for difference.

This spirit seems quite different from the “bossism” which so infects all our institutions, including the church. This “bossism” is so tied up with other “isms” (sexism, racism, age-ism, ect.) it is hard to know where some start and the others leave off!

Why couldn't our clergy and bishops be seen *not* as “bosses” but rather as servants, pilgrims and enabling resources within the *laos*? Instead of vicars, rectors and bishops being required by canon to preside at congregation and convention meetings why could not the whole representation elect a moderator (who could be clergy, but not necessarily) as is done in New England town meetings? At the national level, what about having an upper house of delegates elected by dioceses for two or three General Conventions and the lower house for each convention. The “college” of bishops could continue as a *pastoral* body, meeting as required, without legislative authority. Bishops, priests, deacons, and laity could all be eligible for election to either house, maybe with some kind of requirement that there be proportional representation.

The church, through ordering its life in servanthood, in imitation of Jesus, would be even more potent in bearing witness in a world where misuse of authority crushes and oppresses.

Thank you for THE WITNESS. It stimulates, challenges and gives hope!

The Rev. Henry L. Bird
Socorro, N.M.

CREDITS

Cover, Photo by Lockwood Hoehl
adapted by Elizabeth Seka; p. 4,
Lockwood Hoehl; pp. 7, 9 *Network*,
Washington, D.C.; photos pp. 10, 11,
14-16, Mary Lou Suhor; cartoon p. 12,
Zarko Karabetic in *The Washington*
Post.

Act of Violence

Upon what evidence does Dr. Bradford Friedrich base his claim, in his February letter to the editor, that “No male can sexually molest a woman who is in fervent prayer.”? As a social worker and as a rape relief advocate/counselor I work with women and children who have been raped. I see its effects. I listen to my clients relive the nightmarish details.

Rape is an act of violence, not sex. Yet Christian men since Tertullian have been placing the blame of the act upon its victims. It is very easy to tell women, “Pray and it won't happen to you,” when one believes that the fault somehow lies with the woman.

God answers prayers. But God also answers prayers with a “No” or a “Wait” as well as with an affirmative. In addition, we live in a fallen world separated from God. We have been granted free will, which means we have as much choice to ignore God as to listen. A rapist can harden his heart and ignore God's will—he does not have to stop his assault.

If I were attacked, I would pray. But I would be praying for the strength and courage to resist.

Marie Valenzuela
Seattle, Wash.

Can't Keep Quiet

I have just read the letter from Dr. Friedrich in your February issue (“Abortion Not the Way”), and although I seldom write letters to the editor, I cannot keep quiet on this one!

For anyone to state that “no male can sexually molest a woman who is in fervent prayer” is just incredible! That means that my young friend who was raped in her college dorm by a psychopath who broke into the room at night should simply have prayed (longer, harder, better?), or that 75-year-old woman who was raped at night by an intruder who also killed her husband should have prayed and all would have been well. Carried to its logical conclusion, a statement like that might lead one to believe that the martyrs perhaps died in vain? Or how

about the victims of Hitler's regime?

He also seems to assume that anyone who is pro-abortion is a person who believes that fetuses are non-persons. I do not believe fetuses are non-persons. Abortion to me is always wrong, but we live in a fallen world and sometimes the choice we have is between two evils. Sometimes, as in the case of my young friend above, the evil we choose is nevertheless the better thing.

Mildred P. Boesser
Wasilla, Alaska

Why Such Articles?

I am not renewing my subscription to THE WITNESS. The articles that you featured the past months have been contrary and in disagreement with the scriptures in the Holy Bible. What scripture or other concrete evidence can you refer to from the Bible that verifies the picking of a female as a priest of the Holy Gospel of Christ? Why print articles by writers who are trying to support this question on the basis of supposition?

Why support a class of people who are flaunting the principles of Law and Order by living contrary to the Ten Commandments given to Moses by God Himself, and who are trying to use the church as a camouflage to cover their sins and obligation to Christian society?

You should be printing the word of the Bible and the good it can do, rather than allowing selfish individuals to infiltrate the living Commandments of our country and religious life.

Earland E. Graves
St. Paul, Minn.

Deserves Wide Notice

Earl A. Turner, Jr.'s letter (on nuclear energy and a plea for understanding of the Muslim world) in the March WITNESS deserves wide notice. It is the voice of reason — not the wild protests seen on TV news broadcasts.

I am an 87-year-old widow, not able to take any part in any “movement,” but this is my native land.

Christina McLaughlin
Salinas, Cal.

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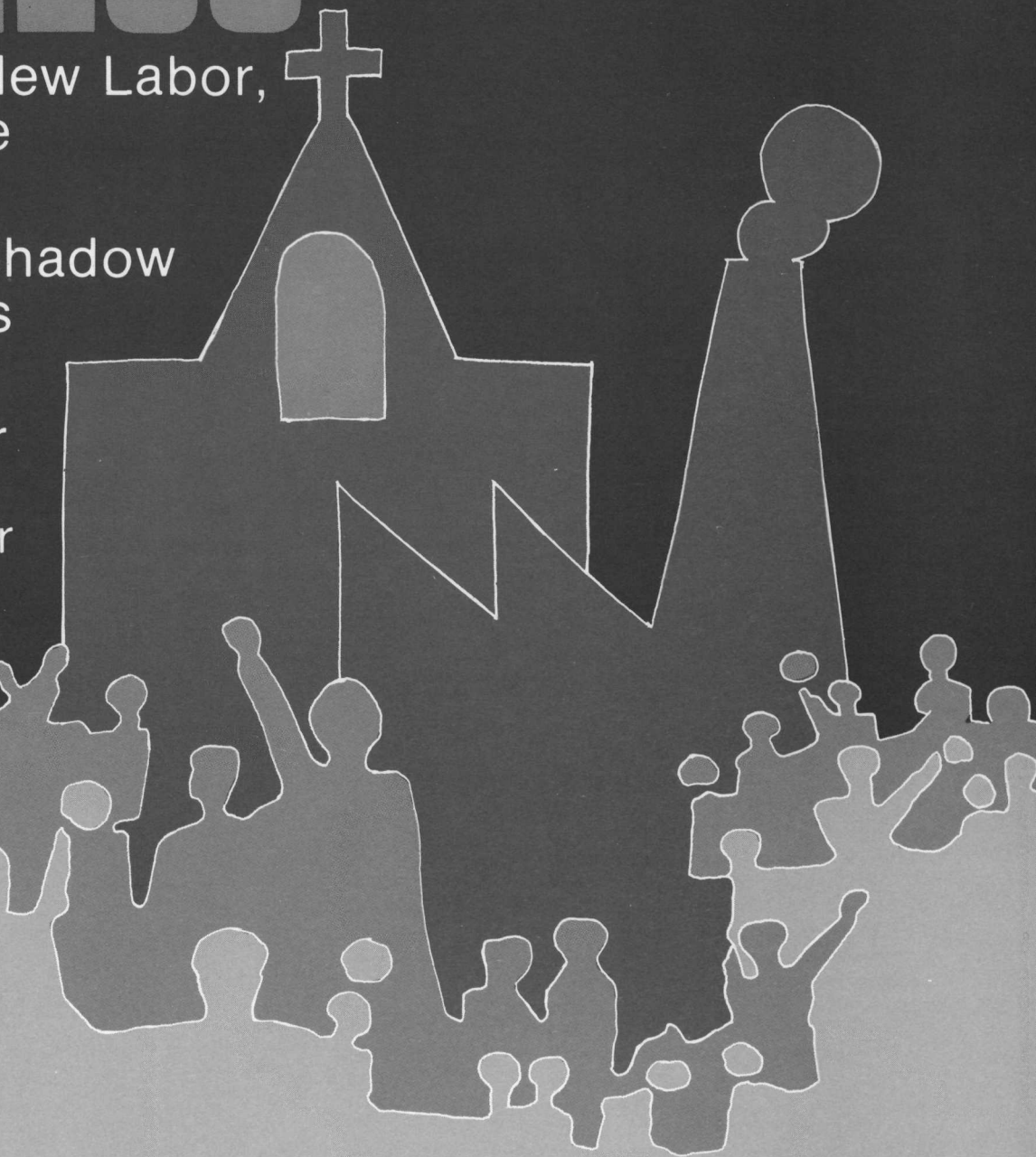
THE WITNESS

VOL. 63, NO. 7 JULY, 1980

Time Ripe for New Labor,
Church Alliance
Henry Morrison

Ministering in Shadow
Of TMI's Towers
Lockwood Hoehl

Why Males Fear
Women Priests
Rosemary Ruether





Teachers Seek Reprint

I should appreciate receiving a copy of the full text of Anne Braden's Haverford speech, excerpts of which appeared in the April issue ("Lessons From Three Decades of Civil Rights").

Permission is requested to reprint, with full acknowledgement, either the full or abridged versions, for gratis distribution to the Human Relations Committee, Executive Board, and interested members of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

**Mark K. Stone, Chairperson
Human Relations Committee
Philadelphia Federation of Teachers**

Ms. Braden is Visionary

The April issue of THE WITNESS fell into my hands through the concerned sharing of a Christian friend. I was so pleased to see so strengthful a magazine on Christianity and social change available to the public that I read it at once, cover to cover.

As a reviewer and editor, I would say that you have a vital spokesperson and your article on the Civil Rights Movement was an irrevocable confirmation of that fact. "We are living in a moment when society is literally falling apart before our eyes," and supposing that the author of that quote, Anne Braden, has a true hypothesis when she suggests that we face "potential facism," I would say it will

soon come to bear if the semi-aborted momentum of the civil rights movement (and its gains) are not realized as the embryo of American progress. If we allow the life the '60s and '70s gave us to grow, it will indeed carry us into an open society "where there is room for everybody."

Ms. Braden is visionary and so is the scope of your magazine. The apartheid article by Jesse Jackson, and "The Seven Tensions" article by Mattie Hopkins attest to this farther. Carry on with your fine work.

**(Ms.) S. Diane Bogus, Editor
WIM Publications
Inglewood, Cal.**

Orders for Clients

I am ordering a copy of the April issue for eight clients and associates of mine in two projects for training for affirmative action and racial equality.

I was introduced to THE WITNESS by a friend several months ago. I am impressed with the quality of writing and honest confrontation of issues therein. Keep up the good work.

**Lydia Walker Savasten
Human Relations Consultant
Unger, W. Va.**

On the Other Hand

I can't imagine ever subscribing to THE WITNESS after the April issue. Can't you see you make the racial issue worse?

**Mrs. E. O. Gibb
Dodge City, Kans.**

Supportive to CWS

We would like to thank you for the superb contents of your periodical which we eagerly absorb each month. Please do continue your innovative witness. We find it immensely supportive of our own work and convictions.

We would like to order two two-volume sets, including *Must We Choose Sides?* and *Which Side Are We On?*. We will be using them in our educational

programs and thank you for bringing them to our attention.

**Loretta Whalen Force
Educational Consultant, CWS
Elkhart, Ind.**

Saddened by Letters

The April issue arrived and I have read it, admired it for professionalism, effectiveness of format and the Pauline "red meat" editorially — and more particularly the words of Jesse Jackson and Mattie Hopkins.

No reader has the right and, I think, a tiny percentile only of any periodical think they do, of requiring agreement and support from publishers and editors for the subscriber's own views, regardless of how intensely those views are felt.

Believing that strongly, I hope you will not remove my label from your files when I tell you how saddened I am by the content and mood of almost all the several letters in the April issue anent Bill Stringfellow's piece in an earlier number. I read Stringfellow; I admire him, value him as a catalyst and as a competent wordsmith, a needed crier of dangers, failures and mistaken use of the structures of holy church. I suggest that he may have called "Wolf, Wolf" in his piece re Bishop Allin and that it was less thoughtful than his usual work, certainly more emotion than fact and probably written more in personal hurt.

Bishop Allin is, when the verbiage settles, guilty of expressing his conscience in public and of ruefully and most carefully, most charitably, most honestly setting the record straight and public.

Having left no doubt as to his own conviction and noting that a vote no matter the count never changes anyone's opinion or belief, Bishop Allin has behaved with dignity, personal charity (he has directly been responsible for at least two women priests being assigned to positions of considerable responsibility in national church administrative ranks) and his usual directness, tempered by his great love of persons, his charm and his

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THE WITNESS

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Theology in the Americas:

People Leading the Way

Robert L. DeWitt

Pope John Paul II's recent statements and actions have moved many to wonder about his conservatism. Some feel he may have a single-minded conviction about the sanctity of ecclesiastical traditions; others, that he may be making a pragmatic judgment that church people need a fixed cultic point in a confused world.

Regardless, his emerging policies suggest that the pattern of things-as-they-have-been should be guarded jealously against the erosion of experimentation and change. This is the message promulgated by his protection of the liturgy against "undue experimentation, changes and creativity," forbidding women to act as servers at the altar, and by the dictum that "it is not permitted that the faithful themselves pick up the consecrated bread and the sacred chalice, still less that they hand it to one another."

To those who are not Roman Catholic, and to many who are, these seem like arcane issues. In accord or not, they feel, "Why all the fuss? It makes no difference." But does it?

With exceptions like the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, few religious bodies have as dominant a figure as a pope. Yet few are the churches which do not exhibit many of these same tendencies of reaction. What impact is the religious establishment having on a world desperate for change?

We live in a society that requires change — basic and radical. Who can contemplate the poverty, unemployment, suffering and illiteracy, and the myriad more subtle forms of deprivation in the world, without feeling strongly and urgently the need for sweeping change? There are, indeed, those who would not agree — those coldly callous, or those who have lost all hope for a better world.

But those who recognize this imperative for change are aware that the greatest resistance comes from the established powers and authorities of this world, the current and controlling way of doing things, the status quo. Social analysts have also detected that there are those with vested interests in that status quo who see change as a threat to their position of privilege. The general reluctance to consider a reduction in the arms budget, to discuss socialist alternatives, to recognize the diabolical extensiveness of institutional racism and sexism, are but three examples of the prevailing influence of the status quo. Yet, we live in a world that requires basic and radical change. In the near-range future we will be hearing and seeing much more evidence of this fact in our politics, in our industry, in our economy, in all areas of our life. A church which resists the moral imperative for radical change sides with those forces of the status quo in all areas of life which impede the coming of a more just society.

In that case, the church, which like the Liberty Bell is

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Time for a New Church, Labor Alliance

by Henry Morrison

From the 1950s on, support for labor struggles has been low on the priority list of most religious social activists in the Episcopal Church and elsewhere. Exceptions are the United Farm Workers and, through the J. P. Stevens boycott, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), which have been able in recent years to breach the wall of suspicion or indifference that separates church-based activists from the organized labor movement.

Labor and the church ought to be natural allies. Was not Jesus, himself, a laborer? And aren't the transnational corporations — the chief opponents of the biggest labor unions — seen by many church people as primarily responsible for the crisis of world hunger? Doesn't labor have a great stake in combatting the two evils which

have most concerned religious social activists over the past few decades: racism and militarism? Racism divides labor against itself and sets workers fighting one another instead of the corporations; and periods of labor upsurge — above all the 1930s — have always been marked by the breaking down of racist attitudes and behavior among white workers and the development of firm multiracial unity. Money spent on the military produces far fewer jobs than a comparable amount spent for civilian purposes and fuels the inflation which, along with unemployment, is the major economic scourge of working-class people. Granted, the position of the official labor "establishment" — particularly on militarism — has often been disappointing; but the objective conditions for an alliance between organized labor and church activists are there. Whence, then, the current alienation?

It was not always this way. In the last decades of the 19th and the first three

decades of the 20th century labor rights was *the key issue* for religious social activists in general and for Episcopalians in particular. Labor was the focus of the social gospel movement; and the Episcopal Church pioneered in giving official recognition to the social gospel. As early as 1901, General Convention established a standing commission on relations between capital and labor, which in its 1904 report, accepted by Convention, stated its conviction that "the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people." This may sound commonplace today, but in 1904 to uphold the right of labor to organize bordered on the dangerously radical — the organized labor movement then enjoyed a reputation among respectable burghers akin to that of the Black Panthers in the '60s. Support for labor's right to organize and to collective bargaining was voiced again by General Convention in 1916 and 1922, and the 1916 Convention also called for "the extension of true democracy to

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industrial matters" — a demand still unfulfilled.

These affirmations did not appear out of a vacuum; they were preceded by the courageous struggle of a small group of Episcopalians, starting in the last decades of the 19th century, to bring the church to recognize and support the rights of labor. In 1887 Episcopalians in New York founded the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. Bishop Frederick Huntington became CAIL's first president, and soon over 40 bishops were listed as vice-presidents; CAIL was clearly more than a marginal organization in the church's life. It stressed not only education but also active solidarity with labor. Among other accomplishments, it persuaded the Diocese of New York in 1891 to have its printing done only at firms paying union wages. Some CAIL members joined the Knights of Labor, a leading and generally quite radical, labor organization. Among these was James Otis Sargent Huntington, son of Bishop Huntington, who supported striking miners in Spring Valley, New York, in 1889-90. CAIL organized yearly "Labor Sundays" at which delegates of Knights of Labor met with Episcopal clergy from all over New York.

Another Episcopal member of the Knights of Labor, the Rev. William Dwight Porter Bliss, founded the Society of Christian Socialists in 1889; the very next year he was instrumental in winning the support of Boston clergy for locked-out shoe workers in Haverhill, Mass.

CAIL disbanded in 1926 when a secretary for industrial relations was made a regular staff member of the national church's Department of Christian Social Service. By that time, however, labor's cause had been taken up by the Church League for Industrial Democracy, founded in 1919. From the time of a soft-coal miners' strike in 1922,

CLID, in the person of its executive secretary, the Rev. William Spofford, Sr. (publisher and editor of *THE WITNESS*), was a ubiquitous presence at labor struggles, and its stance was firmly pro-labor. In 1924, Spofford arranged for labor leaders meeting at the AFL convention in El Paso to preach in the city's churches, an experiment so successful it was repeated at subsequent AFL conventions. CLID did not, however, limit itself to preaching; it gave moral and material support to labor organizing drives and strikes.

With the 1930s, labor's drive to organize went into high gear, and so did church. In the midst of all this, General Convention in 1931 and 1934 advocated unemployment compensation and social security, and the House of Bishops in 1934 upheld once again labor's right to organize and bargain collectively.

With World War II and labor's acceptance of the "no-strike pledge" in the effort to defeat fascism, labor's need

for support by church people waned. The alliance showed some signs of revival, with Spofford naturally in the lead, in the postwar strike wave. Leafing through the volumes of *THE WITNESS* covering the late '40s and early '50s, one notes that the number of articles and comments devoted to labor questions first diminishes and then simply goes to zero. The attention of church social activists turned first to defense of themselves and others against the McCarthyite onslaught, then to civil rights and nuclear disarmament, and finally to the struggle against the Vietnam War. Labor concerns were not opposed; they simply dropped from sight.

The backdrop for this development was, of course, McCarthyism. It is too little remembered that what is commonly called "McCarthyism" was trenchantly put forward by Charles E. Wilson as early as 1946: "The problem of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words: 'Russia abroad, labor at home.'" The problem





of “Russia” was dealt with by the Cold War, which in turn provided a convenient justification for an attack on the labor militancy that flared up in the wake of World War II. This attack, beginning with the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 and culminating in the expulsion of Left-led unions from the CIO in 1949, purportedly aimed at ridding labor unions of Communists in the interests of “national security”; but business and government (aided by right-wing labor leaders) cheerfully took the opportunity to rid themselves of virtually all militant unionists — of whom the Communists had of course been the core. The result was that the creative and militant leaders in the unions, those who had a vision for the labor movement that extended beyond purely business issues

to the broader questions of social justice with which religious activists were naturally concerned, were driven from the movement. The “business unionism” leadership that emerged after the smashing of the Left tended to line up with the corporations on the issues of McCarthyism, militarism and civil rights — which positions obviously had little appeal for church social activists.

To this new conservatism of the top labor leadership must be added the fact that, from the boom of the early ’50s on, the labor movement was no longer the underdog it had been. In the ’30s and earlier, unionism was under attack from all sides (including, often, the churches) and poor in resources; any help that churches could provide was welcome, and unions (such as the UAW in Detroit) often made use of church facilities for meetings and for producing literature. By the late ’40s or early ’50s, however, unions were strong and prosperous enough not to need this kind of assistance.

The relative prosperity of those years, coupled with McCarthyite repression, enabled the conservative union leaders to stabilize their positions. As long as the boom lasted, it must have seemed to many that labor militancy was *passé*. Workers were hardly wealthy, but their real wages, on the average, were growing, and such grievances as there were could be handled by a friendly business chat between union officers and the boss rather than the “old” methods of militant struggle — or so some labor leaders seemed to think. Class struggle was replaced by class collaboration, and the labor “establishment” took on the appearance of being a conservative and comfortably-fixed component of the overall “establishment.”

Of course, the supposed prosperity and conservatism of labor have always been more illusory than real, even in the boom years of the fifties. Wages of \$9 or

\$10 an hour or even more — far above the national average — seem impressive at first glance, but given today’s prices, such wages are perhaps just about enough to sustain an average-sized family of four or five — *if*, that is, the family is willing to incur heavy debts (for such items as a car, which is usually a necessity, not a luxury), and *if* the wage-earner works a full year. Work in many industries, especially those that seem well-paid (logging, longshore, and construction, for example) is seasonal or intermittent, and a worker is lucky to get half a year’s worth of wages per year. Then, too, the insecurity generated by the constant threat of unemployment, and the toll taken by repetitive and often dangerous and unhealthy work, by speedup, by forced overtime, and, for a majority of the workforce, by racist and sexist attitudes and practices, must all be taken into account.

As with labor’s “prosperity,” so with its “conservatism”: hard hats can no doubt be found to beat up anti-war demonstrators, but the fact remains that most workers feel on some level they are being “ripped off” and exploited by the boss — that (to be precise) their productivity has risen far more quickly than their real wages, so that the profit raked off by the corporations for their labor is constantly growing, while their share of the wealth they produce is constantly plummeting. Whatever the pretensions of “business unionism,” workers have been as ready to show their militancy in the post-war decades as they were in the militant thirties; the frequency of strikes has been considerably greater in the post-war decades than it was even in the decade that saw the upsurge of the CIO.

It must not be forgotten that one third of the basic industrial workers in this country are Black; there are also substantial contingents of Latino, Asian, Native American, and Arab workers. These workers, bearing the brunt of racism, can hardly be classed as

generally “prosperous” or “conservative,” and their attitudes and their struggles, both on the job and in the community, have an impact on the thinking of the entire working class.

However, as long as the boom years lasted, the U.S. labor establishment was able to put up at least a facade of relative prosperity and relative conservatism. Today, the wind of crisis is blowing that facade away. Workers are caught in simultaneous inflation and unemployment, and over the past few years real wages have been steadily dropping. Business used to try to curb labor militancy by granting concessions; in the current economic crisis, however, business can no longer afford concessions; indeed, as the Chrysler situation demonstrates, business is now demanding concessions from workers. At the same time, it is making attacks on unionism *per se* on a scale not seen since the '30s, through such devices as the Council for a Union-Free Environment and “consultants” specializing in union-busting.

Coupled with this has been the rise of the so-called “New Right,” which attempts to blame the economic problems of what it terms the “middle class” (most of which is actually working class, since what is meant is everyone above the poverty line) on the poor and on the “excessive” demands of unions. These themes have been taken up by politicians calling for a “balanced budget” (to be achieved by slashing social services, not the military budget) and by the Carter Administration itself, in its attempt to curb inflation by pressing for a ceiling on wage hikes, despite the fact that it is the drive for profits, not wages, that spurs inflation. Over the past several decades, inflationary price hikes have *preceded*, not followed, a rise in wages.

The weakness of its economic theory notwithstanding, this attempt to pit the poor against the not-quite-so-poor has made inroads into public thinking.

Coupled with the economic crisis, this has created a new vulnerability for the trade union movement — which in turn is generating a fightback in labor’s rank and file. Dissatisfied with what they see as the complacency and conservatism of some union leaders, rank and file unionists are organizing to press for a new militancy and for democratization of union structures. Almost every major union has such a grouping; examples are the Auto Workers’ Action Caucus, National Steelworkers’ Rank and File, and the Teachers’ Action Caucus. Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), based in Chicago, is a national coordinating center for such groups. Black workers, organized in black caucuses in many unions and nationally in the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), are naturally playing a major role in the growing labor ferment, as are women workers organized in union caucuses and in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The rank-and-file movement has already scored impressive victories. The Miners for Democracy group ousted the corrupt Tony Boyle from the presidency of the United Mine Workers, replacing him with Arnold Miller and at the same time securing such important reforms as the election of district and national union officials, the rank-and-file ratification of contracts, and reduction in the salaries of the top union leaders. Unfortunately,

the group was disbanded after Miller’s election, which undoubtedly played a major role in his decline as a militant leader. Rank-and-file forces won Ed Sadlowski the directorship of the key Chicago-Gary district of the Steelworkers against the hand-picked candidate of the national leadership, and they nearly won him the presidency of the union when he ran against ex-president I. W. Abel’s chosen successor, Lloyd McBride.

Equally important is the role rank-and-file pressure has undoubtedly played in some new positions which have been taken at the top levels of the labor movement. In addition to the UAW and IAM support for the Transfer Amendment, mentioned earlier, these include the Steelworkers’ and AFL-CIO support for affirmative action in the Weber case and the resolution from the traditionally pro-military AFL-CIO Executive Board endorsing the SALT II Treaty.

Some labor leadership is also beginning to move away from its long-time allegiance to the Democratic party towards new, more progressive, political alliances. There is now serious talk, by the California AFL-CIO among others, of forming a third party based in labor. The Progressive Alliance, initiated by Douglas Fraser of the UAW, has become a gathering place for labor leaders and others, including religious social activists, interested in

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If Socialism Comes To the United States . . .

by Harold Freeman

Simple and attractive as basic socialist principles may turn out to be, it will probably not be they but rather the profound senselessness of capitalism that will continue to strip the latter of support.

It is no longer easy even for some conservative Americans to see merit in a system which insists:

1) that we should sell arms to likely antagonists, and in the name of peace;

2) that to hold unemployment down we must produce material which has no use other than to kill people, a policy which is said to have the additional merit of being the surest way to avoid killing people;

3) that it is sensible to spend \$25 billion to put two men on the moon while 40 million Americans need help we cannot then afford to give them;

4) that it is reasonable for people to

go hungry in the midst of stores filled with food (one of every three shoplifters in America is now stealing food), to be badly clothed in the midst of warehouses filled with clothing, to go without medical help in the midst of great medical centers ("Some of you people may have to die" — Mayor Kevin White of Boston) because they cannot "afford" these things;

5) that whenever there is a shortage — of anything — it should always be the poor, who may have the greatest need, who will suffer the most;

6) that an economic system should always strike hardest at those who are least able to fight back — those down with sickness, accident, unemployment, old age;

7) that it makes sense for a person to be ordered to remain idle with consequent suffering of all close to him or her when he or she is trained and able and eager to produce needed goods and services;

8) that the way out of industrial depressions, 27 of them in 122 years, is to fire workers, then counter consequent high unemployment by inaugurating programs to get them

back to work;

9) that it is sensible for millions not to get needed housing while 30% of the housing work-force looks for work;

10) that it is entirely within the rules to withhold from the market meat, medical services, oil, natural and manufactured gas — needed, not merely for comfort but for survival — until the price is right, at which price lower-income families may not be able to buy at all;

11) that it is proper for millions to live in continuous insecurity, from birth through education, employment and, hardest of all, through old age;

12) that it is without serious consequence to tell hundreds of thousands of first-job-seeking young people, including young whites, that society has no jobs for them;

13) that it is reasonable for a small number of owners and managers to make fortunes while 8 million workers cannot find money to feed their families.

The days when people can be persuaded to accept nonsense of this order of magnitude are by no means over but they may be slowly ending, and

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we may someday look back on these days with disbelief.

It is difficult to tolerate a man-made system whose behavior the men who made and direct it cannot predict, whose behavior a year ahead with respect to such important measures as employment, output, prices, and even stability has become a matter of conjecture, with as many "experts" predicting rise as fall, growth as decline, with government speaking for months and even years of "bottoming out," while academics suggest that "we tighten our belts" and business analysts report, with exemplary confidence, that "the economy may go either way" . . .

In *The Wall Street Journal* J. Roger Wallace wrote: "The hard cold truth of the matter is that at this particular point no one can make a business forecast for the next few months, let alone for a full year, without including so many escape hatches as to render the prediction meaningless" . . .

It is a grim experience to put up with a system which, to survive, must periodically destroy the lives of a substantial number of the people in it. The day may come when the American

people begin seriously to wonder why there *ever* need be bad times, why factories which are open this month must close the next; why food, goods, and medicine which are within income one year must be beyond it another; why thousands who work today must be idle tomorrow. If masses of people begin to reflect on these events, events which are conventional features of our economy, which provide fortunes for a few and misfortunes for many, and for which grown men and women can give no sensible justification, it may be the moment of dangerous truth for American capitalism.

Socialist Principles

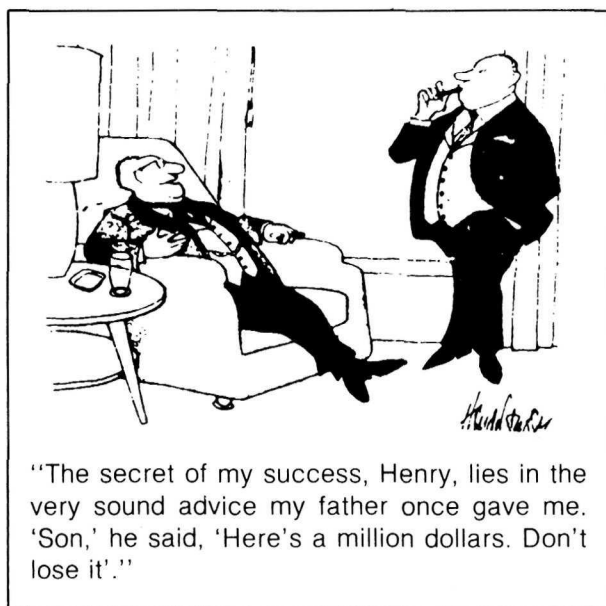
We will state the assumptions and the principles of socialism, as some of us see them. But it will be a brief statement; no detailed blueprint of life in socialist America can be written. To announce in advance the programs which a democratic American worker society will choose to follow is intellectual posturing: Who can really say? Moreover, formal programs in advance of the fact carry with them an air of rigidity, an air that is alien to the

flexibility implied in democratic socialism. Like capitalists, socialists will have to make decisions on policy questions as they go along.

This inability to produce a blueprint will surprise and disappoint many Americans. Whether for, against, or uncertain on socialism, they would like to know in some detail what they may be in for. Considering the unlimited radical literature on what is wrong with capitalism, the unending debate in radical circles on how to get from capitalism to socialism, and the volumes of interpretation of every paragraph written by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and Mao, Americans find the paucity of information on the practical behavior of a (presumably attractive) socialist state curious and even suspect. They have seized upon this paucity to draw their own picture of coming American socialism, and their picture is unflattering and weird. It usually consists of the worst elements — and only the worst elements — of the past 60 years of Soviet Russian history, with repression of minorities, invasion of neighboring countries, and cold, centralized bureaucracy prominent among them. In such a montage — and there can be no way of proving that America will be *certain* to escape such pitfalls — any attractive features that a socialist society may have will not be found.

This dark description is carefully cultivated by American capitalists. And by others who, using it, are able to write off socialism without the need to read a single line of Marx or even the need to think about the subject for a single moment . . .

Socialism begins with certain assumptions. First, that we are humane people. That we want to share love, share well-being, share power, that we want human dignity to prevail. That we have or can have fraternal goals. To these are added the beliefs that the desire to own anything privately is not "human nature," but rather, human

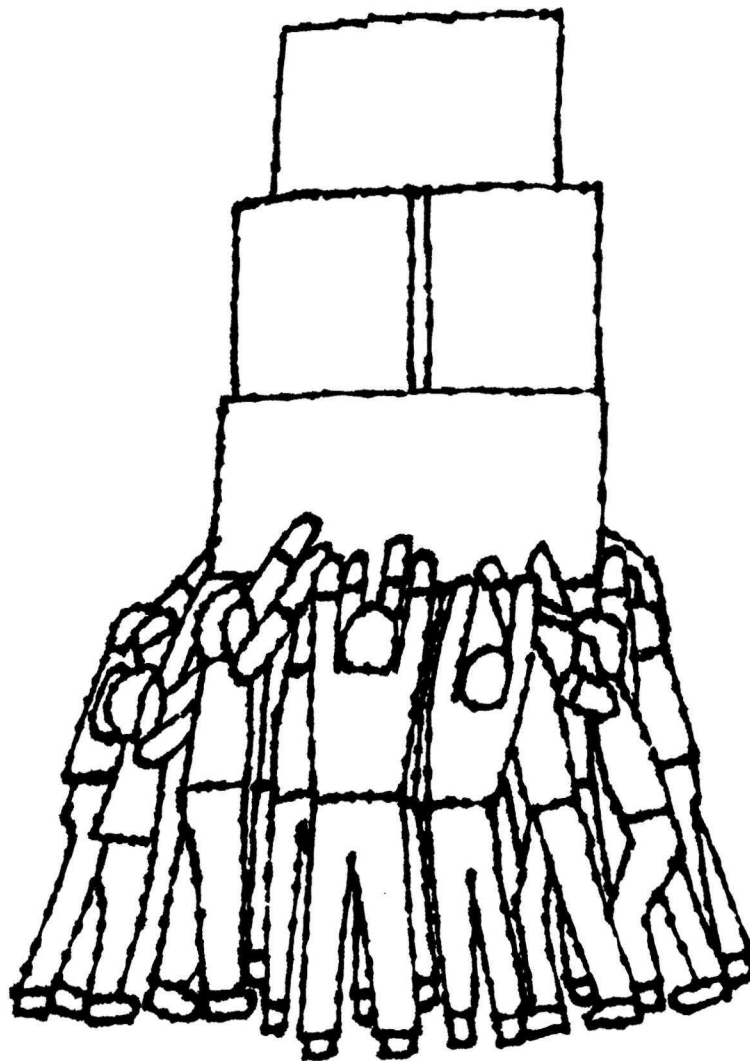


nature historically conditioned by early capitalism, that the desire to own everything privately is a peculiar by-product of advanced capitalism.

Socialist institutions therefore aim at humanity and equality — goals strikingly different from those of capitalism. Socialism imagines that people are willing, perhaps even eager, to participate in the planning and activity which will permit us to approach these goals — rather than wait for them to eventuate, via an invisible hand, as an accidental by-product of a system which hardly acknowledges their existence. Socialist society will probably classify people by performance, as does capitalism, but what is meant by performance will be different . . .

Socialists generally acknowledge that 19th century capitalism stimulated rapid scientific and technological development, and that some part of American well-being can be traced to that early development; the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels is almost lavish in its praise of the capitalist past. But that historical gain is dwarfed by contemporary loss. The socialist structure proposed to replace capitalism has numerous variants but its basic principles are few.

Production shall be publicly owned, and each person shall have the guaranteed right to participate in its activity and its proceeds, from birth through education, employment, retirement, to death. Marx viewed public ownership and the continuous right to participate in production as the means of ending alienation from the work we do, from the products we make, from the environment in which we live, from each other, and from ourselves. Making a living must also be living. Elements critical to the quality of life such as a sense of belonging, creativity, a capacity for reflection, the expression of talent, the satisfaction of needs, understanding, planning and deciding, and self-esteem must be built



into the work we do. This is a critical principle of socialism, and it is the precise opposite of the principle of advanced capitalism which separates ownership and labor, strives for impersonality and anonymity in production, substitutes consumption for personal development, and in no way guarantees participation.

A second principle of socialism is generalized equality. Equality between sexes, among racial groups, equality in opportunity, equality in wealth and income. It is a generalized democratic principle contrasting with the narrow democracy of capitalism which merely permits people to choose among close variants of inequality. This socialist ideal may never be fully realized; it describes the ultimate communist, as

against the practical socialist, state. It may always conflict with the need to motivate or the wish to reward exceptional effort in a socialist society; Marx regarded it as likely to be achieved late in socialist enterprise and Lenin expected it — and the Soviet Union and China have found it — to be difficult to attain.

Capitalist society has an automatic mechanism for ordering the problems it deals with — whatever is most profitable comes first. As a consequence, many social problems which show little or no promise for private profit are low on the list or cannot be found on the list at all. In a socialist society they will be reinstated.

It is a third socialist principle that issues receive attention in proportion to collective estimates of their social

importance and possibly in proportion to the number of people seriously affected, and not as now by estimates of their prospect for private profit. Instead of a profit-oriented decision between the production of cars with 200 or 150 horsepower (when 60 will do), an American socialist society may have to decide if it should study arthritis intensively or build more day-care centers. Instead of a comparison of the profit margins of an underarm deodorant and the training of mercenaries for the Near East, socialists may have to make a choice among a clean river, leisure, and growing additional wheat. Repairing the leaking roofs of 1,000 houses in the Southeast may be considered more valuable than winning the Indianapolis 500, a judgment which could only bring amusement in the current marketplace.

If Socialism Comes

Modern socialists with good sense do not lock themselves into positions. It is important to stand firm on a few basic principles, to speak out for them, then to consider and often accept amendments which do not distort or destroy the principles. Socialism is not a museum piece, perfect and delicate, in need of protection. It is not an infantile dream of problem-free perfection. It is a viable political alternative with strength and weakness, an ideology to be exposed to criticism and amendment. . . .

If socialism comes to power in America, it will face problems which neither its principles nor anything in Marx or Engels will solve. Marx and his successors were largely concerned with an analysis of capitalism; they have said little to help us administer an American socialist state or even to anticipate its problems. We cannot be sure to what extent socialism in America will restore broad social consciousness buried under decades of capitalist individualism. We cannot estimate if team spirit can be an adequate motivator (can accomplishment be its own reward?) or to what degree distribution of income, prestige, or power will have to be

adjusted to contribution in order to insure high performance. Another serious problem which can only be solved slowly is the accountability to the whole people of bureaucracy made necessary by the sheer size of the population. All we can expect is that the few principles of socialism and the social consciousness which they may generate, along with fair solutions to inevitable broad and difficult problems, should rid us of many sources of deprivation and alienation, and replace them by positive sources of moral and economic strength, with expansion of genuine freedom and reduction of inequality. The result will hardly be nirvana. Socialism has neither ambition nor ability to produce a society without problems or conflict. It can only aim to work toward one in which problems and conflicts are socially meaningful and their solutions promising to all members of the society.

Socialism can make few promises. Social structures in action are never quite what they are on paper, and each of them, including socialism, must be judged by the quality of its ethic, by its public record wherever it has one, and by our estimate of its promise for the future. On balance and only on balance, a good part of the modern world, including almost every developing nation in it, now regards socialism as the better prospect, both for democracy and social progress.

It is correct to say that the goal of socialism is humanity. In Marx, socialism is not fulfillment; it is only the basis, the condition for fulfillment. It is the springboard to the goals of self-development and self-realization. To achieve these goals, we argue that people must abandon a system which has neither love for them nor even any serious interest in them as people, a system which uses them simply as agents in a drive for private profit. It is a system which cannot be truthful for there is profit in deceit, it cannot be equitable for there is profit in discrimination. Of the capitalist system

one man wrote, "It is not intelligent, it is not beautiful, it is not just, it is not virtuous — and it doesn't deliver the goods." It was neither Marx nor Lenin nor Trotsky nor Mao who wrote those lines, it was Keynes.

There can be no claim that socialism will be free of losses. Socialist society must face the problem of personal liberty versus the control needed for planning; any solution must bring losses. Socialist society will likely prefer stability to the more rapid growth and decline based on variation in profit expectation; average growth may be slower. Socialist society in America may decide to face terrible national and international problems comfortably outside capitalist culture — simple examples: (1) every eight seconds someone in the world dies of hunger; (2) half of the world's school-age population are not in school; (3) 41% of the world's adults are illiterate; (4) 100,000 children go blind each year from vitamin A deficiency.

The box of unresolved American moral, social, and economic problems is heavy; they have accumulated for a century or longer. Socialism will want to open this box, and we will be frightened by what we find; we have little experience and less theory for solutions. But the sooner the box is opened the better; time only increases the variety of its content. There will also be problems which are intensified but were not initiated by capitalism; there has been and there may continue to be war. But unlike our current approaches which are piecemeal (therefore often contradictory), narrow (therefore solutions to lesser problems than we really face), and charitable (therefore always at our option to withdraw), the great social and economic problems will finally be faced *within* the system, evenly and by all the American people in their general and difficult search for a good life. Socialism will likely succeed on some and fail on others; the record cannot be written in advance. ■



"Carolyn Taylor"

WITNESS Readers Liberate Clergywife

A clergywife who wrote anonymously a year ago to THE WITNESS seeking a support system because she felt oppressed in her role now feels strong enough to reveal her identity.

She is Carolyn Taylor Gutierrez of Elkins, W. Va., whose letter to the editor brought a response unparalleled in the history of the magazine. It also won THE WITNESS a first prize at the national Associated Church Press Convention last month for best treatment of reader response. Said the judges:

"The letter and article by an anonymous clergywife are an excellent example of a threefold reader response: the initial letter, the outpouring of letters it prompted and the concluding article, summing up the overwhelming support the writer found. The series shows how a magazine and its readers can pinpoint a subject and touch a most responsive chord."

Today Carolyn has a challenging ministry of her own, answering letters, tapes, and putting distraught clergywives in touch with each other regionally.

Lonely Terrain

Only a year ago, however, "Carolyn Taylor" had written THE WITNESS that she lived in lonely terrain, unable to get adequate counseling for fear of

causing hurt and embarrassment to her Episcopal priest-husband.

"When I married five years ago," she wrote, "it was a classic storybook affair — love at first sight, hasty courtship, brief engagement and 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.

"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?"

She concluded her letter, "My husband says I sound like a sore puppy. Maybe so, but am I alone? Are there other clergywives 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?"

Yes, Carolyn, there is a Santa Claus. Letters poured in from all parts of the country offering consolation and advice.

In an article for THE WITNESS five months after her letter appeared, Carolyn, still writing anonymously, documented the response. She had

received correspondence from clergywives and daughters, clergy themselves (both men and women), laywomen, widows of clergy, and two bishops.

Paralyzing Effect

"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," Carolyn wrote. "Several likened life in the rectory to that of other 'public wives.' From the responses, it seems to me that the church has developed a subtle and effective system to keep the clergywife in her place.

"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."

As to Carolyn's own marriage, sharing the letter with her husband, Jorge, enabled them to grow in tolerance and understanding. "Hearing similar complaints from others has given credence to my arguments," she said. "He is genuinely supportive and compassionate and I am better able to fight the 'victim' role. We've been talking about issues, hearing each other without screaming out of terror that one of us may desert the ship."

by Mary Lou Suhor

Revealing her identity has also made a difference in her parish, Grace Church, she said. "Now even if I *tried* to do the dishes after coffee hour I wouldn't be permitted," she laughed.

Readers who would like Carolyn's

original letter to the editor and her subsequent article can write to THE WITNESS, enclosing a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Those who would like to communicate with Carolyn can write to her directly at 252 Diamond St., Elkins, W. Va.

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Who Writes?

Speaking of Letters to the Editor, we did a mini-survey at THE WITNESS to get an idea of who wrote the letters which appeared over a year's period. We found that 58% were written by men, most of them clergy; 41% by women, most of them lay; and 1% by a couple.

Similarly, we tallied who wrote the articles which appeared over a 12-

month period. Results: 50% were written by men; 29% by women; 3% co-authored, man and woman; and 18% written by staff.

Finally, in a casual study of our subscription labels, we noted that 37% were clergy, 56% lay (including 27% women, 24% men, and 5% couples) and 7% institutions. We say casual because a Pat Smith might be male or female, and clergy may be counted as lay if "the Rev." does not precede the name. We estimate that one out of 12 subscribers to THE WITNESS is now from Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian or Methodist circles. If we've missed your denomination, remember, the study was not totally scientific!

As we said in our recent promotional mailings, some have called us "responsible muckrakers," others, "the social conscience of the church." Whatever the label, we strive to present a point of view not offered in the mass media, which frequently doles out ideological food stamps on behalf of the Establishment, rather than asking the hard questions leading to systemic analysis and creative solutions to social problems.

Editors of THE WITNESS believe that for Christians, political consciousness raising and ideological struggle within the churches go hand in hand. Reporting, therefore, which links the radical salvation history of the people of God to an understanding of how the economic system affects the social welfare is essential.

Our concern with economic factors is closely allied to our anguish over the presence of sexism and racism in a society that champions freedom for all, and in the church, which espouses the dignity of the human person. THE WITNESS promises to continue in the tradition of courageous reporting for which former Editor William Spofford was noted, and for which he was persecuted in the McCarthy era.



Carolyn Taylor Gutierrez with her husband the Rev. Jorge Gutierrez, three-year-old daughter Sara, and pet rabbit, "Scrambled Eggs."



Part 2 of a Series

Ministry in the Shadow Of TMI's Towers

by Lockwood Hoehl

Churches in and around Middletown, Pa., marked the first anniversary of the accident at Three Mile Island with a public worship service, centerpiece of which was a *Statement of Confession and Faith*. Following scriptural readings, the Statement concluded:

"We know not what the future holds in terms of nuclear power as a source of energy, but with our faith in God we can live with fear and uncertainty."

Lockwood Hoehl is a free lance writer and photographer who lives in Pittsburgh.

"We also recognize that the lifestyle to which we have grown accustomed, accept as normal — sustained by cheap energy — is a contributing factor to the kinds of dangers posed by the nuclear reactors on Three Mile Island. The Three Mile Island incident may be a call from God to re-examine our priorities, re-evaluate our materialistic way of life. It may also be a call to bring our whole lifestyle, as Christians, into line with the faith we profess."

In addition to the fact that 15 clergy agreed on its content, the Statement is notable on two counts. First, it expresses the faith of Middletown's clergy that the fate of area residents, Three Mile Island, and nuclear power is in God's hands. Second — perhaps as a result of the first — it lacks a clear call to social action. These two aspects of the Statement surfaced again and again in conversations with area clergy.

Why this pattern? One answer might be political, as suggested by the Rev. Charles Dorsey, Executive Minister of Christian Churches United in Harrisburg.

"The closer you get to the accident, the less likely clergy are to stick their necks out," Dorsey said. "They are more interested in reconciliation and calming than in taking the prophetic role, a role that would cause them to lose their ability to function with the whole congregation. They might lose half of it."

This suggests that the clergy recognized a choice, and unanimously opted not to speak out, nor to call for action, nor to be prophetic. More likely, their response has been an unconscious function of how they view themselves as ministers in the community.

This pastoral image emerged in interviews with four clergymen, who shared their experiences since the accident at Three Mile Island's Unit 2 reactor on March 28, 1979. Who are

they, and what do they have to say?

The Rev. Howard "Sud" Kishpaugh is rector at All Saints Episcopal Church in Hershey, 10 miles northeast of TMI. He grew up in Hershey, and has had parishes in Hawaii and Mississippi (during the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and early '60s). The Hershey Sports Arena was the major evacuation point after the accident, and he spent eight days there.

The Rev. W. Jackson Otto is pastor of Middletown's Wesley United Methodist Church, with 780 members. His pastorate there began two years ago.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. George V. Lentocha is pastor of Seven Sorrows Catholic Church, Middletown. He has had several parishes in the area since his ordination in 1955. His parish includes Three Mile Island, and has about 4,000 members. TMI's cooling towers, which can be seen from his front door, are about one and a half miles away.

The Rev. Donald L. Ripple is pastor at Emmanuel United Methodist Church in Royaltown, sandwiched between TMI and Middletown. He has been there for three years, and there are 358 in his congregation. A native of central Pennsylvania, Pastor Ripple has conducted 62 week-long evangelistic missions over the past 24 years, where he preaches with "a view toward people being born again."

All except Msgr. Lentocha are married and have adult children.

Msgr. Lentocha remembered vividly the details of the week following the TMI accident. Because of the size of his parish, his interactions were with a broad range of people.

No official announcement was made on the Wednesday of the accident, so the news spread erratically through Middletown. Msgr. Lentocha heard about it from the principal of the parish school, where students were being taken away by their parents. On his way to the school, he ran into parents rushing to their cars with children covered by coats

and blankets to shield them from radiation. "I made an effort to calm the people down, and I think I succeeded more or less," he said.

Information trickled in through the next day, but none of it adequate enough for a rational course of action. As the news increased, so did the confusion. Word of possible evacuation spread; so did fear. "Fear spreads in a strange way, just like a wave," Msgr. Lentocha said. "You see other people who are fearful, so you become fearful, because you presume you're supposed to be. You feel a little stupid, and you don't even know why."

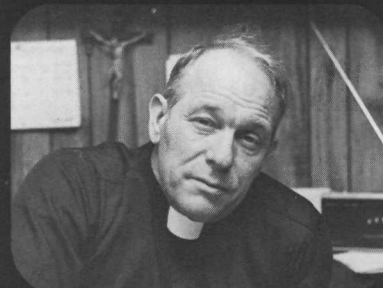
On Friday, Pennsylvania Governor Dick Thornburgh recommended evacuation of pregnant women and young children within a five-mile radius of TMI. Some parents asked Msgr. Lentocha what they should do. He told them the decision had to be their own, but suggested they leave if they had a place to go.

According to a study by Robert F. Munzenrider of Pennsylvania State University and Cynthia Flynn of the University of Kansas, about 21,000 or 60% of the 35,000 living within the five-mile radius of TMI evacuated during the week following the accident.

Msgr. Lentocha did not leave. "This is why I am here — for people who are in difficulty, to help in any way I can. For those who can't leave, someone needs to be around to encourage them — in terms of faith, if nothing else," he said.

"This sudden challenge made me feel more like a priest than I had for a long period of time. I thought, perhaps this was what I was ordained for — this very thing."

Under quite different circumstances, the Episcopal priest in Hershey reacted in a similar way. "Sud" Kishpaugh did not become deeply involved until the evacuation center in the Hershey Sports Arena was set up. He had been at a diocesan meeting and on his return, heard radio reports of the evacuation. He went directly to the Arena.



The Rev. Howard Kishpaugh



The Rev. W. Jackson Otto



Msgr. George V. Lentocha



The Rev. Donald L. Ripple

"I just saw that as part of my responsibility," he said. "I've lived in Mississippi during hurricanes. I've lived in Hawaii during tidal wave alerts. I don't even think of these things, other than that it's part of my job as a priest of the church, to go where there's a need."

For the next eight days, Kishpaugh spent from 5 or 6 a.m. until midnight at the evacuation center. The Red Cross had supplied meals, cots and blankets. But evacuees were fearful mostly from the uncertainty of the situation and from their unease about leaving their homes unattended. "My job was to try to keep them calm, to identify their individual or family problems, to take care of their babies, and to be a liaison with the Red Cross and operators of the Arena. And, then I had general services on that Sunday."

Sunday services for the other three clergy went on, but with greatly reduced congregations — mostly older adults and very few children. Msgr. Lentocha's worshippers at his five masses were about one-third normal size. Pastor Otto's attendance was down to 65 from 145. Pastor Ripple's congregation — the closest to Three Mile Island — was down from 200 to 50.

What does one say to people who are confused, frightened, and shaken by an uncertain present and an unknown future, while feeling much the same oneself?

"The intensity of faith at our church was something I'll never forget — spontaneous, by the way. It was brought about by the people's common bond," Msgr. Lentocha said. His sermon urged the congregation not to be overly concerned because God would have the last word. One of the hymns was the comforting standard, "Faith of Our Fathers."

Msgr. Lentocha gave general absolution at all masses that Sunday, because the outcome of the accident was so uncertain. Recognizing that this could stimulate even more fear among

the congregations, he told them, "I'm not giving you general absolution because I think there's imminent danger of death or disaster. I'm giving it because you have lots to worry about, and you're not going to have to worry about the condition of your souls. God is going to take care of that for you right here and now."

Msgr. Lentocha was also sustained by frequent positive reports from workers at TMI. "Usually they would say to me, 'Father, if I thought this was that bad, I'd get my wife and kids out of here pronto. And I'm not doing it.'"

Pastor Ripple appreciated the TMI workers for a different reason. "I'm glad the people who were working at the Island didn't run," he said. "If they'd have split, the thing surely would have melted down. A lot of alarms were going off down there indicating trouble. Still, they stayed with it. They can be blamed for being overconfident. But I appreciate that they kept their cool."

An important ingredient is the character of area residents, who are generally described as being conservative, responsible, of solid stock, and not easily excited by anything. Msgr. Lentocha said, "They tend to take life as it comes and cope with it."

According to the study by Munzenrider and Flynn cited earlier, of the households where no one evacuated, one of the reasons for not leaving given by 65% was that "whatever happens is in God's hands."

Obviously that is a complex mix. And curiously, none of the four clergy has had great numbers of anxiety-ridden parishioners flocking to their doors for pastoral counseling. Pastor Otto is a bit concerned about that.

"This has brought some anxiety to me," he said. "Perhaps — I hope — it is an indication of growth or stability in faith."

But Pastor Ripple sees it as normal. "It seems to me in any catastrophe, the people who are closest are the ones who

are able to come to grips with it in terms of daily living. They adjust better than those who live farther away."

In Hershey, however, "Sud" Kishpaugh has seen few cases of stress caused by TMI. He believes his pastoral function in regard to nuclear power begins and ends with ministering to those people.

"My role is taking care of people here and now, not making judgments for or against nuclear power," he said. "If one of my parishioners comes in traumatized, then I minister to him or her. I will agree that nuclear power is a bad thing for him or her right now. But, I'm not going to say, 'You ought to go out there and shut that plant down, because your kids are going to have some sort of thing 10 years from now.' I don't see myself as having to decide for the future of nuclear power."

Msgr. Lentocha's point of view is similar. "I myself am very conscious of the seriousness of the situation," he said. "But, I would not want to convey that same consciousness to people whom it would hinder rather than help."

Pastor Otto does not give nuclear power and Three Mile Island a lot of thought anymore — "I'm concerned, but it doesn't overwhelm me" — and would prefer that the community turn to other concerns. He believes that, if there is a future for nuclear power, then those in authority must become more responsible to the public.

Of the four clergymen, Pastor Ripple appears the best informed about nuclear power, and the most critical of it. He thinks the unsolved waste disposal problem may doom the industry. And he implied that the industry has lied about how cheap nuclear power would be. "Because of one accident, billions of dollars are being lost," he said. "And who can measure the emotional trauma in people in terms of money?"

What about the morality of nuclear power?

"I think human sophistication has been greatly challenged," Ripple said. "If we cannot dispose of nuclear waste properly, then it does involve morality. We're presenting a high risk and a danger to future generations — if there are going to be future generations. Therefore, if we can't solve these problems, the industry has to cease."

But Pastor Ripple sees the end of nuclear power in terms of its eventually committing suicide, rather than in his taking or urging action now to stop the threat which exists.

In contrast, Msgr. Lentocha is cautiously optimistic and supportive. Can he foresee any evidence that would make him take a stand against nuclear power?

"I'd have to say I doubt it," he replied. Even a major catastrophe — God forbid — would still be, in my mind, part of this process of development. I hope that it would never happen, but foresee that it could. I would rather keep the positive thrust that says, 'With God's help and our know-how, we can make it safe.' I think that heaven is not pie in the sky. It begins in this life. In America, we have seen what it can be like to have a beautiful life, more than any other people in the world.

"But, the disparity between rich and poor nations on the face of the earth is tremendous. We should be working to get rid of that disparity. And it seems to me that nuclear power, on the surface at least, has that kind of potential."

The Three Mile Island area is surely not heaven on earth. Nor is it a devastated hell. For the most part, the area has survived the worst nuclear power accident ever. And area clergy see their survival in terms of God's action, not human endeavor.

"We've been through a bad experience this past year, but we've been with God," as Pastor Otto summed it up. "God has led us through it, and we have faith that God will continue to lead us."

Nuclear Energy

What Can We Do?

by Paul Moore

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Bishop of New York, delivered the sermon at the Episcopal Cathedral in Harrisburg commemorating the first anniversary of Three Mile Island. Excerpts appear below. Readers will note, in contrast to the clergy statement in the previous article, a more definite focus and call to action. Granted that Bishop Moore lives further away from the core of the problem, THE WITNESS suggests it is not really that much further — "as the wind blows."

To deal with nuclear disaster a perspective is needed never before brought into play in the story of the people of the earth. The eschatology of tradition never has contemplated human beings as physical actors in the approach of the eschaton. The millenarians standing on the hillside on a mystic date did not contemplate touching the button to bring that end of all things to pass.

As Adam in the richness of the garden reached out for the apple beyond his known riches, so our nation has in pride gone past the edge of human experience in its reaching, driven by an ever increasing hunger for violence and power, to grasp a gift which has become a curse. Nuclear energy was born in secrecy out of the womb of war. We did not put it away, even after seeing the horror of Hiroshima. But our arrogant hunger for luxury and wealth and power converted it to so-called peaceful use. This is primordial arrogance and pride, known in all mythology, whether the Tower of Babel or the downfall of Prometheus.

No way is known, or even imagined, by which to dispose of nuclear waste, already eating its

cancerous way into the bowels of the earth. No way is known by which to make nuclear energy safe. Nuclear poison leaks out, like the ooze in some Saturday morning horror show, from the aging crannies of our nuclear plants.

Humanity does not have to have nuclear energy. It is ironic that if we had no armaments the fossil fuel saved thereby would go a long way toward making much further conservation unnecessary. But even with the enormous consumption of fossil fuel by our armaments, conservation can and must contain our need until *renewable* energy becomes efficient.

Nuclear arms, once let loose, can destroy us completely. Nuclear accidents can destroy huge sections of our nation. Nuclear leakage can irreparably deform the delicate genetic structure of our being.

These stark facts should be enough to stop the use of all nuclear energy for war or peace forthwith. What can we do?

1. We engage the power of God and we keep close to the Bible, that our minds may be honest, our

spirits humble, our hearts loving,
and our vision clear, our lives
courageous.

2. We engage the full power of
the intellectual community to
spell out in the truth of high
science and enlightened reason,
the same answers revealed by
scriptural truth in the mind of
faith.

3. We engage the full power of
the Labor Movement, calling it
back to its early days of
compassion and justice, and
pointing out that technological
and nuclear power continue to
erode, with capital-intensive
industry, the functioning of
human beings in the economy of
the world — the ecology of labor.

4. We engage the poor, who
will be the first and worst in
suffering, since they live in great
unprotected urban areas. As
unskilled persons, they are the
first to be fired in the speedup of
technology. No movement

invoking God's help can be valid
without the presence of the poor.
Furthermore, the armament race,
the nuclear race, already is
destroying the families of the poor
by increasing inflation and by
limiting the resources which
should be upholding them — the
services to which they have a right.

5. Engage the so-called spirit-
filled churches by hard-nosed
exegesis. If they are filled with the
Holy Spirit, insist that it be also
the spirit of truth. Let us not allow
any Christian to escape into some
futuristic eschatology, but be
forced to see a nuclear holocaust
as a realized eschatology, the
timing of which, as is consistent
with all creation, is partly up to
human free will.

6. Engage the young, who
stand the most to lose, and who,
from their background, can
understand the mysteries and
dangers of nuclear science better
than most of us older people.

Engage the idealism which dwells
within every young heart.

7. Engage the elderly, who
should have the wisdom to know
that peace cannot be won by
weapons and that happiness
cannot be found in technology.
Engage the old, many of whom
have been put aside to rot, as an
indirect result of a defense-
oriented economy.

8. Engage all citizens in the
movement, making clear that the
nuclear problem, the energy crisis,
the armament industry, inflation,
unemployment, are all inter-
twined as part of the same
problem.

And finally, let us speak with
hearts filled with the love of God
for the suffering and endangered
children, and filled with the
courage of the Prophets and Jesus
of Nazareth. Let us speak with
hearts filled not only with fear of
the final judgment, but also with
hope in the power of God. ■

Coming Up . . .

in **THE WITNESS**

- **HISPANICS:** Richard Gillett, founder of the Puerto Rican Industrial Mission, will present a penetrating analysis of the growing importance of Hispanics to work, culture and religion in the United States. While attention is currently focused on the Middle East and the "Russian threat," a storm appears to be gathering within the Hispanic community in this country, closely related to oppressive U.S. economic and political policies.
- **THE TIGHTENING NOOSE:** John Gessell analyzes the alarming scenario in which U.S. tax dollars are spent to convince people of an external threat so menacing that only the most advanced state of military readiness, including first strike capability, will meet it.
- **THREE MILE ISLAND:** Lock Hoehl continues the series on Three Mile Island, interviewing residents of the area.

Nothing Small

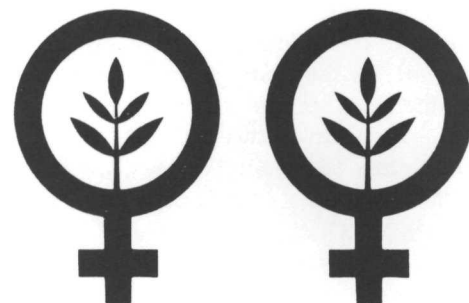
Nothing small can come of this
Nothing dead can issue from this life
Nothing humble, nothing easy
Even peace will be incendiary, acid-lined
We will straddle steaming and ice-blue nights
like dazed explorers moving
through inverted spheres
Such translations are large
unsuited to Sunday gardeners,
tourists, random lovers.
Decline no dares
advance every hope
presume all things
Prepare to carve
your own commandments in stone
if you risk this journey
of our own creation.

—Charles August

Historical Analysis:

Why Males Fear Women Priests

by Rosemary Radford Ruether



Historically, women appear to have been ordained more easily in those traditions that emphasize the ministry of the Word. Heavier resistance to women's ordination seems to come from those traditions which stress sacramental office or priesthood; i.e. Roman Catholic and Orthodox. The Anglicans are still deeply divided on the issue. What connection does this continued resistance have to the symbolic difference between preacher and priest? Is the symbol of preacher somehow more open to women than the symbol of priest, and, if so, why?

As we look at the biblical and historical traditions of Judaism and Christianity, we would have to say that any such alleged difference is relatively recent. The Old Testament certainly resists woman as priest, although there is evidence that women as priestesses of the Goddess did serve for considerable periods of time in the first temple. Woman as priest in the Old Testament context, therefore, is connected with priestess of the rival religion of Asherah. This is undoubtedly an important reason for its repression and still forms an ongoing tradition of resistance to woman as priest.

Rosemary Radford Ruether, feminist theologian, is Georgia Harkness Professor of Applied Theology at Garrett Evangelical Seminary, Evanston, Ill.

The rabbinic tradition is the source of the nonpriestly ministry or teacher of the Word. The office of rabbi arose in connection with a new religious assembly, the synagogue, a gathering to study and preach the Word, which took its origin in Judaism when the temple and its priesthood were overthrown. Yet the resistance to woman as rabbi is scarcely less strong than to woman as priest. Woman is not called to the torah in traditional rabbinic Judaism. Since many of the festivals are transferred to the home, in a sense she plays priestly roles in the home along with the husband, but the cult of the Word is strictly masculine. Women are firmly shunted to one side to cultivate the home, and, to send husband and sons to the synagogue to study. They listen to the Word only behind the veil.

When we move to the New Testament we find a contradictory history. At first, women seem included in the Christian synagogue. The study of the Word and the disciple-teacher relationship is open to them. They too become local leaders and traveling evangelists. But, by the time we get to the deuterio-Pauline writings, they are being firmly put aside. The exclusion is not in terms of priesthood, but in terms of *teaching*. The model for ministry in *I Timothy* is basically rabbinic. The bishop or elder is identified essentially as teacher, not as priest. His credentials are established

primarily by his reputation as a moral patriarchal head of family. The patriarchal family is the model for this exclusively male leadership of the church. Even when we move to the late second century, with the doctrine of apostolic succession, in Irenaeus and Tertullian, the primary model is rabbinic rather than sacerdotal. Apostolic succession is understood there, not as the passing down of sacerdotal power, but as the passing down of a deposit of faith, a teaching tradition.

In the New Testament we cannot speak of the exclusion of women as priests, because this model of ministry does not exist there. Christian ministry is identified in terms of teaching, preaching and prophetic power, not priesthood. Priesthood in the New Testament, as for rabbinic Judaism, still means the temple cultus, so there is no question that Jesus and his followers are nonpriests. Insofar as the very symbolism of priest is taken over (as in Hebrews), it is done so as to deny that Jesus has established a new priesthood who are "many in numbers." Jesus is the High Priest who establishes a priestly people by abolishing a caste of priests.

When the Christian ministry takes the place of the old Roman priesthood, as the clergy of the established religion of the empire, there is a definite return

to the model of temple priesthood. Some of this is found earlier, of course, as early as the writings of Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch. But, with the fourth century establishment of the church, the concept of the Christian ministry as a new priestly caste becomes dominant. This has the effect of reviving some of the purity taboos of Old Testament priestly law against women in the sanctuary. This caused a further repression of the remnants of the female diaconate. But, the repression of woman as public teacher or magister of the church is equally important. When St. Jerome praises Marcella for her skills as a biblical exegete, he is careful to declare that she teaches only in private and not on her own authority, for she would not want to encroach on the Apostle's ban against women as teachers.

In the Medieval period, canon law forbids women the priesthood on the grounds of the unfit nature of the female to represent Christ. The scholastic tradition supports this view. This brief survey indicates therefore, that in the classical Catholic traditions, there does not seem to be a stronger exclusion of women from priestly office than from teaching office. There are, in fact, parallel traditions of exclusion from both.

The Reformation did not initially change this situation. The apostolic injunction that "women shall keep silence" was taken by Calvin and Luther as excluding women from the preaching office. This exclusion was occasionally modified among some of the left-wing sectarians. For example, Baptist women occupied pulpits in England during the Puritan Civil War in the mid-17th century. The Quakers, from the beginning, defended women's right to preach.

This left-wing inclusion of women was based on a belief in the direct ordination to preach as a gift of the Holy Spirit. The church does not endow

the minister with this charisma, but rather *recognizes* those whom the *Spirit has endowed*. This charismatic view of preaching office is fundamental to the opening of the pulpit to women that occurred from time to time among left-wing Christian sectarians from the Reformation into the 19th century.

But this charismatic view did not have a permanent effect. As the sect became more institutionalized, the pulpit would often be closed to women. A definite change in this traditional exclusion of women came about only when the left-wing charismatic view of ministry was joined with two other developments — liberal theology and liberal biblical exegesis. Liberal theology Christianized the liberal view of Original Nature. Instead of the doctrine of Creation being seen as one of hierarchy and male-headship, liberalism asserted the original equality of all persons, men and women, in the original order of

creation. Not nature, but sin, has created patriarchal hierarchy. Salvation in Christ is not an otherworldly salvation, but is intended to transform the present social order toward that new equality in Christ which, also, restores the original order of Nature.

When the first woman, Antoinette Brown, was ordained in 1853 to the Congregational ministry, her ordination sermon was preached by the Wesleyan Methodist evangelist, Luther Lee. He took as his text Galatians 3:28: "in Christ there is neither male nor female." But fundamental to his argument in favor of Miss Brown's ordination was his charismatic view of preaching office. Preaching office is understood as a gift of the Spirit, continuing the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost. Since the Spirit of prophecy was clearly given by Christ at that time to both men and women, the church has never had any business

FOR EVERY ANYWOMAN

I
am
anywoman
I am . . .
anywoman who . . .
anywoman who would . . .
I am anywoman who would invade . . .
who would invade the sanctuary; but
not just the sanctuary, the magisterium, too.
I am Everywoman who would not stop at less
than the very fullest recognition of
my claim to being — my claim to
being the token (broken wo-
man) who would dare . . .
dare to claim equality
(in the sight of God)
equality (as created)
with *any* Everyman;
with every any-
man, aklm
am
I

—Ann Knight

(This poem celebrates the founding of St. Joan's
International Alliance, Canadian Section, March 26,
1979. Copyright retained by the author.)

excluding women from ministry, according to Lee. However, underlying this Evangelical view of preaching is also a liberal view of theology and scriptural exegesis. Salvation has to do with the restoration of the equality of the original Creation to the social order.

In the 19th century women occupied pulpits in two different contexts: the liberal churches, such as Congregationalists and Unitarians, and the Evangelical and Pentecostals, where the charisma of the Spirit was more important than institutional office. These two traditions have become sharply split today, with the Evangelical Revivalist Churches often espousing an antiliberal theology and exegesis that insists on male-headship of society. But this was *not so* in the 19th century. At that period Evangelical revivalism often went hand in hand with reform and was close to movements such as abolitionism and feminism. Therefore these two tendencies — charismatic ministry, and liberal theology and exegesis — often met and mingled, reinforcing each other in an openness to woman as preacher.

Today, those churches which reject the ordination of women are not only the traditional Catholic Churches, but also the Fundamentalist Churches that reject liberal theology and exegesis. I am inclined to regard this second element as more decisive. Although a charismatic view of ministry as prophetic preaching has often opened the pulpit to women in irregular assemblies, no institutional church has formally ordained women unless it has also adopted some version of liberal theology and exegesis. This is equally true of the Catholic traditions. The Anglican and Catholic theologians who accept the ordination of women also accept historical criticism of the Bible and reject a theology of male-headship as the order of Creation. Those who reject women's ordination, whether Evangelical Protestant, Catholic, or

Orthodox, basically reject these changes. Thus the acceptance or rejection of liberal theology and exegesis would seem to be more finally decisive than whether one views the ministry primarily as preacher or priest.

Yet there still does seem to be a different emotional impact created by the concept of priest that militates more against women than does that of preacher. But it is difficult to say if this is really the case, and, if so, why it is the case. If one examines the two roles from the point of view of traditional sexual archetypes the role of preacher appears less "feminine" than that of priest. The preacher, as speaker of the Word, is more abstract and cerebral. Traditionally, the symbol of Logos or Word of God has been male and hierarchical in Christian imagery. The Word descends from above the passive body of the people from the high (phallic) pulpit. One speaks of the "seminal" Word, and the attitude of the laity in receiving it is one of passive receptivity. All this enforces a highly male symbolism of the preacher.

The priest, on the other hand, mediates the enfleshed Word, the *body* of Christ. The Eucharist has traditionally stimulated nurturing and suckling imagery in Christian piety. The Christ who feeds us with his body is imaged, in long traditions of mysticism and piety, as a mother feeding us with milk from his breasts. In baptism we enter the womb of Mother Church and are reborn. In the Eucharist we are nurtured or fed in the new life of Christ. The popular image of the kneeling saint receiving the blood of Christ squirting from his side, often paralleled with Mary feeding him or her milk from her breasts, shows how readily Eucharistic sacramentality inspires maternal archetypes. The roles of feeding, washing and serving of the priest at the altar suggest more what mothers do than what fathers do. Even the dress of priests is today primarily evocative of

femininity rather than masculinity.

Thus the image of preacher appears more abstract and masculine, and that of priest as more enfleshed and maternal. It is precisely at this point that we may have the clue to the far more passionate and irrational resistance to women as priests than women as preachers. The woman as preacher abstracts herself into a male role, and so does relatively little to threaten the inherently masculine imagery of the role itself. But woman as priest reveals the enfleshed and maternal imagery of the role and thus much more directly challenges it as a male role. The male, in order to appropriate a maternal sacrality for himself, must maintain a much more rigid exclusion of women from it than is the case with a masculine sacrality.

It may be that the vehement taboos against women's "impurity," as the fence around the sanctuary, are constructed to maintain this male appropriation of maternal sacrality. This may have been the deeply buried root of the exclusion of women from priesthood in ancient Israel in the war of the male God and his priests against woman as priestess of the Goddess.

The opening of the priesthood to women thus creates for men (usually not so much for women) a *return of the repressed*. Men feel themselves lapsing back into the childhood dependency on the mother. The whole male transcendence through suppression of the mother and the maternal sacrality is threatened. Thus we may not be able to clarify the right of women to represent Christ equally with men until we sort out the male repression of the mother complex, as both an historical and personal psychopathology. In any case, we must look to the drive to open the priesthood to women as evoking far more vehement and irrational, even violent, responses than was the history of opening to women the ministry of the Word. ■

Continued from page 7

politics independent of the old two-party machinery, although it has not definitely come out for a new party. It is becoming acceptable again in some labor quarters to identify openly with socialism; a number of union officials, including some top leadership, are publicly involved in the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and Communists are again being elected to union leadership, at least on the lower levels.

The time is therefore ripe for the building of a labor-church alliance, first, because the labor movement is showing both greater militancy in "on the job" struggles and greater openness to the broader questions of social justice with which religious social activists have traditionally been concerned, and, second, because of the greater vulnerability of the labor movement today, it needs support from the religious community in a way that it may not have seemed to before.

The task of building this alliance demands creativity, patience, and tact on both sides; in particular, church people must be careful not to give the appearance of preaching to or interfering in the internal politics of the labor movement.

The first responsibility is to inform ourselves. We need to become regular readers of the local labor press, to learn of the condition and struggles of labor in our area.

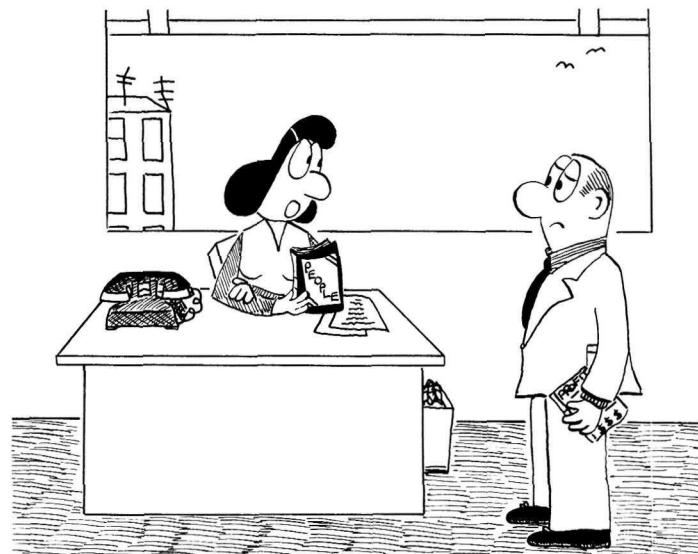
Further, the actual building of an alliance will naturally begin with personal contact. Various forums, such as the Boston Labor Guild and the Religion and Labor Taskforce in Cincinnati, already exist to regularly bring together local religious and labor leaders; these can serve as a model for other areas. On the national scale, the Religion and Labor Conference, sponsored by the Center of Concern in Washington, D.C., has been bringing together middle level trade union

leaders and religious social action professionals. The tendency of these groups has been to deal with established leadership on both sides; there is a need for including the rank and file, particularly those from labor who are involved in organized rank-and-file groupings.

Joint action should be a natural fruit of communication, and one hour on the picket line may be worth ten in secluded conference with union officials. The Boston Labor Guild, for example, was able to undercut the efforts of a Roman Catholic hospital to resist unionization of its employees (a sign that church people who want to build ties with labor will have to struggle first to set their own house in order). Support for labor can take many forms, but the main thing the church has to offer labor is access to the church's own sizeable constituency — a forum for unions and workers to present their case, which can be especially crucial in an organizing drive or strike. It is no accident that one of the earliest forms of church-labor cooperation on record is James Otis Sargent Huntington's reporting on the Knights of Labor for the Episcopal press of his day.

A church-labor alliance will not, of course, be of sole benefit to labor; socially conscious church people will gain a powerful ally for their concerns for peace and justice (of which justice for labor is naturally one). It is scarcely conceivable that any major social change will take place in the United States without the labor movement playing a leading role; and the changes are already taking place in the movement that will enable it to play that role.

For the Christian, however, this alliance is rooted in something deeper than the hope of mutual benefit. From the story of Moses, leader of the world's first recorded walk-out, through the labor laws of the Pentateuch and the pronouncements of the prophets, to the New Testament's revelation of the special role of the oppressed in the drama of redemption, the Bible reveals the partisanship of God for working people. Bringing this Biblically-based partisanship home to the people of our parishes, and concretizing this key aspect of the Gospel message in practical solidarity with labor, are cardinal tasks for all who seek to revitalize and empower the social mission of the Church. ■



Equating progress with profit is deficit morality.

Continued from page 2
honest humor.

Did anyone really expect the Presiding Bishop to acknowledge and reply to the intemperate (terribly adroit and well written but intemperate) attack of Bill Stringfellow? Would it have been appropriate behavior — or useful? Is there something new for Bishop Allin to add to that particular fire?

As the loving parent of one of the Philadelphia Eleven who believes Bishop Allin to be absolutely in error on the matter of women's ordination (and some else that Bill alludes to), I am wounded at the personal, unfair, vitriolic and unwarranted attacks your letters column reflects as an iceberg tip.

Come let us reason together; more, let us love one another. See the Presiding Bishop as one who deserves respect, appreciation, acknowledgement for his personal right of conviction and our daily prayers, never our daily curses.

Canon Rene Bozarth
Palm Desert, Cal.

Historical Reporting

We have been very pleased with the quality issues of THE WITNESS. You have raised important issues and concerns. The use of the historical method in going back to the origins or roots of things is very helpful. The February issue with articles, "Archaeology Supports Women's Ordination," "Standing Free," and "Another Kind of Vote" was particularly

outstanding.

The search for truth with understanding requires courage and is a blessing.

W. J. Kimble
Dorothy Joan Kimble
Golden Valley, Minn.

Women Speak to Bishops

First of all, let me tell you what a fine magazine I think THE WITNESS is. It reflects a real witness to Gospel values at all times. We thought that readers of THE WITNESS would like to know about availability of proceedings from the Latin American women's conference at Puebla, *Mujeres para el Dialogo*, during the Latin American bishops' meeting. Margaret Ellen Traxler, SSND of Institute for Women Today, has the following to say about the papers:

"This book is an authentic, spirit-filled account of the women's sharing at Puebla. Topics include: Indigenous women, women religious, women and family, theology of liberation and women, and sexuality. The papers of the Latin American women speak directly to the bishops. If the church listens and responds, we may see a redeeming history in the 21st century.

The book, printed by CCUM, is available from the National Assembly of Women Religious (NAWR), 1307 So. Wabash, #206, Chicago, IL 60605 at \$5 per copy.

Sister Mary O'Keefe
Co-director, NAWR

Classy Publication

I had requested that you initiate a one year subscription for me beginning with the June issue mainly because I needed an article in that issue for Review of the Literature on my dissertation.

Well, when subsequent issues arrived I was enormously delighted. What began as an academic exercise has brought me something that is of definite value and worth. I had been totally unfamiliar with the publication, but upon reading the issues which arrived, I would rate it with *Christianity and Crisis* and *The Christian Century*, both of which I regard as high class publications. Perhaps there is life in the Episcopal church yet.

Jane P. McNally
Lawrence, Kans.

Article Incisive

This is just a word of appreciation for the whole March issue, which was very fine indeed, but especially in my special field, for Richard Hawkins' "Jumping Through Hoops: Selective System for Ordination." It was very perceptive, full of common sense, and very incisive.

The Rev. James L. Lowery, Jr.
Enablement, Inc.
Boston, Mass.

CREDITS

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Continued from page 3

intended to "proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof," instead becomes an institution which betrays *itself* either as being coldly callous, or as having lost all hope for the human condition. The Jesuit Karl Rahner, that gray eminence of Roman Catholic theology, said recently, "In many things, even in matters of faith and devotion, the pope does not lead the people, he follows them."

Theology in the Americas is a current manifestation of the people leading the way. A grass-roots movement, ecumenical and interracial in character, it is attempting to relate the liberation theology of Latin

America, with its action/reflection method of doing theology, to the witness of Christians in North America. Its first forum was held in Detroit in 1975, and it is convening there again this month, culminating five years of work on the part of numerous task groups across the country. Its stress on liberation of all people from manifold oppressions is a significant contribution to the voice of the church. It is a demonstration of the fact that the awesome power of the human spirit will not be denied in its quest for legitimacy and justice. In society, as in the church, all seasons are the season of Pentecost. The Spirit will blow where It will. ■

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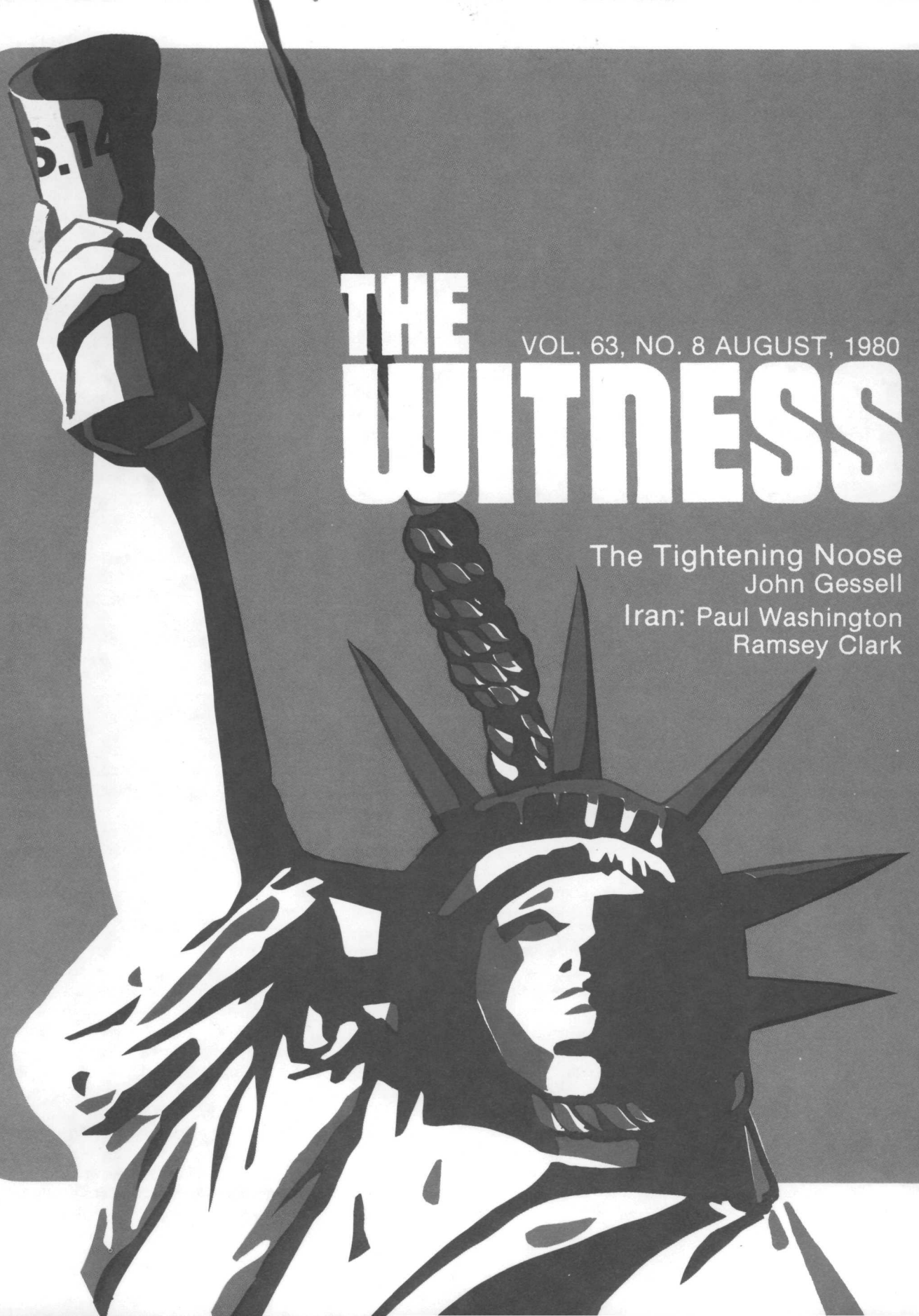
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THE WITNESS

VOL. 63, NO. 8 AUGUST, 1980

The Tightening Noose
John Gessell
Iran: Paul Washington
Ramsey Clark



Aging Need More

Although practically every copy of THE WITNESS is provocative and engrossing, the May issue had two articles that addressed themselves to where I am now. Although like Peg Ferry I reached this "state" (as John L. McKnight's Old Grandma calls it) neither First Class nor Steerage, but Tourist, I too have reached the practical conclusion that what the aging need is *more*. Like all the poor—and a majority of the aging fall into that category—the more economically disadvantaged aging have to pay more (not proportionately, but absolutely) for the essentials, despite the ameliorative institutions of pensions, Social Security, Supplemental Security Income, Medicare, and Medicaid.

Lamentably, now the working poor are being pitted against the aging poor, and such a divided house cannot stand against a threatened system which becomes more merciless in its death throes. You do good work!

The Rev. Arthur C. Barnhart
Erle, Pa.

Helpful to Elderly

The Jamaica Service Program for Older Adults would like to obtain 10 copies of Margaret Ferry's article, "Retirement: First Class or Steerage?" JSPOA is a consortium of community agencies working with a Council of Senior Citizens to identify needs, coordinate existing services and to develop new programs as they are needed. The

efforts of all individuals and groups involved focus on addressing the needs of the whole person. This article would be helpful in our work with the elderly.

Ella Dash
Jamaica, N.Y.

Praises Washington

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I am sending to the Rev. Paul M. Washington regarding his recent participation at an international Conference in Teheran, Iran on the "Crimes in America." I urge you to explore, if possible, in one issue of your distinguished publication, the implications of the ministry and witness of Father Washington regarding biblical imperatives and American foreign policy particularly regarding Iran. I continue to delight in your publication and wish you and your staff persistence in conscience raising in the church.

Eugene D. Squillace
Bristol, Pa.

(Editor's Note: See interview with Paul Washington in this issue of THE WITNESS.)

Likes WITNESS Values

Thank you for the recent issues. I liked especially the May issue on the aged (I'll be 36 in June) and the February issue on women. I'm a part-time worker and a full time student and my Sociology of the Aging teacher liked the May issue too.

I became an Episcopalian in 1963 in Minnesota. I left a few years later, partly because of the all-white churches and all-black churches. And if a black man got ordained, I was told, he'd have to leave the state to find a job if there was no vacancy in one of the two black churches.

How ironic! Now many of my gripes as far as sex and race are no longer true about the Episcopal Church, but I've changed. Now I have a personal relationship with Jesus Christ. I still love your magazine as I do one with similar values, *Sojourners*.

Karen Walling
Salt Lake City, Utah

'Conscience' Abused

In the May Letters to the Editor, Wendy Williams of Sewanee, Tenn. has spoken to an issue that can no longer be ignored by the body of the church. The abuse of the conscience clause to oppress women instead of to take cognizance of their rights in the canonical system of the Episcopal Church has been going on since 1976. The statement of Oct. 5, 1977, in Port St. Lucie has given small comfort to people who believe in the democratic process in the Episcopal Church, because some bishops have allowed conscience a very wide interpretation; namely, "I have the right to my conscience," and this means in essence, "I also have a right to see that your conscience is not served." Those of us who have actually seen in practice what Wendy Williams suspects, know that her point is well taken. This is a problem for the whole church, and it must be addressed no later than the next General Convention.

The Rev. Arnold F. Moulton
Racine, Wisc.

God Against Isms

In the May WITNESS, George McClain writes on "The Idolatry and Promise of the Church." He beautifully debunks the author of the Moffatt Bible Commentary who "spiritualizes" Jesus' statement of his mission, "*the spirit of the Lord is upon me . . . to preach good news to the poor, release to the captives, recovering of sight to the blind . . . liberty to the oppressed.*"

He rightly, but not in Christian theological terms, speaks of the need for a "materialistic" approach to human needs. This could have been interpreted in incarnational and sacramental theological terms. He chooses, however, to speak of it in terms of a view of Marxism that was prevalent in the 1930s. Marx has a whale of a lot to teach us. We ignore him at our peril. He certainly cannot be the new "absolutism." He was speaking culturally conditioned by what he saw in 19th century England. Tragically his

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THE WITNESS

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As the Earth Turns: Revolutions

Robert L. DeWitt

The Iranian crisis and the tragic holding of the hostages has occupied and preoccupied the minds of U.S. citizens for many months. There is at times a suggestion of simplism in all of us which resists and resents the intrusion of such untoward events into the life of human society.

Yet such events continue to occur with a stubborn tenacity. The pattern is not new. It often issues from political revolutions, as in Iran. So it was with the revolution in North Vietnam, which in the '60s so grievously wrenched the soul of America. So, earlier, the revolution which established the present regime in Cuba, and earlier still the revolution encompassing one fourth of the men, women and children of the world, which issued in the creation of the People's Republic of China. Few of us remember, but we know that an earlier event, the Russian Revolution, changed the political face of the world. Lest we focus our attention only on Marxist revolutions, there was the abortive, fratricidal secession of our own Southern States that caused one of the most tragic wars in history. And let us not forget the War of Independence, which set 13 struggling colonies on an unimaginable trajectory of growth in wealth and power to establish one of the greatest hegemonies history has ever seen.

What can we say to these soul-wrenching, heart-breaking events? Surely we regret the suffering, the bloodshed. Certainly we condemn the excesses committed in the process, and those which followed in their wake. But a deeper question is involved. In each instance there was some perceived injustice which the revolution sought, however imperfectly, to rectify. The exaggerated rhetoric produced by those social upheavals had its source, nevertheless, in a deep

reality. Consider:

"Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains."

"This nation cannot continue half slave and half free."

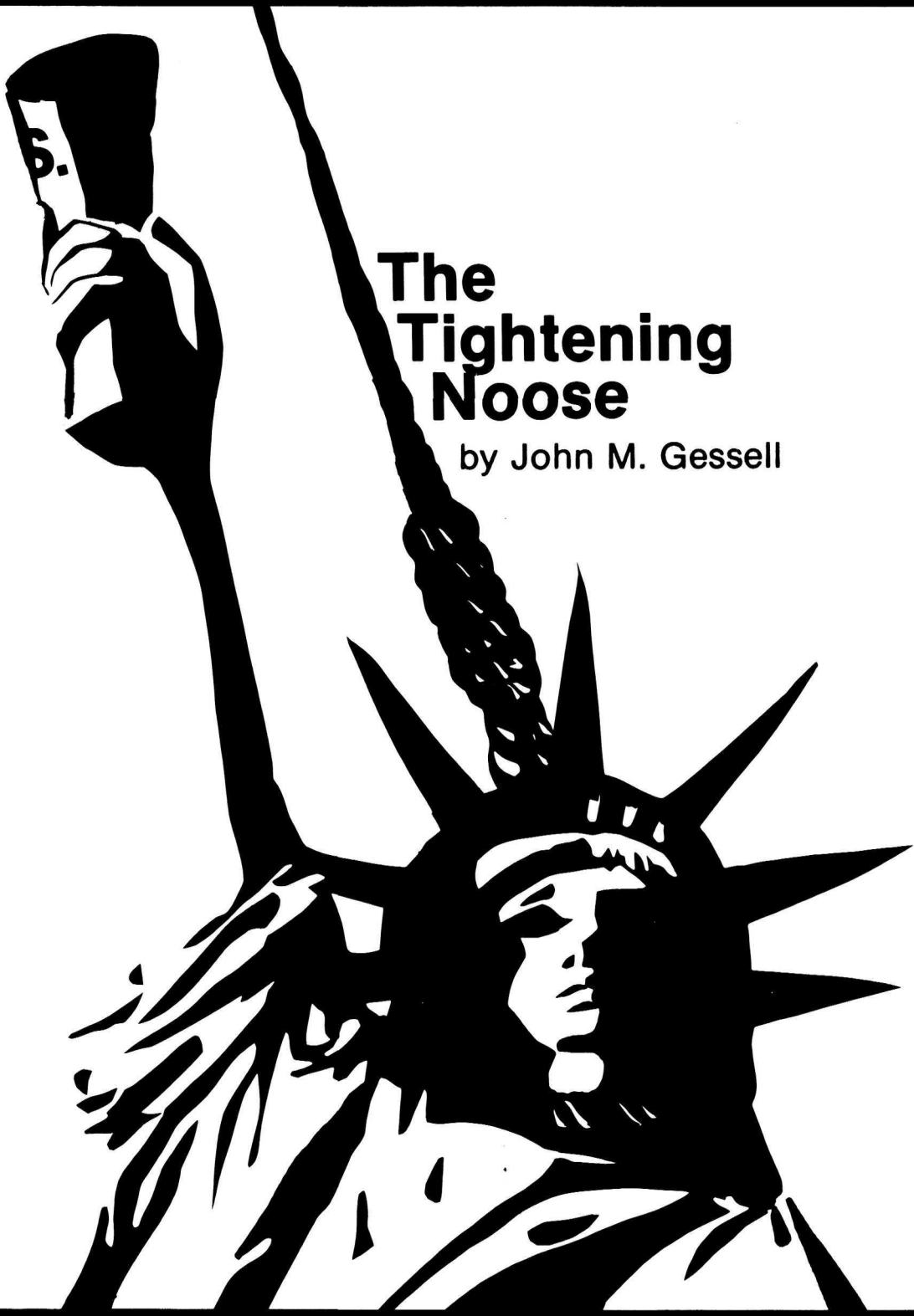
"Give me liberty or give me death."

These declarations were each uttered out of a deep and desperate social dilemma, and were reaching out, pointing toward a fairer earth, a saner and safer human society.

Consider the alternative. Would we want to live in a world in which injustice meets with no resistance, a world in which people supinely acquiesce to their own subjugation and abandon their sense of self-worth? Would we care, or dare, to live in a world in which the powerful hold undisputed sway, with no threat of revolt from those they oppress?

These questions lead us close to the heart of our religious heritage. God is just, and requires justice in human affairs. An unjust arrangement in human society offends God. History is God's rod, and with that rod, God will smite ever and again the unrighteous pretensions whereby unjust people build their life at others' expense. What God requires is repentance (the Greek root of which means "turning around"), and howsoever inadequately, that same thrust, that same motion, is seen in "revolution."

People who find their spiritual roots in the Bible will understand that peace is not to be found by itself. Peace is always gravitating toward the stronger field of justice. Let us not pray for peace alone, but for peace-with-righteousness. The Kingdom of the Prince of Peace is the Kingdom of Righteousness. Let us seek that kingdom first, and all the other blessings will be added. So speaks the Word of God. ■



The Tightening Noose

by John M. Gessell

"People of my parents' generation watched the loss of civic virtues under the pressure of the menace of imaginary foes, as good Germans became privatized and left to criminals the field of political action. People of my parents' generation said, 'It can't happen here.' But the cunning of history is such that it can . . ."

It is an alarming scenario when U.S. tax dollars are spent to convince U.S. citizens of an external threat so immediate and so menacing that only the most advanced state of military readiness, including forward bases and first-strike capability, will meet it. Rapidly climbing levels of federal spending of tax dollars are making the United States one of the most dangerous countries in the world today. This obsession with armaments is impoverishing the Republic and causing the neglect of human needs and deterioration of the industrial plant. Increasing numbers of tax dollars are spent further to spy on, harass, and imprison U.S. taxpayers who believe that good citizenship means calling this mania into question.

In short, we are being taxed to buy an extravagant military establishment (the largest in the world) which we neither need nor want nor can afford, and when we question these assumptions, that power is directed to compel our silence and pacification. Our tax dollars are turned on us.

To accomplish all of this a certain numbness is required on both sides. The

generals are separated from the real world by their military game plans. The rest of us are shielded from reality by positive reinforcement of our inferiority, of our privatism.

Perhaps the Spanish novelist, Juan Goytisolo, best captures what is happening to us by his reflection on Franco's Spain of "the impossibility of our realizing a free and mature life of action, influencing in any way the fate of our society outside of the ways laid down once and for all [by Franco] with the necessary consequence of reducing every individual's sphere of action to his private life, or forcing him into an egocentric struggle for his personal survival. . . . Besides the censorship sustained by him, his regime created something worse: the habit of *self-censorship and spiritual atrophy* (italics mine) which has condemned Spaniards to practice the elusive art of reading between the lines, of having always to present a censor with the monstrous power of wounding them."

People of my parents' generation watched this process, the loss of the civic virtues under the pressure of the menace of imaginary foes, as good Germans became privatized and left to criminals the field of political action. People of my parents' generation said "It can't happen here."

But the cunning of history is such that

it can happen here. Some of the same conditions which characterized life in the Weimar Republic are appearing worrisomely in the United States: The growing loss of confidence in government and other institutional structures of authority, unmanageable inflation, alleged communist threats, the secularization of the churches and the separation of Biblical and theological scholarship from the church community and its faith context. These economic, political, and ecclesiological erosions sap the vitality of the civic community and render it increasingly susceptible to the simplistic solutions of extremists from the right.

The continued outcry from the right for increased military expenditures and for the development of first-strike capability in Europe against the "communist threat" exhibits a mania which, if not checked, will so exacerbate the arms race as to make a nuclear war inevitable. Such a war could then become an excuse to set up a national security state, to give the Pentagon a free hand at home and around the world, to remove all restraints from the CIA and FBI, to stifle all criticism of government policy and of the nuclear energy industry — in other words, to abolish all civil liberties now protected by the Constitution.

Ted Kennedy in the Senate, and Robert Drinan in the House, both of whom have credentials as Democratic liberals, are pushing a new version of the criminal code reform act. This is a descendent of the infamous "S.1" introduced into Congress several years ago as a part of the massive Nixon assault on the civil liberties of Americans. The present bill, S.1437, would define laws of general applicability which, in the opinion of some observers, could permit prosecution without proving an underlying crime. It could effectively prevent citizens from seeking judicial redress of grievances and the disclosure

The Rev. John M. Gessell is professor of Christian ethics at the School of Theology, University of the South, Sewanee.

of information. It would severely restrict First and Fourth amendment rights. It could be used as a legal base to inhibit criticism or dissent. In short, it would move us further toward a police state.

Even without some version of such restrictive legislation, some of the Supreme Court's 1978 decisions suggest that the present ominous drift to the right has already created basic constitutional changes in traditional American civil liberties. In *Gannett vs. DePasquale* the court's decision permits secret trials and shows insensitivity to the public's legitimate right to know what goes on. Under this ruling the Watergate burglars could have been tried in secret, and it would never have been disclosed that they were acting under higher orders.

Rakas vs. Illinois permits police search of passengers in an automobile without cause, further restricting the constitutional right of privacy. And in *Smith vs. Maryland* the Court held that the government can secure lists of telephone calls without a warrant and without demonstrating probable cause. It could also permit the government to read private first-class mail. This ruling would have permitted the monitoring of telephone calls made by Woodward and Bernstein in order to discover their sources of information for their work on the Watergate case.

And so the noose tightens. Public officials may increasingly be protected from public scrutiny and accountability under the cloak of secrecy for "national security" reasons. They are protected from criticism under restrictive and repressive legislation and novel Constitutional interpretation, with the consequent destruction of civil liberties. Earlier documentation of this systematic erosion was made by Richard Harris in his dramatic account, *Freedom Spent*. Recently Sidney Zion in an article on the Supreme Court (*New York Times Magazine*) wrote of

concerted and patterned attacks on First and Fourth Amendment guarantees. He detailed the Court's inconsistency in applying precedents, depending on the parties to a case, with the effect of dismantling the Warren Court's procedural protections both for criminal defendants and for press freedoms. As we all know, protection of the rights of the press and of the accused is the bedrock of the protections afforded to all citizens under our Constitution.

An attack on civil liberties is becoming apparent in the controversies surrounding the use of nuclear power. Since Three Mile Island, the industry has become more aggressive and less thoughtful. Instead of responding to important critical judgments on nuclear energy, it has chosen bluff and public tantrums. GE and Westinghouse, for example, have demanded additional government assistance for resolving the problems associated with nuclear waste disposal. This would require taxpayers to clean up after private industry. Questions concerning the future of nuclear power are fateful. But some industry spokesmen have treated them as trivial, since they greatly fear the loss of political and economic control. TMI and the resulting rising crescendo of criticism have badly shaken them.

Industry Counterattacks

The industry's counter-attack has taken two forms. The first is a clear threat by leaders of the industry, such as Westinghouse's Robert Kirby, that unless the country accedes to their demands they will create a situation of economic stagnation. The second is the implied and explicit assumption that the nuclear power industry and the national interest are synonymous. Thus, anyone who opposes the industry's policies acts contrary to the national interest and is, indeed, an enemy of national security. It is only a short step from there to the declaration

that such persons are security risks and should be deprived of their civil liberties. All of this is to say that private enterprise, which has almost no requirement for public accountability, has now assumed the right to make public policy.

Must we choose between a free society and the nuclear industry? If so, then we must teach ourselves to protect our freedoms by developing benign energy resources and a nuclear-free economy. Will loyalty to the nuclear industry be a test of employment and of loyalty to the nation? If so, U.S. taxes are supporting an industry which makes the weapons for the Defense Department, which in turn will use those weapons to protect itself and the industry from citizens who criticize them.

Liberties Inseparable

But, as the 17th century English Puritans knew, civil and religious liberties are inseparable. The rights of conscience in religious matters must be upheld by civil authority, and the rights of conscience must be freely exercised in both civil and religious matters since both are ultimately inextricable. The depressing erosion of our liberties, so hardly won by our parents, cannot continue without a struggle. The struggle ultimately will be carried on by Christians and Jews whose faith in the one God will not permit the violation of biblical teachings about the idolatry of power, and about the proper and restricted function of the state. Those who worship the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and of Jesus Christ will inevitably find themselves in the battle against the pretensions of the powerful and the inordinate, and against the no-Gods of our time who exercise power for a season. Be it noted, however, that religious integrity today requires unrelenting vigilance in these matters. The longer the God believers put off the struggle the harder it will be.

Equal Rights Amendment

The Time is NOW

by Joan Howarth



The only barrier to adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment is less than a dozen votes scattered between a handful of state legislatures. The ERA, which simply prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, is near the end of the arduous Constitutional Amendment adoption process. It has been passed by both houses of Congress and ratified by 35 of the 50 states. It needs only ratification by three more state legislatures to achieve the required two-thirds of the states. But the deadline for ratification by those three states is June 30, 1982, just two years away.

Winning the last states has been slow and difficult, in large part because the organized right (including in particular the Mormon Church) has seized upon opposition to the ERA as a focus for conservative politics. In spite of the flood of money and misinformation generated by the right-wing opposition typified by Phyllis Schlafly who, like some misguided Paul Revere, issues dire warnings about uni-sex toilets, the ERA continues to have the support of the majority of Americans across the country. The local legislatures have been more vulnerable to pressure, however. The result has been a series of frustrating near-victories in key states such as Florida, North Carolina and Illinois. If those defeats are not turned

around in the next two years, ERA proponents will have to start all over again at the beginning of the long process. The ERA has become a back-burner issue for many, especially those lucky enough to live in ratified states; but now is the time to re-kindle excitement.

There are four distinct prongs to the ERA end-stretch strategy. The first is good old-fashioned electoral politics. Although media attention is focused on the Reagan-Carter-Anderson campaigns, the key to the ERA will be the elections for state legislatures in non-ratified states such as Illinois, North Carolina and Florida. Recent votes in those states have fallen just a few short of adoption. In Illinois for instance, a unique (and constitutionally questionable) state law requires a three-fifths super-majority for ratification. The recent vote was 102 in favor of ratification to 75 opposed, but it fell five votes short. So ERA supporters have decided that "If we can't change their votes, it's time to change the bodies." Money and volunteer time are needed for the pro-ERA candidates who are challenging opposition voters in all the key states. Those unglamorous state contests could be the most important November elections, and the most deserving of financial support.

The second focus is a Women's Equality Day campaign that is being organized in every city or region where there is a chapter of the National

Organization for Women (NOW). Each year Women's Equality Day is celebrated on Aug. 26, the anniversary of the day in 1920 that women's suffrage was passed. When the ERA was first introduced in 1923 by two Republican Senators from Kansas, it was the proposed 20th Amendment, a natural and just complement to the 19th Amendment, women's suffrage. If passed today, the ERA would be the 27th Amendment; seven others have been introduced and passed in the meantime! But the ERA remains a natural, just and unrealized complement to the right to vote.

This year NOW will celebrate Women's Equality Day with walkathons for the ERA on Saturday, Aug. 23, in every city where there is a NOW chapter. Any individual or group can participate either by walking and collecting pledges for each mile finished or by gathering pledges for other walkers. Religious banners in ERA marches are particularly significant as a counter to the incorrect but widely-held notion that churches are opposed to the ERA. An Episcopal Church Women, social responsibility, or youth group could participate in the walkathon with the support of pledges from other church members, aided perhaps by sermon references and announcements during August.

The third tactic is organized economic pressure. NOW has initiated a boycott of the 13 unratified states. Hundreds of organizations (including

Joan Howarth, a newly appointed teaching assistant for writing at Stanford University Law School, is a member of the Board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publishers of THE WITNESS and the Church and Society Newsletter), have made a public commitment not to travel into unratified territory for any conferences or meetings. Unfortunately the Episcopal Church General Convention has chosen to ignore the boycott and is planning to hold the next Convention in Louisiana (New Orleans), an unratified state. Those of us who are outraged by that decision should remember that our anger does not help the ERA until we use it. Letters should be sent to the church leadership of the Episcopal Church as well as other church bodies, requesting that the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment be assigned a high priority, with funds apportioned, as an urgent social issue.

The fourth prong is the most predictable: the campaign needs money. Even if you've given money before (and especially if you haven't), it's needed



again. The best way to avoid having to make ERA donations for the next 10, 15, or 20 years is to make sure the amendment is adopted by 1982. The ERA is such a necessary, fundamental step that the United States will adopt it sometime. The only question is whether proponents will have to start all over

again in 1982 and finally win with the help of a generation of younger sisters and brothers, nieces and nephews, children, or grandchildren. Contact ERA groups in your area, or the NOW ERA Strike Force, 425 13th St., N.W., #1048, Washington, D.C., 20004. (202) 347-2279. ■

Witness at the Pentagon

by Kay Atwater

The Pentagon has 32 elevators and escalators, 685 drinking fountains and 85,000 light fixtures. But they go nowhere, quench no thirst, illuminate nothing. The miles of telephone wires, some 100,000 of them, convey no messages of caring. Nor do the huge pillars in the building symbolize a solid foundation. In fact, it has recently been discovered that the whole structure is slowly sinking into the mud upon which it rests. There are cracks in the floor filled in with wax and glossed over by several of the Pentagon's 26,000

employees, not noticed by the robot-like young guide who conducts the visitors' tour several times a day.

In the spring I had the opportunity to participate in the year-long witness for peace at the Pentagon. The Jonah House Community of Baltimore has signed up more than 50 peace and justice groups from all over the country to make their individual witnesses in the public areas of the huge building, with signs, leaflets and demonstrations of protest against the overwhelming proportions to which the military

establishment has grown.

Our small band represented the Colorado-based Center on Law and Pacifism, a legal support group for tax refusal and other forms of civil disobedience. Each group comes for the better part of a week, those who can. Hospitality is provided by the Episcopal Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation, in Washington, D.C., with a member of the Jonah House Community present as host and coordinator.

Seven of us arrived in two cars on a

drizzly gray morning in April. Before walking to the Pentagon, we paused in the north parking lot, formed a close circle with our arms around each other and our heads bowed, silently gathering strength from each other and from the Lord of Life.

I wanted the whole experience to be behind me as soon as possible, so something other than my own will seemed to be moving my feet up the long curved ramp to the visitors' entrance. We signed up for the guided tour, along with a dozen or so tourists.

The tour was routed to show off the many collections of paintings and photographs, model ships and planes, weaponry and gear that most citizens seem to relate to. Generals and admirals were in oils or photos, and there were other pictures of battlefield scenes, edited to portray the heroism without the horror. Lastly, we passed through a hall where the state flags were hanging, along with the early versions of the stars and stripes. Lest the visitors get any seditious notions, I suppose, the 13-star flag of the American Revolution was either missing or carefully placed so it would seldom be noticed. People in the group, of course, were most interested in seeing their own state flags, thus falling into the obvious trap of identifying themselves and their states with the "total national effort."

To me, the most obscene and disturbing painting hung in a stair well, depicting a chapel altar, complete with cross and Bible. It is well known that established religion gives its blessing to the affairs of state. The military chapel, however, is so incomprehensible, so irrational and offensive. I wondered as I looked at that picture whether the Bibles in the chapel had been edited to suit the philosophy of nationalism and enmity, of violence and retaliation. I wondered whether they know what is really happening when the bread is

broken and held aloft. Imagine someone leaving a communion service in the Pentagon chapel and immediately going to a desk to work on orders for nuclear warheads.

Looking at that painting (for we were not allowed to visit the actual chapel), I was overcome with burning tears for the shame and outrage I felt. This seemed unpardonable idolatry, but I felt helpless to cry out against it. I was inhibited, however, by the presence of the other people on the guided tour, and also of the two armed guards that accompanied our group. Whether we were spotted as possible protesters at the time we signed up for the tour, or later on, it became quite obvious that they were watching our movements closely. Indeed, one of them stayed with us after the tour ended and watched our demonstration in the concourse. As we left the Pentagon we all shook his hand and some said, "See you tomorrow!"

Our demonstration in the Pentagon's concourse gave the guards nothing to be alarmed about. We handed out to passersby about 500 copies of a tax refuser's conscience statement. We took turns holding aloft a large homemade sign that read "Love Your Enemy." Whenever someone paused to engage us in conversation, we told them our story and found out where they stood with regard to supporting the military. Of course, they were overwhelmingly loyal to the Pentagon, because they worked there. Most said they didn't think much about the implications of their work. Some told us what a "nice" group we were compared to another group who had aroused some shouting and jeering the week before we were there. In every case, people responded to our sincerity and friendliness in positive, courteous ways.

Perhaps they didn't realize that we were warming them up for the next day's demonstration, which included the pouring of blood on dollar bills, symbolizing the blood money paid in

war taxes. Other groups have used blood also, or fire, these two elements being powerful symbols of death and violence. We believe that this continuing presence works at an unconscious level, just as do the huge pillars, the shiny hallways, and efficient-looking uniformed staff.

The Jonah House Community is planning to invite all participating groups back for a year's end roundup at the Pentagon during the week between Christmas and New Year's. On the Feast of the Innocents, children and the unborn will be remembered and celebrated, and as last year, many children will participate in that demonstration. ■

Images Of Intercommunion

It was a new time,
yet nothing was new.
Wayfarers,
we already shared
the earth, we shared a
second birth.
We shared our thoughts, and
we shared You, our Lord.

One day in one place
from one table, You
nourished us.
One congregation
that moment took your
given life.

The bread remembered
lies as a live coal
on my tongue.
Expecting pain, I
sense the cool suffusion
of a balm.

My eyes contemplate
a land where light leaves
no shadow.
That land is our home
in this new time when
images
are afterthoughts as
well as prophecies.

—Joanne Droppers

Iran: A View From the Ghetto



Paul Washington

Regardless of coming events in the unfolding fate of the American hostages in Iran — a fate no less precarious because this is a presidential election year in the United States — two perennial themes run through the tragedy. One is the relationship between superpowers and Third World nations — in this case the United States and Iran. The tensions between those nations rating high and those rating low in power and prestige is one of the most volatile and crucial issues confronting the world community in this century.

The second theme bears on the first. One of the dramatic novelties spawned by this tension between nations is civilian improvisation on the ancient art of international diplomacy. The failure of nation-to-nation negotiations is giving rise to people-to-people contacts and conversations. We saw this in Vietnam. Now we see it in Iran.

These two factors provided the setting when Paul Washington, the rector of a parish in the heart of North Philadelphia's black ghetto, went to Iran in June as part of a delegation of 10 Americans, headed by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. The group attended an international conference on Iranian grievances against the United States. The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, on which Washington served for some years, passed a resolution noting that he is known for his committed dedication to human rights and human welfare, and expressed its "appreciation and concern for his sincere efforts in the cause of justice and peace." The resolution further noted that such efforts "often require both individuals and groups to test existing regulations."

Robert L. DeWitt, editor of THE WITNESS, interviewed Paul Washington upon his return, as follows.

Paul, did you feel there was any special value in your being a part of that deputation to Iran?

Being an American of African descent, I was gratified at that international conference to hear others witnessing as nations to an evil which people of my race have suffered for more than three centuries. Within minutes after entering the hall where the convention was held, I was accosted by a reporter who expressed great surprise in discovering that we were present, despite warnings that for making the trip we might be prosecuted upon returning home. And the very next subject he brought up was Miami, where three weeks earlier there had been a human explosion by thousands of blacks because four white policemen had been found innocent in their trial for beating a black man to death. Blacks in America have recognized that the ghettos in which we and other ethnic minorities live are but a microcosm of a

macrocosm. We are a domestic colony being treated with equal brutality, equal exploitation, equal dehumanization, and with equal fatality, in the same way that neo-colonialism and imperialism have exercised on the people of Iran and other nations of Africa, South America, Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

What we hear, therefore, is that the oppressed and exploited people and nations of the world are finally realizing that slavery is incompatible with the life of freedom to which God has called us. Whenever we hear people saying, out of their soul and spirit:

"Before I'll be a slave

I'll be buried in my grave,

And go home to my Lord and be free,"

whenever we see a struggling people fighting with the determination that they shall overcome, it tells me that they

are rising to the fullness of stature to which God has called them.

Would that be a general perception on the part of the black community in the United States?

I don't think so. I find people with various levels of enlightenment in the ghetto. The sophisticated activists see a real relationship between what is happening in the black ghettos and what is happening in Third World nations. But I don't think there are a whole lot of people, even among blacks, who see the connection. With them it is more an unreflective reaction of sympathy. The kinds of things that are happening not only in Iran but throughout the Third World immediately strike a sympathetic note with blacks who feel oppression in their ghettos. They may not be sophisticated enough to explain it fully, but when reference is made to oppression being perpetrated by the United States on others, blacks feel at one with them.

How about the reactions of whites?

With whites it can be quite different. I was recently on a talk show on a station in Chicago. A young white woman called in, angry because Ramsey Clark said he understood why the hostages were taken. I responded that I could understand why black people exploded in Dade County, Florida. She said: "Now, Father Washington, don't mix apples and oranges!" I replied that they are not apples and oranges, only that one happens to be domestic and the other happens to be foreign. To me they are one and the same. But, no, I don't think many people see it as I do, including black people.

One of the questions asked of those who make a trip like yours is how one can become an instant expert on a very complicated situation. Four days in a land where you have never been, amongst people you have never seen before, who speak a language you don't understand—what makes you trust your impressions of those four days?

Some years ago my wife and I were going back and forth to Liberia where I served as a missionary for six and a half years. On our last trip home we landed at the airport in Madrid and were greeted by signs all over the place: *Americans, go home*. We expected to encounter a great deal of hostility. Yet on walks in the park in the city of Madrid we were overwhelmed with the affection shown us, and particularly to our children. I got the feeling that the people-to-people relationship can be quite different from the government-to-government relationship. In Iran we recognized from the beginning that this was to be, as far as possible, a people-to-people visit. Understanding a language was not so much the question. We felt we would be able to

comprehend a whole lot more than we were getting from the press. And also that the American people needed to know more than what the press was giving to the country.

What do you think the Iranians are trying to say by holding the hostages? What are they trying to communicate to the U.S. and to the world?

I heard the Iranian Foreign Minister, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, say that perhaps the first expression of power and strength of any people — or of any person — is the power to say "no." I immediately thought of the baby who won't open its mouth when one is trying to feed it. Babies don't yet quite know how to say "yes" because they don't trust themselves — they don't know what to say "yes" to. But here is an opportunity to say "no" and to make the superpowers of the world mad. And this is the first expression of power of this exploited people who have just gone through a revolution.

But what of their feelings about the hostages, as people? Are they outraged at them, or do they feel sorry for them as innocent pawns?

From those to whom I spoke it was almost unanimous that they thought there should be trials. Some seemed to feel that perhaps only three could be found guilty on the basis of the evidence, and that the trials would probably lead to the release of most of them. But they felt the trials should be held.

The politicians — the President, the Foreign Minister — and some who are looking beyond this present crisis to future relations with the United States, do not feel it is in the best Iranian interests to hold the trials. They are politically sensitive. But the Ayatollah Khomeini — who doesn't care that much about how Americans feel — for him it is a part of their religion. And I think that represents the majority view.

What is there about the Islamic religion which predisposes them this way?

Essentially it is their concept of the process of justice. For Islam, this tends to be a retributive kind of justice, at times seeming like "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" attitude. If one has committed a sin, one must suffer the penalty. And their point about justice cannot be lightly dismissed. A pro-Iranian demonstration at City Hall in Philadelphia recently displayed two signs. One said: "Why Americans are angry: 100 days held hostage by Iranians." The other said: "Why Iranians are angry: 25 years under torture by the Shah supported by the U.S.A."

But their religion has deep implications for their self-understanding as well. They are people ready to be martyred

for what they feel is justice. The Ayatollah is a man revered by Iranians as one who speaks for God. And he has told them: "We must not care about embargoes nor fighter planes nor tanks nor guns. We will be martyrs. We will accept as much death as America is ready to give, and we will overcome, and America and all who are imperialistic will fail." When one no longer fears death, one is finally free. Getting tough over the issue of freeing the hostages will be as successful as Rockefeller was in freeing the hostages at Attica. I feel that if Carter seriously entertained the idea of getting tough, and put more aircraft carriers in the Persian Gulf, that Iran would survive, and America would lose its soul. The whole issue of trying the hostages is therefore not finally a political question for them. It is a religious question.

Given both the delicacy and the complicated nature of the situation, what stance did your deputation take on the hostage question?

At every opportunity I pressed the feeling I have that the matter of the hostages has become a preoccupation for them. I told them that their revolution will not be able to move on because of this bottleneck which prevents their dealing with other pressing things which need to be done. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said to me in private, "You don't have to tell me we are preoccupied — I know we are!"

Ramsey Clark also came on strong on this issue in his remarks to the Conference. In fact, that is why he made that offer personally to take the place of one of the hostages if that would help resolve the crisis. In one of our strategy caucuses there, our whole group had said to him, "Ramsey, don't say you are going to offer yourself in place of one of the hostages." We felt it would be tactically unproductive. He listened carefully to our reasons, but as he was closing his address, he made that offer. And I think he was very sincere. (*See Ramsey Clark's statement elsewhere in this issue. — Ed.*)

What is your opinion of the extensive U.S. intervention in Iran over the past several years?

Probably all nations want allies strategically located in various parts of the world which can provide them with resources they need — and will take any measures necessary to get them. I suppose that intervention — covert as well as overt — has therefore always been a way of life in international affairs. I recall my early impressions of the TV series, "Mission Impossible." It was depicting the method of operation of C.I.A.-type efforts in international affairs — intrigue, murder, overthrowing governments, installing a new regime. I have come to realize there was more fact than fiction in those stories.

A woman who was recently in Iran told of sitting in President Bani-Sadr's office as he told how Iran was feeling the squeeze of economic pressures and of foreign agents still running free in his country. She said that as he was speaking she could almost hear the same words coming from Salvadore Allende of Chile, who was slain by a U.S. coup.

Yes, intervention has been a way of life in international relations; but it is now intensified by a new monster on the scene, the multinational corporations. When the Shah needed more money to buy sophisticated military planes, it is reported that Kissinger suggested he raise the price of oil. And that led to the gasoline lines a few years ago. This is how complicated it all gets.

In the light of such an unmanageable situation, and the governmental and corporate power behind it all, what do you see as the practical value of such a venture as you were part of?

The Iranian officials know international law, and the realities of international relations, better than you or I. They know they cannot bring the Shah to justice. Further, they know the chances are next to nothing of getting back the money with which he absconded. About all that leaves is an apology from the highest level possible, an apology for the U.S. role in the disasters which have been visited upon Iran.

But is it possible for a government to apologize? Isn't it something which in the official language of diplomacy is never done?

That is usually true, although Washington has a way of turning diplomatic phrases, like terming an utter failure "an incomplete success." And, as someone said recently, this country expressed regret to Russia in the early '60s after the U-2 incident, to Cambodia after the Mayaguez incident, and to Israel just a few months ago after that highly publicized U.N. vote. An apology on an official level would not be entirely new.

But, failing that, I do think there is real possibility in a people-to-people communication. I heard Iranians draw a distinction between governments and people. An idea in its infancy, but which is being discussed and might prove possible, would be the issuance of a letter from the U.S. people, and, with the massive support of groups across the country getting signatures, to make this a significant response to the need for an apology. Particularly if the support is strong from religious groups.

Why religious groups?

Someone was saying recently that because of the strong religious dimension of Iranian life there is a peculiarly

appropriate dynamic in initiatives by religious groups. In a measure church groups were a vanguard in the Vietnamese situation, as well as in the civil rights movement. It might be equally or more so in the Iranian context.

True, there are those in this country who see that kind of initiative as “meddling in politics.” People have raised the question with the deputation of 10 of which I was a part —

and particularly of the three clergy — “What are you doing, going over there interfering in something that the State Department ought to be dealing with?” Yet, to me, God’s intervention in the oppression of the Children of Israel was a political intervention. God intervened in the affairs of an oppressed people to deliver them from bondage. And if God did that, then that is where we ought to be, and that is what we ought to be doing. ■

Statement in Tehran:

‘Dialogue Makes Everything Possible’

by Ramsey Clark

First I would like to thank Imam Khomeini for his vision in calling this conference together, and next to thank President Bani-Sadr for the excellent leadership he has provided in bringing such splendid delegations from so many parts of the earth to Tehran at this difficult time. Most of all I would like to thank all of the people of Iran for their openness, their generosity and their compassion in inviting 10 private American citizens to this conference. It shows that the people understand the difference between the people and the government. If we ever fail to understand that, we must abandon our hope.

Ours is a good delegation; it’s a cross-section from coast to coast, it represents our religious faiths, our men and women, our blacks and our whites, our academics, our lawyers. We’re here to learn, to grow, to talk with as many of you as time allows, to carry home the messages that you can give us, to carry home the searing truth that has been presented of U.S. transgressions in Iran.

We’re here because we believe a new beginning is imperative and that people to people conferences like this make dialogue possible, and dialogue makes everything possible.

The Iranian Revolution against dictatorship, against imperialism, against intervention has prevailed. It is a miracle that an unarmed people could overthrow a dictator with such staggeringly huge armies, fully equipped with more tanks than the British army, with more American-made jet aircraft, F-14’s, F-16’s, F-18’s, F-111’s in possession or on order than any nation on earth except the United States itself. They struggled against a Shah that from 1972 till 1978 purchased more than \$19 billion worth of material to kill people and to control their own, and against all of the force and the cruelty and the cunning of the SAVAK, as violent and unscrupulous a secret police as ever existed. The people, by human will, by unity, overcame.

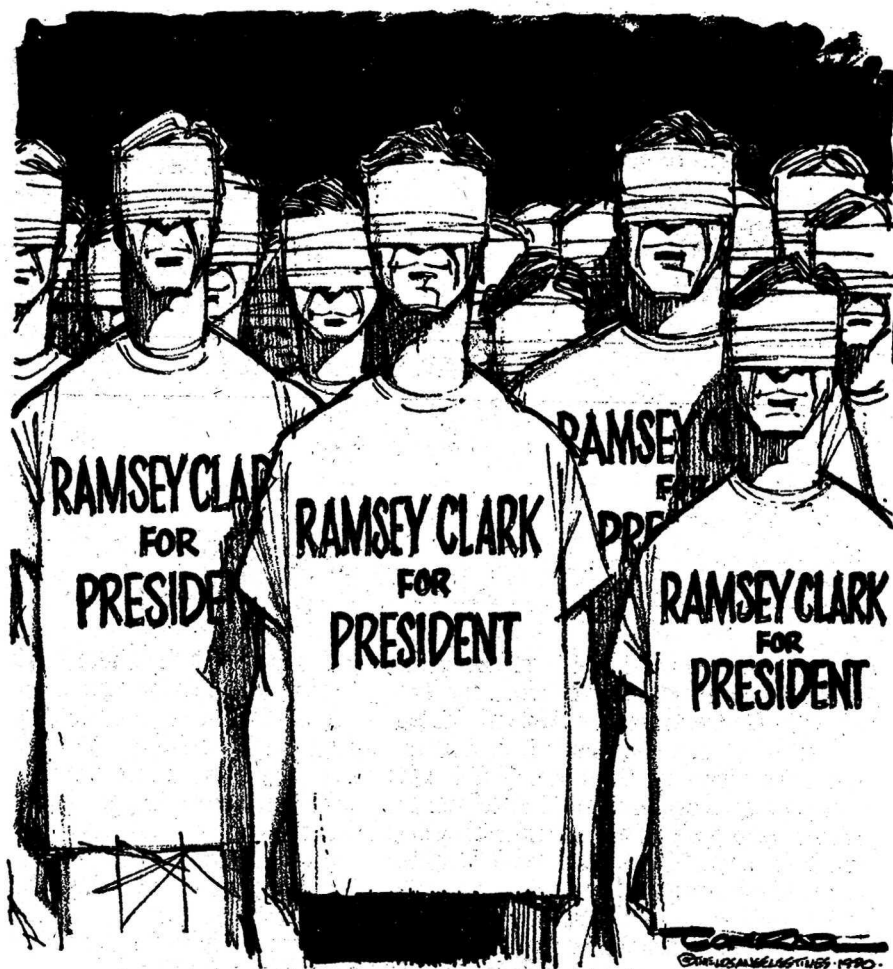
The U.S. role in Iran is for me terribly painful. I’m sure as fellow human beings

you can understand that special anguish. But I must confirm several items of the U.S. intervention. Of course the United States of America helped return the Shah to the throne. Of course President Carter phoned the Shah of Iran from the U.S. in September of 1978 on the Saturday following Black Friday with the blood of martyrs still covering Jaleh Square here in Tehran and said, “We support you.” Of course the U.S. staged a military expedition and assault on the sovereign territory of Iran in April of 1980, and of course that raid would have killed the very hostages that it claimed it was intended to save had it reached Tehran. Of course the U.S. leadership still clings to the idea that it can control the governments and the destinies of other people; read the words of President Carter from Washington this week on the possibility of military interventions. Of course the Shah should have been tried for his crimes. Is there to be a man above the law? And of course the hundreds of millions and

billions of dollars in wealth ripped from the bodies and the backs and the sweat and the broken bones of the people of Iran should be returned to Iran for the benefit of families of the martyrs and the poor and the elderly and all those that need.

I must say something about lessons of all this for the people of the United States. There are two main lessons. The United States has violated every principle for which the U.S. government claims to have been created by its own people. Our constitution stands for freedom, yet our government has supported dictatorship of the most oppressive types. Our government and constitution stand for democracy, for the self-determination of people, yet we supported through our government a police state in Iran that stripped the freedoms and the rights of millions of people and left 70,000 martyrs. Our government, our constitution purports to stand for human dignity, yet we supported a police state and a SAVAK that killed, maimed and tortured. God help us. But the second lesson to be learned is that this policy of the United States that violated every principle on which its own government was founded is doomed to failure, and you must help show the American people that that policy can not prevail. It is impossible to subjugate a people, as brave Iran has shown.

Now, all that I say here I have said all over the United States many times for many years, and I hope you will understand that I would not travel half way around the world to criticize my government in any way that I have not on its own soil, in far more vigorous terms, with far more extensive facts than what I have put forth here today. Like Albert Camus, I would like to be able to love my country and still love my government, so perhaps this is only my small way of struggling for justice in and by my country so that I can love it. But now the official need is to look to the



Tehran Caucus

future. We must stop intervention. We cannot go on like this. Look at the U.S. record: Vietnam — I cry about Vietnam, that beautiful land and those beautiful people and a million casualties and the rolling thunder of bombings and the burnings of forests and villages; Cuba and our policies toward Cuba; Nicaragua and how we finally supported Somoza, a Shah in that country; armed interventions in Lebanon; Salvador Allende of Chile and those who plotted his murder, and the fear and the death among the people under the Pinochet government; the Philippines under Marcos.

As a citizen of the United States I should remind you that we did not invent intervention. Before Columbus sailed the Atlantic there was intervention. We heard Said Sanjabi, the brilliant young Iranian, describe British intervention here in Iran in the '20s and '30s. You need only think of the neighboring country of Afghanistan and the lives of the people in Afghanistan today to know that intervention is not unique to the United States and that all interventions must be stopped.

What can we do? Dare we create a court of international justice? An

international court of criminal justice is essential to the survival of our species. We can become the first in history to destroy ourselves. If there were an international court of criminal justice today, the Shah would be tried. Is this so impossible that we can't think of it? Many men have dreamed of it for years. I feel that we have to act, we have to believe, we have to stretch our imaginations and create an international court of criminal justice. We need to create an international court of *habeus corpus* that can have a long, long arm that can reach prisons anywhere and liberate prisoners of continents who live in tyranny. Let's dare to do it.

We also need desperately to address the superpowers and all nuclear powers on immediately dismantling nuclear arms. It must be done now. As St. Thomas Aquinas, in my Christian faith, told us many centuries ago: "War is inevitable among nations not governed by sovereign law." As it was then so it is now, and that's why these people-to-people conferences are essential, because governments will be afraid to act. Only the people can save themselves.

We must address quickly the new imperialism, the vast imperialism, the cruel imperialism of the multinational corporations that love money, wealth and power, and care nothing for children who are suffering, nor for humanity. Their power is immense. Single corporations with budgets exceeding the budgets of most nations on earth, dominating our lives as though we were players on a chess board. We'll be the masters of change or the victims of change. We must come to grips with this terrible problem of the imperialism of corporate wealth quickly. Further the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and insist upon its fulfillment. Be outraged by transgression of any human right of any human being in any nation on earth.

But finally, I want to talk as a citizen of the United States, as a human being, to each of you about the hostages. I was in Iran three times last year after the Shah left before the hostages were taken. I would have come and will come many more times to see the fulfillment of this revolution, so I ask you to hear me. The hostage issue measures perhaps, what is possible in the future. Iran has shown us what power its moral force holds, how through its people it overthrew this army of the Shah, this SAVAK of the Shah. We need courageous and visionary leadership



now to create a new world of peace and freedom and dignity, and again the people of Iran and the government of Iran can lead. Taking hostages uninvolved in specific offenses for which you are concerned cannot be justified in a country that wants to live in peace.

The seizure of the hostages here is understandable in human terms. God knows it is understandable, but it is not right. Of course it is not right, for where is Alan Dulles, where is Kermit Roosevelt, where is Richard Helms,

Henry Kissinger, and Richard Nixon? Who are these 53 little people? The effect of holding these 53 little people is to provide an excuse for the powers of intervention. What is the excuse for those fleets in the Persian Gulf, and how long would they remain if this issue of hostages were removed? The holding of the hostages provides an excuse to the real enemies of Iran, to the real imperialists.

The effect of holding the hostages is to increase the arms race. The total defense budget of the United States is going up 7% to 8% this year. That is a tragedy not just to the poor people of the United States. Yes, we have poor people, millions living in urban poverty—minorities, overwhelming numbers of Chicanos, and beautiful Mexican people, the blacks, and all that money going into arms so that the multinationals can dominate countries. We shouldn't act to encourage that sort of thing. This holding of hostages impairs diplomacy among nations. We need diplomacy among nations until we have the things that can prevent intervention and imperialism for all times, for all people. The hostages are the wrong people. I agree with several speakers of this morning and afternoon before me who urged a prompt resolution of the hostage crisis because there are these real risks to it. The risk of intervention and violence with terrible cost to Iran in the fulfillment of its revolution and finally the question of morality.

As an individual human being I am so sure that I am right in this, so sure that it is imperative that the hostages be released now. It is so important to the fulfillment of the Iranian revolution which it is damaging in a hundred ways. It is so important to the individual justice and right of the hostages, and it is so important to peace on earth, that I offer today to take the place of any hostage if that would help resolve this tragic crisis. ■

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**That no one has taken responsibility for the accident is one of the most important lessons to be learned from TMI, since the majority of U.S. citizens now lives less than 50 miles from a nuclear power plant.**  
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TMI: Who Is Responsible?

by Lockwood Hoehl

The nuclear power industry claims no one died as a result of the accident at Three Mile Island's Nuclear Generating Station on March 28, 1979. Yet Karen Kestetter, a resident of nearby Middletown, Pa., knows differently.

Her neighbor, a young mother, had evacuated Middletown with her two children. On the road between Middletown and the Maryland border they were involved in a car crash. The mother was badly injured, and one of her children escaped unharmed. But her 2-year-old son was killed.

That little boy's death reveals more

than the nuclear industry's insensitivity. It shows that the accident set off a chain of events that deeply affected lives in ways we will never know. And frequently those effects occurred so far from the accident itself that no one will ever have to bear moral or economic responsibility for them.

Before the accident at TMI, the nuclear industry proclaimed proudly that there had not been a major accident in 400 reactor years (the total amount of time all U.S. commercial reactors had been in operation). By implication, can we expect another TMI-like accident in the next 400 reactor years, or about six calendar years? Many nuclear critics believe, in fact, that the question is not *will* there be another accident, but *when* will it occur?

It is not too soon, then, to be thinking about the next time. Nuclear proponents say the accident taught lessons that will make nuclear power safer. But, we can also learn where responsibility for the accident lies—just to understand and be ready for the next time.

The nuclear power industry and the Federal government were way ahead of the public in anticipating an accident and economic responsibility for it. In 1957, Congress enacted the Price-Anderson Act to limit an operating utility's liability for damages from any one nuclear plant accident to a \$560 million ceiling.

The Act also provides that costs for investigating and settling claims, and for settling lawsuits would come *off the*

Lockwood Hoehl is a free lance writer and photographer who lives in Pittsburgh.

top. Therefore, if damages exceeded the limit, the victims would receive only a proportionate share of their actual losses. By today's standards, (and probably by 1957's also) \$560 million is grossly insufficient. On the other hand, incidentally, the Price-Anderson Act plainly belies industry claims of nuclear power's safety.

But even if there were not this ceiling, how far does a utility company's liability for damages extend? It seems likely it would be liable if, during an accident, a chunk of its building struck a passing car and killed the driver. But is a utility liable for death or injuries resulting from an automobile crash involving citizens escaping a nuclear accident? A similar case is less tragic, but raises the same question.

Mrs. Paul Grieger says she knew about the atom when she "was 16 and in school, and I feared it then." Now she is 65 and her fear has not changed.

Mrs. Grieger and her husband own and operate the Regal Motel between Middletown and Harrisburg, about six miles north of TMI. The TMI accident legitimated her fear of the atom: it has

sent the motel's business plummeting.

"No one wants to stay in the Central Pennsylvania area now," Mrs. Grieger says.

And the accident has cost her more than business. When the Griegers evacuated on March 30, 1979, the police told them to turn off all utilities. When they turned off their heating boiler—installed less than two years before at a cost of \$4800—it was irreparably damaged. The Griegers and the boiler manufacturer split the replacement cost. The Griegers' share was \$1500.

Where should responsibility be placed? Was the boiler improperly constructed or installed? Did the Griegers fail to follow operating instructions? Was it necessary to turn off utilities, as the police said? Or does responsibility fall on Metropolitan Edison, operator of TMI, whose errant Unit 2 reactor initiated the unlikely sequence of events?

Possibly, the Griegers could clear the confusion and seek compensation by going to court. But is it worth it? Probably not. They will just keep paying their high electricity bills to Met

Ed, which lately include an additional \$3.70 per month—their share of Met Ed's recent \$56.4 million annual rate increase needed to pay for replacement power purchased from other utilities.

On a much larger scale, the accident also had an impact on the Bethlehem Steel mill, north of TMI in Steelton. Because the mill is just outside the "critical" five-mile radius from TMI, it continued operating during the accident and did not have a general evacuation of its 3500 workers.

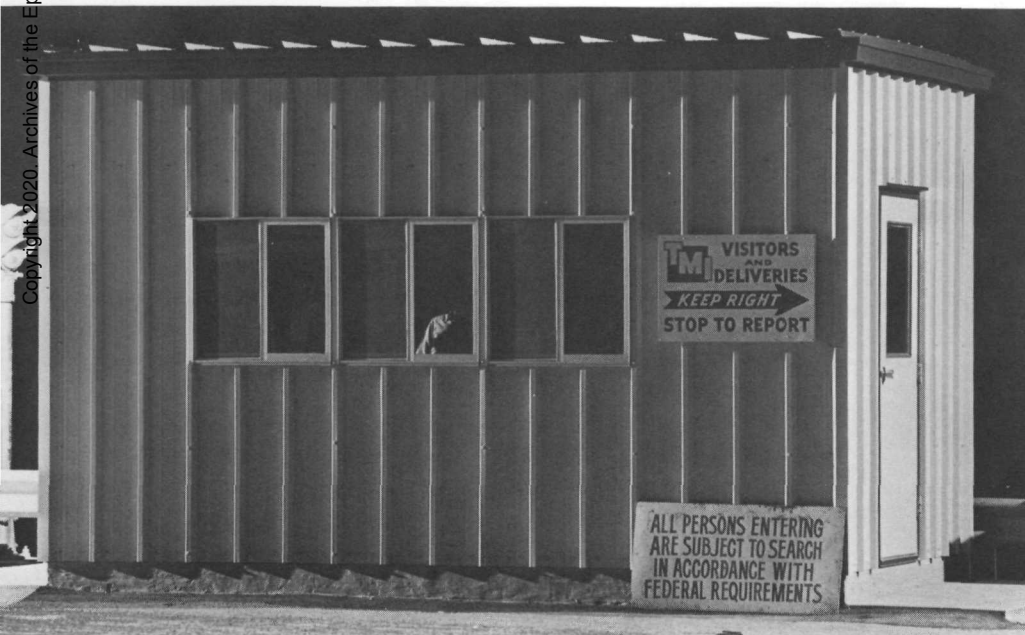
Instead, Bethlehem permitted workers to take off as much time as they felt they needed, either without pay or using vacation time. Some took just enough time to evacuate their families and then returned. Some left the area for several days until the danger subsided. Many took no time off at all.

A Bethlehem Steel spokesperson could not give a precise figure for absenteeism, but called it "considerable for some days, probably 20 to 30% for any specific shift. We were running three shifts a day." Operations were "maintained," but output was not up to capacity.

Calculating the mill's losses due to the accident would be an enormous task, and most likely impossible. Not so for the workers, whose lost work and vacation time, plus expenses for evacuating, can be calculated in each uncompensated pocketbook.

Fortunately, the TMI accident did not release enough radiation to contaminate Bethlehem's Steelton mill. Had it been forced to close, it would have left—at the very minimum—3500 unemployed workers and millions of dollars in capital losses.

Workers who own homes and property in the TMI area would have been hit triply hard by a large release of radiation. Not only would they have lost their jobs and have had to leave their homes, but they also would have been unable to recover property losses from their insurance companies.



Homeowner's insurance does not cover radiation damage. As Ralph Nader pointed out in a recent newsletter, "Not a single firm from Lloyd's of London to the great rock of Prudential will issue any private property insurance protection due to nuclear accidents. And they told the nuclear power industry as early as the fifties that they were unwilling at any price to provide coverage for full losses due to a radiation accident."

A lot of attention has been paid to speculation about the physical, genetic, and ecological effects of TMI's released radiation, and not enough attention to these other tangible and identifiable effects. The public does not seem to grasp the idea of genetic mutation in some unknown future as well as it does the reality of damaged boilers, lost work and vacation time, and dead little boys.

It is also easier to think about responsibility for an effect of the accident that is experienced here and now, and to understand the hard fact that no one has taken responsibility and probably never will. That is one of the most important lessons to learn from TMI, because the majority of U.S. citizens now live less than 50 miles from a nuclear power plant.

In thinking about the effects of a nuclear plant accident, each caring person is called upon to consider also her or his moral responsibility to the community. Again, Three Mile Island can inform these considerations.

Bad as the accident was, it could have been much worse. It occurred slowly over a period of days, rather than suddenly; but next time it may not. In a warped sense, it can be seen as a dry run.

Does a caring, moral person evacuate, or stay behind to help others escape?

Marge Clement lives less than 10 miles north of TMI in Lemoyne. She is an active critic of nuclear power and a member of the Social Justice Committee of St. Theresa's Roman

Catholic church. How deeply did she consider leaving the area?

"I didn't question that I should evacuate until after it was over," she says. "Then, two people said things to me like 'You, who are a Christian, should have stayed to help the poor and elderly.' But, I don't feel guilty about leaving. My three kids were my first responsibility."

Marge Clement was not alone in her decision. One clergyperson told how his friends and parishioners who are doctors, nurses, clergy colleagues and other professionals, evacuated during the accident. He was so angry that they neglected what *he* thought were their responsibilities that it took him months to make peace with them.

Many immobile and helpless people were left behind. Care for those in institutions—hospitals, nursing homes, prisons—deteriorated as frightened and mobile citizens evacuated.

William C. Mielke, pastor of Olivet Presbyterian Church in Harrisburg, opened and managed for the Red Cross an emergency shelter in nearby Hershey. He believes the slow exodus of evacuees created an unexpected difficulty.

"Probably as people dribbled out of the area," Mielke wrote in *The Christian Century*, "the potential evacuation problem for the rest of the community increased rather than decreased." As each person left, at least one less body and one less vehicle were on hand to help those remaining. Had the condition of TMI worsened, there would have been more hard decisions to make.

Marge Clement thinks a call for quick evacuation would have created a triage situation—which ones are not to be saved. "There was a transportation problem," she says, "because there weren't enough buses available. So who was going to get out first—the elderly, prisoners, kids, the handicapped, the sick?"

Often overlooked are the workers at Three Mile Island, who stayed to bring the plant under control. Many of them say they were just doing their jobs, and that they did not think they were in danger. Regardless of motive, they fulfilled their responsibilities to their community.

During the evacuation, as in everyday life, the burden of responsibility fell on a few shoulders, and there it remained. The Rev. Howard B. Kishpaugh, pastor of All Saints Episcopal Church in Hershey, says he was the "resident pastor" to 50 evacuees at the Red Cross shelter in the Hershey Sports Arena.

"I was the only member of the clergy who was there," he says. "Generally, I arrived at 5 or 6 A.M. and I put them to bed around 12 o'clock at night. That went on for about eight days."

Why did the responsibility for ministering to so many become the work of only one?

Pastor Mielke suggests, in his article mentioned above, that citizens in the rest of the country should at least have taken the responsibility of sending reinforcements for the community leaders and volunteers who were burnt out from the pressure of conducting the evacuation.

"So far as I can figure out, the rest of the nation was also transfixed by this nuclear terror god," he writes. "Did anyone consider that even under the threat of evacuation, human resources in addition to nuclear automatons (i.e., officials and experts sent to TMI) might be needed in Harrisburg? No one thought, no one suggested, no one asked, no one came."

But should people who live outside the Central Pennsylvania region be expected to respond in that way? To say "no" puts the weight of responsibility for TMI's effects on the victims of the accident—something the nuclear power industry is already doing quite adequately. To say "yes" points toward how Christians should respond next

time. And it implies that our responsibility continues even now, just as the accident continues and will continue for up to 10 more years.

Typically, our image of a disaster-torn community is one of cooperation, neighbor helping neighbor, everyone pitching in for the survival of all. The accident at Three Mile Island did not elicit that reaction. In a nutshell, community responsibility collapsed, and the majority ran—60%, in fact, of those living within a five-mile radius of TMI.

Troubling as that is, it needs to be understood objectively and without judging the residents. Then we can also ponder the fact that nuclear power in our midst has distorted an important, traditional image of community, and has created the potential for what Pastor Mielke calls “mass urban terror.”

And to view nuclear power in that light is a far cry from the way it is described by the nuclear industry—a benign generator of safe, cheap, clean, necessary energy. ■

Continued from page 2

theories for a just industrial society were first tried in rural agrarian Russia where from a human point of view it has certainly been a disaster and not even followed.

Any society must have capital, including a Communist society. There the state is the capitalist. Mr. McClain does not seem to see that the Communist rulers are the ruling class which control through a dominant economic system.

It seems to me that the Gospel message is, not that the will of God is opposed to capitalism (he is opposed to any such ism) but that he is opposed to the use made of capital in many areas of life.

A lot deeper thinking is going to have to be done by Christians on the insights of Marxism and its relationship to our faith and the analysis of economic systems if we are not to sound like stereotyped, worn out records of the 1930s. With all our terrible failings as citizens in the West and in the United States, just compare and contrast with those countries of the world where the state holds all the capital and see how

much more human liberty and justice there is.

John Balz
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Responsible Capitalism

To the good, George McClain's article makes me uneasy. But what is less good is that it makes me wonder what the article contributes to the mutual up-building of the church.

To me, the article reads like a religious talking about the early church using terms offhandedly of the various heresies, not saying what aspect of each he is concerned about. From the article I'm not certain what is meant by the terms capitalism and socialism.

I wonder if the church might not contribute more by speaking of responsible capitalism rather than muddying the water with the term socialism. Can there be no responsible capitalism? When all is said and done, can there be socialism without capitalism?

The Wall Street Journal, I think, should be complimented for advocating responsible capitalism. It does balance its editorial pages with intelligent socialist replies.

For a good introductory survey into the complexities of socialism I would ask Christians to consider Michael Harrington's book. With today's complex trade arrangements, national and international, and the strong unions controlling employee wages, does anyone think that America truly has capitalism?

THE WITNESS is a valuable voice in the Episcopal Church. But would this voice be less effective if it spoke in more clearly defined limits on the subjects taken on?

Douglas Schewe
Madison, Wisc.

CREDITS

Cover, p. 4, Beth Seka; photo, p. 10, Cornell Cooper; cartoon, p. 14, Conrad, *Los Angeles Times*; photo, p. 17, Lock Hoehl; cartoon, p. 19, Milo Hess, courtesy Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.

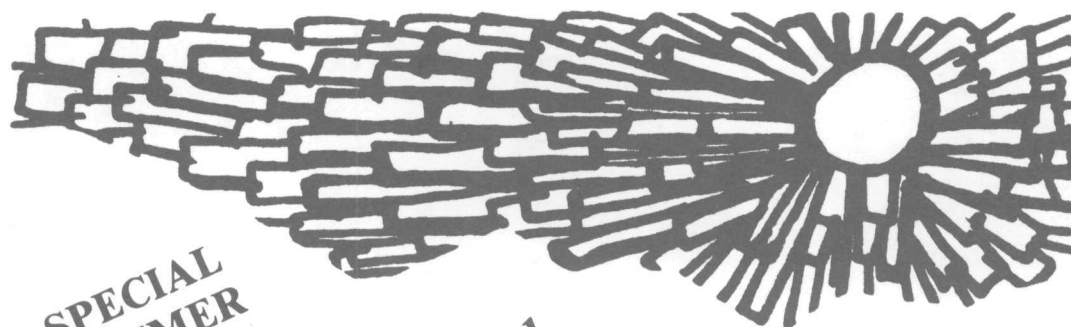


MIL0 HESS

“Tell me again how we’re going to fight city hall.”

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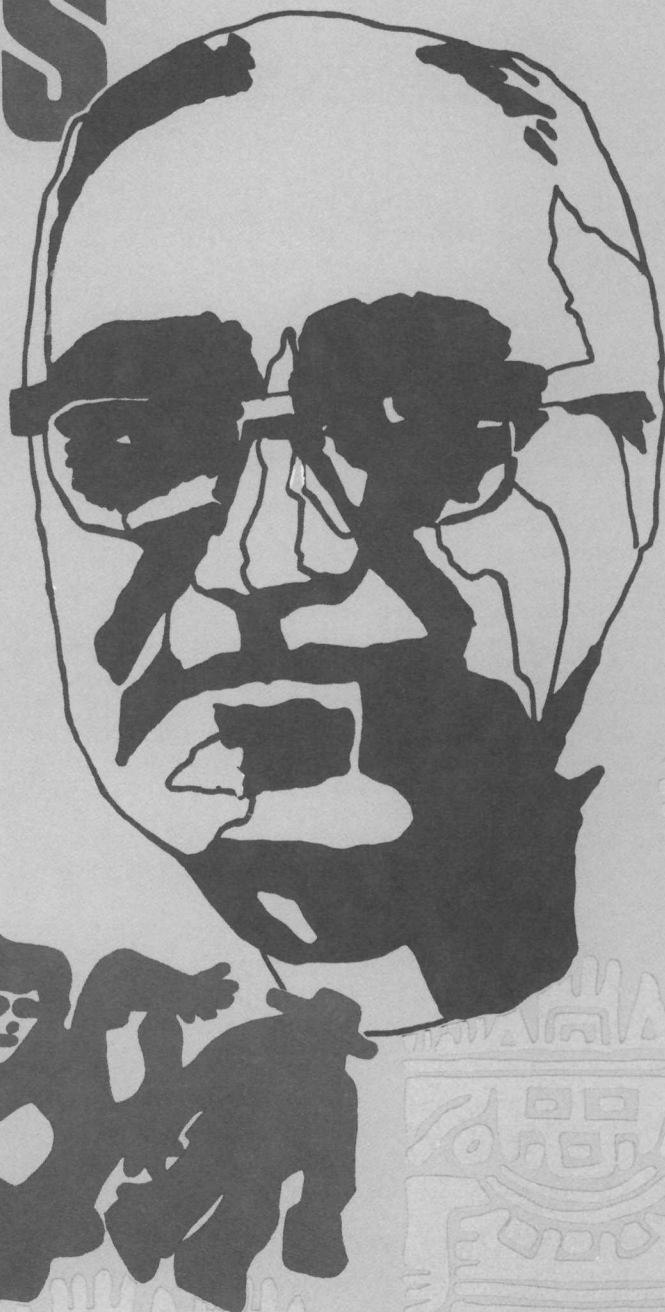
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THE VOL. 63, NO. 9 SEPTEMBER, 1980 WITNESS

Hispanics & Latins: Front & Center
Richard W. Gillett

Post-Election Choices
Gar Alperovitz





TMI 'Trustanoia' Irksome

It is astonishing, considering Three Mile Island and all that goes with it, that we are still here. It is a miracle. (See Lock Hoehl's series, "Three Mile Island, 10 More Years of Ambiguity" beginning in June WITNESS.)

For instance, there were 50 incidents last year where the computers which now threaten us with annihilation had a malfunction. We have made a system so lethal that it is second to none, and even TMI hasn't awakened many of the sleepers.

Nukes aren't new. Hiroshima and Nagasaki took place over 30 years ago. I remember my generation's downright refusal to discuss these events. We are paying for that now. Nukes were felt to be a necessity for reasons of empire and so we were lied to about the nature of the industry. Nuclear bombs, nuclear energy, and nuclear waste are all part of a particular mind-set.

When mistakes have been made, they must be corrected. We can't correct mistakes until we acknowledge them, and there's the rub. We suffer not only from hysteria and paranoia, but has there ever been a people with as much "trustanoia" as we have displayed? We've let "George" do it — People are not things. All this stuff going on is not necessary. That's what's so awful about it.

Your magazine gets better all the time. Most relevant — and that is how you know it's godly. Most Americans fear knowledge.

Marlon Wylie
Oakland, Cal.

Racism Ignored

Hugh White writes an article giving direction to the newly established Episcopal Urban Caucus and not once does he mention the cancer of racism that pervades every level of society and all the ideologies that would change this society (June WITNESS). He carries on as if racism were merely a symptom of more basic injustices. Few Blacks will buy this, for they have confronted and endured racism on too many fronts to minimize its influence on any ideology. If the church is to work "from the ground up," it will not only listen to the voice of the poor, but will open itself to leadership and decisions from these groups. The day is past when White, middle-class liberals can impose their solutions on the poor because they know "what is good for them." It is not only the conservative who finds it hard to move out of the way!

If the Episcopal Church Publishing Company really wants to move beyond its usual stance of dated liberalism, I suggest it call for more articles from persons of the calibre and experience of Archdeacons Loretho Wooden of Southern Ohio and Henry Hucles of Long Island, of Paul Washington of Philadelphia and Kwasi Thornell of St. Louis, and even the Black members of its own Board of Directors. These people can give a ring of authenticity to THE WITNESS that so far many Black church people find absent.

The Rt. Rev. John M. Burgess
Vineyard Haven, Mass.

Gracie Copies Available

You may not have known, when the June WITNESS was being prepared, that David Gracie's article in a slightly different form had already been published by the *Forward Movement*, under the title, "Signs of the Kingdom." Your readers might want to know that copies are available at 25¢ each, plus postage and handling from FM Publications, 412 Sycamore Street, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202.

The Rev. Charles H. Long, Editor
Forward Movement Publications

Frensdorff Gives Hope

Articles like Wes Frensdorff's in the June WITNESS are certainly disturbing. I just about relax into comfortable despair for the future of the church when hope appears. Bishop Frensdorff suggests that self-support can be achieved in people-poor as well as poor-people areas.

As an inner-city priest, I would like to see the ideas which Bishop Frensdorff presents given an enthusiastic trial. Roland Allen's condemnation of colonial missionary methods may apply equally to Jersey City as to Peking. Canon 8 might give urban Christians a chance to be the church without having to pay Harvard-educated priests.

Certainly the old clergy-dominated, money-dependent model is not notably successful nor theologically consistent. As you say about the inner city church, "we need first to set it free to become fully *indigenous* in the life and culture of the people where they are." Thanks for that encouragement for this part of the vineyard, or factory.

The Rev. George C. Swanson
Jersey City, N.J.

Urges Resistance

It's a shock to realize that only seven years have passed since the last helicopter lifted the last American off the Saigon embassy roof. But already America's political leaders are testing the waters with an old-style, men-only, military draft registration of 19 and 20 year olds. (See Ron Freund's article, "Right to Bear Arms, For Whom?" June WITNESS.)

If there is little or no non-registration, it will be concluded that a new crop of young men has forgotten Viet Nam and is ready to serve the Pentagon in more military adventures. And that conclusion will lead to those adventures — or at least make them more likely.

I do not believe military force can any longer be accepted by humankind as a means of resolving disputes. Other means must be found or we shall all

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THE WITNESS

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Waiting for the Train

Robert L. DeWitt

Dark times always prompt references by the hopeful to the metaphor that there is "light at the end of the tunnel." However, the darkening time in which we find ourselves today has elicited cynical variations. "Yes, but you see that light only by looking over your shoulder." Or, "Yes, but it is an approaching express train."

There is substance to both these sardonic quips. The "looking over the shoulder" version is illustrated by the phenomenon of "Born Again politics." This is a term sometimes used to characterize the half-dozen new evangelical organizations strenuously engaged in politics. One of them, "Moral Majority," was formed only last year by the Rev. Jerry Falwell, whose fundamentalist "Old Time Gospel Hour" attracts a national weekly viewing audience of 25 million. Their target is to have 5 million new voters registered by November, and they claim to be half-way to that goal. Their platform? They oppose, among other issues, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion, homosexual rights and government intervention in Christian (i.e. non-public) schools. They are demanding increased defense spending, and Bible-reading and prayer in the public schools. In their rear-view mirror they see an image that touches deep nostalgic and simplistic

chords. And their sheer organized numbers underscores that they are not to be taken lightly.

But there is also evidence of the "approaching express train" version of the light in the tunnel. A number of our most prominent political leaders are or have been members of the Trilateral Commission, that elite group of international movers and shakers which published *Crisis in Democracy*. The burden of that book is that our world is in grave danger by virtue of an "excess of democracy" which threatens to prevent the appropriate and free expansion of corporate interests around the world. The clear implication is that we must have less democracy. Other words for that are restriction and oppression. The recent and current profits of the petroleum industry, together with the cutbacks in government services to the poor, is a part of the blinding beam from that approaching express train.

But that oncoming train makes itself known by other signals, as well. Early in July a Westchester-bound train carrying Fourth of July celebrators home from New York City, stalled by a power failure for over an hour in the Bronx, was attacked by a large crowd of local residents that hurled rocks, bottles, fireworks and

Continued on page 12

"The helicopter swoops down, a huge bird of prey, its blades flattening the sagebrush and exposing what appear to be small vulnerable animals, frozen in fright. The hunters' panel trucks come to a crashing halt in the circle thrown by the helicopter's searchlight, and the game is rounded up and tossed in.

"A congressman, along for the ride, has a child's excitement operating the searchlight while the prey — docile, confused, formless — turns out on closer examination to be fathers, mothers, children, mechanics, farm hands, Catholics; huddled masses, as the Statue of Liberty says, yearning to be free."

— Robert Sheer, in the *Los Angeles Times*, 11 11 79

Hispanics and Latin America:

Moving Center Stage

by Richard W. Gillett

The above is a scene repeated daily and in endless variation along the Mexican border as "illegal aliens" try to enter the United States and are caught by the U.S. Border Patrol. In 1978, some 800,000 were arrested along the border; many more than that number escaped detection and entered. Here are other recent vignettes involving Hispanics:

- A Puerto Rican fisherman from the Island of Vieques, off Puerto Rico's east coast, takes aim from his dinghy with a slingshot at a U.S. Coast Guard patrol boat trying to clear him from his own fishing waters so that the U.S. Navy can continue to bombard his island for gunnery practice.

- "I used to think of Mayor Bradley as tall and powerful. Today I feel as tall and powerful as he." The speaker is a diminutive elderly Mexican-American woman exulting at the end of a meeting of 1200 members of the United Neighborhoods Organization (UNO) with Mayor Tim Bradley of Los Angeles. He has just made major concessions on city housing policy to UNO, a new community action organization in the sprawling Mexican-American community of East Los Angeles.
- In San Salvador, as over 100,000 people are amassed in front of the Roman Catholic cathedral

for the funeral of assassinated Archbishop Oscar Romero, a bomb detonates at the edge of the crowd. The people panic as gunfire crackles, and thousands rush for refuge into the cathedral. Soon, it is packed so tightly that the people cannot move. Gunfire and explosions continue outside, where a score have died in the melee. The heat mounts inside the church; people die of asphyxiation, but though dead, remain upright, so tightly packed are they. Then, astonishingly, over the bombs and gunfire and prayers, comes the sound of cheering. Something is inched forward, carried by hands over heads. The cheering is a chant that everyone in the cathedral soon joins in. "*El pueblo unido jamas sera vencido.*" ("The people united shall never be vanquished.")

The object is the coffin of the slain archbishop, sustained aloft by fingertips, making its tenuous way into this sanctuary of faith and terror. "Even in death the archbishop transformed despair into courage," writes Jorge Lara Braud, an official of the National Council of Churches and an eyewitness to these events.

While politicians, commentators and the mass media continue to fulminate over the "Russian threat," the Middle East or Iran, a steadily growing historical current is beginning to push insistently onto the American agenda and demand recognition. It is the rise of the Hispanic.

The current emanates from Chicano neighborhoods in Los Angeles, or from the Island of Vieques off Puerto Rico. It is evident in the sheer growth in numbers of Mexicans and Central Americans spilling across the border in the Southwest, or the prominence of a separate question addressed to Hispanics on the 1980 U.S. census form. This new movement of history also encompasses Central America — Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama — as well as Mexico itself and the rest of Latin America in a prominent new way. Most compelling of all, a new Christian theology of liberation, deeply indigenous to a people's own blood, tears, terror and hope, is taking root in Latin America.

Latin America — historically of third rate interest to our country, object of insulting stereotypes and humiliating jokes; a region to exploit, extract from, and then visit as a tourist — is without doubt bestirring itself, moving onto history's center stage as the 1980s begin.

Coincident with this over the last 10 to 15 years, has been the rise of a vast new colonialism of the multinational. U.S. direct investment in Latin America leaped from \$9.7 billion in 1966 to \$32.5 billion in 1977, by far the highest investment in any region outside Europe and Canada. And — should it surprise? — world arms imports to Latin America (mostly

from the United States) increased overwhelmingly from \$250 million in 1968 to almost \$972 million in 1977 to protect such investments.

No wonder, then, that Hispanics in this country and in Latin America are moving towards new assertions of dignity, claims to justice — and in the Christian community, new witness to the ineffable power of the Christian Gospel. This article will endeavor to document and interpret the Hispanic phenomenon; to examine the impact of multinationals and of U.S. government policy upon Latin America, and to probe why liberation theology is taking hold among the people.

By the end of this century, Hispanics will almost certainly overtake Blacks to become the biggest minority in this country. Add to that an estimated 7.4 million undocumented, plus the almost certainly larger count to come from the 1980 census, and the number is at the 20 million mark. Hispanic immigration into the United States is running about 1 million persons a year, fed chiefly from the burgeoning Mexican population. A Roman Catholic priest in Miami puts it this way: the United States is now the fifth largest Hispanic country in the world in population, after Mexico, Spain, Argentina, and Colombia.

Where have Hispanics concentrated?

We are accustomed to thinking of the Puerto Ricans in New York (over a million), and of Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles (where they are the great majority of that city's approximately 1.8 million Hispanics), and in the Southwest. But, Ohio and Minnesota now have as many Mexican-Americans as Colorado and Nevada. Miami numbers more than 600,000 Hispanics, mostly Cubans. Interestingly, Chicago is the only big city whose Hispanic population is shared by Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans in roughly the same proportions as they share the total Hispanic population of the United States. (Mexican, 59.4%; Puerto Rican, 15.1%; Cuban, 5.7%, Central or South American, and other Spanish, 19.8% are the proportions of Hispanic population).

So much for statistics. What of the life of Hispanics in this country?

Historically, the presence of Hispanics on the North American continent predates the landing of the pilgrims in New England. In the Southwest, the Spanish-speaking — whom Anglos frequently describe as "aliens" — predate them by three centuries; in Puerto Rico, they were there almost four centuries earlier.

The five southwestern states where most Chicanos live comprise territory once almost totally under the Mexican flag. Mario Barrera of the University of California at Berkeley writes: "In the 19th century the area now known as the Southwest was incorporated into the United States

through a war of conquest. With the Southwest came a population of former Mexican citizens who were granted citizenship by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). These were the original Chicanos. During the remainder of the century a social and economic structure crystallized in the Southwest in which Chicanos and other racial minorities were established in subordinate status. It is into this structure that succeeding generations of Chicanos have been fitted during the 20th century, with some modifications."

As supporters of Cesar Chavez and the farmworker struggle best know, the "subordinate status" of Chicanos has benefitted U.S. (and sometimes Mexican-American) economic interests. California agriculture depends upon Mexican farmworkers to reap its massive harvests. The garment and restaurant industries in California would collapse without the Mexican-American labor force, much of it undocumented immigrants. And of course, many Anglo families along the Southwestern frontier would have to clean house themselves if their "illegal" maids were sent back to Mexico.



This race and class prejudice is reflected in many other areas:

- in the recent effort in Texas to deny to undocumented children the right to attend public schools;
- in the forced sterilization of Latino women at public and private hospitals;
- in sweeps for "illegals" by the INS in residential areas, and entry into homes without a warrant;
- in repeated violations of the minimum wage law in the garment industry (over a 16-month period, California labor

standards officials found 25,993 violations out of 6,185 firms inspected, including 80.8% found in violation of minimum wage or overtime provisions in the garment industry).

But the Chicanos are beginning to stand up. In Los Angeles and San Antonio two powerful Chicano community organizations, formed under the initiative of the Industrial Areas Foundation, are pressing private enterprise and local government for a share of power. Thus, in UNO in Los Angeles, the elderly woman quoted at the beginning of this article is typical of many newly emboldened. UNO is organized through 20 parishes (19 Roman Catholic and one Episcopal). The most striking feature of UNO and of COPS in San Antonio, is their rigorous self-discipline and tight organization. It remains to be seen, however, whether their ideology and organizational objectives will be comprehensive enough in the long run sufficiently to challenge the roots of established economic power and end the class domination that has characterized the history of the Southwest.

But it is Puerto Rico, and the Puerto Ricans in the United States, which, like a pressure cooker taxed way beyond tolerance, may violently explode at an unpredictable moment. When that happens, our country will be totally unprepared to understand either the long history of repression and exploitation behind Puerto Rican-U.S. relations, or the depths of misery and squalor which are the continuing lot of most stateside Puerto Ricans. Unless a massive education campaign is undertaken to help us see otherwise, this country will turn upon Puerto Rico with a vehemence that will make our jingoistic outburst against Panama (when the Canal was turned over) pale by comparison.

Writes correspondent Geoffrey Godsell of the *Christian Science Monitor* after a walk through a Puerto Rican section of New York: "At first sight much of it looks like devastated sections of some British or German cities a few months after the end of World War II: vacant, littered lots and the skeletons of abandoned tenements." Puerto Rican author Piri Thomas writes of a lifetime of endurance by Puerto Ricans in New York and other big cities of "despair, frustration, exploitation, hot and cold running cockroaches, king-size rats, crummy tenement slum houses, poor education and much job discrimination . . ."

And the statistics back up Thomas. As a group, mainland Puerto Ricans are worse off than Chicanos, Cubans, and Blacks: median family income of Puerto Ricans in 1978 was only \$8,282, compared to \$10,879 for Blacks, \$12,835 for Chicanos and \$15,326 for Cubans. Thirty-nine percent of all Puerto Rican families are below the poverty level, as compared to 21% for Hispanics as a whole.

Ironically, unlike so many Hispanics in the Southwest, Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens. The irony is compounded: they were *made* citizens by a unilateral decree of the U.S. Congress in 1917, 19 years after the United States invaded and conquered Puerto Rico as booty from Spain in the Spanish-American War. Before that, this Caribbean nation was successively occupied by Holland, Britain and Spain, in a colonialist experience dating back 400 years.

"The first four decades of U.S. occupation were years of outright exploitation," wrote Ruben Berrios in *Foreign Affairs* in 1977. Vast areas of land were converted into American-owned sugar plantations, and Puerto Rico became known as the "poorhouse of the Caribbean" — the "Haiti" of that era. After World War II a huge industrialization program began, culminating in extensive American multinational and banking establishments in the 1960s. Agricultural land shrunk dramatically, and a people who in earlier decades grew 75% of the food they ate, now import 90% of all food consumed on the island. Despite the industrialization, unemployment runs between 30 and 40%. Eighty percent of the population qualifies for food stamps.

Concurrent with corporate exploitation is military domination. About 10% of Puerto Rico is military bases and reservations, including Ramey Air Force Base, where nuclear weapons are stored.

This U.S. domination is arousing increased resistance, both on the Island of Vieques, and in Puerto Rico. Advocates for independence persistently hammer away at the illusion that Puerto Rico is a "free associated state" (its official designation). It is as obviously convenient for U.S. business, governmental and military interests to perpetuate that myth, as it is embarrassing to have it known that the United Nations Committee on Decolonization and other international bodies have repeatedly affirmed Puerto Rico's right to self-determination.

In this context stateside and island "terrorist" violence (whether one condones it or not) must be seen as an expression of a centuries' old people yearning to breathe the political freedom won by so many former colonies in the Third World since World War II. (See "The Puerto Rican Connection" by Mary Lou Suhor in *THE WITNESS*, June 1980).

Somewhere in the 1960's, U.S. capitalism began to have trouble with its insatiable need to expand in order to survive. The need became pressing for huge corporations to accumulate more capital; the market was becoming saturated, competition with Europe was increasing, and workers were demanding ever higher wages. Thus, the search for a new reserve of cheap labor, cheaper productive facilities and land, and pliant governments. Attention began to center heavily on Latin America.

The rise and level of increased U.S. direct investments in Latin America is astounding: from \$9.7 billion in 1966 to \$32.5 billion in 1977. Such investment is radically changing the face of Latin America. It is frequently resulting in the retiring of productive agricultural land and the crippling of rural peasant self-sufficiency; the forced migration to the United States of landless peasants; the concentration of political as well as economic power in the multinationals in the Latin American countries; and the resultant vast increase in American arms sales to those countries. The latter is needed by those governments to hold in check populations thus deprived, thus bypassed.

For example, in Mexico's northwest, the irrigated vegetable fields have come to resemble the enormous cultivated tracts of California's Central Valley. Millions of pounds of tomatoes, asparagus, cucumbers, fruits and other non-staple "luxury" goods, financed by U.S. brokers and grown in Mexico are shipped to this country every year, while in Mexico the number of landless peasants has increased from 1.5 million in 1950 to 5 million today. Further, Mexico's agriculture is in such sad shape that it now imports corn, its most basic foodstuff. Names like Del Monte (one of two firms controlling 90% of Mexican asparagus production), Pet Milk, Ocean Garden, and Imperial Frozen Foods dominate this process. In Colombia, the highway through the rich Cauca Valley in the south passes through mile after mile of new sugar and sorghum fields (export crops) punctuated only by billboards advertising the latest in farm machinery and pesticides. In Alto Parana, Paraguay, the survival of 50,000 Indians is threatened as agribusiness buys up their land (Gulf and Western, 135,000 acres; Florida Peach, 43,000). They will sell the valuable timber and plant soybeans — for export.

While agribusiness giants are thus pushing peasants off land and contributing to hunger and malnutrition, U.S. food processing companies are busy making "junk food junkies" out of the urban population. Particularly in Central America and Mexico, such corporations as General Foods, Beatrice Foods, Kraft, General Mills, Pillsbury and Standard Brands, have pushed Koolaid, candies, chewing gum, pizza mixes, imitation cheese, and — would you believe? — instant tortilla mix. The population is seduced into consumption by U.S. ad agencies, J. Walter Thompson prominent among them.

How interpret the meaning of this new American penetration? The internationalization of capital is not new — although its scale is. It is the internationalization of the *productive process* that is new. The division of labor has become international. Certain parts of a productive process move, say, to Mexico or Brazil while other parts stay here. The capital to finance a new engine plant in Argentina or a

new “farm” of soybeans may reside in yet a third country, while the overall coordination of the whole process is managed from the United States. But a crucial element in this new “internationalization of labor” is that Latin America has been chosen by U.S. multinationals out of all the areas of the underdeveloped world as the most profitable source for the cheap and exploitable labor that puts the product together.

In this sense, think of the “global village” metaphor in another way: we in the United States live on the main street. We brag about the tidiness and efficiency of the village and the productivity of its inhabitants. We admit to a few deficiencies, but we maintain that comparatively speaking, no other village has achieved such a high standard of living or held to such moral values. But at the edge of the village there is a circle of misery, squalor, and terrible repression, heaped upon a mass of human beings whose very toil makes it possible for us who live in the center of the village to enjoy our “standard of living.” That, in a nutshell, describes the emerging relationship of Latin America to the United States.

Because of technology, computers, instant communications and the new technical ability to subdivide the productive process among countries, a giant, totally integrated international productive machine has emerged. The slaves at the machine are Latin Americans; U.S. capitalists are the production managers.

Perhaps the most grace-full thing in all of this is that the churches of Latin America are interpreting the meaning of this exploitation and repression with a new theology: the theology of liberation. More than that, bishops, priests and lay people of the Roman Catholic Church, from Archbishop Romero of El Salvador to priests and nuns in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and throughout Central America are becoming martyred, almost weekly recently, in the struggle. Notable likewise is the prominence of women at various levels. In Nicaragua almost 30% of the guerrilla movement were women; at Puebla, an uncomfortable pope heard women who had travelled from as far as Argentina to petition him for intervention in the disappearance and/or torture of their husbands and sons.

The Central American countries we used to deride as “banana republics” are producing the most noble current examples of courage and martyrdom. Archbishop Romero’s weekly radio broadcast recounting the latest atrocities of the government, appealing to President Carter to veto a military assistance package of \$5.7 million to the ruling junta (it fell on deaf ears) and supporting the peasants, without doubt cost him his life. (When is a bishop in *this* country going to start a weekly broadcast supporting jobless blacks, Hispanics, oppressed women and the poor of



Appalachia?)

And it is precisely this sense of identification with the poor that is the wellspring of liberation theology, for liberation theology begins with the condition of the poor. Writes Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutierrez:

“The exploited sectors, the despised races, the marginalized cultures, those whom we do not know in their energy and vitality unless we look at them from the underside of history, those that the Bible calls the poor, they are the historical object of a new understanding of the faith.”

It is the “underside of history” that, with the help of our Latin American and Hispanic brothers and sisters, we may be beginning to glimpse as the 1980s unfold. Continues Gutierrez: “God’s love is revealed to the poor and they are the ones who receive, understand and announce this love. *In this perspective the evangelizing task consists in inserting oneself in that process of announcement.*” (italics mine).

As North Americans, inserting ourselves into that process of announcement will require first an openness to Hispanics, both in this country and in Latin America, which will mean the dropping of our historic prejudices. It will require the humility to accept a new reading of history, from their perspective. Finally, it will require a commitment to a rigorous social analysis of the underlying causes of this vast economic exploitative system, and the will on the part of the church here to risk its very life — even as its sisters and brothers are now so dramatically doing in Latin America — to proclaim the new vision of the People of God living in justice and sisterly and brotherly love. ■

TIA Hispanic Project:

We Are a Beautiful People



Hispanics meeting nationally for the first time on an Ecumenical level in San Antonio recently came up with the question: "Since the focus of our theological reflection is the rich Christ who becomes poor, and the poor are the chief embodiment of Christ, how is it possible to evade the economic question?" Excerpts from the statement below show how they responded. The full text can be obtained in Spanish and English from the Hispanic Ecumenical Theological Project, Theology in the Americas, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

We are a group of Catholics and Protestants who have met to reflect on the meaning of our Christian Faith in the light of our experience as Hispanic people living in the United States. As far as we know, this is the first time that Hispanic Catholics and Protestants have met at the national level to reexamine their faith, putting aside past rivalries and letting themselves be summoned to new communion by the Spirit of Jesus Christ. This communion is the result of a convergence of our faith through a new commitment to the poor among our people, or, to put it theologically, of our commitment to the Christ who, being rich, became poor for our sakes (*Philippians 2:5-9*).

We are a group of 60 Hispanic Christian men and women. Among the Protestants, we represent eight denominations. We include ordained men and women and lay persons, community organizers, teachers, church bureaucrats, social scientists and farmworkers. We are also Mexicans,

Puerto Ricans, Cubans, as well as immigrants from Spain and 10 other Latin American and Caribbean countries. Universal race that we are, we run the gamut of skin colors, since we are blacks, whites, mulattoes and mestizos. What a beautiful people we are!

We do not want to appear hopeless romantics. The obstacles that might have prevented this communion for us are still real. Not long ago, as Protestants and Catholics we denied each other's Christian identity. Such antagonisms have left their mark on our catechisms and in much other literature still in circulation. Even worse, that mark is still to be found in painful memories, in injured spirits, in alienated communities and in divided families (*I Corinthians 11:18*).

On the other hand, our very history as diverse Hispanic groups is still a source of disagreement. It is unreasonable to hope that Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, humiliated for centuries by dominant groups in this country, should display

the kind of gratitude and national solidarity that recent Cuban immigrants have shown as a result of being welcomed and given help. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that those who have already "made it" within the "American dream" should display the same anger as those of our people who have been battered against the walls of prejudice. Similar conflicts exist between our unrepentant "machos" and our new feminists, between the academic intellectuals and those who struggle at the most basic level of human existence, between those who have been tamed by the church and those who have been liberated by their faith, between those who are comfortable and those who are poor, between those who are articulate and those who are tongue-tied, between those highly schooled from south of the Rio Bravo and those still unschooled from north of the border or vice-versa.

It is natural for those very real differences to heighten when we are confronted with the challenge of taking

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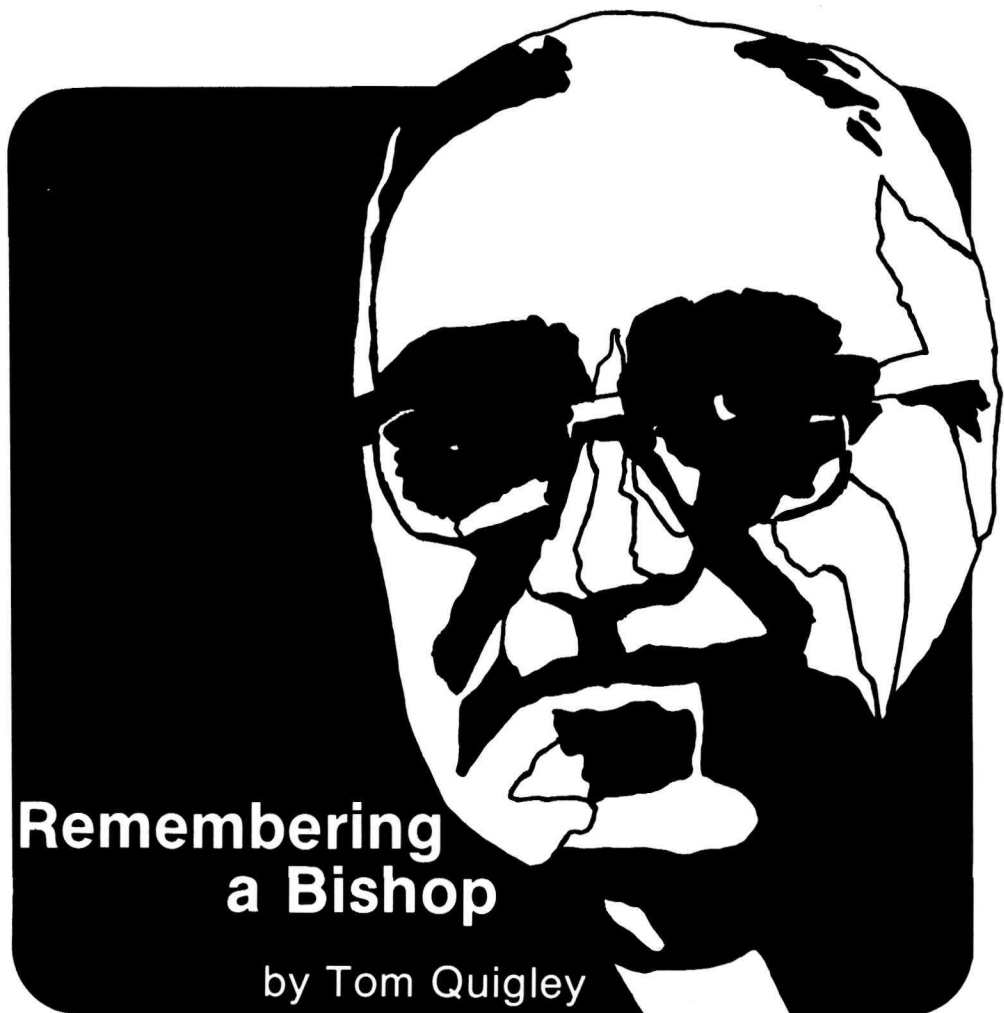
A more unassuming international figure one could hardly imagine. He was not just humble, though he was certainly that, but genuinely shy. The first time I met him in the Spring of 1977 he had been archbishop of one of the world's most turbulent cities for less than half a year. Two of his priests, including one of his dearest friends, a former student of his, had recently been assassinated by government thugs. The entire Jesuit community in the country was under threat of extermination by the White Warriors Union. World attention was focused on El Salvador and on the new, surprisingly outspoken archbishop, Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

We entered a room in the section of the seminary that houses the offices of the archdiocese, Jorge Lara-Braud of the U.S. National Council of Churches and I, two foreigners come to see what we could do. Some 20 others sat around the long oval table with us, the recently formed Emergency Committee that was then meeting regularly to discuss the crisis in El Salvador. There were diocesan and Jesuit priests, sisters, lay men and women, the auxiliary bishop, Rivera y Damas and, somewhere among them, Monsenor.

Everybody called him just that — Monsenor. Not a title really, more an affectionate, deeply loving nickname. Dad. Poppa. Monsenor. Even though every bishop in Spanish America is called that, in El Salvador when they say "Monsenor always did this" and "Monsenor said that," now even after his death, they mean only Oscar Romero.

Everybody spoke at the meeting; people had reports, analyses, conclusions. Jorge and I had our pieces to say. But the little man,

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indistinguishable from the rest except for his cassock and simple pectoral cross, listened, smiled gently, and only at the end said a few words. Mostly words of gratitude for our coming, of hope we would have a fruitful visit and, finally, of regret that he could not then — though he would like eventually to do so — accept our invitation to visit the United States. He said he had to stay with his people.

Two years later he did accept and plans were set for him to address the Governing Board of the NCC and meet with U.S. Catholic bishops; but the October coup intervened and he had to cancel. He never left El Salvador. He is still with his people.

Much is made of the "conversion" of Oscar Romero, and I believe he did go through extraordinary changes in his

last three years. But it was not Saul on the Damascus road. He was a good and holy priest, conservative and traditional, as was typical both of the clerical training of the time and, more importantly, of his humble roots. When the truly ancient Archbishop Chaves y Gonzalez finally retired in 1976 (he's still serving as a parish priest in Suchitoto) all the progressives wanted the bright young auxiliary of San Salvador, Arturo Rivera y Damas, to succeed and were crushed when Rome named Oscar Romero to the post. "It's all over," a Central American Jesuit told me then; "the Vatican doesn't know what's happening here."

But he was not Saul, nor was he a mossback; he was a humble man of the people and nobody's fool. Ambassador White, I suppose meaning no harm, told

a group in Washington last April that the Jesuits "gave the archbishop one of their crash courses." A simple *cure de campagne* in the hands of the wily Jesuits, filling him with political theories coated with the sugar of liberation theology.

An even less sensitive and intelligent former ambassador, who represented Richard Nixon's government during the massively fraudulent elections in 1972 when Napoleon Duarte won the presidency but was prevented by the military from wearing the sash, recently wrote that the archbishop's "character was as good as his judgment was bad."

The typical State Department line: Put down what you don't understand; deny what doesn't conform to your pet theory. They never did understand him, or his people. They still don't.

Monsenor was bright by anybody's standards; he was sent to Rome for advanced studies, taught in seminary, read widely, made bishop in a system that prized intelligence if not always creativity and courage. But far more, he was a leader that merited the term brilliant, a brilliant leader of the kind that calls to mind John XXIII and maybe Mao — representatives of the people who knew that leadership has to do with evoking, calling forth the wisdom that is in the people.

Although we corresponded in the intervening years (he was an extraordinary correspondent, communicating with scores, maybe hundreds of people all over the Americas and Europe) we didn't meet again until Sunday, March 23. Five of us from the U.S. churches had gone on a hastily formed ecumenical visit to El Salvador, seeking to express the solidarity of the U.S. religious community with him and the people of his country and to learn what we could of the current, rapidly changing situation.

We were seated, Quaker, Episcopalian, Methodist and Catholic,

in the sanctuary of the old ramshackle, tin-roofed wooden Basilica of the Sacred Heart. The huge, cavernous poured-concrete cathedral 10 blocks down the street, left unfinished by the previous archbishop who said "we must stop building cathedrals and start building the Church," was unavailable; one of the popular movements had taken it over some weeks before. The basilica was packed, mostly with simple working people, families, kids on their fathers' shoulders. The entrance hymn began and with it, applause starting at the rear and undulating up to the front as the archbishop and the priests and seminarians, vested in brilliantly colored stoles over their albs, moved joyfully up the aisle.

How describe a triumphal procession when there wasn't a trace of triumphalism anywhere? The applause was thunderous, shaking the corrugated roof, teasing tears out of the most nonliturgical of our company; it was simply a pastor receiving the loving embrace of a people who saw themselves, their suffering and their hopes, embodied in this humble figure.

It didn't occur to me then but it has often since, that that day, the eve of his martyrdom, was as vivid a re-creation as I could imagine of the palm-strewn path into Jerusalem.

His homily on that occasion is now famous, translated and published around the world. He told soldiers, simple peasants themselves for the most part, that they are not bound by unjust orders to kill; standard textbook theology but if applied in the concrete, usually considered treasonous. It was so described in the Monday morning paper by an Army spokesman.

The most quoted line of all was heard in its entirety only by the score of us nearest to him in the sanctuary. When he said, addressing the government, the military, the security forces, "I ask you, I beg you" the applause was already deafening; "I order you . . ." and it was

an explosion, blocking out the words everyone knew would follow: "in the name of God, stop the repression!"

But the military heard. Indeed, all of Central America did, since on that day the archdiocesan radio station, YSAX, went back on the air for the first time in weeks after having been bombed out of commission. Monsenor's sermons were the most widely listened to program in the entire country, and his broadcast that day, the first in weeks and the last forever, was no exception.

As we recessed out of the basilica, receiving applause and smiles and handshakes we knew we had done nothing to merit, we North Americans wondered among ourselves how long it would be before some response would be made to this holy man. The radio station had been bombed immediately after the Feb. 17 homily in which he read the letter he wished to send — if the congregation would approve it — to President Carter. The tin roof shook with approval on Sunday and YSAX was bombed on Monday.

But we know now that his assassination was not directly tied to the content of that March homily. Documents which almost certainly link former high officials of the military and international right-wing terrorist groups to the killing, including a Nicaraguan hitman, show that it had been in the works for some time. The date was probably chosen because it was known in advance that the archbishop would be celebrating a sparsely-attended memorial mass in the hospital chapel at Divine Providence on March 24, the first anniversary of the death of Sara Meardi de Pinto, mother of the editor of opposition newspaper *El Independiente*. (Not incidentally, the paper has since been bombed and Jorge Pinto, the editor, machine-gunned in his car, but both survive and are continuing. Brave people, these Salvadoreans.)

In a more profound sense, though, I

believe that sermon was the symbolic occasion for his death. He is stirring up people; he has blasphemed against the idols of the state; it is better that one man die; what need have we of further witnesses? And Caesar, too, strutted upon this stage, unwitting and unwilling, perhaps, but present nonetheless. If you let this man go, thou art no friend of the United States. He is spoiling the Grand Design, playing into the hands of the Marxists, the "bloodthirsty terrorists" and the "Pol Pot Left," as the State Department, with its penchant for one-liner analysis, likes to characterize the massive campesino and worker movements. He must be stopped.

The U.S. didn't pull the trigger but it helped provide the ammunition. It sought, in unprecedented ways, to pressure Monsenor, to lecture him as one might an errant schoolboy, to seek Vatican intervention to have him quieted, to put out the word — in an act of almost criminally stupid arrogance

— that the information flowing daily into the *Arzobispado* from eyewitnesses all across the country was somehow less to be trusted than the intelligence gathered by the U.S Embassy, locked behind its fortress walls and in effective communication only with the Salvadorean government. It beggars belief, especially when successive ambassadors and State Department officials have privately acknowledged that "our intelligence on El Salvador is not very good."

Monsenor had a simple proposition. The military and their masters, the oligarchy, had failed for a half a century to bring justice and prosperity to the people; the government that took power last October only increased the repression while constructing a facade of long-overdue but, under the circumstances, impossible reforms, refusing all the while to deal with the undeniable reality of popular awakening and organization. It was time, he said, to give the people a

chance, to let the now developed people's movements, democratic and revolutionary, join with all others of good will to create a new and just society.

He had no fear of the church being snuffed out in the process, any more than the *campesinado* or the urban workers or the teachers would be; they are all the co-makers of the nation they are struggling to build. A profoundly Christian sense informs the whole process, not because some of the popular movements were in fact organized by priests, but because the people's revolutionary consciousness has grown up hand in glove with their Biblical awareness that they are a holy people called to freedom.

It may take a special grace for them eventually to forgive their persecutors, especially the bungling policy-makers of the United States, but they will never forget their martyrs. El Salvador will never forget Oscar Romero. Nor should we. ■

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obscenities. "You live in the comfortable suburbs, we live in the bombed-out Bronx — how come?" they seemed to say. That question is echoed by the millions of Hispanics in this country, described by Richard Gillett elsewhere in this issue. And echoed by other millions of Blacks. By the millions of indigent aged in our society. By the millions of unemployed. To the comfortable they are saying: "How come we are afflicted, and you are not?" The answer to their question lies deep within an economic system which has gone awry, as Gar Alperovitz points out, also in these pages.

Setting aside any umbrage at its Chinese origin, we need to see the wisdom of the familiar adage which counsels that it is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness. Certainly, we are in a tunnel, and it is dark. And the only two lights we see, fore and aft, are threatening ones. But so has it always been when history was calling a people to stand upon their feet and lay claim to the dignity and justice which befit the human enterprise. God has better things in mind for us. God counts on us to know this, and to be about it.

Christ Thinks to Himself On Calvary

Now I recognize it:
This is what I was learning about
all those years in the carpentry shop.

Before I entered the desert I knew
what it was to sweat,
wiping sawdust from my eyes
like sand.

Before I started this road I knew
what it was
to carry wood
I had long since wished to set down
for someone else's shelter.

Before I climbed this hill I knew
what nails are for—
creating new structures, building new things.
I knew how easily
they could scratch the builder's hands.

I never knew how deep.

—Christen Frothingham

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stands vis-a-vis the disastrous conditions of the vast majority of our Hispanic people. We deliberately designed this Hispanic theological and ecumenical consultation around the realities of oppression and liberation among our people (*Exodus 20:2*).

In all these cases the abuse of power by those who run the institutions and the economy is clear. Even clearer are the brutalizing contradictions of a capitalistic system in crisis that requires unemployment, cheap labor, equally cheap raw materials, the transformation of luxuries into "necessities," the disappearance of free enterprise, the accumulation of vast wealth by a smaller and smaller minority, consumption as the primary goal in life, and the sacrifice of human beings on the altar of profits.

Perhaps for the first time, in spite of our political and ideological differences, most of us at the conference did not hesitate to point to this capitalism in crisis as the principal cause, or at least an important cause, not only of persistent economic poverty, so disproportionate among our people, but also of the spiritual poverty of those who have increased their economic advantage at peril to their souls. It was not surprising that this realization could lead some of us to think of what would have been unthinkable in the past: either a radical transformation of this economic system, or its replacement by another system. It should be understood that this, being new ground for us, is in some ways unsettling, for we may appear naive or subversive. But since the focus of our theological reflection was the rich Christ who becomes poor (*Philippians 2:5-9*), and the poor as the chief embodiment of Christ (*Matthew 25:31-46*), how is it possible to evade the economic question?

We sincerely believe we cannot evade it. Otherwise, our understanding of the

Calexico Mass

Huelga flags
stirring limp red
altar in a pick up truck.

Roof monitors scan the crowd
waiting softly on hard asphalt
sun swelters brown faces.

"Pan de cielo"
"Cupo de salvacion"
small boy vomits

"Gracias a Dios!"

—Katrina Carter

Hispanic reality in this country would be very limited. We would not be taken seriously when we say that we are in solidarity with the undocumented immigrants, with the farmers of Ohio, Texas and California, with the indigent of the South Bronx of New York City, the West Side of San Antonio, the East Side of Los Angeles, or Lakeview in Chicago, or with the defenseless inhabitants of Vieques in Puerto Rico under the occupation of the United States Navy, or the suffering Nicaraguans who have been attacked to the point of genocide by the Somozan dictatorship that has been supported by the American government.

We do not wish to blame others and avoid confronting our own responsibility. We think it is imperative to engage in self-criticism as well; it is part of our confession of faith as sinners (*I John 1:8-9*). Cultural shock and the mirage of a consumer society lead some of us to aggressiveness, escapism and social maladaptation. We acknowledge a lack of unity among Hispanic groups, a provincialism of vision, a personality cult among our leaders, and a slowness on our part to contribute to the social and political struggle. We also acknowledge that "machismo" is still a reality in the Hispanic communities and that we have not formed coalitions with other minority groups, especially with

the Black and Native American communities in this country.

We are not assuming that we have reached definitive conclusions concerning political and economic systems that would be more compatible with obedience to the Christ of the poor, or the defense of Christ's poor. What we do affirm is that if Christian love is to be effective (*James 1:15-17*), we must unite with others who are struggling to make political and economic democracy a reality, no matter what terminology is used. What we do know is that we have some political democracy and less and less economic democracy.

The miracle of faith we experienced ecumenically in spite of our pluralism and the complexity of ideological differences, came about from our re-reading the Bible as the revelation of God written chiefly from the experience of suffering and oppression and offered to us for our own full liberation. What happiness we felt in the course of our reflection, that the book that had separated us in the past was uniting us in the present, Catholics and Protestants alike! We also believe that we have come to a better understanding of what the Latin American theologians of liberation mean when they tell us that with respect to the Bible the poor are in a position of "hermeneutical privilege," which is to say, they are in a privileged situation to know God. This is a way of affirming that the lowest have immediate access to the biblical God who from lowliness liberates Israel from captivity (*Exodus 22:21-24*), who raises up prophets as defenders of the poor (*Jeremiah 1:4-10*), who becomes incarnate as a Galilean in Jesus Christ, who eats and drinks with "nobodies," who is crucified because he is a threat to the oppressors, and who guarantees by his resurrection that there will be a day without tears, in which death will be no more, a day without crying or pain (*Revelation 21:1-4*). ■

Choices Beyond the Ballot



Gar Alperovitz

The viability of democracy, both here and abroad, is a subject of more than passing interest in this presidential election year. In this country, what does the flagging participation by voters indicate about the health and the future of the democratic system, and what corrective steps are indicated?

Robert L. DeWitt, editor of *THE WITNESS*, took these questions to Gar Alperovitz, a political economist and co-director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives, Washington, D.C. Alperovitz has served as a consultant with the Episcopal Urban Bishops' Coalition, as well as with the Ecumenical Coalition organized to save the steel plant in Youngstown. With his associate, Geoffrey Faux, he is completing a book entitled *Rebuilding America*, to be published by Simon & Schuster in early 1981. The interview with Alperovitz follows.

Voting statistics in recent years have raised many questions about the effective functioning of our democracy. If something in the range of only 50% of the eligible voters are going to the polls, if a large percentage of those who vote are over 50 years old, if the recent national televising of the Republican convention was ignored by many in favor of a major league ball game, what does that say about the democratic process?

I think that the voting figures reflect a deep indifference in the voting public. I do not think people are apathetic about the future of the nation, but about the choices being offered. When people believe that their vote matters, the figures change. When the Vietnam war heated up, when civil rights heated up, people came out and voted in droves because the choices were significant. And people felt they, themselves, mattered.

You feel the primaries and the election campaigns now in process have not been dealing with significant choices for the voters?

The problem the country has to face is a decision on the whole context of our national future. I don't think the major parties have yet faced that issue squarely. Are we going to discuss and develop a strategy for the larger issues of our history, which will move us a quantum jump upward in our

perspective? Or are we going to be debating a minor tax cut vs. a larger tax cut, a budget slash vs. a larger military budget, giving the poor a small increase in social security and food payments, or take that all away from them through unemployment and inflation? These are all marginal questions. The essential question is to find the direction whereby we can make our economy powerful.

What do you think that bleak outlook will mean for the Black vote in November?

I think Blacks will substantially vote Democratic, even though I don't see much enthusiasm among them for the Carter candidacy. When push comes to shove, however, a lot of them will fear the consequences of a Reagan victory. I think one of the reasons he declined to address the NAACP convention in July was his lack of interest. But, politically, were he to have appeared there he could not have said anything which would have pleased the constituency he is counting on to carry him into office. Anything positive he could have said to Blacks would have been harmful to his candidacy. It is too bad, and it is also dangerous. Ours is really the only advanced industrial society where the indigenous population is fundamentally split on racial lines. To be sure, some of the European countries have ethnic migrant workers, but we are the only country in which

economic decay has its chief impact along racial lines.

I think the possibility of conflict is so obvious, and with that the possibility of violence and oppression, that our future is more chancy and nasty than that of other countries going through equally difficult times. Consequently, a very important moral choice is confronting us — whether or not we will get on with a positive consensus about economic policy and planning in order to avoid some very ugly prospects.

That is a sober statement. Do we need a strong leader, a new Franklin D. Roosevelt, in order to change that prospect?

More accurate is the appraisal that the function of leadership is in substantial stalemate. Give or take some very important decisions on war and peace, give or take some appointments to the Supreme Court, give or take a shading to the left or right on public policies, almost anyone who occupies the White House will find himself in a stalemate. Short range, I don't think much is going to happen of a positive nature because there are too many contending forces on all sides of all questions, which locks decisions into a narrow range of choice. And this stalemate means social and economic decay.

Is this a “no exit” situation?

No. I am only repudiating what a friend of mine calls “instant gratification politics,” that is, when we expect the next election to solve all our problems. The real leverage we need will come from giving people an awareness of the need for major change, and the possibility of accomplishing it in an evolutionary, decade-long framework.

But, meanwhile, as you have indicated, are we not in a very critical economic situation which calls for severe measures?

In the coming period I think we are going to hear a great deal more of the “seemingly plausible” rhetoric about the need to tighten our belts because we are in a difficult economic time. And belt-tightening seems logically to follow in such a time. But this raises the question, whose belt gets tightened? Belts are being tightened for some, and not for others. Extraordinary profits are being made by some major energy companies, by some of the grain dealers, by some land developers. An example in the area of land development is the taking over of inner city housing for condominium development for middle and upper class occupancy, called “urban gentrification.”

On the other hand, other belts are indeed being tightened. Social programs have been cut drastically. Low and moderate income wages are being held back substantially. City budgets have been slashed in their resource allocations.

All of this raises the issue of justice — is there any sense of fairness in the belt-tightening?

But even given the inequities in our present situation, is there any alternative to austerity?

The “seemingly plausible” belt-tightening argument obscures the deeper question of why this wonderfully rich country is not thinking positively about its future. If we were to manage our economy both intelligently and equitably, in my judgment we would be trying to deal with the problems of a positive rather than of a negative future. This is a larger order question than austerity. This is the wealthiest country in the history of the world. For example, we have far more energy than most other industrial nations. The Japanese have no oil. The Germans import most of their oil. If you compare our extraordinary wealth and our potential with the way in which we are mismanaging our economic affairs, the issue takes on a particularly acid poignancy. With equitable and intelligent economic management we would be looking to a positive rather than a negative future. As it is, we are going into a planned recession.

What do you mean by a “planned” recession?

The government's plan, through the Federal Reserve Board, is to slow down economic activity on the theory — I think an obsolete theory — that this will significantly impact inflation. More definitely it will cut down our production and cause the belt-tightening — some belts more than others — of which we have just spoken. Further, even 1% unemployment in this country means the loss of \$100 billion in output. Unemployment is expensive to the economy.

You spoke of our being more fortunately situated, in terms of energy, than a number of other nations. But, regardless, does not our shortage of energy pose a crucial problem for our economy?

I don't think the energy crisis is a necessary factor in slowing our economy. We know from study after study that it is possible to get by on very much less energy than we now use, by a combination of conservation and renewable resources. For example, the average gasoline mileage of our total national fleet of automobiles is in the order of 14 mpg. Yet we also know that we can easily achieve 40 mpg. Just think about that. We could easily save two-thirds of our gasoline if we were to move the auto fleet to this standard. That does not require magic. Actually, there have been a number of studies of cars for city use, projected for the mid-'80s, which can achieve 75-80 mpg. And in terms of housing, we know from the Princeton studies that the average house can improve its energy efficiency by 40-60% from simple insulation techniques. That means a potential 40-60%

increase in fuel efficiency, getting by on half the fuel now needed to heat homes. No, it does not require magic to conserve energy and still allow for technological progress.

But cannot even savings like that be quickly eaten up by inflation if it continues its present trend?

It is not well understood that inflation is socially discriminatory. It is heavily concentrated in the areas of necessities, which makes it peculiarly burdensome to lower and moderate income families. If the price of yachts goes up, that does not affect many people. The inflation we have, however, is concentrated in food, housing, health care and energy. Last year the rate of inflation in those areas together was 17.6%. The inflation rate of everything else in the economy was only about 7-7½%. The significance of this is that the average family in the bottom 80% of the population spends 60-70% of its income on those necessity items. The bottom 30% spends 90% of its income on those items. And the bottom 10% spends 120% of its income on those necessities.

How can people spend 120% of their income?

That is a mathematical figure. What it means in reality is that they have to go into debt, probably borrow against their house if they are elderly and own a home. It means some have to steal to get their groceries. So when inflation is concentrated intensely in these necessity areas, it is severely inequitable, and very, very destructive.

The problem is that our traditional solutions for inflation just don't work. Cutting the budget, for example, does not change the price of oil. Oil is on a separate track. As economists say, "It is sectoral." Or, again, if we try to combat inflation by tightening the money supply as we are currently doing, that increases mortgage rates which show up indirectly in increased rent. In my view we have to stabilize the price of energy and other key necessity areas — food, housing, health care. The intention had been that raising the price of heating oil would increase conservation. We won't increase conservation by raising prices any more than we have. All we will get is more pain, more human suffering.

The government openly admits the economy is in trouble. Is that why there is so much talk about tax credits, in order to stimulate the economy?

The presidential contenders seem to agree on only one point on economic policy, and that is tax cuts. There is no debate about whether to do it. Now, ours is an economy that is moving toward \$2.5 trillion. Tax cuts being discussed are in the range of \$25 billion, or 1% of our total economy. That

is about as effective in any realistic view of history as a mosquito attacking an elephant.

When you speak of revitalizing an economy which is verging on \$2.5 trillion, is there some central factor that can provide the necessary leverage?

The near-term outlook, the next three to five years, I think is rather bleak. We are going to hear a great deal of talk about reindustrialization. This is plausible talk, because we do need to rebuild and modernize our industry. But the current strategy of reindustrialization is mostly to cut back on wages and programs for the poor in order to free money to give back to industry on the theory — and I say "theory" advisedly — that this will help modernize industry. Yet most of the studies of tax credits allowed for new equipment show extraordinary amounts of waste.

For example, I often ask businessmen, "Would you invest in new equipment if you thought we were going into a recession and there wouldn't be any consumers?" The answer is "No." "Would you do it if you got a tax credit for new equipment?" "Well, I'd like the tax credit, thank you, but probably I'd hold back anyway. Oh, I might do a little . . ."

Let me put it this way. If we want to industrialize, we first have to decide that we want a decently managed, growing economy. Given that, the investments will be there. We need the assurance of an economy that functions. And if that credibility is there — what Keynes called "expectations" — then we can expect with absolute certainty that investment will follow. This requires us to plan better.

In short, national planning?

Economic planning is already here. The only question is who benefits from it, who controls it. We see it already in the auto industry where there is a new government plan. There is an energy plan, a steel plan, a transportation plan, an agricultural policy which is in effect a plan. We have a set of integrated policies which move monies, make regulations, provide tax incentives and loans, restrict imports, establish price levels, even establish government ownership in some parts of the synthetics industry.

Go further, and you see that very often the *de facto* control of the planning resides with the big industries and interests involved. So it is a kind of planning without the name, substantially controlled by the several sectors rather than by any larger economic or social values. For instance, we are currently "planning" for high prices in energy, rather than low. We are "planning" for high land value costs in both agriculture and housing. We have a "planned" system which insures that new housing is virtually out of the reach

of 95% of the society. For Americans, this is an historical novelty, because one thing we could always count on for two-thirds of our society was the chance for people to own their own homes.

This means that we are going through a period of great instability. Industrial plants are being relocated, pulled out of cities in the Northeast and upper Midwest — the shoe industry, textiles, rubber, steel, autos. This results in the uprooting of communities. The converse of that would be a policy, a public decision by Congress, that we are going to build up and stabilize jobs in our communities. I think community economic stability will be one of the turning-point issues of the '80s. We cannot have what Mayor Bradley calls "throw-away cities."

With problems of the order you have been describing, what do you think we can expect to see in the short range?

I think we are going to see a lot more inflation and unemployment, recession, energy crisis, military build-up. This will result in cutbacks for low-income people, the poor, minorities. I would expect that more racial conflict, as in Miami, is the end of that line, with the repression it will trigger. Our current economic stalemate and our slow move to the right results in economic decay, which leads to protest, which I think in the '80s will result in violence leading to selective repression. But if that trajectory is projected further it could well lead to massive repression which might resemble what used to be called fascism.

Recently the general shift to the right has emboldened truly fascist groups, such as the KKK and the Nazis, to march provocatively into low income areas, trying



What's the Conventional Wisdom this year?

specifically to generate a counter-reaction. This indeed reminds one of the early Nazi period where it was not the so-called progressive or activist groups that started the interaction. It was the right-wing that provoked it. That nastiness may well be on the increase in this country. And it leads to violence, and that results in law-and-order repression.

Do you see any evidence of the presence of the political factors necessary to turn those corners which must be turned?

It could be that we will see the emergence of a third party, given the way the political spectrum is breaking up. Or there might be the development of a major caucus in one of the parties. Ultimately, perhaps, there might be the taking over of the Democratic party, or a new citizens' party. Or John Anderson's efforts might unfold in a new direction which is unpredictable in the near term. But I am sure that these things will not happen in any positive way unless the ground work is done in advance.

What kind of ground work do you refer to?

My point goes back to the reference to "instant gratification politics." To the contrary, what is of the first order at this stage is the development of awareness, experience, strategy, the development of people. The second order question is what formal political expression that development might take. We are not ready for that question yet. I think the central issue — avoided in this presidential year — is can we achieve a consensus to get on with economic policy and planning for a positive future. A consensus requires, above all, equity. If it doesn't have equity there is no consensus, but a stalemate, which is what we now have. But such a stalemate, historically, is the breeding ground for social protest and new ideas and new directions.

You mean our present impasse may serve as a social compost bed, providing the nurture for new experiments, new directions?

Our time reminds me very much of the late 19th century when Populism was born. At that time, too, the nation's incapacity to act resulted in severe economic consequences. There were repeated recessions and depressions after the Civil War to the end of the century, and the increasing strength of the major railroads and the East Coast financial interests put a terrible hammerlock on other parts of the country. Farmers in the Midwest, the South, the Southwest and in parts of the Plains area were caught between railroads, money problems, the silver-gold conflict. Their lives were terribly squeezed by the failure of the national

economy to deal with their needs. It was in that period that there occurred the rise of Populism which was the root of progressivism and much of the social development that later took its most sharply turned form in the New Deal. During that time there appeared the "lecture series." The Populists did not use the term "organizers," but "lecturers," because the people who did the organizing went around to teach economics, popularly. And they were popular! I think that is the kind of period we are in.

You don't think it is wishful thinking to expect people to react to economic duress by thinking and acting creatively?

Well, reality is a powerful teacher. A reality that is becoming increasingly obvious is that the people who are running our economy and our economic affairs are failing miserably. And we can't get out of the box we are in unless we make some big changes. Those are two things that reality can teach. What we need to do further, both as individuals and as groups such as the church, is to start both national and local discussions of the values, and then the policies, that ought to govern our direction as a nation. That is the kind of work that has to start yesterday! I see no alternative to taking up that challenge and beginning, piece by piece, to rebuild the elements of ideas, of experience, of organizing, of activism, of awareness, that are the forging ground for the new direction. I see that as the most important work of the early 1980s.

What does that imply about the future of our traditional capitalist system?

I find such terms very difficult. When you see the steel industry coming to the government for major governmental assistance, when you find the energy companies hand-in-glove with the government for programs and plans to develop particular fields of energy, when you see leading businessmen urging various forms of government subsidy or loan guarantees — this is not free enterprise capitalism where the market decides everything. These are the elements of socialism, or what might be called "corporate socialism," because the corporations are the major participants.

I think we will continue to see the elements of the economy move well beyond free enterprise capitalism. The question is what values will govern that direction — whether it will be participatory and democratic, or elitist and centralized, even repressive.

We are going to see major changes which could be called fundamental changes in our economic system. We don't have the terms accurately to describe it. For example, the proposed worker/community ownership of a steel mill in Youngstown — would that be capitalism or socialism? Actually it is a new genre.

The fundamental question is what values will guide the changes. I think the role of the church could be strategic in the '80s in the forging of the value-content of our long-term economic policy. Very often the religious community hasn't wanted to deal with economics. They have preferred to deal with social consequences. But I think there is a crucial need to infuse a new economic direction with a value content. This requires getting one's hands dirty in economic policy, messing around in questions about industry and steel and autos, as the clergy did in Youngstown by trying to figure out how to run a steel mill in a way that benefits a community, and has some equity to it.

This is a whole new area of ministry, if you like. I've seen some very encouraging manifestations of it, and think it is very important. But I don't think the value content will come from any place else unless the church is involved. The effort will be rudderless. ■



Continued from page 2

perish as fools. So I cannot be a "neutral" counselor to young men as they grapple with the question of whether to register for the draft. But the law provides severe penalties for those who do not comply with the registration law. And one cannot in conscience advocate non-registration to 19 and 20 year olds without subjecting oneself to the same penalties they might incur. So I shall break the registration law. I shall "aid, abet, and counsel" non-compliance with the registration law — though I shall do this in ways calculated to make it difficult for the government to make a case. I hope and believe that so many thousands will likewise refuse to comply that, as during the Viet Nam war, prosecution will prove impracticable.

Just suppose that July 21 were the date for the beginning of registration of men and women alike for a period of service to humankind — with the option to choose military or non-military service. The urban slums could be rebuilt, illiteracy wiped out, land reclaimed, forests planted, lakes cleaned out, new parks and hiking paths built, children better cared for, hospitals and nursing homes more fully staffed, crime reduced, and so on. We could support an imaginative development like that! But a re-run of the old men-only military-only draft is all we're getting. What a dismal failure of leadership!

The Rev. Jack Woodard
Washington, D.C.

Church Opposes Draft

As a church, we wish to express our opposition to the proposed draft registration.

President Carter has made clear from the beginning that he intends for registration to be a signal, to the Soviet Union and the world, of a willingness to go to war. We believe that this action, which clearly embraces violence and alienation as a means of resolving conflict, is incompatible with the life and teachings of Jesus. Jesus' message is one of reconciliation. He calls us to love all men and women, regardless of whether we perceive them as friends or

Correction

In the article entitled "TMI: Who is Responsible?" by Lockwood Hoeft in the August WITNESS, the sentence reading that the Rev. Howard B. Kishpaugh, pastor of All Saints Episcopal Church in Hershey, was resident pastor to 50 evacuees at the Red Cross Shelter in the Hershey Sports Arena should have read 500 evacuees. Sorry.

enemies, and regardless of what the consequences may be to ourselves.

As Christians, we feel we must say no to draft registration and the willingness to go to war there embodied. Accordingly, should draft registration legislation be enacted, some of us will refuse to register and some will counsel others to refuse to register.

As a nation, we are facing a very serious choice. May God guide us and sustain us as we decide where we will put our trust.

**The Vestry and Rector,
Church of the Messiah
Detroit, Mich.**

Registration Insane

What an insanity for our country to call for a peacetime registration now in our nuclear age. Twenty-four minutes is the travel time for nuclear bombs from Washington to Moscow. A single nuclear weapon could destroy Washington or Moscow. With over 30,000 nuclear warheads we are less secure than ever in our history. We have no defense against the 20,000 Soviet nuclear weapons. They have no defense against our 30,000.

By calling for registration of youth we deceive the public into believing the registration will help us. It will further spread the lie that we have some defense against a nuclear attack.

Registration of youth is the first stage of involvement in war. It can easily be interpreted by the U.S.S.R. and others as an act in preparation for war and therefore a threat to world security. Registration and conscription indoctrinate young people with the

military spirit and military ideology. People so indoctrinated are likely to support U.S. intervention by force in the international affairs of other nations and in the struggle between countries where our economic interests are involved. Training large numbers of people in the use of arms and in violence as a means of settling disputes undermines our established methods of political change and prepares people for violent solutions to personal and social problems.

Registration and conscription violate Constitutional guarantees against involuntary servitude. They contribute in a variety of ways to the dehumanization of persons in our society and involve us in the war process. This is another step toward making war thinkable.

To become a soldier is to be ready on another's command (this is what a soldier's duty consists of) to kill all those one is ordered to kill. For the person who understands the true meaning of military service and who wants to be moral, there is only one clear and incontrovertible answer: such a person must refuse to take part in military service no matter what consequences this refusal may have.

**Richard McSorley, S.J., Director
Center for Peace Studies
Georgetown University**

Sounds Great

Your magazine sounds great, almost essential for us. Please begin a subscription and if you have any extra copies of your April issue on "The Black Church and Social Change," please send two or three copies. We do want to be on your list to get the series on Nuclear Energy too.

**Sister Elizabeth Daugherty
The Eastern Oklahoma Catholic
Tulsa, Okla.**

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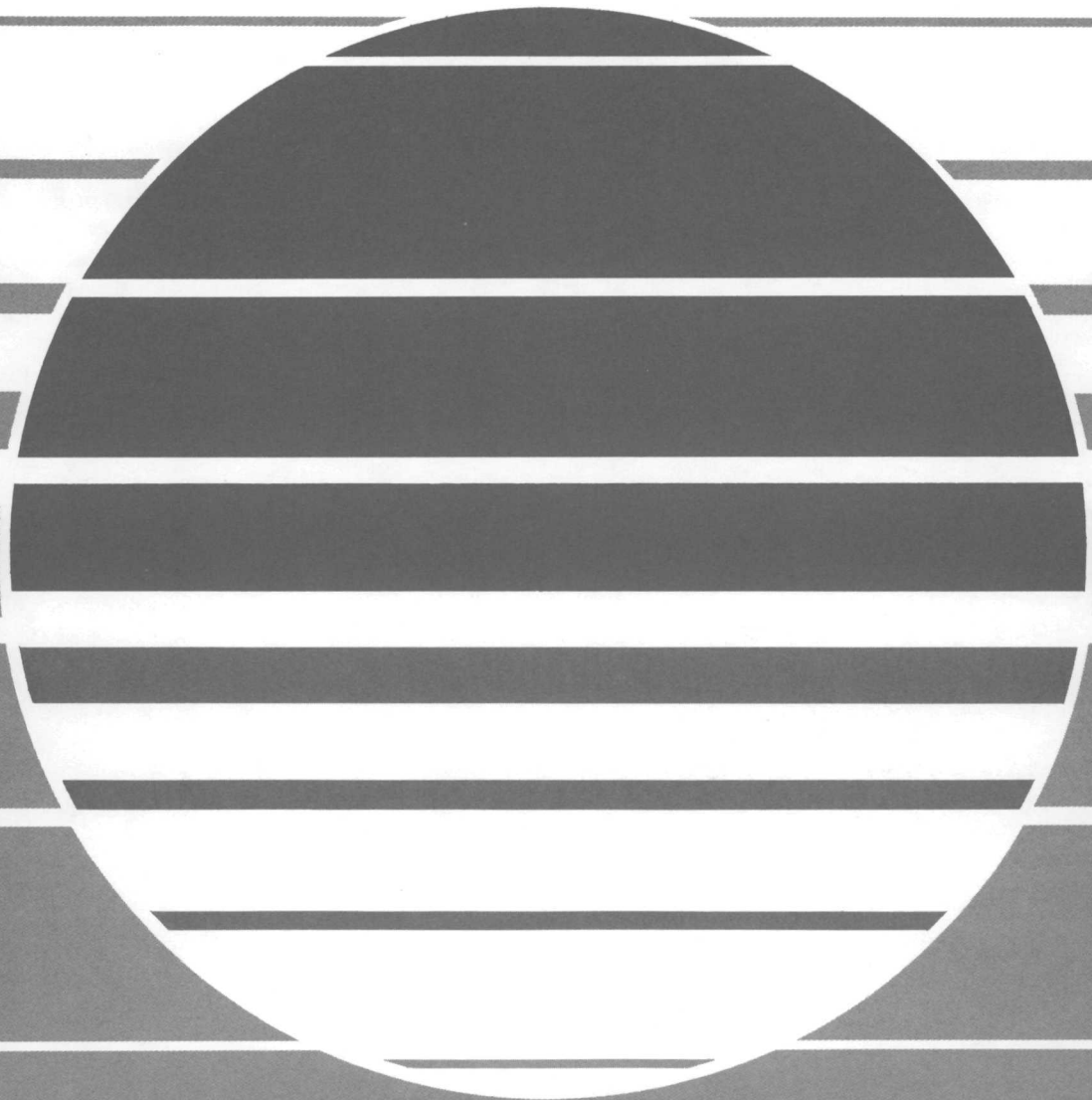
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THE WITNESS

VOL. 63, NO. 10 OCTOBER, 1980

Married Clergy, Separated Churches • Robert L. DeWitt

On the Ordination of Gays • Louie Crew

The Spirit of Anglicanism • William J. Wolf



Challenges Piccard

I was doubtful about writing to you, but my wife feels I should, so I must reply to Jeannette Piccard's article, "Was Mary Present at the Last Supper," (March WITNESS). First, she says, "None of the four Gospels says explicitly that any women were present." This says nothing except that the writers were not concerned with Women's Lib, Gentiles, Africans, Arabs, etc. Are we to argue that they were present, too?

To argue as she does, that two disciples went to "prepare the passover," and got bogged down with details of cooking is nonsense. I am the President of our Theological College Association, and as such have prepared for a meal for 40-50 people. I have arranged a hall (a room) and for caterers to cook and deliver the meal. This does not make the caterers a part of the association, nor does it make them partakers of the meal or included in the *after* meal speeches, etc. Miss Piccard concludes that because "the Cup" was distributed to "all" after the meal, others were brought in. The writers of both Matthew's and Mark's Gospels made it quite clear that only "the twelve" sat down to that Supper. Only members of our Association will partake of our dinner and of the ceremonies associated with it.

Miss Piccard says that the Passover meal is always shared with the women folk. She says, "It is inconceivable that Jesus or any of the Twelve . . . would have sat down . . . without the members of their families." This she says was Jewish practice only. Luke, a Greek would have thought otherwise, but she

agrees that both Matthew and Mark as well as Luke say that "only Jesus and the Twelve sat or reclined at the table." Were they lying to back up some chauvinistic idea?

No, Miss Piccard, you may have a D.D. but you also have a clouded mind unable to accept the facts as they are, and not what you would like them to be.

The Rev. Brian J. Stych, L.Th.
Northcote, Auckland
New Zealand

Piccard Responds

I would like to thank the Rev. Brian J. Stych, L.Th. for bringing out another refutation of Pope John Paul II's reported argument for refusing ordination to women; i.e., that there were no women at the Last Supper. Whether women were present or not is, as the Rev. Stych insinuates, basically irrelevant. We must all agree, I think, that there is nothing in Scripture to indicate that there were any Gentiles, Africans, Arabs, etc. present at the Last Supper. It is also evident that their absence has never been used as a reason to refuse them ordination.

The Rev. Jeannette Piccard,
Ph.D., D.D., D.H.L.
Minneapolis, Minn.

'Glass Houses' Approach

I have just read Henry Morrison's interesting and informative article entitled "Time for a New Church, Labor Alliance" in the July WITNESS. What bothers me about the article is its basic approach. Morrison uses quite a bit of space making value judgments about the labor movement and giving his blessing to "rank and file" actions within unions and then has the gall at the end to tell us we should not preach to or interfere in the internal affairs of unions. I wondered to myself: "If a labor leader were proposing an effective, *new church-labor alliance* would he/she spend a major part of the article analyzing the weaknesses, foibles, trivialities and internal battles of the major denominations, religious orders and their leaders?" I don't know *any* who

would start that way — and I know quite a few who are serious about their life in the church. I think they would acknowledge their limited understanding of church politics and get on with proposing a working agenda. Even more to the point, they understand that they have a lot of work to do inside their own limited, human institutions (unions) and assume that other people have the same task.

What is it that causes Christian liberals and progressives to be so preachy about the labor movement? We know very little about the best work that they do among the poor and unorganized. We have an image of labor leaders but we don't know enough of them personally to be able to assess their pluses and their minuses. We have a very limited understanding of the factors that cause them to make the decisions they do. Are we so engaged with the struggles of the working class that we can judge the role of unions and their leaders?

My central point is this: Why don't we work on reforming our own institutions, shut our mouths about what we know (and don't know) about labor unions and start working with unions and their leaders on issues we *can* work together on — e.g., unemployment, plant closings, the farm workers' boycott of Red Coach lettuce, the struggles of the J. P. Stevens workers, the Coors boycott, labor law reform, national health insurance, etc.

Wayne C. Hartmire, Jr., Director
National Farm Worker Ministry
Los Angeles, Cal.

Morrison Responds

Chris Hartmire rebukes me for allegedly holding precisely the concept of a conservative labor movement and labor leadership that my article was intended to demolish. My whole point was to demonstrate that the labor movement and labor leaders are *not* the mass of conservative and corrupt bureaucrats that some people still unfortunately consider them to be.

In answer to Mr. Hartmire's rhetorical

Continued on page 18

THE WITNESS

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Married Clergy, Separated Churches

by Robert L. DeWitt

Anglicans have fresh reason to ponder both their traditional closeness to and their deep divergences from the Roman Catholic Church. In August the U.S. Catholic hierarchy announced that the Vatican was open to receiving a number of clergy who recently left the Episcopal Church in protest over the ordination of women and the adoption of a new prayer book. These clergy, some of them married, had petitioned Rome to be allowed to serve in that church as priests. The answer, with qualifications, is affirmative.

Several reasons could be posed for this response by the Vatican to the dissident Episcopal clergy. First, there is an acute shortage of Roman Catholic clergy, and any acceptable male priests, though small in number, would be welcome. Second, it could provide a test of Rome's using married clergy. A departure from the celibacy requirement could make a significant change in its clergy shortage, and Rome has been under increasing pressure on this issue. Most significantly, the Episcopal priests involved, like Rome, reject the ordination of women. This move is therefore seen as a rebuke to the Episcopal Church for having "broken rank" with the other two major churches in the Catholic tradition — the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox — by ordaining women.

That Rome, however, has not made much more than a gesture toward these clergy is evident from the strictures which hedge the announcement. There is nothing exceptional in Rome's accepting a convert who fully accepts Roman Catholic doctrine and the authority of the Pope and bishops. Unmarried clergy who convert will be required to take the customary vow of celibacy, and married clergy will not be allowed to remarry, if and when widowed. Consequently, if these married priests were to prove a problem, it would be

short term. Further, the statement that the cases will be considered "on an individual basis" makes it clear that the clergy are not being dealt with as a group, although it does not make clear the questions involved in considering the individuals.

In short, the meaning of Rome's gesture toward these clergy is uncertain and ambiguous. And, needless to say, the move abounds with the inscrutability and confusion associated with any massive bureaucracy. The venerable Roman Catholic communion will have to negotiate the passage of these current problems as best it may.

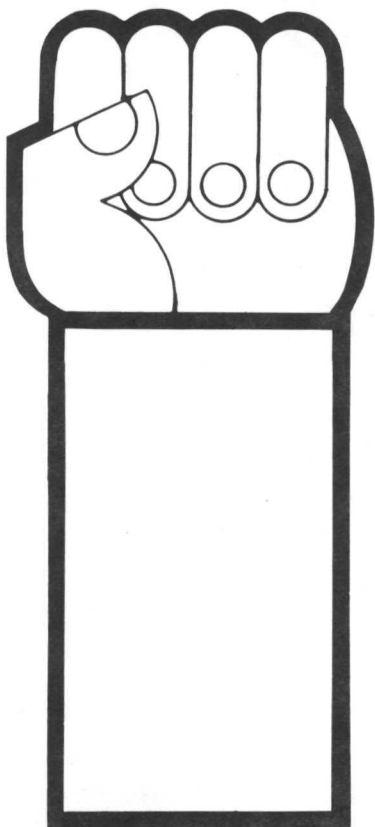
A quite different question is the reaction of the Episcopal Church, since the publicity surrounding this move has made it by no means a disinterested bystander. Rome has sent a message — indistinct but discernible — that Anglicans who object to the ordination of women are to be commended, and received (albeit with less than open arms). How should the Episcopal Church react to this message?

This event recalls the Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops in 1958, at which Bishop Stephen Bayne presented a report on "The Family and Contemporary Society." This report said that it had been common in Christian theology to place the procreative function of marriage first. The report then proceeded to displace procreation as the number one purpose of marital sex by placing it alongside mutual love and support, and other concerns as well. The report went on to stress the importance of wise family planning and endorsed the responsible use of contraceptive measures as a means of doing so. Lambeth enthusiastically approved. When asked what the response of Rome would be to a position so sharply at variance with its own, Bishop Bayne responded that

Continued on back cover

On the Ordination of Gays

by Louie Crew



Louie Crew is founder of *Integrity*, a national organization of gay Episcopalians, and the author of over 200 published items.

God's Left-Handers

Most of us are fussy about some rather silly things. As a composition teacher, I like to receive all essays written only on the front side of the paper. This requirement has not always sat well with my students, as I vividly remember from one episode some 17 years ago, when I was teaching at St. Andrew's School in Delaware. One rather bright lad repeatedly turned in all of his work written only on the back side of the notebook paper. Whenever I stacked the papers from the entire class, this lad's paper would turn up backwards, at first appearing to have no identification. Daily I would write the same complaint, *Use front side only!* But he persisted.

Exasperated, I summoned the offender to my study. "Philip, why do you insist on writing on the back side of your papers when I have expressly asked you not to do so?" I asked.

"But sir," he said gravely, "I don't ever use the back side. I have wondered why you write notes about this to me."

"Philip," I interposed, "Don't be cheeky. Look, here is the paper you turned in this morning as you ripped it from your spiral notebook. The frayed edges are all on the right-hand side. The frayed edges on your classmates' sheets are on the left-hand side. They have written on the front; you have written on the back!"

"But *they* are all right-handed!" Philip exclaimed.

"What does *that* have to do with it?" I asked.

I am delighted that our church has never gotten around to writing an official theology about left-handedness and left-handed persons. Judging from our practice with other minorities, I doubt that we would welcome participation in the dialogue from one so militant with the truth as was Philip. Philip was what we might call, if charitable, "a self-affirming" or, if uncharitable, "a self-professing" left-handed person. Even so, such persons as he would be no match for the biblical and other traditional evidence that we could dredge up to keep left-handed people in their place, requiring as many adjustments as possible to the right-handed standards of our Hebrew-Christian tradition. Theologians could

remind us that our Lord sits at the *right hand* of God. Of equal importance is the fact that God, too, is right-handed, as the psalmists emphasized repeatedly. For example, of God they said, "Thy *right hand* is filled with victory" (*Ps. 48:10*), "And thy *right hand* supported me" (*Ps. 18:35*), "Give victory by thy *right hand* and answer us" (*Ps. 60:5*), and "In thy *right hand* are pleasures evermore" (*Ps. 16:11*). Similarly, Jesus stressed his own claims to God's right-handed favor when he was asked by the high priest if he were the Christ. Jesus said, "I am, and you will see the Son of Man sitting at the *right hand* of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven" (*Mark 14:61-62*).

Furthermore, only one left-handed

"The location of the spiral determines which side is the front and which side is the back," Philip explained. "The side to the right of the spiral is the front side for right-handed people, so that they can avoid getting their hands caught in the spiral or the hooks of a loose-leaf notebook. The side to the left of the spiral or hooks is the front side for left-handed people for the same reason."

"Really," I muttered, wondering whether Philip had ever noticed that I am left-handed myself and had been catching my hand in spirals for years.

"Yes, sir. There are even some *left-handed* folks who don't know the front from the back, but of course, that is because we are usually taught by right-handed people. Why, some left-handed folks even have their lamps on the left side of their writing desks just as you do, sir, only because a grade-school health book said they should be there. Those books were written for right-handed people like you, to keep the shadow behind your hands; left-handed people need their lamps on the right for the same reason."

It was with no little embarrassment that I paused and quietly moved my floor lamp from the left to the right side of my desk. Philip looked on, much troubled.

"Thank you," I said.

"But I hadn't noticed, sir. I really hadn't!"

"Philip, I would be a real fool only if I didn't listen to your good sense. As you observed, we left-handed folks are usually taught all that we know about ourselves by right-handed people. I am very glad that you came along."

person in all of Scripture is given any honor. That was Ehud, in Judges, Chapter 3, who put his sword on his right side, the easier to stab fat Eglon, the King of Moab. Nevertheless, right-handed Hebrew scholars should have no difficulty in glossing this one lapse from right-handed standards, perhaps by discovering evidence that Ehud might at least have had the decency to be celibate or in some other way to "image" right-handed supremacy. After all, just 17 chapters away in Judges the offending Benjaminites, warring against their brother tribes, mustered 700 left-handed men—"everyone could sling a stone at a hair and not miss!" (20:16)—but the victory went instead to Israel and "the men that drew sword."

The evidence for God's preference for right-handed people is truly formidable. The preacher reminds us: "A wise man's heart is at his right hand; but a fool's heart is at his left" (*Eccl. 10:2*). St. Paul talks about the "right hand of fellowship" (*Gal. 2:9*). Jesus suggests that the left hand is untrustworthy: "But when you give alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing" (*Matt. 6:3*). Note that the right hand enjoys the privilege of agency. The Latins were so wise as to name the left direction *sinister*, suggesting the evils that attend it. Yet nowhere is the correct theological indictment of left-handedness clearer than in Christ's vision of the Last Judgment in *Matthew 25:32-24, 41*:

Before him will be gathered all the nations, and he will separate them one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and he will place the sheep at his right hand, but the goats at the left. Then the king will say to those at his right hand, "Come, O blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. . . ." Then will he say to those at his left hand, "Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. . . ."

Against such evidence, surely the left-handed are stupid to claim that they are included equally in any of the other promises of the New Testament. Surely God did not mean, "Whosoever believes in God shall have everlasting life" (*John 3:16*). The clearer implication is that such blessings are reserved for "whosoever is right-handed" or "whosoever has the proper psycho-sexuality and believes!" How dare anyone suggest that such second-rate folks be considered for ordination? How could they possibly "image" forth a God who is at once right-handed and heterosexual?

Of course the analogy of homosexuality to left-handedness is imperfect, as are all analogies. Notably, acts of left-handedness have never been crimes in our culture, while homosexual acts are still felonies in over half of our United States. My humor may be risky in a discussion of such grim reality, but humor can perhaps preserve us.

I firmly believe that in raising the issue of whether to ordain lesbians and gay males we are as silly as we would be in asking whether to ordain left-handed people. Knowingly and unknowingly we have been ordaining persons from both groups — the left-handed and gays — throughout all Christian history.

Members of both groups have served as well and as badly as anyone else. Their only claims to special attention are the examples of stupid prejudice which the right-handed and heterosexual majorities have heaped upon them.

To debate even the possibility of ordaining persons by such secondary criteria is to obscure the important principle that ordination is a privilege, not a right, and it is a privilege the church bestows upon those in whom it recognizes God's calling. Neither heterosexuals nor homosexuals, neither males nor females, neither blacks nor whites, as categories, can lay any legitimate claims to special rights of ordination. Bishop William White affirmed this principle in 1795, when he ordained Absalom Jones, a black; Bishops Robert DeWitt, Daniel Corrigan, and Edward Welles affirmed this principle when they ordained 11 women to the priesthood in 1974; and Bishop Paul Moore affirmed this principle when he ordained the Rev. Ellen Barrett, a lesbian, in January, 1977. Even Presiding Bishop John Allin, hardly a revolutionary, told me only recently, "Of course anybody who had the decency to read Paul Moore's own explanation of what his diocese was doing knew that he was ordaining a person, not a class!"

People frequently ask my gay male spouse, "Why did you marry a white man?" He didn't: he married *a person* who is white. Likewise, I couldn't marry Ernest Clay's blackness even if I were fool enough to want to. We ordain *persons*. We marry *persons*. God loves *persons*.

Of course one's color, gender, and sexual orientation are important gifts that one brings to ordination, marriage, baptism, and confirmation. Color, gender, and sexual orientation potentially augment who we are, but we are not reduced to them.

In the past five years I have talked with at least a dozen bishops who admitted that they have knowingly ordained persons who are gay, some with the tacit understanding that the gays were committed to celibacy, others with the hope that the gays would exercise discretion. Many scores of heterosexual bishops and other clergy have acknowledged their awareness of many gifts to our church from gay persons, both bishops and priests, through past and current ministries. The 1976 General Convention stated: "We make grateful recognition of the substantial contributions which homosexual persons have made and are making to the life of our church and society." Certainly we are foolish to debate whether to do what we have been doing for centuries and what we will continue to do for more centuries, whether we know it or not, whether we want to or not. Ordination of homosexual persons is a simple matter of fact.

More Credible Focus

What is at issue is not ordination, but a narrower, more political phenomenon: the fact that more and more left-handed people are learning to avoid the spiral wires and notebook hooks, that more and more gay bishops, priests, deacons, ordinands, professors, and seminarians are asking why heterosexual outsiders should be allowed to set the sexual parameters for a group whom they do not know or understand. We would have a more credible focus if we debated whether the church should allow ordinands to be candid or what kinds of penalties should or should not be imposed on those gay clergy who are becoming candid after ordination. Better still, we might discuss how the church can become a safer place for gay and lesbian honesty.

At this time in history most gays are

not about to challenge the hetero majority and thereby risk their bishoprics and cures. (Some of us left-handed folk still fork our food with our right hands, just to avoid the hassles.) Nevertheless, sexuality embraces deeper recesses of one's identity than does left-handedness, and thus accommodations to hetero expectations are potentially more threatening to one's wholeness, one's integrity, than are accommodations the left-handed make to the world of the right-handed. In counseling scores of gay clergy and in becoming friends to dozens more over the last five years, I marvel at the strength that most of them muster, often through very dire circumstances. I would like to see us prepare a space for the candor of those who are ready to be candid. Those committed to celibacy seem no less desirous and in need of such a space for candor than are those committed to relationships.

People often grow irrational in estimating what a space for candor might mean, say, for a parish priest. I asked a close friend who is vicar of a mission in the Chicago Westside how his parishioners had taken his increasing visibility as a gay spokesperson, and he chuckled: "Darling, I have been at the side of every person in that parish at a time of real crisis many times over our 17 years together. We have never made it our business to hide our humanity and our common needs from one another. They would never think of being hostile upon learning a bit more about my humanity, and many rejoice at the obvious growth that I am experiencing as a full person."

Another parish priest who lives with his lover as a racially integrated couple in another city has shared reports of the slow but clear progress that is being made as more and more parishioners discern that they are not merely roommates and that the warmth of their relationship together is even more

beautiful than was the warmth which they had shared as individuals within the same parish setting.

Another gay friend invited me to a full day of festivities with his wife and three of his four children, each of whom individually took me aside at different times in the day to tell me how very beautiful life had been with the priest-father since he had decided to be open with his sexual orientation. His wife told me that at first she had considered divorce, especially since she had felt devalued in the first shock of his revelation. "Then I realized what a special husband I have, how very much he has always loved me and the children even above what are his more vital biological promptings. His wanting to share with me the fullness of who he is has made him seem to love me more than ever he could have when he had to hold back so important a part of himself."

These priests uniformly have had to face real losses of respectability with some parts of the community when the word has gotten out, but they have experienced a corresponding deepening of their understanding of real community, of genuine religion.

Some of their closeted counterparts are often much more troubled, even though much more comfortable financially and socially. Many of them have lost a sense of vitality in their faith and in their commitment, often retaining a strong desire for proper form or for a position of power in ecclesiastical politics.

Of course not all who are candid experience personal growth and freedom, and not all who are secretive experience a spiritual diminution. Life is much more complex than that. Some of us have been companions with misery so long we don't know how to take Grace when it waits in front of us for the asking. Nevertheless, a church which avoids preaching to gays, as gays, that Amazing Grace is thus readily available

risks the fierce penalties Christ promised to those who would interfere with little ones.

Dollar Commitment

Up to this point, the church has been particularly egregious with any claims to be really concerned about any gay people, priests or laity. "I love you" always carries a dollar commitment. When our church really cares for folks, it builds missions, even if leper colonies at the antipodes. Those who claim to "love the homosexual sinner, but not the sin of homosexuality" have so far been very cheap in this sentiment. The would-be healers have not built so much as one clinic or half-way house even for those homosexuals who claim, as scores used to claim, that they want to try to become heterosexuals. One of the new diocesan "healing" ministries hired an untrained "ex-gay" and set him up in a two-bit practice which he used as a base for seducing his clients; and another "healing" agency in the Episcopal Church is staffed by folks with no professional credentials. Surely the Episcopal Church can do better than this!

I am amazed at how few contacts with gay peers have been maintained by those religious people who most frequently are quick to judge us. The bishop who wrote the pastoral which influenced the House of Bishops at St. Lucie to urge a moratorium on ordinations until after General Convention, has told me that he has almost no known gay acquaintances; and his major information about us has come from books by folks who often had no more personal contact, except perhaps with those of us so unfortunate as to need a therapist. He did get some vivid reactions from a group of seminarians who dashed off to one of our bars and came back with stories about our special problems, notably no different from the problems that they

would have encountered at almost any equivalent heterosexual bar where they might have taken their prurient interests.

Another spokesperson actively opposing gays in our church is a theologian who has gained most of his information by reading gay pornography. I would hesitate to learn about heterosexuals even through their *serious* literature, of which I am a "professor," since that literature usually celebrates hetero adultery and hetero promiscuity more than heterosexual's spirited realization of the love of Christ. Just because the heterosexual orientation is marketed with toothpaste, automobiles, and just about any other commercial product, I am not about to reduce heterosexuals *per se* to crass animals; and I deeply resent insensitive and reductive observations which most heterosexual clergy make when taking brief forays into our lesbian and gay community.

Do not misunderstand me. I believe that heterosexuality is fine, *for heterosexuals*. I spend most of my time and energy teaching offspring of heterosexual unions; and often I have more time to care for them than their parents have had or have used. I strongly support the family and would like to see the institution restored to more vitality, especially to find it a safer place for the 20 million gay Americans whose families have flagrantly denied their care and concern.

I am troubled that instead of a vital and caring model of heterosexuality, our culture often preserves an idol, especially among church people. Both heterosexual and homosexual intercourse by themselves seem paltry images for the love of God unless divine and human personalities are superimposed. Surely one is idolatrous to claim to see the likeness of God's love for the church every time *any* man and woman couple. By the same token, when *any* two human beings witness

through their coupling something of the love and caring which God makes possible, an outsider is extremely perverse to turn on the light to check out the genital plumbing. Certainly Holy Orders should be more purposeful than merely to idolize sexual imagery of whatever sort.

Once early on in my relationship to Ernest, my vicar called me in to shout, "By living as if you are married, you two are making a mockery of the Christian home. Why don't you each go get you a woman and marry?"

"Father, would you want one of us to choose your daughter?"

"That's beside the point. The Bible says, 'Be fruitful and multiply.'"

"But father, you have not been fruitful and multiplied," I reminded him.

"We've had six children!" he shouted.

"But I understood that those were all adopted?" I asked.

"Well, we *raised* them!"

"But Ernest and I could do that."

When I met with Bishop George Murray's Commission on the Church and Human Affairs as they drafted their supportive statements later passed at Minneapolis, I was deeply moved by Bishop Murray's hesitancy at one point: "We are falling into the same old trap which the church often falls into; namely, we are busy telling the rest of the world to do what we are not prepared to do ourselves. We tell others, 'Don't discriminate,' yet we refuse to be open in our ordination processes."

Let us not be naive. The church gives to gay males and lesbians with one hand ("We love you") and takes away with the other ("but . . ."). By such tactics the church currently leads in authorizing the stigmas which hooligans translate into more tangible harassment. I simply cannot feel that heterosexuality is now so insecure and that heterosexuals are so loveless as to require these processes to continue indefinitely. ■

Sincerely Yours . . .

Letters to the Editor in this issue of THE WITNESS provide a lively exchange between you, our readers, and three of our authors: Jeanette Piccard, Henry Morrison, and Harold Freeman. The letters exemplify the tradition of dialog and debate which has characterized THE WITNESS in its earlier history, and over the past seven years of its re-birth. This particular month, the controversy centers around the issues of sexism, the church and labor, and socialism.

Incidentally, we don't want to belabor the point, but Carolyn Taylor Gutierrez, who together with you, our readers, brought an Associated Church Press Award to THE WITNESS last year for our articles on the oppression of clergywives, still enjoys a dramatic response (See "WITNESS Readers Liberate Clergywife," July issue). Her latest mail brought a query from Abingdon Press as to whether she might do a book on the subject. And the religion editor of the *Florida Times-Union* in Jacksonville, who is doing a series on marriage, also called to interview her about clergy marriages. *Ad astra*, Carolyn.

Frequently, we are as proud of the letters that do not make the pages of the magazine as those which do. Some examples:

Recently Jane Mara of Alexandria, Va., wrote that she liked our feminist outlook and wanted to support us.

Toward that end she enclosed a check for two subscriptions "for women in prison." We offer THE WITNESS free to any prisoner who requests it, but we deeply appreciate her gesture.

The aged and the young are among our most respected correspondents. Gray Panther Ruth Haefner sent a cassette of the unique funeral service held recently for her 96-year-old brother, Henry, who died in Portland, Ore. Henry Haefner, a noted forester, was author of a publication entitled, *The First 94 Years*. Our staff mourned, and celebrated, Henry's passing.

The Rev. Theodore Weatherly of Macon, Ga., forwarded us a letter from a 97-year-old parishioner to whom he had sent a brochure about the magazine who said: "I enjoyed reading it and it brought back many memories, for we subscribed to THE WITNESS for years. I was a great admirer of Bishop Irving Peake Johnson and read the magazine from cover to cover and enjoyed every article. I believe Bishop Johnson must have done much to guide my thinking. What a long time ago that was! I will be interested in seeing the 'new' WITNESS."

Student Jim Ackerman sent us greetings from Gardena, Cal., and offered this critique of his first year's subscription: "First, I thought it was a most provocative periodical, and although it was most irritating at times, it did provide some good ideas. This

by Mary Lou Suhor

year I served in student government at school and found that THE WITNESS was a real aid in my work."

Some of our readers have developed a more intimate and personal relationship, forwarding family news or sending Xeroxes of articles with recommendations that we reprint them. An illustration of the latter is the article by Gregory Baum in this issue, forwarded to us by Charles Long of Forward Movement publications, who saw it in *The Ecumenist*.

Perhaps our most prolific correspondent is Abbie Jane Wells of Juneau, Alaska, who hand-copies articles from various journals and keeps us posted on a variety of subjects, as well as sharing her engaging, homespun theological reflections on liturgical seasons of the year, which we use for meditations and sometimes share with our readers.

The unusual always crops up: An anonymous donor sent us a flyer from American Atheists, Inc., in Austin, Tex. Curiously, we found it as sexist as many church publications: "Atheism teaches that: There is no heavenly father. Man must protect the orphans and foundlings, or they will not be protected. There is no God to answer prayer. Man must hear and help man . . ."

Atheists of the world, shape up.

Of course we get our share of outraged "cancel my subscription"

letters. Like this one from David B. Barth of Los Altos, Cal.: "You and THE WITNESS stand for everything poisonous and destructive of Christianity and Western Civilization. I had known for a long time that the PECUSA was and is sick in morals and spirit but just how sick I had not realized until reading the past few issues of THE WITNESS. You promote class warfare in the classic teaching and tradition of communism. In short, you are not Christian but anti-Christ agents of Satan. In my judgment you are men and women, cynical and of evil intent and I tell you now, DO NOT send any more of your trash to my mail box."

Or, from the east coast, from W. Kenneth Tibbens of Steelton, Pa.:

"Please remove my name from your mailing list because as a Christian I cannot compromise my ideals with most of the writers of your publication. May I point out a few of my objections and observations: 1) If a Christian Congregation has a message of the "Good News" it will grow and flourish; 2) Christ makes all things new, therefore, lesbians and homosexuals are still an abomination in the eyes of the Lord; 3) The National Council of Churches supports all sorts of things, murderers and leftists openly engaged in closing our churches and schools and killing our priests and the faithful; 4) After 30 years of giving to mission churches and mission schools it appears our church leadership has let us down."

But to offset those come scores of others. Karen Kobey of Madison, Wisc., sent this gem, written with a bold, felt pen, which remains our favorite:

Dear Witness,

I have written you before but perhaps you did not receive my inquiries. Oh *please*, hear my plea!! I

miss you so much and I am clearly beside myself without your input (especially after having just returned from a most conservative Diocesan Council meeting where my delegation was clearly in the minority). I have not received THE WITNESS since last May and borrowing my chaplain's copies is just not the same as having my very own! I moved several times this summer and am fairly settled at the enclosed address. I realize not providing you with a forwarding address at first probably cost you something so please bill me . . . reprimand me . . . ANYTHING, but start sending my WITNESS, (including back issues I've missed). I'm having painful withdrawal symptoms.

Your magazine is such a burst of light and breath of fresh air — it feeds my energy to work within our church. Please reply as promptly as you can. Desperately yours.

Karen enclosed the following illustration at the bottom of her letter, with the caption: "Example of the 'WITNESS withdrawal syndrome' as seen in a progressive Episcopalian primate."





Moral People, Immoral Society

by Gregory Baum

Gregory Baum, noted Roman Catholic author and theologian, is on the faculty of St. Michael's College, University of Toronto. This article is excerpted from one which appeared under the title, "Values and Society," in *THE ECUMENIST*, Vol. 17, No. 2. Copyright by Paulist Fathers, Inc. Used by permission of Paulist Press.

Christians often lament the breakdown of values in our society. They tell us that we no longer share a common vision, that each person promotes his or her own career, that selfishness and apathy have become dominant characteristics, and that the social intercourse between persons at work and in the neighborhood is defined by impersonal, purely contractual relations. We become isolated, preoccupied exclusively with our own affairs, we lose the sense of solidarity, and even the intimate ties of marriage and friendship are easily undermined by the pressure of social life.

Some church people claim that we must make a new effort to introduce Christian values into society. What counts, they argue, is the conversion to God and the godly life, and once more people become committed to Christian faith and love, they will influence society, reintroduce Christian values, and make it work again as it did in the past.

One point I want to make is that the hope to insert Christian values into society is wholly illusory. The Christian ideals of love and loyalty, mutuality and sharing, justice and equity are of course very beautiful. They are rooted in biblical tradition venerated by Christians and Jews alike and are part of our cultural heritage. But in our society, these ideals are *private* values. They express how Christians — and sensitive people anywhere — want to relate themselves to their neighbors, their families and people closely associated with them. These ideals pervade the private lives of many dedicated persons, religious or otherwise. But the hope that these private values can become public values is wholly illusory. Why?

Public values are determined by the inner logic of the institutions that support our life and well-being, especially the economic institutions.

Our public values are not freely chosen; they are part and parcel of the process of production, the organization of labor and the distribution of goods. It is wholly illusory to think that we can infiltrate the market system with Christian values.

Let me clarify this assertion by giving a few examples. We need food today for many people who are hungry. Would it not be lovely, Christians say, if we could produce more food and make it available to people who are hungry? But how can we increase the production of food? Individual farms can produce more food only if they can sell it at a good price. If they don't, they lose money. Then they will not be able to pay their mortgage, purchase fertilizer for the following year, and repair their agricultural machinery. If a large agricultural company is asked to produce more food, it too can do so only if it can make a reasonable profit. If the president of a company decided, out of Christian generosity, to increase the production of food and distribute it in a manner that does not bring in a profit, he would lose his position very quickly. After all, the shareholders have invested their money to get good returns, and if a president does not look after their interests, he must go. What determines the production of food in society is profit.

What about housing? Generous people with a sense of justice believe that there should be housing for everyone in society. Would it not be lovely, they feel, if there were enough houses to go around. But when we

inquire how decisions regarding the construction of houses are made, we find the same basic rule: it is related to profit. Owners of construction companies may have the highest values in their private lives. But when they sit in their board rooms and decide how many houses and apartment buildings they shall construct, they make up their minds on the basis of the profit to be gained. They want to serve the community, of course, but the logic of the economic system determines that they can do this only if they make a profit.

The production and distribution of goods in our society follow the laws of the market. It is wholly illusory to think that Christian values can be inserted into this process. Of course, the market system has been modified, but the major pressure on it comes from monopolies and the coordination of various types of production in the same giant corporations. These corporations often control the market and determine the price they demand for their goods. The free market becomes an illusion here. Already in 1931, Pope Pius XI wrote the startling sentence: "Free enterprise has committed suicide; economic dictatorship has taken its place." The free enterprise system is still praised by the chambers of commerce in our society, but in fact the market is largely under the control of the giant corporations, and they, following the law of increasing profit, make decisions regarding the production and consumption of goods in accordance with their own rational interests. We now have a market that is largely controlled, but the logic of this control remains profit and competition, even though on a higher organizational level. The public values remain the same.

Some people, Christians among them, disagree with this analysis. They claim that it is possible to insert Christian values into the running of industrial and commercial corpora-

tions, and there are in fact Christians on the boards of directors who insure that these corporations are concerned with the well-being of society and serve the public good. As proof of this assertion these people point to the beautiful policy statements made by some corporations, revealing a sense of social responsibility. More than that they point to measures of social reform that have been supported by the corporations. More is involved here, it is argued, than the competitive morality of the market.

But are these convincing arguments? We have learned not to attach too much importance to policy statements; they are only too often written by the public relations department and are part of a tactic to disguise the logic operative in the institution. Since in democratic societies the large economic corporations must seek the support of public opinion, they have become concerned with their image and try to spell out their policy in terms of social responsibility. Still, the market has a logic of its own, which kind words do not alter. It is quite true, of course, that large corporations have often supported social reforms for the betterment of human conditions. Reform policies, we insist, are not necessarily against the logic of the market, for what corporations need for their prosperity is a stable society, untroubled by political radicals and a restless, discontent population. The best way to assure social stability is to promote social reform. From the middle of the 19th century on, liberal

economists have argued that it is important to raise the living standard of working people since then they too become customers. The ideal of a business civilization such as ours is that all people are producers and consumers. Social reforms supported by the large corporations do not go against the logic of the market; they are in accordance with it. The public values remain the same.

Sociologists tell us — and since our experience confirms their findings, we have no difficulty believing them — that public values have an enormous impact on people's private values. For a while people may nourish their ideals of life from a great religious tradition, but by participating in economic life, they acquire a new self-understanding, and, even without realizing it, they are transformed in accordance with the public ideals of profit and competition. We become concerned with promoting our own career; we think of our own advantage; we regard other people, if they are not related to us, as competitors, remain aloof from them, even suspicious, and seek a life that involves us as little as possible with the community at large. We dream of a government that keeps society tidy, protects property and investments, and leaves us alone to live out our private life without disturbance. Apart from the work we do to make money and promote our career, we want to live a private existence, have a good time, enjoy our hobbies, escape suffering and remain free of obligations. A lovely weekend at the summer house on the lake — this makes it all worthwhile.

We began this essay by referring to the growing lament on the part of many Christians that our society is suffering a dangerous decline of values. People become self-centered and unconcerned, they seek only their own satisfaction, they no longer experience loyalty and dedication to the common good. Sociologists tell us that the reason

for this is not an endless series of personal failures but rather the impact of *public* values, defined by the system of production, on the consciousness of individuals. Institutions create consciousness.

What follows from this is that Christians (and in general people whose vision of life is determined by sharing and cooperation) must become *critics of the present society*. To promote the illusion that personal piety and personal conversion can interject Christian values into society blinds people to the inherent power of society over consciousness. To the extent that Christians preach personal conversion and hold out the hope for the extension of private values to the public order, they pull the wool over people's eyes and in this sense actually help to perpetuate the system that generates egotism. The recommendation of virtue can be, under certain circumstances, the legitimation of an unjust social order. What Christian preaching must do instead is to make people critics of society.

Before mentioning the social teaching of the contemporary churches, let me briefly examine the two possible strategies people adopt when they discover the present economic system is responsible for the decline of values and the emergence of universal selfishness. There are two options, which I shall call "reformist" and "radical."

"Reformists" claim that competition and profit are not the only public values in society. In addition to the economic system there is the political system, democracy, which produces public values in keeping with its own institutional logic, namely equality and participation. Reformists do not think that the democratic institutions we have inherited in fact produce equality in society and allow people to participate in collective decisions that affect their lives, but they argue that the logic of the institution, however imperfectly it may

be working at the time, generates the desire for equality and participation and to this extent affects people's personal consciousness.

Reformists insist that the logic of capitalism is at odds with the logic of democracy. There is no room for equality and participation in capitalism; on the contrary, capitalism operates out of a hierarchical logic, with the owners and possibly the managers hired by them as the only ones entitled to make the important decisions. Neither workers (the producers) nor the customers (the consumers) have anything to say about the running of the economy. Reformers argue that modern society is characterized by a basic contradiction between capitalism and democracy, and that through political effort it should be possible to increase the power of democracy and democratic public values and in this way restrain the bent toward profit and competition and lessen its impact on personal consciousness. The reformists, we note, do not suppose that *private*

values can be interjected into society. What they contend is that the *public* values generated by democracy be made the dominant public values. They want democratic government to guide, restrain and foster the system of production and distribution, in accordance with some sort of New Deal economics. This is in fact the economic program pursued by the social democratic parties in the capitalist societies of the West. They believe that active political engagement aiming at the reform of the economic system will give the values of equality and participation greater social impact and actually produce a new consciousness, a new, community-oriented ethos, and a vision of life beyond egotism. Reformists would argue that the preaching of higher values is useless and even blinding and reactionary unless it be accompanied by active participation in the reform of the social order.

And what do the "radicals" propose? They argue that the democracy we have inherited does not in fact generate ideals



Those inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness have a tendency to alienate the government.

of equality and participation and does not constitute a counterforce to capitalism. At the beginning, democracy was the government of the owning classes, to whom the vote was restricted; and even when the vote was extended to non-owners, that is, to property-less workers, the government retained the power to protect the interests of the owners of industry and commerce.

Radicals claim that, to be elected, considerable capital is required, and, to the extent that parties accept funds from industrialists and businessmen, they will be open to their influence once they get into power. In fact, the party machinery of the traditional parties (and of social democratic parties as soon as they become successful) is so deeply intertwined with the economic elite that no democratically elected government can escape their power. The growth of the welfare state and the creation of labor legislation which we have witnessed in the Western democracies are not at odds with the interests of the owners of industry and commerce. The most far-sighted among them realized that a growing economy must extend purchasing power to all sectors of society — workers and farmers must also become customers — and that the extension of welfare to the victims of society and legislation to provide workers with a measure of security makes even the lower classes feel that they are part of the whole and benefit from the progress of society. But, the radicals argue, any of the social reforms that have been made have been of greater benefit to the owners than those who work for them. The institutional and cultural orientation toward profit and competition cannot be stopped, they argue, by the strategy of the reformers. The only thing to do is to replace the present economic system based on profit and competition by another one, based on sharing and cooperation.

The “radicals” were at odds with the “reformers” even though until World War I they belonged to the same political parties; but they did agree on one thing, namely that to preach a morality of love and justice without at the same time actively working for the reconstruction of society was promoting an illusion and engaging in reactionary politics. On the European continent, reformers and radicals tended to agree that the churches on the whole were dedicated to reaction. Their beautiful sermons created false hopes and hence upheld the existing order and the power of the ruling classes. In Britain, however, where Christians were divided between the establishment and the free churches, we find reformers and radicals who were actually inspired by the Christian message. They believed in the unity of faith and action. To use contemporary terminology, they realized that the preaching of love and justice is ideological unless it flows from, and is part of, a critical social engagement. To ask for new values in our society is politically responsible only if this request is founded upon a corresponding praxis.

To be a Christian today, I argued earlier, means to be a critic of society. Now I must add that to be a Christian today demands that one act out of this critical stance. It is curious that, in our day, this is not an extreme view held by maverick Christians at the margin; it is in fact the position endorsed by the leaders of the major Canadian churches. Let me document this for the Catholic Church in Canada. In their Labor Day Statement (1976), characteristically entitled “From Words to Action,” the Canadian Catholic bishops begin with a critique of the present economic system. They tell us that it produces maldistribution of wealth. It increases the gap between rich and poor, especially between rich and poor nations, and permits the control of the world’s resources to pass into the

hands of an even smaller elite. The present system, we are told, no longer serves the majority of people. What then must Christians do? They must reread the Bible to discover the social meaning of the Christian message. They must listen to “the victims of society,” for without their voice society cannot come to self-knowledge. Then Christians must speak out against injustice, inquire into the causes of poverty and oppression, and engage in political action to remove these causes from society. What is demanded, according to this document, is critique and corresponding action. What is demanded is a new praxis, and it is only in this context that the Christian message reveals its authentic meaning.

The Canadian bishops admit in their Labor Day Statement that at this time only a minority of Catholics follow this way of life, but they regard this minority significant since it challenges the whole church to greater fidelity. The bishops also admit that this minority is severely criticized by sections of the Catholic community. By what sections? The bishops claim they are “the more affluent and powerful” sections of the community.

What precisely should Christians do in order to change the system we have inherited? The Catholic bishops acknowledge that socially-concerned Catholics are divided on matters of strategy. In a subsequent Labor Day Statement (1977), the bishops spell out at greater length the political options made by dedicated Christians at this time. Allow me to explain the three distinct groups the bishops mention in their document. They acknowledge the distinction made in this talk between “reformists” and “radicals.”

Some Catholics, we are told, believe that the capitalist system can be reformed and made to serve the common good. It would, in fact, be easy to point to individual Christians in the

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The Spirit of Anglicanism

by William Wolf

The Rev. William J. Wolf, professor of theology at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, was an Anglican observer at Vatican II in 1962-63 and is the author of numerous books. This article is excerpted from Chapter 4 of *The Spirit of Anglicanism*, which he edited. Other contributors to the book were John E. Booty and Owen C. Thomas. Reprinted with permission of the author and Morehouse Barlow Co., Inc., Wilton, Conn. Copyright 1979.

I would like to present in compressed form a description of Anglican identity in terms of a distinctive Christian archetype. Anglicanism may be defined as a way of being Christian that involves *a pastorally and liturgically oriented dialogue between four partners: catholics, evangelicals and advocates of reason and of experience*. The word *partner* has been deliberately chosen to emphasize the need of the groups to remain in cooperative relations with each other.

As we have seen in the development of this definition, many, if not all, of its constituent phrases can be found in non-Anglican writers. Prof. W. H. Van de Pol, a Roman Catholic, goes well beyond his chosen discipline of phenomenology to prophesy about the future role of Anglicanism: "All Anglican Churches, however, are one in their conscious endeavor to preserve the apostolic faith and character of the church's worship of the first centuries, though trying to incorporate in it the contributions of the Reformation and those of their own time so far as they have positive and permanent value. This typical Anglican attitude in respect to tradition and enrichment is at the basis of the moderation and comprehensiveness of Anglicanism. It marks world-Anglicanism as being, as it were, a provisional prototype of the reunited *Ecumene*, the world-Christianity of the future. That Anglicanism comprises only a small number of Christians does not detract from that fact."

Whatever may be said of the insight of this analyst and of his prediction in the face of the sorry realities which often characterize Anglicanism when it breaks down under the pressures of its

mission, it suggests the need for Anglicans to take themselves more seriously than they often do and to look up from the internal squabbling to a deepened sense of their vocation. What that vocation may actually be needs greater precision than we have yet achieved.

The Anglican Communion is pledged to represent in a pastorally- and liturgically-oriented dialogue the four partners — catholics, evangelicals and liberal advocates of reason and of experience. The only way this can be done is to become, through the leading of the Holy Spirit, in Bishop Henry B. Whipple's phrase, the "church of the reconciliation." It means to be open and attentive to all the partners and not just to the favorite one. Reconciliation at home and within Anglicanism is the presupposition to becoming a reconciling agent abroad and within Christendom and humanity-at-large. This spirit can best be defined as a spirit of comprehensiveness. Lambeth has many times attempted a definition of this quality as, for example, in 1948, but its effort in 1968 is particularly useful for it arose in the context of ecumenical discussions with the Eastern Orthodox churches. They found "comprehensiveness" simply incredible and said so despite its obvious affinities to their own undefinable orthodox concept of "sobornost" ("conciliarity" or "catholicity"). It is interesting that Roman Catholicism since Vatican II has also begun to show more and more the spirit of comprehensiveness without giving official recognition to it as yet. The following description and defense of Anglican comprehensiveness (from *The Lambeth Conference, 1968*) is likely to become a classic statement well

beyond its special focus in the dialogue with Orthodoxy.

Comprehensiveness is an attitude of mind which Anglicans have learned from the thought-provoking controversies of their history. We are grateful to the Orthodox for making us think once more what we mean by comprehensiveness, and shall be glad to study the matter afresh with their help; for we realize that we have been too ready to take it for granted. We offer the following reflections to aid discussion. Comprehensiveness demands agreement on fundamentals, while tolerating disagreement on matters in which Christians may differ without feeling the necessity of breaking communion. In the mind of an Anglican, comprehensiveness is not compromise. Nor is it to bargain one truth for another. It is not a sophisticated word for syncretism. Rather it implies that the apprehension of truth is a growing thing: we only gradually succeed in "knowing the truth." It has been the tradition of Anglicanism to contain within one body both Protestant and Catholic elements. But there is a continuing search for the whole truth in which these elements will find complete reconciliation. Comprehensiveness implies a willingness to allow liberty of interpretation, with a certain slowness in arresting or restraining exploratory thinking. We tend to applaud the wisdom of the rabbi Gamaliel's dictum that if a thing is not of God it will not last very long (Acts 5:38-9). Moreover we are alarmed by the sad experience of too hasty condemnation in the past (as in the case of Galileo). For we believe that in leading us into the truth the Holy Spirit may have some surprises in store for us in the future as in the past.

Comprehensiveness can, however, become a snare and delusion when it is assumed that everything can be subjected to it. There are issues and sides to an issue that are not bound together by authentic complementarity. Such an issue is the ordination of women. It is either right or wrong and must be decided by careful theology and a determination to win through to decision. It cannot simply be postponed under a flourish of episcopal trumpets blaring the notes of comprehensiveness and diversity as it was by the Lambeth Conference in 1978. "We recognize that our accepting this variety of doctrine and practice in the Anglican Communion may disappoint the Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Old Catholic Churches, but we wish to make it clear (1) that the holding together of diversity within a unity of faith and worship is part of the Anglican heritage. . . ."

The issue, however, is precisely about "the *unity* of faith and worship" for the Anglican priesthood cannot be divided into a male branch acceptable everywhere within the Anglican Communion and a female branch, a local priesthood as it were, accepted within the ordaining Anglican churches, but subject to grievous discrimination elsewhere in Anglicanism. Our lack of self-confidence and our nervous concern for what Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Old Catholics will think of us is a one-sided "ecumenism." If we really believe in the apostolicity and catholicity of our orders and that we are not any more defective without them than they are without us, we should act with confidence in the expectation that they will respect our action even if they differ

from it. The tone of the resolutions suggests a weak plea to them to continue dialogue even if some of us have been a little naughty. The resolutions offer no theological interpretation for the ordination of women.

One would think these other churches would want to hear such theology and that they would be more likely to continue dialogue if they felt we were not mindless compromisers, but actuated by faith and capable of an articulate theology. The resolution on "women in the episcopate" in effect seems to imply that only male bishops can serve as "a focus of unity." Even on the pragmatic level the overwhelming support for these motions (316 for, 37 against, 17 abstentions) suggests that the conference could have asked for and received a much firmer endorsement of the ordination of women. Such an endorsement might conceivably have been just enough to stimulate a favorable vote on the issue some months later in the Church of England instead of the defeat of the issue in the priestly order. Sometimes the abandonment of the responsibility for leadership simply makes the continuing tasks of leadership and pastoral care more difficult.

It is important here to establish clearly the difference between the way Lambeth '78 handled the ordination of women by an improper resort to the concept of comprehensiveness and the proper use of this great principle in the decision of Anglicans to live together with varying conceptions of episcopacy and divergent views on the Virgin Birth. In the latter cases there has been a thorough theological wrestling with the issues and a resolution to-live-and-let-

live in which no person is discriminated against in the exercise of that person's ministry in the church. Lambeth 1978 failed to set its resolutions in a theological context and adopted motions that seriously discriminate against women priests and the possibility of women bishops in their ministries within the Anglican Communion. Much of the vitality and authenticity of the Lambeth 1968 statement on comprehensiveness has been compromised by this misuse of the principle as an expedient dodge for resolving this really difficult issue.

There is another aspect of comprehensiveness in which the finger of accusation should not be removed from the bishops at Lambeth and pointed to many theologians of the liberal or of the broad church category. They may be too ready, in their zeal to protect freedom of inquiry, not to challenge presentations by writers who really have given up the historic faith of the church on such central issues for Anglicanism as the Incarnation and yet who seem to want to maintain their standing as Anglican Christians. The issue here is not the suppression of truth, heresy trials or the denial of the imaginative attempt, say, to understand the divine dimension of Christ through the Jewish categories of Jesus or of the early Jewish Christian communities as against the very different later "incarnational" categories of Graeco-Roman culture. There is an entirely appropriate inquiry into the place of the ambiguous word *myth* with respect to the Incarnation. There is also a possible conclusion from such an inquiry that would deny the truth of Christ's mission.

John Knox has argued in *Theological Freedom and Social Responsibility* that a denial of the truth presented in the redemption of Christ, human and divine, should perhaps not be treated "as heresy" but "as acknowledged apostasy." He affirms that "such teaching is going on, even within the

Church, and that it is taking a destructive toll." One can understand Knox's concern and admit that any broad church "unitarianism" embraced under the supposed rubric of comprehensiveness would be an irresponsible position. The therapy, however, for this situation is continuing theological debate and confrontation with the issues in the conviction that truth is great and that it will prevail without too nervous action by "defenders of the faith" who may simply have mistaken some culturally conditioned expression of Christian truth for that very truth itself. The past history of theological conflict warns us against undue haste in condemning innovative teaching. If comprehensiveness can be wrongly used by

"Not only must Anglicanism be prepared to die to its own denominational structure, it must be prepared to die to its 'Englishness.' The days of the British empire and American imperialism are over."

ecclesiastics to dodge responsible action and by theologians to avoid responsible theological activity that witnesses to the historic faith in Christ, there is still another challenge in the appeal to comprehensiveness that touches every member of the Anglican Communion in his or her ecumenical responsibility for other Christians and for all humankind.

In order to follow its Lord who became a servant to humanity, the church must be willing to let go its hold upon its self-serving institutionalism. This is not easy, for churches, like all institutions, are notoriously conservative and self-protective. The inability of the church to give credible evidence of following Christ in this fundamental area is probably the greatest source of people's contempt for

and disillusionment with organized religion. Anglicanism, in committing itself to follow the way of comprehensiveness, has dared to face up to the need to die to what is specifically Anglican in order to be raised up by the power of God in an ecumenically resurrected church comprehensively Christian and human. The Anglican vision to be not Anglican Catholics in a denominational way, but "mere" Catholics in a future church, both Catholic and evangelical, was aptly described by Michael Ramsey in *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*: "While the Anglican Church is vindicated by its place in history, with a strikingly balanced witness to Gospel and church and sound learning, its greater vindication lies in its pointing through its own history to something of which it is a fragment. Its credentials are its incompleteness, with the tension and travail in its soul. It is clumsy and untidy, it baffles neatness and logic. For it is sent not to commend itself as 'the best type of Christianity,' but by its very brokenness to point to the universal Church wherein all have died."

Some Anglicans have vociferously repudiated this ecumenical vocation by ridiculing it as "a Freudian deathwish" or "Anglican hari-kiri." Even Lambeth 1948, after commending "the vision" of Anglican churches joining with others in their areas in a reconciled church "no longer simply Anglican, but something more comprehensive," felt it necessary to warn against premature severance from the Anglican Communion. Bishop Stephen Bayne, the first executive officer of the Anglican Communion, spoke and wrote tirelessly about the mission of Anglicanism not to believe in itself, but only in the Catholic Church of Christ. Paraphrasing Augustine, he described Anglicans as restless until they find their place in that one ecumenical body.

Not only must Anglicanism be prepared to die to its own denominational structure; it must be

prepared to die to its "Englishness." The second death may actually be harder than the first because it reaches into subconscious aspects of the psyche. The days of the British Empire and American imperialism are over. Actually, Anglicanism has made encouraging progress in authentic indigenization, especially in Africa where the Anglican churches express local customs and culture. Now at Lambeth there is a mixture of languages and colors as the older Anglicanism, with its too heavy burden of "Anglo-Saxonism," tries to die in order that its really catholic heritage may be born anew in the emerging Anglicanism of the future — which may someday even have to abandon the name "Anglican" as an embarrassment.

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traditional parties who are dedicated to serious reform and use their influence to affect party policy.

There is, however, a second group mentioned by the Catholic bishops. They are Christians who have despaired over the present system and participate in socialist movements. In this context, the Canadian bishops insist that Christians may not favor socialist movements that are wedded to Marxist philosophy. Why? Because this philosophy includes authoritarianism, contempt for persons, and atheism. Still, it is remarkable that while "socialism" was a bad word for Catholics for such a long time, it has been rehabilitated in the recent papal and episcopal teaching. In 1931, Pope Pius XI taught that Christians had to reject socialism in all its forms, both revolutionary and democratic, while in 1971 Pope Paul VI recognized that in many parts of the world Catholics have become very attracted to socialist movements and see in the socialist reconstruction of the economy the realization of their Christian ideals. They think that by struggling for

When it is most alive to its mission and its insights the Anglican spirit is aware that the only unchanging reality is "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, today and forever" (Hebrews 13:8) and that fidelity to the act of God in Christ to which its favorite doctrine of the Incarnation points is what provides the ultimate orientation of spirit and the strength for pressing on in adventurous pilgrimage toward new spiritual discovery and toward combat with the forces of evil and oppression. Knowing that the center is firm in Christ and his liberating power, the Communion will courageously face change understanding that its time-honored sanctities are carried in earthen vessels. "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels to show that the transcendent

power belongs to God and not to us" (II Corinthians 4:7). The spirit of Anglicanism combines tentativeness of statement about itself with finality of commitment to Christ. It is a prophetic spirit daring to act and witness for the liberation of the oppressed. The spirit of Anglicanism ought in its rich resources to find the wisdom to retain its identity and yet to develop through constructive change to meet the demands of the fast-approaching world of the 21st century. Unless one changes one cannot even remain the same; yet the change must remain continuous with what went before. The spirit of Anglicanism is the spirit of one way of being Christian in today's world. It needs all the other ways too that the Holy Spirit has revealed and will reveal. ■

CREDITS

Cover, page 4, Beth Seka; page 10, graphic from *Plain Speaking*, magazine section of the *Rebel Worker*; page 12, cartoon by Doug Brunner.

socialism they can participate in a movement of world-historical importance. Needless to say, the Pope was not speaking of the Eastern bloc nations where bureaucratic centralism has created a system that is closer to state capitalism than to socialism. The Pope refers here, I think, to recent developments in Africa, Asia, Latin America and parts of Western Europe. Pope Paul recognized the existence of many forms of socialism and insisted that Christians can cooperate only with those that do not violate Christian principles and do uphold human rights.

What is the third group of Christians mentioned by the Catholic bishops? There are Catholics, the document says, who work for a social justice beyond capitalism and socialism. What Christian groups do the bishops have in mind? They may be thinking of the cooperative movement that advocates

co-ownership of economic enterprises and the empowerment of the ordinary people. They may also have in mind ecological movements that work against the expansion of industry to try to protect the environment. The bishops may also have in mind recent industrial experiments in Quebec where workers assumed responsibility in operating their own factory.

I have documented from the Roman Catholic Church in Canada how Christians answer the question of what to think and what to do in today's world. From the policy statements of the Anglican Church, the United Church and the other major churches in Canada it would be easy to show that these Christians have come to the same conclusions. Christians can no longer seriously defend the idea that spiritual values can be extended to the operation of the large economic institutions on which depend the well-being of Canadians and the survival of the world. What is demanded today is prophetic criticism of the present order and a corresponding praxis, either reformist or radical, that aims at a new economic order. ■

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question: if a labor leader felt that "the weaknesses, foibles, trivialities and internal battles" of the churches were standing in the way of a church-labor alliance, I believe that leader would have not merely the right but the obligation to point them out, and that such frankness, met on both sides by an openness to constructive criticism, could only strengthen the alliance. I do *not* think, however, that weaknesses in the labor movement are primarily responsible for the current weakness of ties between the church and labor, but rather an image of the labor movement in the minds of church people which may have been partly true of some labor leadership in the past but is increasingly less true today and was in fact never entirely true of labor leadership generally. My brief review of labor history was intended to explain how that false image arose, not to belittle the significant contributions unions and union leadership made to social justice struggles, even when hard pressed by McCarthyism.

I dealt at some length with rank-and-file movements, first, because they are a key element in the current labor picture and may well represent the direction labor will take in the future, and, second, because I am convinced that contact between church and labor needs to take place not only on the leadership-to-leadership level but also on the rank-and-file level on both sides. I myself would not be pleased if labor people limited their communication with the Episcopal Church to the House of Bishops.

To Mr. Hartmire's final comment that labor and church people must now move forward to developing a common working agenda, I can only say "Amen!"

Henry Morrison
Madras, Ore.

Disgrace to Church

May I tell you what my family thinks of the July WITNESS? It's a disgrace to the Episcopal Church, or rather to any people you hope to bring TRUTH to.

The article by Harold Freeman on

Socialism is so juvenile it's pathetic. I certainly won't tell Mr. Freeman if he likes Socialism then go to a Socialistic country, but I urge him to look at the suicide statistics of Socialist countries, the contentment of the people — or lack of it through frustration, and the alcoholism of these countries.

Isn't it exciting to read an article about Henry Morrison screaming about McCarthyism and quoting C. E. Wilson? Is Mr. Morrison serious that the Church Labor Alliance can be influenced today by what someone said in 1946? Why not discuss some of the other events and people in Government since '46 or is Mr. Morrison so old or so limited in his views that he can only cover Labor and what they want — in the '40s and '50s?

We are heartsick over this publication and we never want another issue in our home. It has nothing to do with the promulgating of Jesus Christ's message.

Mary H. Atkinson
Wellesley Hills, Mass.

Challenges Freeman

If the United States were living under the unrestricted, unreformed capitalism of the 19th century, I might find Prof. Freeman's idealistic view of humanity and of socialism ("If Socialism Comes to the United States . . .") more appealing. That, fortunately, is not the case. If all were economically well in the socialist countries of the world, I might find his article in your July issue more hope producing. That, however, is not the case either. If I were attempting to defend capitalism and American economic life in 1980 as free from sin, pain, injustice and even greed, I would be as unrealistic about their condition as he is about socialism's promises.

It is surprising to see that Prof. Freeman has not grasped the truth carefully pointed out by Frederick Lewis Allen as far back as 1952 (in his book *The Big Change*) that "the United States is not evolving toward socialism but past socialism." Allen quotes Prof. Sumner Slichter, no mean economist, who states that "one of the basic changes which have taken place in America during the

past 50 years is 'the transformation of the economy from one of free enterprise to one of government guided enterprise.' " Prof. Freeman might also recall the judgment of Russell Davenport (in *U.S.A. The Permanent Revolution*), "what counts is that the old concept that the owner has the right to use his property just the way he pleases has evolved into the belief that ownership carries social obligations and that a manager is a trustee not only for the owner but for society as a whole. Such is the transformation of American capitalism. In all the world there is no more hopeful economic phenomenon."

If, however, there were any one statement in his article which ought to send cold chills along the spines of his readers, in my judgment it is, "There can be no claim that socialism will be free of losses. Socialist society must face the problem of personal liberty versus the control needed for planning." Considering the ways in which existing socialist economies have abridged, denied, reduced, even eliminated the rights — and often the lives — of individuals in the name of better planning, this is hardly an encouraging or heart-warming statement. For myself, I can only respond to such an invitation in the gin-clear phrase of Sam Goldwyn, "Include me out."

No economic system is better than the individuals who plan it, construct it, operate it and tinker with it. The inherent problems of the system are complicated by the fact that those individuals have their perceptions and goals distorted by sin which infects both the mind and the will. There is no fail-safe economic system because there are no fail-safe human beings. Until there are, the transformed, post-socialism capitalism of the United States seems to me to offer the best hope for each person as well as for all persons.

The Rev. John R. Frizzell, Jr.
Annandale, Va.

Re: Private Property

Harold Freeman, writing of socialism, states that socialism begins with certain assumptions, to which "are added the

beliefs that the desire to own anything privately is not 'human nature,' but rather, human nature historically conditioned by early capitalism . . ."

The basis for this statement escapes me. The desire to own things privately was so thoroughly entrenched by Moses's time that the giver of the Ten Commandments forbade the coveting of others' property. Was "early capitalism" already around in those days, and was the commandment designed to protect it? Or was the commandment given in recognition of the individual human being's right to be secure in his own private possessions?

It seems to me that Prof. Freeman's socialism would be on a sounder foundation if it held the belief that the desire to own things privately is *indeed* "human nature"; that capitalism is one of several politico-economic systems that have evolved as a means of satisfying that desire; and that any socialistic system, if it is to be viable, must take that desire into account. Public ownership of essential production and essential service industries, yes; but beyond that socialism had best not go, lest its idealistic dream become a nightmare.

I am not mounting a spirited defense of capitalism. But the system is at least pragmatic; it recognizes "human nature" for what it is. Socialists would be well advised to do the same.

Don Johnstone
Albuquerque N.M.

Coming Up . . .

in THE WITNESS

• **WHY BOYCOTT NESTLE'S?** Mary Jane Baker updates the boycott initiated in 1977 because of Nestle's marketing practices of baby formula overseas, and discusses the questions: Why single out Nestle? Why punish a company for marketing a product that is essential when mothers can't breastfeed or don't choose to do so? In the November WITNESS.

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Freeman Responds

Socialists are hardly blind to the many errors made by socialist governments. The latter have much to learn, and note that they have not had much time to learn. But one does not condemn motherhood because some children are beaten.

Careful (non-socialist) research suggests that the higher levels of suicide and alcoholism in some socialist countries are the consequence of meticulous record keeping, not the consequence of socialist political forms.

I do not wish to offend Mrs. Atkinson or Mr. Johnstone, but I would conjecture that if Jesus or Moses found it possible to endorse any modern political ideology, it would be socialism. Mr. Johnstone's letter deserves more space than I have. I would only say here that 5,000 years of male-dominated society had much to do with the world of private property encountered by, and in my view unfortunately accepted by, Moses.

The first paragraph above also applies to the Rev. Frizzell's thoughtful letter. I would have to take issue with his final paragraph. One hardly needs to be a Marxist to observe that political forms have great impact on the philosophy and behavior of the people within them, as well as the other way around. Moreover, no socialist I have ever met has imagined socialism to be fail-safe. As I wrote, socialism "is not an infantile dream of problem-free perfection. It is a viable political alternative with strength and weakness, an ideology to be exposed to criticism and amendment."

For the Rev. Frizzell, capitalism offers the best hope. His choice may be the correct one. But not a single developing nation on the face of the earth would agree.

Harold Freeman
MIT
Cambridge, Mass.

Valuable for Class

I wish to purchase 20 copies of THE WITNESS, "Black Church and Social Change" (April, 1980) as this is a

valuable instrument for my class in American Minorities.

Lou Jeanne Walton, Chairperson
Department of Social Work
Valparaiso University

THE WITNESS

Back Issues Available:

• **THE BLACK CHURCH AND SOCIAL CHANGE:** This special 24-page issue presents lessons to be learned from three decades of civil rights in a lead article by Anne Braden; plus articles by William Howard on "Gospel Liberation Themes: A Challenge to Blacks;" Mattie Hopkins, "Seven Tensions Enroute to Social Revolution;" Cornel West, "Black Theology and Socialist Thought;" and Jesse Jackson, "In Partnership With Apartheid." \$1.00.

• **HISPANICS:** Richard Gillett, founder of the Puerto Rican Industrial Mission, presents in his leading article a penetrating analysis of the growing importance of Hispanics to work, culture and religion in the United States; Tom Quigley reflects on the significance of the life of assassinated Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador to Christians in the United States and Latin America; and Gar Alperovitz of the National Center for Economic Alternatives muses on choices U.S. citizens face *beyond* the elections. \$1.00.

• **THE TIGHTENING NOOSE:** Theologian John Gessell analyzes the alarming scenario in which U.S. tax dollars are spent to convince people of an external threat so menacing that only the most advanced state of military readiness, including first strike capability, will meet it. And a black rector, the Rev. Paul Washington gives "A View From the Ghetto" of his trip to Iran with Ramsey Clark's delegation. Includes Ramsey Clark's address to the Iranians. \$1.00.

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Married Clergy, Separated Churches *Continued from page 3*

Rome did indeed have a problem, and would have to work it out as best it could. Rome did so by following Lambeth's pioneering lead. At the Second Vatican Council in 1962-65, the decree on "The Church in the Modern World" adopted a position on the purpose of marriage essentially the same as that of Lambeth. However, the Vatican has yet to deal with its incongruous and insensitive policy on contraception. As the *National Catholic Reporter* editorialized recently, "Rome has shown itself incapable of dealing with human sexuality cogently and pastorally."

Another historic moment is relevant. At the time of the English Reformation in the 16th century, the Anglican Church took the giant step of allowing its clergy to marry, after 1,000 years of required celibacy. It is ironic that the married dissident clergy now seeking refuge in Rome are leaving the church which made it possible for them to marry. Further, in "making an exception to a rule" about celibacy in order to accommodate these clergy, and at the same time wrestling with a rising clamor amongst its own clergy for the right to marry, Rome is groping for a solution which the Anglican Church implemented over 400 years ago. To compound the irony, the dissident clergy are leaving the Episcopal Church because it has abandoned tradition by ordaining women. Yet they have been the beneficiaries of a married state made possible by that same church's having broken with a long-standing practice centuries ago.

These are close parallels to the matter at hand. By virtue of its less rigid hierarchical structure, a part of its legacy from the protestant reformation, Anglicanism has an openness to new perceptions of the truth, even though those within the Anglican family frequently

find it less than desired. Regardless, the Anglican Church has shown itself capable of making fundamental changes in its practices and policies.

No doubt, the ordination of women by the Anglican Church casts a shadow across relations with Rome and Orthodoxy. But issues which touch on justice and pastoral concern are not negotiable, neither in the most earnest concern for comprehensiveness within a particular church, nor in the desirable effort to seek a deeper unity within Christendom.

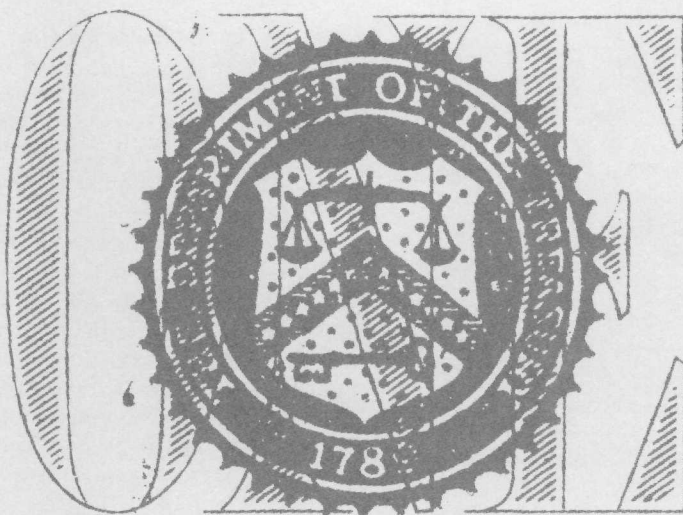
The Anglican Communion in a typically English, long and painstaking process has reached the settled conviction that any of its member churches which desire to ordain women may do so. And the Episcopal branch of that communion, in a typically U.S., stormy and polemical process has done so, followed by the Anglican Church of Canada and others. By the same token, they have recognized the unfaithfulness of their prior exclusion of women from those orders. This view was not lightly won, and is not lightly to be compromised or slighted. Anglican conviction, in the words of Dr. William Wolf elsewhere in this issue, is not to be diluted by a weak plea to Rome and Orthodoxy to continue dialogue "even if some of us have been a little naughty."

To the contrary, a church which frees its clergy to marry if they wish, which encourages its people to plan their families wisely, which opens its sacred orders of ministry to women, is a church which is showing a pastoral sensitivity essential to the cure of souls. Let the Episcopal Church not waver in its determination to continue to follow where God leads it. It owes that steadfastness not only to the God who leads, but also to the other churches which will yet follow. ■

NOTE AMERICA

Christian Alternatives To 'Business as Usual'

Mary Jane Baker
Charles L. Ritchie
Ronald E. Stenning

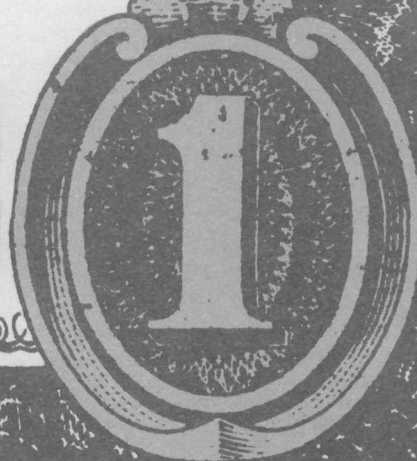


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VOL. 63, NO. 11 NOVEMBER, 1980

THE WITNESS



OR



Nukes Not Funny

Please send me two copies each of the June, July and August WITNESS. I just sent my copies of Lockwood Hoehl's Three Mile Island series to the Episcopal priest in my home town, Sealy, Tex. I just got the September issue of the Sealy paper and the article on the front page is headed:

Nuclear Generating Facility
Safe, Rotarians Told Friday

It begins: "In a humorous presentation, Don Beeth, director of nuclear information for Houston Lighting and Power Company, assured the gathering at last Friday's Rotary Club meeting that practically all the news coming from the Three Mile Island facility has been blown completely out of proportion. He stated that the accident was over in 16 hours, probably before anyone here even heard of it. The reactor was shut down and in a safe condition during that period.

"All reports coming from there after this were strictly rumors and distorted facts, the speaker said."

Houston Lighting and Power has plans to build a nuclear power plant six miles from Sealy at Allens Creek. My sister lives in Sealy, and so does the Episcopal priest. My brother lives in Houston, 35 or 40 miles from Allens Creek and so does a rabbi friend of mine who just finished a term as District Governor of Rotary. I want to send him a copy of Hoehl's series too.

I hope the articles will counter Don Beeth's snow job — a dandy example of corporate brainwashing of the dumb public — with the help of Rotary, yet. (The manager of the Sealy Light

company just finished a stint as president of Sealy Rotary!)

Doesn't the thought of "a humorous presentation" on nuclear power stagger the imagination?

Abbie Jane Wells
Juneau, Alaska

Desire to Influence?

THE WITNESS has published several articles and essays expressing concern about victims or potential victims of accidents involving nuclear electric power plants. Little has been said about the (more numerous) victims of coal-mining accidents, although a majority of electric power plants in the United States burn coal. A friend who has worked as a coal miner tells me he has had more narrow escapes on the highway than in the mine.

The Congress of the United States will probably not forbid coal mining or automobiles. Congress might order nuclear electric plants to shut down.

The materials which you have published thus seem selected with a desire to influence legislation. You have just as much right to advocate public policy as to advocate religion. A clergyman may express a personal opinion about public policy even if he is not authorized to speak for his church on such subjects. Small political contributions are now income-tax deductible. Are contributions to the Episcopal Church Publishing Company deductible?

Richard W. Cole
Sharon, Pa.

(Editor's Note: Energy resource alternatives urgently require the broadest possible public debate. We are a long way from having adequately resolved this prime issue of public policy. Investigative reporting, such as our series on Three Mile Island, is of the essence if journals of social concern are to fulfill their historic and crucial role in our democratic society. THE WITNESS does not engage in efforts to influence legislation, because it is a tax-exempt organization, and contributions to the Episcopal Church Publishing Company

are tax-deductible. However, we do seek to inform the public, whose obligation it is to influence legislation.)

Industry Not to Blame

The article by Lockwood Hoehl in the August WITNESS attempts to place the blame for the death of a 2-year-old boy on the nuclear power industry. My feeling is that the blame belongs on the shoulders of the Jane Fondas, Lockwood Hoehls and even on the WITNESS because of the unwarranted fears that they have fostered about the Nuclear Energy Establishment. A young mother fleeing in panic from an imaginary activist created situation is in no condition to drive a car.

The Three Mile Island accident apparently was the result of faulty design, mechanical and instrument malfunctions and personnel errors. In spite of the deficiencies the accident was contained and not a life was lost. Compare this record with the safety record of other forms of energy. Coal, Gas, Oil, Hydraulic, Wind and Sun. All have had accidents, some of which have been catastrophic.

The prime victims of the anti-nuclear groups, are of course, the elderly. They are the ones who are faced most severely with the escalating utility rates because of unnecessary increase in costs due to delays in bringing nuclear plants on line (Berwick) and the destruction of property (Seabrook, N.H.) in which they may have invested their life's savings.

Charles P. Elliott, Jr.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Hoehl: Yes It Is

I do believe the nuclear power industry deserves blame for the boy's death. But my intention was to make a broader point — that the effects of a nuclear power plant on the surrounding community reach far beyond the facility's fences. If we are to continue operating nuclear power plants, we should recognize that persons and communities around them exist under

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THE WITNESS

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

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A Referendum on Destiny

by Robert L. DeWitt

The largest voter turn-out in the State of Maine since the last presidential election went to the polls for a special referendum on nuclear power Sept. 23. Some have even prophesied that fewer people will enter the voting booth on Nov. 4.

Why the great interest? The referendum was on a question which was sweeping in its implications: "Shall 'an act to prohibit the generation of electric power by means of nuclear fission' become law?" The Maine Yankee nuclear reactor in Wiscasset went on line in 1972. It has behaved itself quite well, considering the dangerous and unpredictable breed of atomic technology it represents. But the national interest, and fear, have been fired by the apocalyptic threats resulting from the malfunctionings and near-catastrophes of similar nuclear reactors elsewhere. Too, there is a growing awareness of the shallow limits of our knowledge of the effects of the low-level radiation which can accompany even a less-than-disastrous accident at any of those installations. And, finally, there is the critical problem of atomic waste disposal, which until it is solved threatens the people of this world for generations to come. (Maine Yankee dumps its waste into a pool of water at the plant site, just north of Portland. Maine has a law forbidding new nuclear sites until the problem of storing waste is

resolved.)

These concerns were sharply focused by the Maine Nuclear Referendum Committee, a citizens' group which felt it irresponsible to generate electricity from such a potentially catastrophic source. Their first formidable task was to secure the 37,026 signatures necessary to call for a special referendum. They did, obtaining more than 50,000 signatures. Then they launched a program of public education. The media, especially, sensed the public interest and the result was a blanketing of the entire state with data on the issue. TV — both public and commercial — carried extensive programming and debates, front page articles ran daily in the press, libraries offered explanatory pamphlets.

In the end, because of the hope of saving out-of-pocket dollars, the uncertain promise of cheap nuclear energy prevailed over the infinitely more important but also uncertain risk of nuclear catastrophe. The economic argument was pressed by the opposition to the referendum, financed to the tune of \$3/4 million, largely by the Maine Yankee operators, the utility companies, and the builders of nuclear equipment, who took out full-page ads depicting an impoverished woman lamenting the increased cost of electricity if

Continued on page 7

Why Boycott Nestle's?

by Mary Jane Baker

"I met Hadijah Kimani in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. She lived with her husband and three children, including a two-month-old daughter, in a small mud and stick structure without electricity or running water. Her kitchen was a thin, dark hallway; her stove a charcoal cooker. Her husband did odd-jobs: shoe-repairing and carpentry, bringing home about \$44 a month.

"Hadijah showed me her can of SMA, labelled in English which she could not read. 'I started with Lactogen,' she explained, 'but she got sick so I changed.' She described how one can of SMA — a four-day supply — fed her baby for two weeks. Had she fed her baby at proper dilution, it would have taken 45% of their income. This way only 10% was used. And she assured me that 'SMA has vitamins so it's good.'

"But Hadijah had just returned from the health clinic because her daughter had had diarrhea for four days. On a bedside table I saw a dirty, half-filled baby bottle and as I reached for it, I glanced at the baby's clinic weight card. Hadijah's two-month-old daughter weighed 6.1 pounds and was suffering from severe malnutrition . . . a victim of baby bottle disease."

— Doug Clement in *INFACT Newsletter*, Winter, 1980



An international boycott of Nestle products, begun in 1977, has expanded year by year until the list of current endorsers is 10 pages long and includes many church groups (see box). During the next nine months, the boycott must be intensified if it is to succeed, but many have unanswered questions about the action.

Why single out Nestle? What is the present status of the boycott? Why punish a company for marketing a product such as infant formula when mothers can't breastfeed, or don't choose to do so?

This article will explore the history of the boycott and examine the U.S. position on the marketing of infant formula.

The boycott was initiated three years ago when research showed that millions of babies annually suffer malnutrition, death or disease because they are bottle-fed instead of breast-fed. A 1978 World Health Organization report

explains why this is especially likely to occur in developing countries.

"The probability of mothers having access to clean water is low . . . and preparation of formulas will almost inevitably lend itself to contamination. Mothers who become dependent upon breast-milk substitutes are often unable to purchase the quantity of commercially-prepared products that would be needed . . . over-dilution of what little can be afforded is a well-known solution turned to by many mothers. Its results are disastrous for the health of the child."

Multinational corporations contribute significantly to this problem by aggressively promoting the use of milk formula products to mothers who could breastfeed. The Nestle Company is by far the largest producer of baby formula, with approximately a 50% share of the infant food market in developing countries. Intensive advertising and propaganda convince mothers that infant formula is better for their babies than breast milk. However, research has shown that 95% can breastfeed, and even in cases where the mother is undernourished, breast milk is usually healthier

Mary Jane Baker is a board member of the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility and chairperson of the corporate responsibility committee of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

for the baby than infant formula. Any supplemental foods should go to the mother. In this way, both she and the baby benefit from the additional nourishment. One of the tactics used by salespeople is to give a nursing mother a five-day supply of infant formula. If a woman does not breastfeed for five days, her milk dries up and she is forced to use commercial formula.

Work on the boycott is coordinated by the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT), a national, non-profit organization of nutritionists, educators, church representatives and concerned citizens with headquarters in Minneapolis. There are about 500 local INFACT groups in the United States. Their aim is not to remove infant formula from the stores in developing countries but to stop the campaign which convinces mothers that it is better than their own milk.

In October, 1979, a World Health Organization/UNICEF meeting was convened in Geneva on "Infant and Young Child Feeding." Attending were representatives from the infant formula industry, experts in nutrition and medicine, and representatives of specialized U.N. agencies and non-governmental agencies. At the meeting, consensus was reached on recommendations calling for far-reaching restrictions on marketing and promotion of infant formula, as outlined below.

The Nestle Company contends that the gradual changes it has introduced in the past five years are completely in line with the recommendations. According to INFACT, Nestle *has* decreased mass media advertising to consumers in parts of the developing world since July, 1978 but it has intensified promotion within health institutions and with nurses and doctors. Following are a few specific examples of the Nestle Company's failure to comply with the WHO/UNICEF recommendations. (Many more are documented in "Infant Formula Promotion, 1980," a 16-page compilation, published by International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN), Geneva & Minneapolis, May, 1980).

• DIRECT SALES PROMOTION

WHO/UNICEF recommended: "There should be no sales promotion, including promotional advertising to the public, of products to be used as breast milk substitutes or bottle-fed supplements and feeding bottles."

Forty six violations were reported from 17 countries, involving nine companies. The violations included radio, television, mass circulation, magazine and newspaper advertising, delivery van advertising, posters, billboards, point of sale material, calendars, participation in baby shows and the distribution of literature and samples to mothers.

Endorsements

Partial List

Ambulatory Pediatric Association
 American Association of Evangelical Students
 Americans for Democratic Action
 American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)
 American Federation of Teachers
 American Medical Student Association
 Anglican Church of Canada
 Black American Law Student Association
 Canadian Council of Churches
 Church of the Brethren
 Church Women United
 Clergy and Laity Concerned
 Disciples of Christ Youth Movement
 Lutheran Church of America (Canada Section)
 Lutheran Student Movement
 Maryknoll Fathers, Brothers, and Sisters
 National Assembly of Women Religious
 National Catholic Coalition for Responsible Investment
 National Council of Churches
 National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association
 National Organization for Women
 National Women's Health Network
 National Women's Political Caucus
 North American Federation of Temple Youth
 OXFAM America
 Presbyterian Church in the United States
 Sisters of Loretto
 Unitarian Universalist Association
 United Auto Workers (UAW)
 United Church of Canada
 United Church of Christ
 United Farm Workers of America (UFW)
 United Methodist Church, Board of Church & Society
 United Methodist Church, Board of Global Ministries
 United Presbyterian Church in the USA
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
 Women for Racial and Economic Equality

For example: *Dominican Republic* (March '80) — Mass media advertising by Nestle via bill-boards, delivery van, radio and TV for Nido, a full cream powdered milk widely used as a breast milk substitute. TV ads show a feeding

bottle and crying baby with the message that Nido is best for baby. *Barbados* (April, 1980) — Nestle representative claims to do free sampling to mothers in supermarkets and tells researcher he plans to advertise Lactogen on TV.

• PROMOTIONAL SAMPLING

WHO/UNICEF recommended: "Promotional distribution of samples of breast milk substitutes through health service channels should not be allowed."

Thirty-seven violations were reported from 15 countries, involving 14 companies.

For example: *Martinique* (April, 1980) — Aggressive sampling in government clinics and hospitals. Nestle offers free milk supplies to the largest maternity hospital if it is given an exclusive contract. The hospital refuses. *Panama* (April, 1980) — Nestle provides free promotional samples of Nan, Pelargan, Lactogen and A1 110 to health centers.

• PROMOTION IN HEALTH CARE FACILITIES

WHO/UNICEF recommended: "Facilities of the health care system should never be used for the promotion of artificial feeding."

Seventy-two violations were reported from 23 countries, involving 11 companies.

For example: *Trinidad* (April, 1980) — Nestle posters and literature still in most maternity clinics and hospitals despite claim by marketing director to have removed all such material 18 months ago. *Martinique* (April, 1980) — Nestle provides free bottles advertising Guigoz to government clinics to be distributed directly to poor mothers. *Guatemala* (March, 1980) — Nestle baby milk posters in clinics as well as extensive promotion to doctors.

• COMPANY PERSONNEL

WHO/UNICEF recommended: "No personnel paid by companies producing or selling breast milk substitutes should be allowed to work in the health care system."

Examples of violations: *Peru* (April, 1980) — A doctor reports: The director of the Neonatology Department in the hospital Maternidad is employed by Nestle and also works in the Nestle pediatric clinic. Nestle has exclusive rights in provision of milk in the hospital Maternidad. This is the largest maternity hospital in Lima. *Honduras* (March, 1980) — Nestle sends "hospital visitors" in uniform with company insignia to promote directly to mothers.

Lesotho (Nov. 1979 - April, 1980) — After hospital official refuses to allow Nestle mothercraft nurse to lecture to mothers, three Nestle executives visit the official and offer:

- 1) all-expenses-paid trip throughout South Africa.

Nestle Products List

Chocolates

Nestle's CRUNCH; Toll House Chips; Nestle's Quik; Hot Cocoa Mix; Choco'lite; Choco-Bake, \$100,000 Candy Bar; Price's Chocolates; Go Ahead Bar

Coffees and Teas

Taster's Choice; Nescafe; Nestea; Decaf; Sunrise; Pero Cains Coffee; Manhattan Coffee Co. (St. Louis, Mo.)

Wines

Beringer Brothers; Los Hermanos; Crosse & Blackwell

Cheeses

Swiss Knight; Wispride; Gerber Cheeses; Old Fort; Provalone Locatelli; Cherry Hill; Roger's

Packaged Fruits, Soups, Etc.

Libby's; Stouffer Frozen Foods; Souptime; Maggi Soups; Crosse and Blackwell; Beech Nut Baby Foods

Hotels and Restaurants

Stouffer; Rusty Scupper

Miscellaneous

L'Oreal Cosmetics; Nestle Cookie Mixes; Kavli Crispbread; McVities; Keiller; James Keller & Son, Ltd; Contique by Alcon; Ionax by Owen Labs; Lancome; Pine Hill Crystal Water; Deer Park Mountain Spring Water

- 2) funding for Southern Africa pediatrics conference in Lesotho.

- 3) possible job offer when the official's current contract expires.

The official calls these offers "a near bribe." In April, 1980, a new Nestle mothercraft nurse, a Lesotho woman, returned to the hospital and pressed the official to allow her to "educate mothers."

It was also agreed by delegates to the WHO/UNICEF Conference in Geneva that an international code of marketing for the baby foods industry should be drafted. According to INFAC, the baby food industry is maintaining pressure on WHO and UNICEF, both directly and through influencing governments, to try to produce a weaker code than one embodying the recommendations endorsed in Geneva.

The proposed code will be reviewed by the WHO Executive Committee in January, 1981. If approved, it will be presented to the WHO Assembly in May, 1981. An international code will depend for enforcement on national legislation, which may take years to pass in some countries.

Hence, the boycott is essential for persuading the Nestle Company to change its marketing practices now.

Churches and consumer groups have influenced a shift in the U.S. position on the issue. The Administration is now seemingly convinced of the need for developing an international code for marketing of infant formula and breast milk substitutes. According to INFACT, "Thus, in the next nine months, it is most essential to keep the Congress and the Administration vigilant on the need for a strong code that does the maximum to protect infants and mothers — not the infant formula industry."

To quote from a report in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, "Although this issue of the suffering and death of third-world infants due to unethical and aggressive infant-formula advertising practices cries out to Christian conscience for year-round study and action, the Nestle Boycott Committee of Diocesan Council recommends the seasons of Advent and Christmastide (Nov. 30 - Jan. 5) as a most appropriate time to focus on this urgent matter."

As described above, the Nestle Company is 1) using its own interpretations of the recommendations on conduct passed at the WHO/UNICEF meeting held in Geneva in October, 1979; and 2) lobbying for an international code of marketing for the baby foods industry that is basically

industry's code. Accordingly, INFACT urges that WITNESS readers boycott the Nestle products listed in the box in this article and write to the Nestle Company, Inc. 100 Bloomingdale Road, White Plains, New York 10605 to let it know. It would also be supportive to write to Secretary Patricia Harris, Department of Health and Human Services, Washington, D.C., urging the United States Government to endorse a strong code which embodies the boycott demands and which has some enforcement mechanism.

Study materials can be obtained from INFACT, 1701 University Avenue, S.E., Minneapolis, Mn. 55414. National church activities concerning infant formula companies are coordinated through the Infant Formula Program, Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 566, New York, N.Y., 10015. Also, a 30-minute Bill Moyers film, "Into the Mouths of Babies," can be rented from Fortress Press, 2900 Queen Lane, Philadelphia, Pa. 19129. ■

Credits

Cover, Beth Seka; p. 8, sketch courtesy DE PIE Y EN LUCHA, of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN); p. 15, Peg Averill, AFP/LNS; p. 16, Bulbul, LNS.

Continued from page 3

the Maine Yankee were closed. And so the referendum proposal was defeated.

But the surprisingly strong support for the proposal (159,761 of 390,541 voters were for shutting the installation down) was deeply sobering to the nuclear power industry, and was a sign of the effectiveness of the educational process in which the people participated. Thomas Jefferson often stressed that people cannot wisely govern themselves unless given the education necessary to make the wise decisions required of them. Maine has made a striking beginning toward achieving that objective in relationship to one of the most fateful questions confronting the 20th century — from what sources shall we obtain energy?

Also, at a time when many are lamenting the failure of people to vote, Maine produced an impressive turnout for a special, single-issue referendum. Why? As Gar Alperovitz said in the September WITNESS: "I do not think people are apathetic about the future of the nation, but about the choices being offered. When people believe that their vote matters, the figures change." That statement was dramatically corroborated in Maine on Sept. 23.

It is tempting — and not irrelevant — to ask what might happen to U.S. society if voters were given a comparable opportunity to learn the facts and to express their sovereign mind on substantial matters of public policy. Other critical questions could be put to a national referendum, the voters having first been given opportunities to be informed on the relevant data — on plant closings and corporate responsibility, for example.

Rather than the ineffective rhetoric of party platforms in presidential years, there could even be a national referendum on national priorities, which the successful presidential candidate, and the new congress, would be required to support. The electorate could be asked, perhaps after discussion at their work places, to rank-order a few key issues such as full employment, national security, medical care and housing. A national referendum held six months, or even a year, before the presidential election would make for more instructive campaigns, and the election of the person best qualified to serve the expressed national will. The very preservation of the Union may depend upon our finding some such process for restoring the people to power, which is the intent of our Constitution. Maine provided a clue on Sept. 23. ■



The above poster, 8½ by 11, is available from Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960: \$5 for 100, \$40 for 1,000. On the back are listed options for draft-age youth, national groups to contact and pertinent quotes by Tolstoy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and others. Space is available for name of local group.

Straw in the Wind

by Jack Woodard

Back in late June when the Selective Service Director was trying to encourage maximum draft registration by 19- and 20-year-old men, he said repeatedly that the maximum number of persons refusing to register would be 2%.

Even 2% non-registration would have produced 80,000 felony cases in federal courts, a staggering number in view of the fact that the total federal prison population is only 26,000.

But a stunning thing has happened. According to the *Washington Post*, at least 280,000 young men have failed to register — have defied the male-only, military service only, draft law. Of course, some of this number probably did not know about the registration. But on the other hand, our counseling center encountered many young men who were going to register, but who wrote something like, "If

drafted I will not go," across the registration card. The *Post* reports that nearly 80,000 young men qualified their registration in some such manner.

The Selective Service announcement added that the non-registrants would be given until November to register and that the files would then be turned over to the Justice Department for *possible* prosecution. Over a quarter of a million young Americans cannot possibly be prosecuted and jailed or fined without an unprecedented uproar in the country.

What straw in the wind is this? Will the message turn out to be that new means of national security will have to be found — peaceful means? Let us pray so.

The Rev. Jack Woodard is rector of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church in Washington, D.C.

Continued from page 2

threat of physical, psychological, spiritual, and economic damage.

Somehow, Mr. Elliott twists the effects of the accident at Three Mile Island to see them as the fault of those who are unwilling to ignore the consequences of nuclear power in our midst. That young mother was not "fleeing in panic from an imaginary activist created situation." Those who fled the area — 60% of the residents within a five-mile radius of TMI — did so out of legitimate fear and/or in response to an evacuation order from Pennsylvania Governor Dick Thornburgh.

Mr. Elliott describes accurately the causes of the accident. But his contention that it was "contained and not a life was lost" is false. An enormous amount of radioactivity was released during the first three days of the accident. The exact amount is not known because it was so high that government radiation monitors went off scale.

The capability to contain radioactivity released during an accident is a mixed blessing. Eventually, something must be done with it. Recently, 22 million cubic feet of radioactive krypton 85 was "safely" vented into the atmosphere from TMI's damaged Unit 2 containment. Next, officials must decide how to rid the containment floor of 600,000 gallons of highly radioactive water.

Surely, there are dangers in all forms of energy production. Oil leaks and burns, gas explodes, coal mines collapse, and dams burst. But none threatens so many living and yet-to-be-born people as does the uranium fuel cycle, from mining to waste disposal.

Mr. Elliott's final point on the victimization of old people is just plain wrong. Critics of nuclear power have always argued that nuclear power is not safe, is not cheap, and is not necessary. When all nuclear power expenditures are considered — public (tax) and private money spent on research and development, mining, construction, operation, decontamination, fuel processing, and waste disposal — it is

the most expensive form of energy production. Wall Street is beginning to agree: utility stocks have plummeted.

Finally, it is the utilities that have taken and continue to take huge chunks from old people's monthly incomes, and it is the utilities that have squandered the aged's life savings. The victims and the critics will not accept the blame for the accident and for the industry's blunders. It now appears their resistance is beginning to pay off.

**Lockwood Hoehl
Pittsburgh, Pa.**

Magic Is Gone

I wish to respond to the article by Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Why Males Fear Women Priests," in your July issue.

The general scope of this article with its well written survey of the Biblical-historical-sociological-theological battles for and by women for equality and power within the institutional church I found to be helpful and reinforcing of my own understanding of and support for the ordination of women to the priesthood. My disappointment came at the last paragraph, "The opening of the priesthood to women thus creates for men (usually not so much for women) a return of the repressed. Men feel themselves lapsing into the childhood dependency on the mother." I find this kind of reductionism very offensive.

Her simplistic thesis may hold true for some men. Perhaps it speaks to certain vulnerabilities in all of us, but my own inquiries and conversations with men about their feelings regarding women priests suggest a more complex set of feelings, positive and negative. On what clinical evidence does she base this assumption? How many men has she interviewed in sufficient depth to validate such a point of view? The power of the article was negated for me by this apparent lapse in scholarly integrity.

My own conversations with large numbers of laity, men and women, suggest a more important issue. That is the fact that the role of the priest, female or male, continues to hemorrhage power, authority and mystery in the

minds of those outside the ranks of professional theologians and the clergy. We see the priests searching, like the rest of us, for identity, meaning, vocation and authority. The magic is gone and with it the threat.

**D. Barry Menuez
Episcopal Church Center
New York, N.Y.**

Converted by Ruether

The article by Rosemary Ruether has done wonders for me. I no longer have any qualms about receiving the sacraments from a lady. Although nominally an Anglo-Catholic, for a number of years I've been an organist in a Roman Catholic parish, with many sung masses and rarely get to mass at the church carrying my name on its rolls.

I've never had any problem with women as preachers. I came from a long line of Methodists and sermons were often given by women (returned missionaries, etc.) Several years were spent in theological seminaries, both studying church music and ecclesiastical subjects. The frequent receiving of communion was stressed in the Anglican seminary (no longer in business). In fact, there were many more sung masses there than at the Catholic church where I am now.

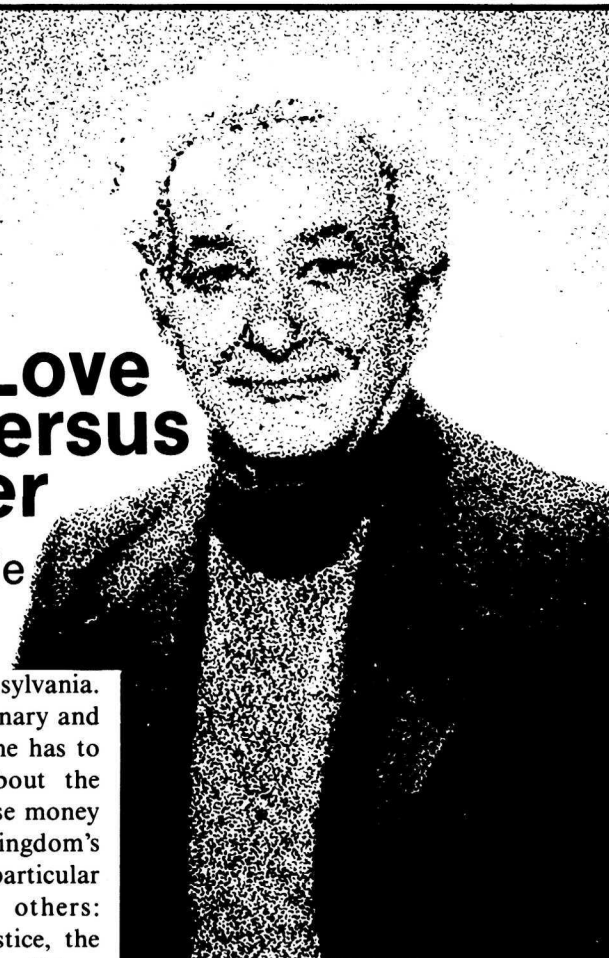
I think the last five paragraphs of Dr. Ruether's article really converted me. Perhaps the elimination of the title *Priest*, and the use of the word *Minister*, as the Roman Catholics do for those eligible to serve communion, would be useful. It seems to have a good connotation since the time of Christ (while priests weren't always admirable people).

As I understand it, women may serve communion in the Roman Church, but cannot consecrate the elements. (Since no one can legally serve me in a Roman parish that isn't a problem.) At least, Dr. Ruether convinced me there should be no problem about females, after ordination, fulfilling all the sacraments considered by many the property, rite, or what-have-you of males.

**John Winters
Muskegon, Mich.**

Power of Love versus Love of Power

by David Gracie



Joe Miller

He is a short, handsome, white-haired man who radiates energy. His name is Joe Miller and if you were in the peace movement or one of a hundred other movements for justice and community betterment in Philadelphia you would know him. The list of his action involvements is very long, but through them all there has been a special relationship to the church.

Joe is a mortgage banker who helps the church to invest in people. He is a "non-religious" man who expects great things from religious institutions. "The church isn't there for profit," he says, "it isn't an opportunist, it isn't selling anything. It is not one person but thousands of people. So when the church acts it allows multitudes of individuals to have the feeling of helping human beings toward a full life. We can't lose that feeling!"

I talked recently with Joe, reviewing the 13 years in which I have known him and the various projects in which he has

involved the Diocese of Pennsylvania. The projects are at once visionary and practical; so much so that one has to think of Jesus' parables about the stewards who knew how to use money to best advantage for the Kingdom's sake. I think three of these in particular should be shared with others: Philadelphians for Equal Justice, the People's Bail Fund and the Urban Finance Corporation.

With regard to the first we go back to Nov. 17, 1967, the day when Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo's men beat up the black high school students demonstrating at the Board of Education building. In response to that brutal act, Joe worked with many others to found P.E.J., hoping to provide some protection against ongoing police brutality. "In those days we went to the police stations in the early hours of the morning when there was an arrest. We filled the stations with people. And we organized a lawyer's panel, with a different lawyer donating time to be on call each day of the month. This involved human beings who said the world needs love; we are not going to see someone beat up by the police and

watch like it was a TV show."

The need for a bail fund first emerged in connection with the mass arrests of peace demonstrators at that same time. "You remember the lady who put up \$3,000 — her life's savings — for the Vietnam Vets against the War when they needed bail, and how we raised the money to pay her back when the Vets couldn't? Well, then we thought of property bail, and I said, 'Look at all these church buildings not used except on Sunday!'

"The plan was born at diocesan headquarters on Rittenhouse Square. You asked me why I had a special relationship with the diocese. It is because when there was a need to

The Rev. David Gracie is currently engaged in Protestant campus ministry at Temple University. He is former pastor of St. Barnabas Episcopal Church in inner-city Philadelphia.

respond to a community problem, people in the diocese were there. And the first property deed given to the Fund so that we could write bail against it was for a building owned and occupied by Episcopal Community Services. The Quakers came in with their buildings and so did other churches. We decided to make it a *people's* bail fund to help anybody who couldn't make bail. These are people whose only crime is being poor. They are arrested and held in prison only to be found innocent months later; and during their time in jail they learn about crime. It's interesting that the Bail Fund is administered by Episcopal Community Services now. We have come full circle."

The housing story Joe tells also goes back a few years. Councilman Joseph Coleman had sponsored an urban homesteading program for Philadelphia. It was intended to help poor people get title to unoccupied, city-owned homes for \$1 plus their own efforts in fixing them up. Unlike urban homesteading plans in some other cities, it was not to benefit the middle class. "I sat on the board representing the finance people to organize the financing. We needed to find interest-free money so the new owners could fix the systems in their homes and then we needed long-term take-out with low payments. The idea was that the low-income homeowner should be able to pay off the loan and still have some money in case the roof collapsed."

For years, housing for low-income citizens has been one of Joe's passions, for two reasons. First, it is a way to change those social conditions which, Joe keeps repeating, fashion personalities. "This kid was not dropped from heaven with a gun or narcotics in his pocket. Conditions shaped him!"

Second, it is an arena for public-private sector cooperation. "The public sector with the private sector can make things stand up successfully. We see

people coming to the table giving up for once on the profit motive. Why do they do it? Is it for survival? It doesn't matter. We are the people with the method, the tactics, the experience, and we are not negotiating here to do each other in. In the business world we would always be against one another but here we are pooling knowledge. With our new city administration we have leadership which understands this and is not threatened by it."

The Philadelphia Urban Finance Corporation was formed to find and administer low-interest/no-interest loan money for urban homesteading and to cut costs for the new homeowner in other ways, such as providing volunteer building inspectors. But the city's urban homesteading program was killed as a result of criminal misconduct. "Unfortunately, they caught the crook and closed the program. You wouldn't close a bank after you caught the crook. But this program served poor people and there were not enough advocates for them."

Nevertheless, the Urban Finance Corporation continues to work with community groups on the same principles on which it was founded. The money used has been loaned to the Corporation at zero or 1% interest by a state agency, local businesses and institutions, including churches. It is used as up-front money by the community organization so the small contractor can get started on long delayed city-approved home repair projects. It is also used for total rehabilitation of homes in low-income areas where strong neighborhood housing corporations design and see the projects through for the benefit of residents in desperate need of housing.

Of course, Joe would like to see much more done. He wants the city back in the urban homesteading business in a big way. "We see a block of abandoned homes and say to the city: forgive the taxes and take over the properties so

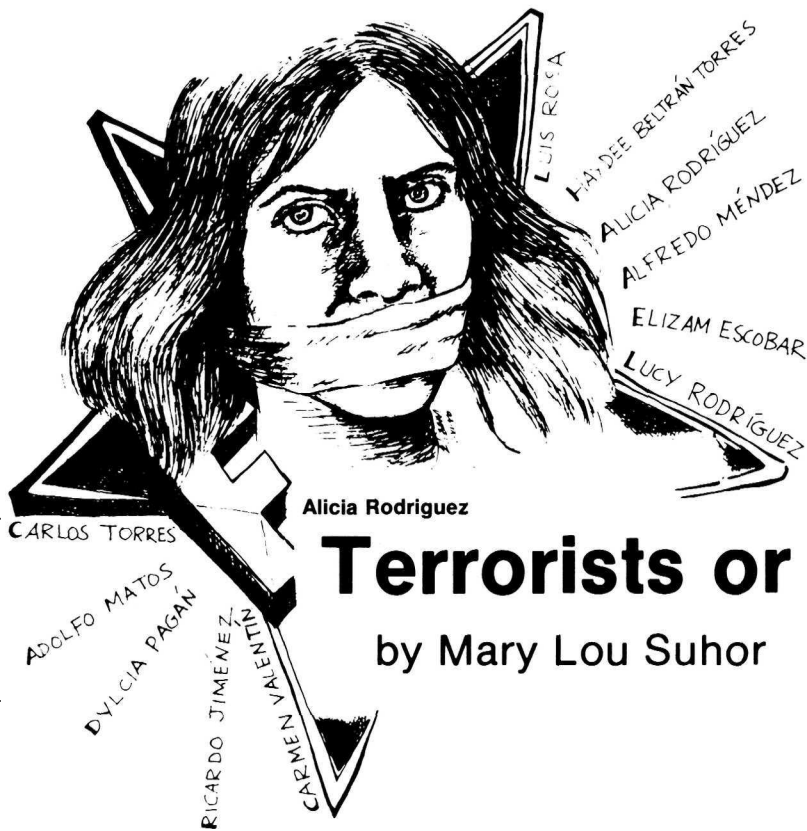
poor people can live in them. A community group will clean it up. Minority contractors will do the rehabilitation, the new owners will supply sweat equity, we will arrange the financing."

Through all of this comes that feeling of helping other human beings. Joe tells about the first man he informed that he could have a house for \$1. The man got angry and cursed him because he was not going to have his hopes raised and dashed one more time. But when he saw the house and knew it was real, he wept. "Conditions!" Joe says. "We are all responsible for the conditions in which people are forced to live."

In looking back over the housing struggle, he says: "Without that table in the diocesan office at Rittenhouse Square, these things would not have been born." The diocese has helped in many ways, including a grant from Venture in Mission and, recently, a no-interest loan of \$250,000 by the Standing Committee to the Urban Finance Corporation to facilitate home improvement for more low-income and, most often, elderly citizens of Philadelphia's inner-city neighborhoods.

When Pennsylvania Bishop Lyman Ogilby created a Sounding Board to advise him on social concerns, he wisely named Joe Miller to that Board. The urban hearings in the diocese, focusing on housing, were conducted by the Sounding Board. This helped point the way for a Diocesan Task Force on Housing which invited the loan from the Standing Committee and now seeks participation by individual parishes in the housing loan fund.

"I am not a religious man," says Joe Miller, "but the church has to give us faith in each other; it has to show us a way other than competition or the desire to rule over everything and everybody. When the power of love overcomes the love of power, then we will have peace." ■



Terrorists or Patriots?

by Mary Lou Suhor

It's 7:30 p.m. and several families and friends are gathered in a Chicago bookstore. A fifth grade teacher calls the meeting to order and Josefina Rodriguez reads the minutes from the last meeting. Then the treasurer's report. The meeting is conducted in Spanish.

From outward appearance, it could be the local Puerto Rican High School PTA, but this meeting is different. Attending are mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, and friends of the 11 young people who are suspected FALN members and currently serving sentences ranging from eight years to life. The media calls them "terrorists." But to this group they are "freedom fighters."

Discussion centers on getting clothes to the women, and raising money for personal items for all prisoners. Large families volunteer to adopt prisoners whose smaller families can't afford to support them totally, and then discussion turns to car pools for visits to the far-flung prisons (Dwight, Menard,

Pontiac and Stateville in Illinois, and Metropolitan Correction Center in San Diego).

In the same week, another meeting brings together a civic committee comprised of church people and other concerned Chicago citizens in a classroom of the Rafael Cancel Miranda High School. Their agenda includes a review of local cases of harassment by police or FBI in FALN investigations and biased reports to be challenged in the media. This committee was key, early on, in protesting and ending the photographing and fingerprinting of visitors to the 11 in jail.

Why this grassroots support? After all, according to the FBI, the FALN has claimed responsibility for 63 bombings and 40 arson attacks in Chicago, New York, and other major cities. The FBI blames this "clandestine violence" for the deaths of five persons and sets property losses in excess of \$3.5 million. Recent developments indicate that the government may bring sedition charges

against the 11, which could extend current sentences.

These are shocking facts for U.S. citizens who are influenced by ads in the mass media describing "Puerto Rico, U.S.A." which condition them to think of the Island as a vacation playground or a site for business investments or, most recently, as a convenient place to dispatch thousands of Cuban refugees which the U.S. does not want to accommodate.

But Puerto Rico has another history, as a Latin American country struggling against its colonizers — first Spain, then the United States. The latter domination, Puerto Rican nationalists say, has resulted in 40% unemployment, 70% of its population on food stamps, and occupation of 10% of its land by U.S. Armed Forces, including the use of the Island of Vieques for bombing practice by the U.S. Navy. A nation which once had a diversified economy, they say, has been technologized by capital intensive industry and polluted by petrochemical industries, and the

U.S. "economic miracle" has failed.

Rooted in this history, the Puerto Ricans who have been arrested are seen as part of a continuing struggle for independence, in the tradition of the Puerto Rican nationalists released recently by the United States after 25 years of imprisonment (Lolita Lebron, Irvin Flores, Oscar Collazo, and Rafael Cancel Miranda). Ironically, the 11 were either first offenders or their past arrests were during demonstrations protesting unfair practices at housing sites or local schools. The youths also have a record of community involvement and were considered by acquaintances as sensitive and caring people. The 11 view themselves as prisoners of war, and have refused to recognize the jurisdiction of U.S. courts. Their trials throughout the summer of this year, not unexpectedly, produced some of the more dramatic excesses in recent legal history.

For example, in actions reminiscent of the trials of the Chicago anti-war activists in the late '60s when Black Panther Bobby Seale was bound and gagged, Carlos Torres and Alicia Rodriguez were ordered to have their mouths taped shut for shouting in court. When Mara Siegel, a legal counselor, protested Rodriguez's entry into court with tape over her mouth, handcuffed, and restrained by several deputies, Ms. Siegel was fined \$1,000 for contempt of court by Judge James M. Bailey who denied her bond and threatened her with disbarment. Six lawyers including Ms. Siegel and Michael Deutsch filed a formal complaint with the Judicial Inquiry Board charging that Judge Bailey had also threatened to throw Deutsch out of the window and had allegedly stated that indeed "these people should be treated as POWs; we should take them out and shoot them."

On the international scene, Puerto Rican independence has increasingly

gained attention, at the meeting of non-aligned nations and in the United Nations, for example. In 1978 and 1979, the General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to approve the Decolonization Committee reports which declared that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States and entitled to full independence. U.S. responses to this have been talk of "annexation" or the "acceptance" of Puerto Rico as a 51st state.

The Decolonization Committee's most recent resolution (August, 1980) demanded that the U.S. cease military activities in Puerto Rico, renewed its request that the U.S. permit a UN special committee to visit Puerto Rico to gather information relative to the persecution, harassment and repression of Puerto Rican patriots, and condemned the persecution, jailing and

repressive measures to which persons who struggle for independence are subjected. Supporters of the 11 were especially encouraged by the latter.

Writing in the *San Juan Star*, Juan M. Garcia Passalacqua, attorney for the Puerto Rican Chapter of ADA, called attention to a U.S. press release during the meeting of the Decolonization Committee which spoke of the Commonwealth status as the "present condition of Puerto Rico and that the U.S. does not regard it as immutable." The release stated that Puerto Rico was exercising "a continuing right" to self determination.

Garcia Passalacqua pointed out that "one cannot disagree with the principle that Puerto Ricans must decide among ourselves what we wish before anything is done. One can disagree, however, with the premise that in a process of



Pictured at a meeting of the Civic Committee to Support the Rights of Puerto Rican Prisoners are, front, left to right: the Rev. Elli Elliot, United Church of Christ minister; Ms. Joan Nicklin, faculty member of Central YMCA Community College, Chicago; Ms. Josefina Rodriguez, mother of Alicia and Ida Luz; back, the Rev. Mary Ehrgood, UCC minister; the Rev. S. Michael Yasutake, Episcopal priest-counselor at CYCC, and the Rev. Jose Torres, father of Carlos Alberto.

decolonization the first steps must be taken by the colony . . . One hopes the U.S. can be convinced that it must indeed take some formal procedural steps and define some substantive options before we can truly decide the progress made in recent years elicits hope."

Along these lines, Rep. Ronald Dellums (D. Calif.) introduced a resolution in Congress in August calling for a "transfer of powers" to Puerto Rico, spelling out how this might be done within the constitutional system. It includes the setting up of a Constitutional Assembly, the withdrawal of U.S. Armed Forces, the discussion of property rights of American citizens and U.S. corporations, the disposition of U.S. Federal Funds and aids such as to veterans and social security pensions. Copies of the resolution are available from Rep. Dellums' office, Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

A noted Puerto Rican poster carries the words of Julia de Burgos:

*Ay, ay, que el esclavo fue mi
abuelo es mi pena;
Si hubiera sido el amo,
seria mi verguenza.*

The translation: "Ah, ah, that my grandfather was a slave is to my sorrow; but if he had been the owner it would be to my shame."

Nationalists feel that U.S. citizens might well reflect on those words with regard to the future of Puerto Rico. ■

TMI Series Available

Lockwood Hoehl's series on Three Mile Island in the June, July and August issues, subject of this month's Letters to the Editor, are available from THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002 for \$3 (\$1 each). Hoehl interviews clergy and laity in the area on the ambiguities of the TMI accident. Payment must accompany order.

A Case Study in Stewardship

by Charles L. Ritchie, Jr.

When the reason for a boycott of Nestle's products is understood will consumers stop buying Nestle's? If there is some cash left over after bills have been paid, will people make some rational decision about what to do with that money?

Both examples remind us that we are as responsible at a personal level for decisions about how we spend our money as we are about how we spend our free time or our energy. Responsible persons presumably make an effort to make responsible decisions. So it must be with institutions. Surely, if we can hope for responsibility at the personal decision-making level, we should demand and expect responsibility at the institutional level, from public and private bodies.

If one gives to an educational institution, a day-care center, a community organization or a political campaign, one expects that contribution to be used wisely for the purpose for which it was given. In effect,

one entrusts the contribution to the management of others. A certain risk is always involved, unless specific strings are placed on the gift. However, institutions can change through the years. A "soup kitchen" charity of the 19th century no longer functions as a soup kitchen. The legal process of *cy pres* provides a means of enabling funds given for one purpose in time to be applied to other purposes (similar in broad intent) in another time. In all likelihood none of the foregoing is particularly controversial. But now, let us explore an adventure in stewardship.

The Episcopal City Mission in Boston recently examined the responsibilities of stewardship in connection with the management and deployment of its assets. Some of its funds, such as those managed by the Diocesan Investment Trust, were restricted as to use; others were not, and were managed by an outside professional investment counselor. Principal funds had accumulated over a 135-year history and the program of ECM had, of course, changed over the years. Stated briefly from its recent annual report, the purpose of ECM is

Charles L. Ritchie, Jr. is an investment banker who has served on vestries, boards, and as a deputy to General Conventions of the Episcopal Church.

"to serve the urban poor." The report goes on to say that "housing has been an area of increasing concern for the Mission."

Episcopal City Mission expends most of its funds in the form of grants and loans, in part to support outreach programs in parishes (in which function it also serves the diocese), and for housing grants and seed money loans, as well as cash flow loans to provide

working capital for community organizations. In short, a wide range of stimulative and imaginative support for programs essentially initiated and undertaken by others in their own communities is aimed at the improvement of the quality of life where it seems most urgently needed. (ECM itself has only a small staff and limited overhead.)

In recent years ECM realized that it could "profitably" (i.e. in furthering the cause of serving the urban poor) invest unrestricted principal funds in the very programs it found most desirable to support with loans and/or grants from income. For example, why not an investment in the form of a loan to Lower Roxbury Development Corporation to help a new 156 family unit housing project get off the ground? Why not a \$12,000 cash flow loan to the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation against the collateral of public "fees for services rendered"? Contracts at, say, 7½% interest, instead of the same \$12,000 portfolio investment in Amalgamated Industries?

After careful analysis of alternatives, the Mission decided to consolidate all of its invested assets and place them under the direct control of the Executive Committee acting through its Finance Committee to focus the responsibility for these assets and to begin a process for formulating an investment policy for the Mission. In this way issues such

as policies on the amount of program investments and social responsibility in investments could be dealt with directly. The Finance Committee was expanded to give more financial expertise by adding two persons, both of whom are in the investment business.

A by-product was the saving of high cost investment counseling fees. For many years the Diocesan Investment Trust had managed a large portion of the ECM investment portfolio. The fee charged by the Trust was larger than that which ECM could negotiate with any number of well-recognized professional investment advisors. The service rendered, moreover, was minimal and provided nothing more specialized than participation in a "common fund." As a result, the costs had reached levels not easily defensible by normal fiduciary standards.

On request, the Diocesan Investment Trust declined to lower its fee. The net result of the action of the Executive Committee, therefore, removed the burden of the fee for investment counseling, a saving of many thousands of dollars a year. (It should be understood that such a saving was only a by-product of the Committee's decision to be responsible for its investments since the question of competent, professional counseling was never at issue.)

To be sure, employing creative methods of using money may not be new. The Episcopal Church Foundation, for example, has for several decades been active in making loans through dioceses for parish building needs through a Revolving Loan Account. It also administers a "special loan fund to help support projects falling outside the regular purposes of the Revolving Loan Fund," according to its latest annual report. The Board of Episcopal Church Foundation consists of many prominent corporate establishment leaders who undoubtedly consider

WHAT WE CAN'T
DO ALONE
WE CAN DO
TOGETHER



themselves responsible. Clearly they are also saying that it is appropriate for them to make loans in furtherance of the corporate purpose, to wit: to "support programs of significance to the church that would otherwise be left undone." While the principle applies equally for each organization some will argue that not all boards are equally responsible.

What may be new is the apparent commitment by ECM to make the Board directly responsible and to combine the issues of responsibility in investments, program investments, and the continuing, acknowledged need for skillful, prudent and profitable investment management — raising such questions as, "do we have a positive preference for investing in Amalgamated Industries, and if so, why?"

It is probably no overstatement that the single most heated question ever to be put on the agenda of an Episcopal Church Foundation Board meeting was that of how the Foundation should vote its General Motors shares on the issue of that corporation's involvement in South Africa. The discussion was barely heard over the burst of outrage.

Taking seriously social responsibility in investments means comparing alternatives in order to be as certain as one can that one's resources are working together purposefully and in harmony. It is not likely that the Textile Workers Union would make an investment in J. P Stevens securities, nor that Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) would invest in the armaments industry, nor those opposed to gambling, in Resorts International or Caesar's Palace. Why then should money entrusted to ECM "to serve the urban poor" be invested in, say, Nestle's? It hardly seems consistent to boycott companies in which one is willing to make an investment. Perhaps more to the point, if one has an important stake in a company, would

WITNESS readers who can supply other case studies in this area are encouraged to write them up and send them to Charles Ritchie, Box 38A, Star Route, Saranac Lake, N.Y. 12983. He has volunteered to collect, sort and share the information.

one feel free to support a boycott of its products? Vested interests do not encourage cool objectivity, "for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."

It seems certain that the issue of social responsibility in investments will continue to challenge everyone who takes it seriously. There are no nice, clean and easy answers. Some duck the issue because it is that difficult to deal with, others pretend that it is not an appropriate concern for a non-profit organization and that there is a fiduciary obligation to maximize the return on invested funds anyway. Besides, who are the people making decisions about what is and what is not "responsible"? Views will differ depending on where one sits.

What ECM has said is something to the effect that "we are responsible for the talents entrusted to us and we intend to carry out that responsibility as fully as possible in a corporate way in the light of our corporate purpose, which is to serve the urban poor." Perhaps not startling, but, dear reader, please press your imagination button.

Imagine if the church at the national level sponsored a study to draw up criteria for a new emphasis for the investment of all assets throughout the corporate church. Suppose just 10% of all invested funds were to be invested for reasonable safety, return *and*, very specifically, in programs addressed to meeting urgent social needs. Imagine the consequences if the Church Pension Fund, the Episcopal Church Foundation, the wealthy dioceses and sometimes wealthier parishes, the great

number of church related agencies — all charitable, non-profit and tax free under the umbrella of PECUSA — imagine the impact if they all adopted the same statement of responsibility as Episcopal City Mission. With professional and imaginative skill (certainly there is no shortage) think of the millions of dollars that could be redirected towards solutions for some of the most urgent social problems. Only 10%, a tithe, could release millions — but just imagine the opening up of hundreds, no, thousands of minds to a new potential for mission. Press the button all the way, now, and imagine the impact if you and I and every one of us who aspires to be responsible for the talents entrusted to us made the same commitment.

Enormous energy and motivation surround us. How many like ECM are taking positive and responsible steps to help make sure it isn't wasted? "Unto everyone who hath shall be given but from him that hath only Amalgamated Industries shall be taken away even that which he hath." ■



Ecumenical Alternative To 'Business as Usual'

by Ronald E. Stenning

Churches in the United States and other Western countries have invested billions of dollars in commercial banks and transnational corporations. In recent years many individual Christians, local congregations and other church groups have become concerned about how those funds are being used. In some instances that concern has resulted in funds being withdrawn from institutions whose policies openly support unjust economic and/or repressive political structures. However, in spite of a few such withdrawal actions, the issue of how and where to invest church funds remains a major question. The opportunities to invest funds in ways that will directly benefit the poor of the world, while at the same time provide an adequate return on those investments have been very limited. The Ecumenical Development Cooperative Society now hopes to provide a viable option where both of those criteria can be met.

Becoming operational in 1977, the Ecumenical Development Cooperative Society functions as a bank, providing financial assistance for development programs and projects in which the poor are direct beneficiaries. Owned by the churches, it is totally ecumenical in nature, and is out to prove that it is possible to make socially worthwhile

investments which directly benefit the poor and still make a fair profit. Its record to date appears to support that belief.

Incorporated in Rotterdam in 1975 with the World Council of Churches and the Netherlands Council of Churches as co-founders, the Society presently has 135 members/shareholders from the six continents, with 40% of its membership from the Third World. Included in that membership are major Protestant denominations in Europe and the United States, as well as many Roman Catholic orders and congregations. The Board of Directors also reflects its ecumenical and global emphasis. Seven of the 13 Board members are from Third World countries. Several members of the Board bring to their task considerable experience as bankers, economists, corporate officers and company directors. The staff is led by a Sri Lankan businessman, Adrian St. V. Wijemanne, who has impressive credentials and long experience in working with developing nations. Prior to the establishment of the EDSCS, Mr. Wijemanne was Executive Director of ECLOF, an ecumenical loan fund which in 32 years never had a default.

Large financial institutions such as the World Bank do not find it economically feasible to deal with development projects under \$500,000. Therefore, smaller projects and programs of the poor have often gone unfunded. The EDSCS is able and

willing to provide financial assistance to such small scale development efforts.

EDSCS is now approaching the \$5 million mark in share capital and has begun to make loans to development projects which meet its criteria. The money lent out, according to those criteria, must benefit poor and powerless people who are directly involved in operating the project being funded. It must also, among other things, enable the projects to become self-sustaining in a reasonable period of time and contribute to the social, economic and political advancement, not only of those who are directly engaged in the project, but also the larger community. In all a pretty strict set of criteria against which applications for loans are measured.

Each loan, which must be approved by the Board of Directors, is made for a specific period of time, usually 9 or 10 years, and at an agreed upon rate of interest. Although the interest rate varies depending upon the project, it is usually well below the often exploitative rates the poor have to pay private and commercial money lenders. Through loans which have already been made, the Society is now involved, together with other funding agencies, in projects in several Third World countries. Additional projects are currently under review by the staff with at least 15 viable possibilities in Latin America alone.

The first such loan for \$100,000 was to an Agriculture Credit Program for Indian Campesinos in Ecuador. That loan will make possible advances to small farmers for seed, fertilizer and livestock. The Credit Program charges farmers 6% interest on loans made to them; banks in the area charge a much higher rate which is constantly increasing with inflation. Also, most of the farmers, descendants of the Incas, are unable to get loans from local banks because they lack a credit rating. Another loan made recently will enable 300 of the lowest grade employees of the

The Rev. Ronald Stenning, an Episcopal priest, is the director of the U.S. Program of Church World Service. He is also acting director for the Immigration and Refugee Program of CWS.



Vellore Christian Medical Hospital in India to construct their own homes. Still another loan to a group in Puno, Peru will help develop a wool processing and garment production operation (a worker owned/worker managed cooperative) which will benefit Andean Indian people in several small towns in the area. A more recent loan was for an Apiculture Project in Ankrah, Turkey, which will upgrade and modernize the beekeeping practiced by thousands of small bee farmers.

Because it is the only ecumenical institution specifically designed to use its investment capital in the projects of poor communities, the Society is a challenge to both Western churches and churches in the Third World. For churches in the West the challenge is to commit some of their investment funds to the struggle for human development, and to make that commitment ecumenically. In commenting on the use of investment funds, Adrian Wijemanne said recently, "For centuries the church has been responding to poverty by charity and making grants. Such grants are easy to handle and much more readily available than investment capital. But today, with the still unresolved problems of poverty and underdevelopment more desperate

than ever, the age-old charitable approach has to be supplemented by a far more serious commitment. That commitment demands the use of investment capital which represents the heart of the churches' worldly possessions." Through the EDCS, Western churches are asked to commit some of their resources to the cause of development rather than keeping it in transnationals and commercial banks.

The challenge to Third World churches is to be involved in their own communities by supporting and assisting development projects in those communities and thus help poor people improve the quality of their own lives. They are being challenged to support development projects that benefit the entire community and its people rather than the more traditional church pattern of doing things *for* the poor instead of working *with* them.

Churches and church related groups may become member/shareholders in the Ecumenical Development Cooperative Society by buying shares in the Society. Those shares are currently valued at \$250 each. Applications for membership and the purchase of shares must be approved by the Board. At present several new applications are under consideration, both from the United States and other countries.

A significant feature of the EDCS is a rule that each member has "one vote" irrespective of their capital input. This rule has made it possible for many Third World churches with limited resources to become members of the Society on an equal basis with other members.

The Society is also a challenge to local congregations and individuals who want to be involved in such an investment opportunity. At present this is especially true in Europe. In Holland it has been possible to form an association for the EDCS in which over 800 individuals, local parishes and congregations, Roman Catholic Orders and other groups are making investments. The share capital from that Association alone is nearing \$1 million. Similar associations are being formed in Switzerland, France and by the end of 1980 it is expected that six associations of a similar nature will be functioning in West Germany.

In the United States attempts are being made legally to establish an EDCS association. However, U.S. security laws are very stringent, especially in relation to foreign investment organizations. Presently, the EDCS is allowed to be promoted in the United States only among member churches of the World Council of Churches, other Christian denominations and agencies and Roman Catholic orders. To date local congregations can participate only through their parent denominations, and where denominations have not seen fit to commit any investment capital in the EDCS, local congregations and individuals are also precluded from making any such investment. When an EDCS association is formed in the U.S., it will be possible for individuals and local congregations to make investments even if their parent denominations have not done so.

In spite of the present legal obstacles, the 1979 Annual Report of the Society shows that 40% of the share capital now

available comes from member/shareholders in the United States. This is due to the fact that several denominations and church agencies, including the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), the Church of the Brethren, Lutheran World Ministries, the Board of World Ministries of the United Church of Christ, the United Presbyterian Church, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the World Division of the United Methodist Church have all made substantial commitments of investment capital.

Several Roman Catholic orders and congregations in the United States and Europe have also invested in the EDCS. In fact, 42% of last year's increase in both membership and share capital was attributable to Roman Catholic organizations. A letter from the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary which accompanied their \$300,000 investment expressed the feeling of many such groups:

"We believe that EDCS will be a positive way of using our

financial resources in line with our mission orientation. In addition to the positive investment of our funds, we would like to join in solidarity with all those churches which are trying to join forces to promote the development of the economically poor areas of the world."

As new associations are formed in the Western world, and in particular in the United States, it is hoped that there will be a continued growth of share capital as individuals and local congregations are enabled to invest even if their denominations have not done so. That growth will make possible additional loans for development programs and projects which meet the bank's criteria. The requests for loans are steadily increasing. Also the growing participation of Third World churches which are able to buy only a small number of shares will, through the "one member — one vote" rule, ensure that the power to make decisions within the Society is equitably divided, as is often

not the case in wealthy, Western church groups.

An important side benefit of church involvement in the EDCS is the education that is made possible about the relationship between the Mission of the Christian Church, the responsible use of investment funds and the development process. As Fred Bronkema, the U.S. representative of the Society has said, "EDCS is about people cooperating together — both poor and rich — to make life more human on all levels, not only economically. It deals with poverty and the structures which cause this injustice. Through the EDCS people realize that they can be directly involved in this development/mission effort and the projects of the poor. They know their funds are going directly into those projects."

Further information about EDCS can be obtained from Bronkema by writing him at EDCS, Room 1062, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115. ■



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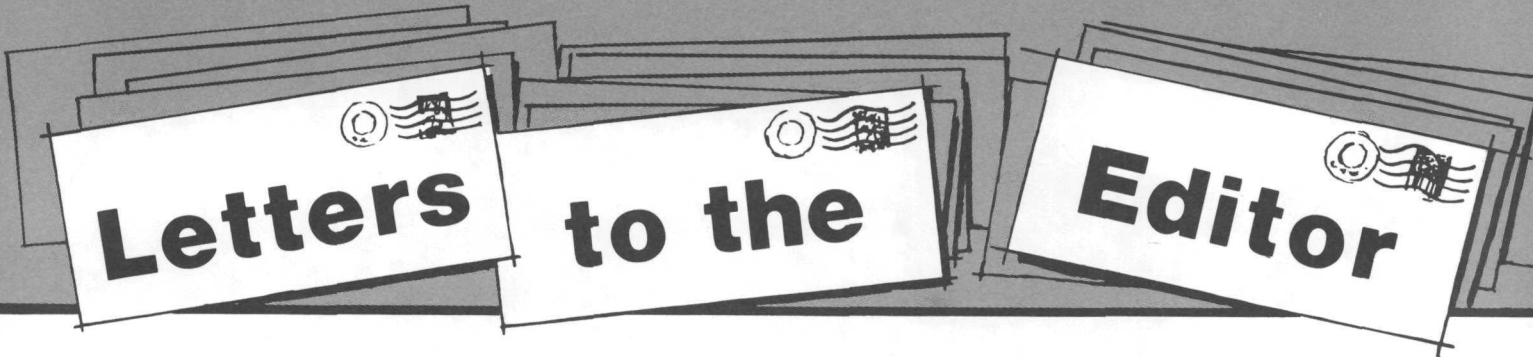
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THE WITNESS

VOL. 63, NO. 12 DECEMBER, 1980

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Letters

to the

Editor

Get Acts Together

I had to laugh at the articles by Kay Atwater and Joan Howarth back-to-back in the August WITNESS: one woman calling for a Jonah House demonstration on the Feast of Innocents when children and the unborn will be remembered and the other calling for support and funds for an organization (NOW) committed to slaughter of the unborn. Why don't you get your acts together? We are a church — Christ's Body — not a political caucus.

Katharine C. Brandon
Santa Fe, New Mex.

Atwater Responds

Joan Howarth's support of the ERA is based on her strong belief in a woman's right to make her own choices, especially in a matter so personal as an abortion. (No one that I know of is "committed to the slaughter of the unborn.") And my own concern to prevent nuclear war would lead me to support the Jonah House demonstration. But there is a common theme, prompted by Ms. Brandon's letter — that of accountability.

Just as a man and a woman can start a new life, unwanted, so two governments, following the old human instincts of pride, aggression and lust for power, are capable of starting a conflict that could end all life. Under control, both sexuality and nuclear fission are beneficent. But in our increased freedom we have abused both. Who will pay for our mistakes until we learn that control?

Until we learn to understand and accept the consequences of every decision we make and everything we do, we are liable for our mistakes and those of others. As regards sexuality, there is

always a second chance. With nuclear war that may not be there.

Kay Atwater
Blue Bell, PA

Responsible Journalism

I find the articles in THE WITNESS to be thoughtful and provocative. In the August issue I found the interview with Paul Washington, "Iran: A View From the Ghetto," and the statement by Ramsey Clark, "Dialogue Makes Everything Possible," very well done.

When read in context, the Clark article was far different from the quotes seen in many newspapers, which were often taken out of context and did not convey the message that he was delivering. Thank you for providing us with responsible journalism.

Donald L. Tarr
Salinas, Cal.

Steinem's Darling?

I believe that the Bible is God's Word — that it means what it says! I do *not* believe in women priests/pastors/rabbis. Ramsey Clark's views don't even approximate mine and your other views on other issues would make you Gloria Steinem's darling, but *not* mine!!!

J. L. Robinson, Jr.
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Emulating Bonhoeffer

This is a discussion on the grace system and the merit system and how they complement each other. The merit system has to do with logic, law, regulations and sanctions. The grace system has to do with freedom, compassion, mercy and forgiveness.

The national debate about Iran is an example of the merit system taking

precedence over the grace system in government. Confession is good for the soul for institutions as well as individuals. Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General of the United States, and 10 other Americans including the Rev. Paul Washington, went to Iran to confess our sins in supporting the Shah. On two points let me be perfectly clear: the taking and holding of innocent hostages is disgraceful, dishonorable and damnable, and so was our support for the Shah. Those who have sinned must confess, Iranians as well as Americans. Repentance is a necessary action before one can accept forgiveness, according to the system of grace. Forgiveness may be forever offered but forgiveness can never be accepted until the offenders acknowledge their fault and repent.

Jimmy, the Baptist, should understand confession as a way of cleansing the soul of the federal government. However, he said, "the irony is apparent in a former Attorney General attending a conference to prove the criminality of his own nation." (*N.Y. Times*, June 6) This is an appropriate thing to do for those who understand the function of confession and how one acts who is repentant and contrite. An American president who does not understand this is one who is not repentant. An American government that resists this is one that is not contrite.

What Ramsey Clark and the other 10 Americans did is not much different from what Dietrich Bonhoeffer did in 1939. He turned his back on the safety and security of an appointment at Union Theological Seminary in New York as war clouds were gathering over Europe and returned to Germany to join the resistance movement against Hitler. He

Continued on page 19

THE WITNESS

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An Uneasy Christmas Peace

Robert L. DeWitt

The tinsels and ribbons of Christmas are the too-fragile ties whereby we are reminded both of our origin and of our destiny. The commemoration of Christmas has profoundly personal and social implications for each of us.

The Nativity of Jesus provides a basic clue to our own identity. The startling and incomprehensible assertion of our faith that God was in the birth of that Child is the staking out of a divine claim on all human life. Forevermore, all people have become sisters and brothers, bearers of a royal lineage. Our amazement at this mysterious indwelling by God of that particular human life of Jesus is matched only by our astonishment at the unutterable dignity which, by the same token, it bestows upon us. And upon all people. The phrase "reverence for human life" is a modest gesture toward the implication of those glad tidings of Christmas. For valuing oneself is only the recognition of one's true and incalculable worth. And to recognize that all people have that same worth is to grasp clearly the divine assessment of the human enterprise.

Small wonder that those who take seriously the message of Christmas are in earnest on the question of peace, as on all questions that touch on the welfare of people. There is a necessary connection between a Christian's faith and working for peace. Of old, God was known as the One who makes wars in all the world to cease, the One who "knappeth the bow in sunder", who wills that swords be beat into plowshares, spears into pruning hooks. And in these latter days came God's Son who was proclaimed as the Prince of Peace,

who said "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God".

The timelessness of this Christian posture toward peace has a peculiar timeliness today. Never has there been a threat to peace on such a grand scale as in this nuclear age. The threats of former eras compared to our present danger is a brush fire contrasted with a holocaust. The Christian mandate of peace-making is the same as ever, but the urgency is new. Those who challenge today's enormous military budgets, who condemn profit-making by the selling of arms to other nations, who draw attention to the diabolical inhumanity of modern atomic weapons, are clearly about their Father's business, and show themselves to be sisters and brothers of the Prince of Peace.

To remember who we are, and Whose we are, is the proper theme of Christmastide. To do so is hearing indeed the glad tidings of the Christmas season. To work on draft counselling, to support Clergy and Laity Concerned, to vote against nuclear proliferation, to recognize sympathetically what the Berrigan brothers and other peace activists are about, is an appropriate response to that Good News. God has in store unimaginable chapters for the continuing story of the redemption and sanctification of humankind. God does not want that story aborted, brought to a premature and senseless and tragic end by lethal armaments.

May your Christmas tinsels and ribbons this season be bright and gay, signs and symbols of your being bound to God's great purpose for you and for all God's other daughters and sons, your sisters and brothers.

A Christmas Fantasy: 'Twas the Night Before Peace'

by Carleton Schaller, Jr.

I read something recently which really disturbed me. It was so simple, yet so ridiculous. So appealing, yet so "far out." It could not possibly have any practical application for today's world. It was written by the prominent composer and conductor, Leonard Bernstein, as follows:

"Let's invent a fantasy together, right now — and I mean a *fantastic* fantasy. No holds barred. Let's pretend that any one of us has become President of the United States, a very imaginative President, who has suddenly taken a firm decision to disarm, completely and unilaterally. I see alarm on your faces: This crazed artist is proposing sheer madness. It can't be done; a President is not a dictator, this is a democracy. Congress would never permit it, the people would howl with wounded national pride, our allies would scream betrayal. It can't be done.

"But of course it can't be done if everybody starts by saying it can't be done. Let's push our imagination; remember, we're only fantasizing. Let's dare to be simplistic. All right, someone would stand up in the Congress and demand that the President be impeached, declared certifiable, and locked away in a loony bin. Others would agree.

"But suppose — just suppose — that one or two Senators or Congressmen got the point, and recognized this mad idea as perhaps the most courageous single action in history. And suppose that those few members of Congress happened to be hypnotically powerful orators. It might just become contagious — keep pushing that imagination button! — it just *might* get through to the people, who instead

of howling might well stand up tall and proud to be participating in this unprecedented act of strength and heroism. There might even be those who would feel it to be the noblest of sacrifices — far nobler, surely than sacrificing one's children on the fields of Armageddon. And this pride and joyful courage could spread, so that even our allies might applaud us. There is the barest possibility that it just might work.

"All right; now what? Now is when we really have to push, let fantasy lead us where it will. What is your first thought? Naturally, that the Soviet Union would come plowing in and take us over. But would they really? What would they do with us? Why would they want to assume responsibility for, and administration of, so huge, complex and problematical a society as ours? And in English, yet! Besides, who is the Soviet Union — its leaders, its army, or its people? The only reason for the army to fight is that their leaders would have commanded them to do so, but how can they fight when there is no enemy? The hypothetical enemy has been magically whisked away, and replaced by 200-odd-million smiling, strong, peaceful Americans.

"Now keep the fantasy going: the Russian *people* certainly don't want war; they have suffered far too much; and it is more likely that they would displace their warlike leaders, and transform their Union of Socialist Republics into a truly democratic union. And think of the example that would have been set for the whole world; think of the relief at no longer having to bluster and sabre-rattle and save face; think of the vast new wealth, now available to make life rich, beautiful, clean, sexy, thoughtful, inventive, healthful, fun!"

Now I suppose I shouldn't have been disturbed by Bernstein's fantasy because artists, for all their magnificent

The Rev. Carleton Schaller, Jr., is rector of All Saints Church, Littleton, N.H.

contributions to humankind, tend to be impractical at times. No offense intended. What do they know about international relationships — about power blocs — about the dangers of modern war? We don't elect people to Congress or to the Presidency primarily because they are artists. So why be disturbed when an artist speaks like this?

I think these words struck me because I had been thinking of our Judaeo-Christian concept of faith, or trust. I think they disturbed me because of our national fondness for holding up the motto: *In God we trust* — the one on our currency. And I think they disturbed me because they called to mind the words of another man, a particular hero of mine, a very practical man who led this country to military victory in World War II. General Dwight D. Eisenhower said some 20 years ago, "We're rapidly coming to the point that no war can be won. War implies a contest. When you get to the point where contest is no longer involved and that outlook comes close to destruction of the enemy and suicide for ourselves, an outlook neither side can ignore, any arguments as to the exact amount of available strength as compared to somebody else's are no longer vital issues. And when we get to that point, as some day we will, then both sides know that in an outbreak of general hostilities, regardless of the element of surprise, destruction will be both reciprocal and complete."

And 20 years ago he also said, "Possibly we will have sense enough to meet at the conference table with the understanding that the era of armaments has ended and the human race must conform its actions to this truth or die." Were his words 20th century prophecy? Was he telling us that what may have seemed reasonable, heroic, and right in the 1940s is totally unthinkable today because of the sheer awesomeness of modern weaponry? Probably he wasn't thinking in terms of unilateral disarmament. But was he expressing concern that in 1980 the nations of the world would be spending \$1 million a minute on armament?

In God we trust. How much do we dare trust? I mean how much trust is practical and how much is lunacy, given the actions of other people over whom we have so little control? So much lack of sureness! Søren Kierkegaard wrote of this uncertainty, "I contemplate the order of nature in hope of finding God, and I see omnipotence and wisdom; but I also see much else that disturbs my mind and excites anxiety. The sum of all this is objective uncertainty." In the face of uncertainty, what is faith?

Picture a group of waders, feeling their way into the ocean on a sandy beach. If they're shrewd and prudent, if they want more than probability, insisting on proof that the water will support them, they keep their toes on the bottom. Then they can wade and wade and wade. But as long as they wade, they

will never understand what swimming is. As spectators, knee-deep in the water, they can see others swimming. And they can postulate that if the water holds the swimmers up, it will no doubt hold them, too. But they still will never know what it means to swim until they have the faith to entrust themselves to the water. Without participating in risk, there is no faith. "Faith," said Kierkegaard, "is swimming with 70,000 fathoms beneath you."

In God we trust. The Jewish people said that, too, in their own way. Then they got into all kinds of trouble when they sought to make certain their trust in God by entering into various and sundry military alliances. The story of prophecy in the Old Testament is in part the story of prophetic denunciation of these alliances. Jeremiah sounds like he might have been an observer from an airplane over Hiroshima.

*"I looked on the earth, and lo, it was waste and void;
And to the heavens, and they had no light.
I looked on the mountains, and lo, they were quaking,
And all the hills moved to and fro.
I looked, and lo, there was no one,
And all the birds of the air had fled.
I looked, and lo, the fruitful land was a desert,
And all its cities were laid in ruins before Yahweh,
before Yahweh's anger."* (4:23-26)

And then came Jesus. "*Blessed are the peacemakers,*" he said. Now that disturbs me. It's not hard to dismiss the words of an artist on practical subjects like armament limitation. And I suppose one could even regard the statements of a soldier-statesman as attributable to his just being tired of warfare and anxious to retire in peace. But what do I do with those words of Jesus? Do I say they don't apply to 1980? Do I say that because he didn't know about the Russians and Afghanistan that even if they are fine-sounding words, they really don't mean much except in a general way as a high-sounding principle? Can I do that with "*Blessed are the peacemakers*"?

It disturbs me. Peace makers. Not just sitting back and waiting for peace to happen. But making peace. Actively pursuing peace. What about those among us who argue that preparation for war is the best preparation for peace? Is that peace making, or is it instead just peace hoping, peace eulogizing?

I wonder. And I ponder. How much of a leap of faith do we dare? As I finger my coins and read the inscription, how much do I trust in God? Enough to hope that from the top down we will dare to become peace makers? "Just suppose," said the musician. Or only enough to buttress my trust by seeking a military supremacy in the conviction that only might makes right? ■

Peace Churches Negotiate A Strategic Truce

by Maynard Shelly



As rumors of war multiply, Christian activists spurred on by the New Call to Peacemaking, a four-year old coalition of so-called historic peace churches, speed up their campaign for a warless world.

While carried forward by a tide of hopeful support from other church leaders, they feel the tug of home congregations looking longingly backward toward safer shores.

The recent national election only served to increase the deadliness of the nation's arsenal. The rage brought on by a poor country's holding two score and twelve American citizens in year-long humiliation has yet to subside. Iran and Iraq brandish fiery steel at each other over the exposed jugular of oil that nourishes the comforts known as the American way of life.

Against this dismal background, registration for the draft has been renewed, and conscription seems likely to begin next year.

Yet amidst the din of such militant militarism, a leader of the revival of the peace movement among conservative Christians dares to say, "Interest in peacemaking is increasing like a great groundswell."

Maynard Shelly is the author of *New Call for Peacemakers* and a curriculum writer for the Mennonite churches. He has served as a pastor in Illinois and Pennsylvania, and in Bangladesh as a relief worker for the Mennonite Central Committee.

Norval Hadley is a member of the Evangelical Friends Alliance and on the staff of World Vision. When he opened the second national conference of the New Call to Peacemaking at Green Lake, Wisc., in October, he said, "Now is the time for the church to boldly proclaim the biblical message of peacemaking."

In the early 1970s, Hadley tried without success to place support for peacemaking on the agenda of the world conference on evangelism in Switzerland with the sponsorship of the Billy Graham organization. Evangelism conference leaders felt that talk of opposition to war would be controversial and divisive.

Undaunted, Hadley and the evangelical Friends took their concerns to leaders of other Quaker communities who then asked Mennonite and Church of the Brethren people to organize the New Call to Peacemaking to get a hearing for peace from the mainline churches of the United States.

After a series of regional conferences, 300 delegates came in October to Green Lake to give new energy to the tide for peace which Hadley and the New Call leadership now believe is flowing in their direction.

In the last few years, Southern Baptists have taken note of the threat of a nuclear crisis and the National Association of Evangelicals has spoken out in opposition to the arms race. And Billy Graham has warmed up to the issue of Christian responsibility for peacemaking, beginning with a warning against militarism. "The present insanity of the global arms

race," he said after his visit to the site of a Nazi death camp in Poland, "if continued will lead inevitably to a conflagration so great that Auschwitz will seem like a minor rehearsal."

Admitting that "there have been times in the past when I have, I suppose, confused the kingdom of God with the American way of life," Graham now says, "I believe that the Christian especially has a responsibility to work for peace in our world."

That's a task filled with obstacles for the conservative concerned about purity of doctrine. "Christians may well find themselves," says Graham, "working and agreeing with non-believers on an issue like peace."

Yet the New Call to Peacemaking took that risk at Green Lake. "We prayed for openness to be led by God's spirit," said the delegates in their introduction to a 3500 word statement of their concerns put together by 27 small study groups during four days of intense searching and witnessing to each other.

"We listened to and admonished each other," they said, "in searching for answers to the specific challenges of the state's demand for our money to pay for war, our bodies to fight wars, and our allegiance to the illusion of security through arms."

Two years ago, at its first national meeting, the New Call to Peacemaking asked the 400,000 members of the historic peace church communities "seriously to consider refusal to pay the military portion of their federal taxes, as a response to Christ's call to radical discipleship." Thus, they moved beyond conscientious objection to military service, which has been the traditional response to militarism during most of the four and one half centuries of peace church history.

Now, to be specific, they said in their 1980 affirmation, "Christian peacemakers are urged to consider withholding from the Internal Revenue Service all tax monies which contribute to any war effort." And they added, "Substantial support should be offered by the community of faith to the war tax refuser."

They asked from their youth of draft age, should conscription be revived, "open, nonviolent noncooperation with the conscription system" and asked all peace church members "to stand with and fully support non-registrants." Alternative service under civilian direction was also recognized as an appropriate response to the draft.

New Call Peacemakers at Green Lake knew they had to practice the kind of reconciliation they preached for others. They saw that their proposals would be debated and challenged not only by Christians outside the peace church tradition but also by many members in their home congregations.

A Brethren pastor, with the watery vista of Green Lake and its wooded shores behind him, posed the problem: "We

are a group of radicals," said Don Willoughby, Copemish, Mich. "These statements are penned by those who are strong. I'm faced with taking this back to our churches and calling them to come into the deep water when they haven't gotten their toes wet."

He admitted that though persons at the Green Lake meeting might carry out the strong measures of tax refusal and resistance to conscription, as many of the delegates to the conference already had, "I don't think the home folks can."

Though few others spoke so candidly, the sentiment had solid support in the list of resolutions to which the Green Lake group committed itself. "Nurturing peacemakers" came second only to the affirmation of the vision of peace that the peace church groups share.

Peacemaking, they said, has to be taught "in the congregation at all age levels by presenting the biblical basis for peacemaking in a regular, planned way," and by "bringing concerns related to . . . the arms race into the prayer and worship life of the community." Lay leaders and pastors were targeted for courses in peace theology and practice in the skills of dialogue and "careful listening."

Dialogue and listening were, in fact, put to practice at Green Lake in revising a strong statement on the morality of paying war taxes. "War is sin" was an assumption that went unchallenged, so central has it become in peace church dogma.

But a proposed extension of that affirmation that "paying for war is a sin parallel to the sin of fighting war" was eventually revised for a minority at the conference and for a majority of the folks back home to a less threatening proposition: "If we believe that fighting war is wrong, does it not follow that paying for war is wrong? If we urge resistance to the draft, should we not also resist the conscription of our material resources?"

The need to speak peaceably about peace seemed dictated not only by the need to win the likes of Billy Graham outside the peace church tradition, but also to gain support within the peace churches themselves for the cause of opposing war and finding ways to make peace.

Whether members in a congregation are in full agreement or not on the strategies for working for peace, the Green Lake delegates hoped that "substantial support (would) be offered by the community of faith to the war tax refuser . . . Material support should be made available to the resister and/or the resister's family whenever needed. Prayer support must be timely, consistent and conscientious . . . Individuals and/or the community of faith should write

Continued on page 15



"This is the first time as far as we know that the weapons' dynasty has been seriously incommoded by peace people . . . The uncontrolled nuclear arms race makes a hostage of every living being, including the innocent unborn."

— Daniel Berrigan, S.J.

Peace Activists at GE

Millions Saved, Eight Jailed

by Bill Whistler & Teresa Jackson

"Activists Philip and Daniel Berrigan and six others were arrested yesterday morning and charged with breaking and entering into a General Electric plant in King of Prussia (Pennsylvania) that makes component parts for Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles."

The brothers, who since the late 1960s have engaged in what they call "religious peace activism" were accused of pouring human blood on classified plans and smashing thermo-nuclear nose cones with hammers."

— Philadelphia Inquirer, Sept. 10

This act of the eight people at General Electric in suburban King of Prussia (described above) can be interpreted as

Bill Whistler, a member of the Episcopal Church Without Walls, Philadelphia, and Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), resigned his post as engineer for the GE Valley Forge plant in conscientious protest in August. **Teresa Jackson** is Philadelphia coordinator of CALC.

the first true act of disarmament in the nuclear age. In every time and every society a small minority has spoken out, sometimes at great risk, saying there is a law higher than that of men. Their message was that at times we must affirm the message of St. Peter: "We must obey God rather than men."

In World War II, people turned their heads while gas chambers were built in their communities. They silently condemned millions to death by their inaction and called it "obeying the law."

We have not learned from the Holocaust; the process is being repeated today. Bombs that have the power to destroy more people than in all previous wars combined are being built in our back yards. We condone these death factories because they are protected by law and we are a lawful people.

At General Electric, two missile components suffered several thousands of dollars of damage; had these components been completed they would have had the capacity to kill millions of people. Damaging property

can be wrong; building bombs whose only function is to kill people is heinous.

We have been warned as in biblical times, and as much as we may like to, we cannot treat lightly what eight modern 'sentinels' did at the General Electric plant on September 9. We face a variety of choices: We can pretend that nothing happened, and go about our business. Or, we can ignore the message and concentrate on arguing about the efficacy of this particular action as a strategy for social change. We can also denounce these people as lawless hoodlums and be reassured that somehow we *need* to have the capability of destroying ourselves and millions of other people. Unfortunately, we must face the fact that we have come to a point where none of these options is open to us.

The danger is real. The doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) is just that, MAD. It means that you and I are likely to be killed, our homes destroyed, our families faced with the lingering effects of radiation poisoning.

For the first time in history we have created a technology capable of destroying the world without the morality that will keep us from using this capability.

How will we respond? Silence only insures the inevitability of nuclear war. Yet we contribute to and condone the arms race in countless ways. Nearly half of our federal taxes goes to the military, including the production and development of nuclear weapons. Owning stock in GE supports the country's fifth largest military contractor. When Congress voted to "bail out" Lockheed, it was supporting the makers of the Trident submarine, one of the newest and most destructive weapons in our arsenal. The list goes on, but the question remains the same: The warning has been sounded: how will we respond? ■

Statement by the Eight:

'Bringing Good Things to Death'

The prophets Isaiah and Micah summon us to beat swords into plowshares. Therefore, eight of us from the Atlantic Life Community come to the King of Prussia G.E. (Re-entry Division) plant to expose the criminality of nuclear weaponry and corporate piracy. We represent resistance communities along the East Coast: each of us has a long history of nonviolent resistance to war.

We commit civil disobedience at G.E. because this genocidal entity is the fifth leading producer of weaponry in the United States. To maintain this position, G.E. drains \$3 million a day from the public treasury, an enormous larceny against the poor. We wish also to challenge the lethal lie spun by G.E. through its motto: "We bring good things to life." As manufacturer of the Mark 12A re-entry vehicle, G.E. actually prepares to bring good things to death. Through the Mark 12A the threat of First-Strike nuclear war grows more imminent. Thus, G.E. advances the possible destruction of millions of innocent lives.

In confronting G.E., we choose to obey God's law of life, rather than a corporate summons to death. Our beating of swords into plowshares today is a way to enflame this biblical call. In our action we draw on a deep rooted faith in Christ, who changed the course of history through his willingness to suffer rather than to kill. We are filled with hope for our world and for our children as we join this act of resistance.

— The Rev. Daniel Berrigan, Philip Berrigan, Dean Hammer, The Rev. Carl Kabat, Elmer Maas, Sister Anne Montgomery, Molly Rush, and John Schuchardt.

Medical Care Impossible in Nuclear Attack

A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* presented convincing data that "any nuclear war would inevitably cause death, disease and suffering of epidemic proportions for which effective medical intervention on any realistic scale would be impossible."

Dr. Howard H. Hiatt, dean of Harvard School of Public Health and a professor at Harvard Medical School, quoted John Hersey's account of the problem presented to Hiroshima's medical care system and its capabilities after the atomic bomb dropped there:

"Of 150 doctors in the city, 65 were already dead and most of the rest were wounded. Of 1,780 nurses, 1,654 were dead or too badly hurt to work. In the biggest hospital, that of the Red Cross,

only 6 doctors out of 30 were able to function and only 10 nurses out of more than 200. At least 10,000 of the city's wounded made their way to the Red Cross Hospital, which was altogether unequal to such a trampling. . ."

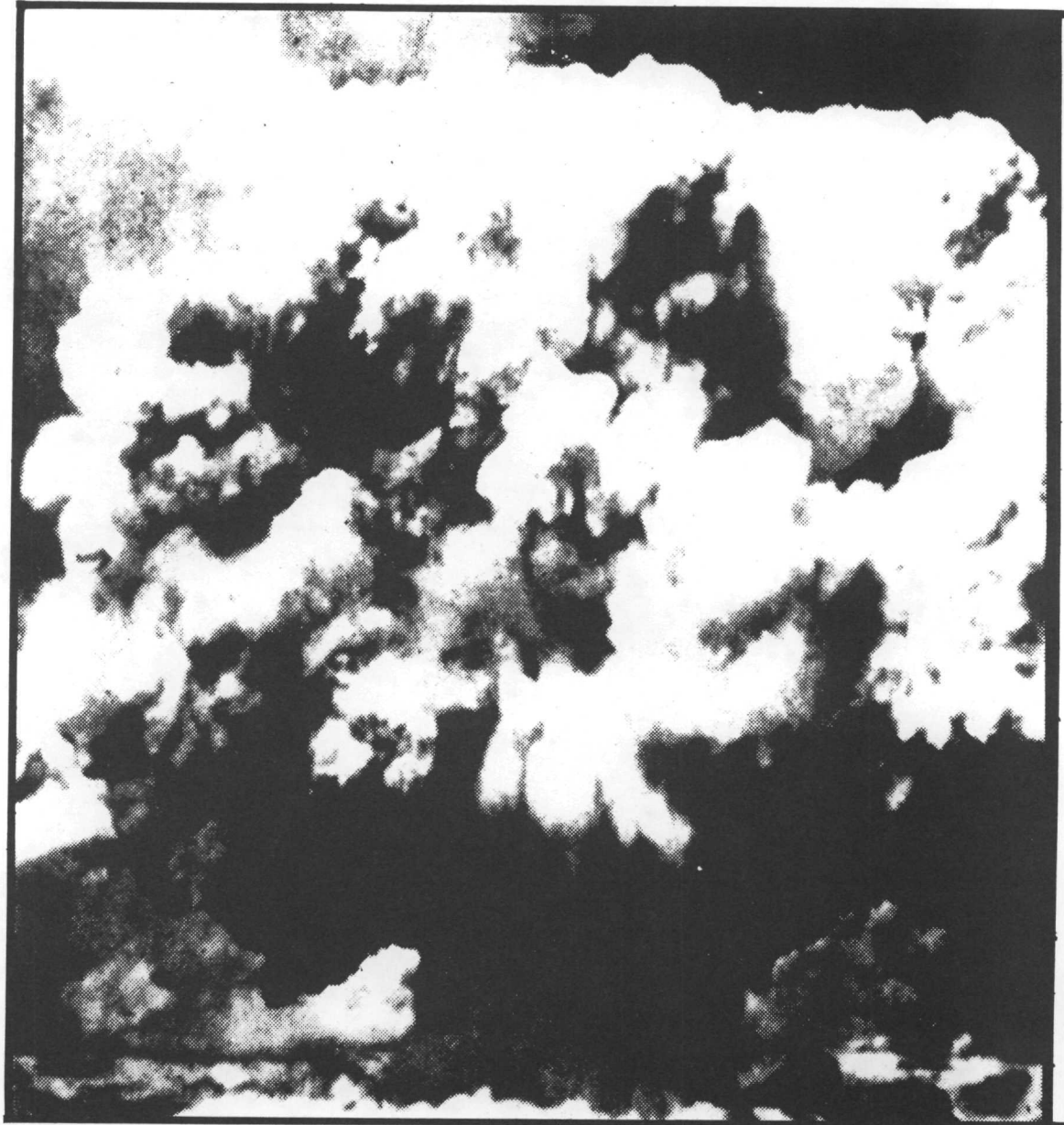
Citing authoritative studies described in the *Scientific American* last year and in the *New England Journal of Medicine* in 1962, Dr. Hiatt set out the prospects for medical care in view of a nuclear attack on an American city with a population of 3.5 million:

"Using as a base a figure of 6,560 physicians in the area at the time of attack, the 1962 study projects that almost 5,000 would be killed immediately or fatally injured, and that only 900 would be in a condition to render post attack

medical care. The ratio of injured people to physicians thus would exceed 1,700 to 1. If a physician spent an average of only 15 minutes with each injured person and worked 16 hours each day, the studies project, it would take 16 to 26 days for each casualty to be seen once. Thus it is unrealistic to seriously suggest medical response to the overwhelming health problems that would follow a nuclear attack," Dr. Hiatt said.

"If we examine the consequences of nuclear war in medical terms, we must pay heed to the inescapable lesson of contemporary medicine: Where treatment of a disease is ineffective, or where costs are insupportable, attention must be given to prevention. Can more compelling arguments be marshalled for a preventive strategy?" ■

The Devastating Effects



Hiroshima, Japan

In Hiroshima there is a museum
and outside that museum there is a rock;
and on that rock there is a shadow.
That shadow is all that remains
of a human being who stood there August 6, 1945.

of the U.S. Arms Race

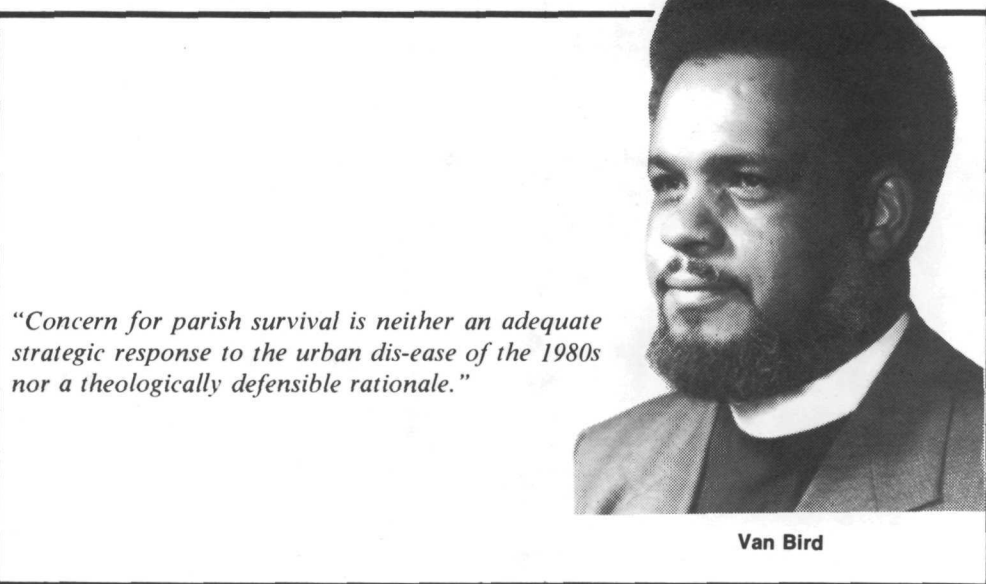


Courtesy of CALC

This illustrates the choices before us now;
Either we will end war now in this generation
or we will all be
shadows on the rocks.

South Bronx, N.Y.

— Jonah House



"Concern for parish survival is neither an adequate strategic response to the urban dis-ease of the 1980s nor a theologically defensible rationale."

Van Bird

Who Will Benefit From Parish Revitalization?

by Van Bird

"Parish revitalization" has almost become a shibboleth in the churches as a necessary first step in responding to the urban challenges of the 1980s. Such ferment around urban issues is a welcome sign. At the same time, I am increasingly concerned lest the strategy of "parish revitalization" be reduced to a strategy for institutional survival.

The Rev. Van Bird is Director of Community Concerns for the Diocese of Pennsylvania. He teaches sociology at LaSalle College and was for seven years vicar of St. Bartholomew's in inner-city Philadelphia.

Consider, for example, three historical moments. The first was following the Episcopal Urban Bishops' Hearings in six major cities, when the summary document *To Hear and To Heed* (1978) challenged the church to respond to "*people in distress in our cities*." Second, a call was issued in 1979 for the formation of a broad-based urban caucus, for which a working document stated: "Some parishes will spurn a ministry for the renewal of the city. Still other parishes, clearly, will find themselves unable to resist their suburban captivity to comfort and

affluence. Yet, it is equally clear that the church must stand behind the parishes which have a sense of mission, providing particular assistance to those outposts in the city where faithful witness is made against great adversities; encouraging more affluent parishes to enter into partnership in service with urban congregations to build housing, create community business enterprises, and educate children and youth."

A sharp challenge to the parish.

The third historical moment came at the organizing assembly of the

Episcopal Urban Caucus (February, 1980), when a focus on the parish as the key element in response to "people in distress in our cities" was further refined to concentrate on "internal dynamics, survival needs and sources of external support" for the local congregation. This change of emphasis and focus from "people in distress" to "parishes in distress" is understandable from the point of view of bishops, priests and other administrators who occupy the ecclesiastical command posts. But in the opinion of this writer, concern for parish survival is neither an adequate strategic response to the "urban disease" of the 1980s nor a theologically defensible rationale.

At the outset let me say that I can understand some of the pressures and reasons for this change in focus from a specific group of people in our cities (an urban underclass) to a wider, more diffused assortment of urban-metropolitan social concerns (e.g., peace, women's rights, rights of homosexuals, etc.). The desire for a broader base of support, with the implicit need for more financial support, moved the Caucus to be more inclusive and diverse. One result was the change in focus from the term *city* to the less specific term, *urban-metropolitan*. Additionally, there has been a retrenchment from social action by the churches in recent years, although the needs remain. When the call came for a renewed commitment to action on behalf of the "people in our cities," there was an overwhelming response by many who saw this as a forum in which to place their own forgotten agenda before the whole church once again. "Urban mission" became a symbol (perhaps a kind of code word) — not of a place of ministry, but of the social outreach of ministry wherever it occurred.

In this evolutionary development, to me, the concept of "parish revitalization" is based on the interests

of the parish to continue as it has been. As I read and hear of the new proposals for implementing parish revitalization — a call to "stay in the city"; a call to establish new congregations in the city; a call to evangelize the city — I am convinced that *the more things change, the more they remain the same*. Remember the earlier church-wide calls for parish life conferences, parish leadership training, group life laboratories, sensitivity training, training in consultation and organizational life and development? We have much to learn from these various behavioral science and management insights, techniques and methodologies. However, in my experience over the past 25 years, all of them were focused on parish survival and/or parish revitalization. In passing, it is interesting to note that two decades ago the buzz word was *parish life conference*, that is, helping the parish to show greater signs of life and vitality. In the early 1980s, the buzz word could become *parish revitalization*, making the parish "vital," alive once again.

But parish life for whom? For what purpose? Parish revitalization for whom? For what purpose? For "people in distress in our cities"? Or increasing the institutional viability of existing organizations (parishes)?

Of course, the Gospel of Christ — the good news of liberation — is dependent upon some institutional form, without which the divine mandate is undeliverable. In the urban scene, some parishes make it; increasing numbers fail to survive. The reason for failure cannot be the message itself. Can it be the procedure? Can it be the result of the wrong priorities (seeking to "save life" rather than "lose life" in order to find it)? Can it be due to a disjunction between our theology and our actions (or proposed actions)? Could it be due to a tendency to speak the truth rather than do the truth, separating reflection

from praxis? The strategies for revitalization tend to have a common denominator — targeting resources (clergy, money, organizational expertise) for the same situations, using the same models. *We do not need "fine tuning" of old methods and models to make them more efficient: we need the institutional courage to risk new models for new situations.* The June 1980 issue of THE WITNESS featured some excellent articles on this theme. I suggest several assumptions and/or sociological factors which should be considered when developing plans and strategies for parish revitalization.

1 All Christian ministry is concrete, specific, and takes place in a given social context. In response to the question "Who is my neighbor?" Jesus tells a story of a Samaritan — a man of a particular social type, belonging to a particular social group. Jesus would not permit others to "spiritualize" the concept of loving and serving God and neighbor. "Whenever you did this for one of the least important of these brothers of mine, you did it for me." (Matthew 25:40).

This fact is recognized by one of the subcommittee reports at the Episcopal Urban Assembly. In a report entitled "Parish Revitalization in the Community," the following statement was affirmed:

"Primarily, the church and its congregations must identify with and be servants of the poor of the community. The church and its congregations must be engaged in and involved in the communities in which they are located. In that regard, ecumenism as well as relationships with other institutions and agencies in the neighborhoods is essential."

At the same Assembly, a Joint Statement of the Union of Black Episcopalians and the Hispanic Caucus declared:

"Racism must be addressed as a problem in and of itself, and issues of

justice, energy, the arms race, and parish revitalization must be discussed within the context of racism. For example, racist policies of lending institutions, such as 'redlining' and 'greenlining' effect the displacement of Blacks and Hispanics from neighborhoods and their replacement with whites. This manifestation of economic injustice, which enables whites to reclaim the cities, raises questions about the issue of parish revitalization. Revitalization for whom? What efforts will be made to recruit Black and Hispanic staff? Who will do necessary staff training? Viewing these issues apart from the overriding issue of racism will only result in a myopic understanding of the urban crisis and a failure to address the crisis at its roots."

2 The context for urban mission in the 1980s is one of basic change. These are times of shrinking resources; shifting alignments of power among the nations; a rising tide of ethnicity and nationalism; a proactive conservatism — in church and society. The dominant concern is usually survival. This frequently takes the form of an institutional decision-point: should we use our dwindling resources to *revive*, *renew* or *revitalize* old models, methods and mechanisms? Or should we initiate a process of *reassessment* leading to *repentance*, with the possibility of *rebirth*? The latter decision clearly entails the risks and rewards of new models, new methods and new directions.

3 These choices present a dilemma for the institutional church. The dilemma is simply this. On the one hand, if the church is to take seriously its obligation as a missionary and witnessing movement, it must maintain stability, continuity and persistence; it must develop appropriate organization and institutional forms. Yet, on the other hand, the very institutional

embodiments necessary for the survival of the church may threaten, obscure, distort or deflect the purpose for which the church was originally founded.

In a fundamental sense, the critical problem of the church is the problem of community. I am concerned that in spite of the initial intent to respond in a new way to people in distress in our cities, the behavioral response in many places may tend to make parishes in distress our top priority. To me, the very term "parish revitalization" implies the effort to breathe new vitality into apparently dead or dying bones. Should we concentrate on keeping the patient alive, or consider the possibility that through a particular parish's death, new life and ministry may emerge?

A persuasive argument is often made that we must revitalize the parish, make it strong, so that it can then be able to serve others in the community and elsewhere. In fact, one report of the Urban Caucus states: "The urban congregation is essential to the survival, if not the salvation, of urban dwellers." If by "urban congregation" we mean a community of committed Christians on a mission of transformation (not reformation) of the life and conditions of life for urban dwellers, this is a powerful, biblically rooted statement. If, however, we mean by congregation an urban parish with a parish building, centered around a parish priest, this statement may merely reflect concern for institutional survival. Is this latter the message being communicated and received through current emphasis on "parish revitalization"?

4 It is not surprising to some that parish revitalization is currently being discussed at a time and in a context of urban revitalization. Current demographic data point to an increasingly significant reversal in the decades-long pattern of white flight from central cities. The year 1974 signalled an increase in building permit

activity in central cities. A 1976 survey of 260 central cities by the Urban Land Institute estimated that "some private rehabilitation is taking place in three-quarters of all cities with populations of 50,000 or more." Various called "urban pioneers," "frontier persons," "saviors of the city," these people moving in are by and large:

- middle class and white
- two-wage-earner families
- highly educated; young (20-35 age group); managerial or professional persons
- singles and childless couples; few have more than two children.

In most cases, market forces and political pressures will favor these newcomers over the present occupants, who tend to be elderly, lower-income families — and Black. This back-to-the-city movement has its critics and its supporters. It is, therefore, in this context that we must consider the church's response. If we are identifying the "urban pioneers" as the basis for revitalizing the parish, what happens to the testimony of those who said to the church in the Urban Bishops' Hearings — "Be Our Advocate"? (WITNESS, May, 1978). How do existing Black congregations in our cities fit into our strategy?

5 Parish revitalization is not just a parochial problem. The profound changes in the social context of the local parish and community are the result of forces which are far more than local in origin. Indeed, they are global. I urge that concern for parish revitalization be matched by the development of an overall diocesan strategy.

Our city churches and congregations have lived for too long in a desperate and debilitating struggle for their survival. But the past need not determine our future. The current context is changing; new patterns and opportunities are emerging; new models and strategies are demanded. ■

Continued from page 7

letters of support to resisters and to their families and loved ones."

One tax refuser who attended the Green Lake meeting is already receiving such help. Bruce Chrisman's criminal conviction as a tax resister (and sentencing to serve in a Mennonite volunteer program in a prison ministry) is being appealed with support from the General Conference Mennonite Church, Newton, Kansas.

In a friend of the court brief to the U. S. Court of Appeals in Chicago, the Mennonite denomination says it supports Chrisman, though not a member of their group, in his claim that "paying for war is the same as bearing arms." The Chrisman appeal asks the court to find that the Internal Revenue Code is unconstitutional in that it forbids Christian pacifists free exercise of their faith when it compels them to support war efforts which they are convinced are contrary to the will of God.

Input from the guests invited to the Green Lake meeting provided extra energy and support for the peacemaking cause. Emilio Castro, director of world mission and evangelism for the World Council of Churches, greeted them as those who are "convinced that nonviolence, positive action, and vicarious suffering are God's will for mankind."

He appealed to them to identify themselves with the downtrodden and marginal peoples of the world. "We will see them not as the victims of our society," said Castro, who as a pastor of the Methodist Church and instructor in a Mennonite seminary in Uruguay supported the cause of the liberation of the poor, "but as those for whom Jesus Christ gave his life—those to whom the promise of peace has been given."

Elise Boulding, Dartmouth College sociologist and a member of the Society of Friends, gave the group hope that the proposed National Academy for Peace and Conflict Resolution might be developed on a par with the nation's military schools. Peacemaking may someday be a factor in American foreign and domestic policy.

As a member of the federal commission that shaped plans for such an academy, Boulding talked with the superintendents of the three military academies and found

Correction

The first sentence in the first full paragraph of William Wolf's article, "The Spirit of Anglicanism," on page 16 of the October WITNESS has a typographical error. It should read: "There is another aspect of comprehensiveness in which the finger of accusation should now be removed from the bishops at Lambeth and pointed to many theologians of the liberal or of the broad church category." (Instead of "not be removed"). Sorry.

In Terrorem

What ark of oak,
what hand held in that hour
can stay the clock?
That cloud at dawn shall mock the sun
and make
of fairest face and flower
a tongue of fire.
Leer, lair, and toad
shall be as one
with golden head;
that flock of rooks
in tree-top rest
shall be the last;
and lover's laugh
shall burn like edge
of leaf,
here, in this forge of rocks.

— Georgia Pierce

that even they feel that military power has been badly abused by the Congress and that training in a whole spectrum of peacemaking skills is urgently needed.

"They have a strong sense that what the military is trained to do is a last resort," she said, "and that when they are called into action, the country has failed."

And from a member of the Church of the Nazarene, the delegates heard that in spite of the harsh realities of peacemaking — disarmament could lead to political and economic bondage — a bad peace is still better than any kind of war.

Timothy Smith, a Johns Hopkins University professor of American history, taking his cues from Jeremiah who asked the people of Judah to submit to the invaders, said, "I have to call myself a unilateral disarmament pacifist."

But the church will survive and will emerge refined. He pointed to the churches of eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and Cuba as models of how the church can grow in vitality even in a harsh political climate. So also the Black Church passed through the dark night of slavery, finding the Gospel of liberation in the sermons on submission preached to them from the Old Testament by their white oppressors.

Work for peace, says Hadley, will continue to grow because "we now not only have the biblical mandate, but we are making sense. War isn't working." Because of the threat of nuclear war, he said, concerned persons believe everything possible must be done to find peaceful ways out of conflict.

For the New Call to Peacemaking that means a continuing effort to find Christian alternatives to conscription, taxation for war, and the doctrine that security can be found in armaments. ■

*Survivor of sexism
in various seminaries,
arrested in picket line,
bailed out of jail
by Norman Thomas . . .*



Doris Havice

Portrait of a Maverick Feminist

by Margaret F. Arms

“They thought I was mentally deficient as a child, until my grandmother — who counted Elizabeth Cady Stanton among her friends — came to live with us. She told them, ‘She’s a woman; she can’t be mentally deficient!!’ ”

So reminisces Dr. Doris Webster Havice, graduate of Union Theological Seminary, Ph.D. in philosophy from Columbia, author of numerous articles and of two books, professor emeritus of religious studies at the University of Colorado in Boulder, long-time feminist and, in her words, “a rebel.”

Explaining the mentally deficient label, Havice recalls that as young children, she and her twin brother had developed a twin language for which her brother served as translator. The result

was that her family did not realize she could speak or understand what was being said to her.

Today there is no doubt as to the brain power of the 73-year-old Havice. Her acquaintances are a veritable list of Who’s Who in the fields of religion, philosophy, and psychology, and her life story brings feminists of the 1980’s in touch with their past.

The road to seminary was somewhat unexpected, since Havice had not been raised in a religious household. Her grandmother, however, had been deeply influenced by Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s *Woman’s Bible*, a late 19th century feminist commentary by a group of women scholars, gathered by Stanton, who interpreted all the passages of the Bible which mention women. That commentary spurred Havice’s grandmother’s interest in higher criticism of the Bible, which in turn influenced Havice.

Then, as an undergraduate student at

the University of California at Berkeley, Havice took a course called *The Bible as Literature* from, she recalls, “the dullest man at the University of California.” But in his class she read the Old Testament for the first time, and got excited about the social justice issues raised, in particular by the ancient prophets. She began asking what the contemporary church of 1926 was doing about these same issues. The invariable response was, “Well, the church ought to be doing something, but . . . ”

“So,” chuckles Havice, “I said, I guess I’ll be a minister and make them do it.”

Although the Congregational Church which she then attended had been ordaining women since 1857, her minister tried to discourage her: “Women can’t be leaders,” he told her. “No one will follow a woman.”

Nevertheless, Havice persisted. With money earned over the summer, she bought a one-way ticket to New York. A \$500 competitive merit scholarship given by Union, which she had won,

Margaret F. Arms is a free lance writer who lives in Lakewood, Colo. and serves as vice president of the Episcopal Women’s Caucus Board. She also edits the EWC quarterly, RUACH.

plus the \$400 she would earn from her field work would pay for her room, board, and tuition. She joined about twenty other women students of whom two or three, herself included, intended to be ordained. Within a very short time, Havice became something of an embarrassment to Union, and to its President, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin.

First there was the matter of her smoking.

In 1928, "nice women" did not smoke. Prostitutes smoked. To the disgruntlement of the male faculty members, so did Doris Havice, then Doris Webster. At the first faculty meeting after she had been "discovered," the male faculty members attempted to pass a regulation forbidding women students to smoke. The two women faculty members, neither of whom smoked nor approved of it, protested and argued that either everyone be allowed to smoke, or no one. They filibustered for five hours, successfully. The proposed regulation was never passed. Doris Havice continued to smoke, although she quit as soon as she felt she didn't need to in order to prove a point of principle about double standards.

Then there was the matter of her manners.

She was the product of the California coeducational school system: "It never occurred to me not to volunteer in class." Most of the other women came from the Northeast or the South and had studied at women's schools and colleges. They tended to be more subdued.

Coffin was acutely aware of the difference, and not happy with it: "Your manners are *awful* — terribly Californian," and Havice admits the truth of the charge. To overcome her disabilities in deportment, the faculty wives issued a series of invitations to Havice for extended weekends. They tried to teach her proper social etiquette: One did not speak to a

professor first, but waited to be addressed by the professor; one did not say "hello," but "good morning," or "good evening," etc.

Finally there was the matter of her night in jail.

Reinhold Niebuhr had come to the students one day in 1930 to talk with them about the Brooklyn Edison Company which was firing its workers as soon as they were eligible for a raise. The company would then hire other workers (of which there were many during those depression years) at a lower salary. Niebuhr believed that the only way to stop this was for the workers to unionize; however, as soon as the workers attempted to do that they were fired. As a result workers were extremely reluctant to become involved with unions. Since the students could not be fired, Niebuhr believed that they had nothing to lose. He wanted them to go to the company and tell the workers where and when the next union meeting would be. The students were also to hand out leaflets.

Havice went. Niebuhr had warned the students that goons hired by the company were also present, and that if any student was knocked down, he or she should prefer charges to get the matter into the courts. It happened. Havice, a trim five feet, six inches, was knocked down by a goon over six feet and approximately 200 pounds. (In telling this story, Havice interrupts herself and laughs: "I've always loved that word, *goon*!") She preferred charges and the man was booked. The lawyer, hired by Brooklyn Edison to defend the goon, claimed that to the contrary, Havice had knocked the man down.

And so, Havice was booked. Unable to rouse anyone with the one phone call allowed her, she spent the night in jail. Her cellmates — two prostitutes — were very angry that the men they had been with had not also been picked up and jailed. "That gave me a whole new idea

of an oppressed group," Havice said.

The next morning a student from another school who worked part-time for Norman Thomas, American Socialist leader and a graduate himself of Union, told Havice that he would call Thomas for help. Thomas came and bailed the two out, but at the cost of a stern lecture on the stupidity of students getting involved in matters about which he claimed they knew nothing.

Upon return to Union, Havice was called into Coffin's office where he continued the lecture about her impropriety, an impropriety aggravated and compounded by the fact that the story had made the front page of the *New York Times*.

At the end of her second year at Union, Havice was awarded a scholarship from the National Council on Religion and Higher Education, sufficient to enable her to study abroad. She asked Coffin if it would be possible to waive the regulation requiring students to spend their final year at Union. Coffin not only agreed but encouraged her to go, and arranged to have her study at New College, affiliated with the University of Edinburgh in Scotland.

He told her, "It will be good for you to learn what it's like to live in a man-made world." Replied Havice, "Dr. Coffin, I thought we both believed that God made the world."

In Scotland, Havice discovered two things, neither of which made her life there easy.

After a long and hallowed tradition of admitting only men, New College had found it necessary to broaden its admissions to women. It had become a part of the University of Edinburgh only that year, and Edinburgh required all its associate schools to be coeducational. New College complied, reluctantly. How reluctant that compliance was became obvious to Havice almost immediately.

During her first meal in the dining

hall, Havice sat at a table between two men. Without a word, they picked up their plates, walked to the other side of the hall and ate standing, rather than have to sit beside a woman.

Each professor apologized to the male members of the class for the presence of a female: "I'm verra sorra there is a young woman present. She will not be allowed to disturrb us," quotes Havice in imitation of the Scottish brogue, and adds, "I thought of Tertullian: 'Woman thou art the gateway to hell!'"

She was not allowed to recite in her classes, with one exception. The professor of theology allowed her to participate on Monday-Thursday. She remained a silent spectator in her Friday theology class because that was the day the students worked on homiletics; of course, women could not preach.

Nevertheless, she persevered and did her academic work. Well.

Which brought her second discovery: she had been much better prepared at Union than her Scottish peers in their schools. She consistently placed at the top of her class — to the embarrassment of the faculty and the male students.

Reflecting on that year at New College, Havice says that there are some things, discrimination being one, that can only be learned through experience: "I knew something about being discriminated against, because of something I *couldn't* do anything about and didn't *want* to do anything about, on a gut level."

That understanding was to prove immensely helpful during the five years she taught at a black college in Alabama in the late 1960s.

In the fall of 1931, Havice returned to New York and matriculated at Columbia. She also defended her thesis and received her degree from Union in the spring. She was called to serve as the minister in a New England church, but by then she had had second thoughts

about being ordained. She refused the call: "I didn't want to be ordained. I didn't want to be part of that hierarchical structure." The dangers of the hierarchical structure in churches continue to concern Havice today. In June 1980, she warned a forum on women theologizing, sponsored by the Denver chapter of the Episcopal Women's Caucus: "We have just got to abolish these orders of difference. We can't learn anything from each other if we take them too seriously."

She decided instead to pursue a career in teaching — a career which has taken her to Athens, Greece, where she served as academic dean at Pierce College and to Birmingham, Ala., where she chaired the department of Humanities at Miles College, a college for urban poor blacks. Most recently she has taught in the religious studies program at the University of Colorado in Boulder, from which she "retired" five years ago. She continues to teach one or two courses a year: one on the psychological aspects of religion, the other on traditional African religions.

Looking back at the women she has known throughout her 73 years, Havice has some thoughts about the feminists of her generation and today's feminists.

"We were children of the vote," says Havice, speaking of her generation. "It was a generation which believed that once the right to vote was granted to women there would be no more barriers, and that the world would be open to all women." Hence, the children of the vote were intensely individualistic and competitive, and did not, according to Havice, recognize the need for solidarity: "If a woman couldn't make it — well, too bad for her." The necessity of mutual support among women is a need which Havice was taught by the women of the '60s and '70s, and most clearly by her own daughter.

The other difference Havice sees concerns anger. Her generation felt pity for men rather than anger — an

emotion she believes came from the 19th century feminists who genuinely believed that men were the weaker sex in every way.

Havice suspects that the anger of today's feminists is a cultural stage akin to that in psychoanalysis in which individuals become terribly angry as deeply buried feelings surface. Nevertheless, she is concerned over the anger which she feels is a "waste of energy" which might better be spent on more constructive matters. To illustrate the difference, she relates a conversation which took place when she decided to finish her doctorate at Columbia in the field of philosophy.

It had been nearly 20 years since she first began her work on her doctorate. The head of the department called her in for an interview:

"How old are you?" he asked.

"Forty," replied Havice.

"Don't you know that no one can think after 40," he said. "And that women can't think philosophically at all?"

Havice observed that such a conversation would make today's feminists angry. That had not been her reaction: "I wasn't angry. I thought, 'Poor thing. He doesn't know, does he? Maybe he can learn from watching me.'"

And she proceeded to do her work. Doris Webster Havice received her Ph.D. in philosophy from Columbia in 1951. She was 44 years old. Her thesis, *Personality Typing: Uses and Misuses*, lay buried in the Library of Congress until the 1970s when professionals in the field became interested in the subject. It was published by the University Press of America at their request. Her second book, *Roadmap for a Rebel*, is her autobiography and was published by Carlton Press in September, 1980.

Not bad for a person who was considered mentally deficient as a young child, and is now over 40. And a woman. ■

Continued from page 2

returned to save his nation, he said, by working for its defeat. In this way, he believed civilization might survive. This was the explanation that he gave to Reinhold Niebuhr for why he could not remain in America. The action he took was dangerous. Such a choice, he said, could not be made in security. And so he returned to Germany to work internally against his government. For his resistance work he was arrested by the Nazi government, punished for violating its laws, and eventually sentenced to death.

Thus, there is precedence for loyal citizens confessing the fault of a nation, even those that could be classified as criminal. Dietrich Bonhoeffer did, and so did Ramsey Clark and his companions. Bonhoeffer paid for his resistance work with his life. It does not yet appear what the ultimate cost will be for Clark and his companions.

Charles V. Willie
Harvard Graduate School of Education
Cambridge, Mass.

Biblical Resolving

It's strange and wonderful how "wise" Christians can get, wiser than the Bible, wiser than God. All of a sudden biblical Christianity, which gave women true worth, as compared to the "slave" or "chattel" philosophy of many Eastern and other religions, is no longer adequate. "Husbands love your wives as Christ loved the church — wives submit to your husbands" is all of a sudden passe. Women must be "equal" with men, we say.

What we need is not more "women's lib" but a return to biblical Christianity, a revival of the breadth and depth of the Wesleyan revivals of old that shook England, ended slavery and child labor, reformed prisons and labor laws, and reduced drunkenness and crime drastically. I am no "status quo redneck," either. We have inequities, sexual and race, that need resolving, but *biblically*.

Bert Warden
Miami, Fla.

Feminist Kudos

For my Christmas present last year, a dear friend gave me a gift subscription to your excellent, forward-looking and thoughtful magazine. I have greatly enjoyed each issue since. I am a proud feminist and rejoice in the number and quality of timely and challenging, intelligent and substantive articles you include regarding the difficult status of women in the church today. As long as publications like yours live and survive and thrive, I believe that the spiritual vocation of the church as bearer of the Infinite Carer has a possibility of being realized.

Susan McShane
Yale Divinity School
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CREDITS

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