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We have done so much
for so long
with so little
that we are now prepared
to do the impossible
with nothing at all

VOL. 64, NO. 1 JANUARY, 1981

THE WITNESS

Plant Closures • Richard W. Gillett
Sterilization Abuse • Helen Rodriguez
Racism & the Left • James Cone

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'Gays Handicapped'

I made a mistake. I subscribed to THE WITNESS thinking that any publication of the Episcopal Church would be dedicated to helping people serve Christ and his mission on earth.

Louie Crew's article "On the Ordination of Gays" in the October issue left me convinced that anyone who confuses left-handers and gays is obviously unqualified to write for a religious journal. Had I not spent 40 years in public education at the secondary, collegiate and university levels I might have "bought" some of his unusual thinking. I witnessed too many instances of permanent damage to young lives by gay teachers at all educational levels to ever agree that gays should ever be permitted to work with our youth in educational settings and the church constitutes an educational setting — *I hope.* I've also observed the activities of gay bishops, rectors and church musicians. Generally these were learned people and probably would have been well qualified had they not been handicapped in the sexual sense.

Gays deserve all the rights of any citizen to the point that their gayness does not infringe upon the rights of others — especially the young. Society owes its young protection against all harm insofar as it is able to provide such protection.

Robert L. Hitch, Ed.D.
Kerrville, Texas

God's Word Distorted

I'm sorry I must cancel my subscription. The name of your magazine threw me. I thought the witness you were talking about was Christ but upon reading the first issue I'm pretty much convinced the witness your magazine presents is false. It seems humanism has crept up on you people and distorted your perception of *God's Word.* I'm not a right wing ultrafundamentalist person but the distortions of God's word in that article by Mr. Crew really made me ill. I'm sorry Satan, I hope you still believe he exists, has blinded his eyes to the truth of what the scriptures say about the example of a minister. I think he should also check out what Paul's got to say about homosexuality in Romans.

Sorry guys — the article on the immoral society was good but I see nobody on your staff wrote it. The rest of the magazine was pure trash.

Randall S. Brunt
Folsom, Pa.

Gays in Neon Lights

It is indeed unfortunate that Mr. Crew "On the Ordination of Gays" believes that God's testimony is so weak. One wonders what his basis for faith is. The Bible speaks to the issue of homosexuality with the same clarity as it does of the Resurrection or Incarnation. There is no need to "dredge up" biblical testimony concerning sexual "orientation." It is there in neon lights.

No exegetical acrobatics are required as in Mr. Crew's left-handed analogy.

In order to demonstrate that I am not in favor of clubbing gays or baby seals, I have decided to suggest several categories of individuals who should not be ordained: those who oppress the poor, those who lie, steal, or defraud, those who practice witchcraft. I have offered this partial list so that gay and left-handed activists will no longer feel uniquely persecuted. Any Christian actively affirming and practicing any of these activities should not be ordained.

I agree with Mr. Crew on one thing — that ordination of homosexuals should not be an issue — the church has more important business (*I Cor.* 3:1-3).

Joe Stoutenburgh
Hopkins, Minn.

Cover Quote

The quote on the cover of this month's WITNESS was spotted in a Baltimore storefront by one of our readers. Post-election implications, plus the continuing plight of deprived people in this country and around the world, made it seem apt as a faithful watchword for the new year.

Crew Responds

With tongue bulging in my cheek, I intended the elaborate embellishment of the analogy between left-handedness and homosexual orientation as a high camp way of supplying to an otherwise grim subject the "blessed joy," even "spiritual humor" which Christ pronounces in the Beatitudes upon all of us who are persecuted for the faith. Joe Stoutenburgh's interpretation of the analogy as an example of "exegetical acrobatics" and Dr. Hitch's more ominous citation of the analogy as evidence of my professional incompetence reveal the same humorlessness I discovered when I first used it, before an audience at Virginia Theological Seminary. Stoutenburgh and Hitch apparently refuse to acknowledge my disclaimer: "Of course the analogy of homosexuality to left-handedness is imperfect, as are all analogies . . . My humor may be risky." Indeed.

Nevertheless, since my preparation of the essay, scientific studies have

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THE WITNESS

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Episcopal Urban Caucus

A Promising 1-Year-Old

by Robert L. DeWitt

When a group of Episcopal bishops formed an Urban Coalition in Minneapolis in 1976 they held a press conference to explain their action. In the question period, one of the reporters said, "This all sounds like rhetoric. Are you bishops going to *do* anything?"

The same question was in the mind of many church people who noted the formation of the Episcopal Urban Caucus four years later, brought into being jointly by the Urban Bishops' Coalition and the Church and City Conference. The community of faith has, over the centuries, learned not to assume too easily that faith will issue in good works. Too often they have seen the Word reduced to words.

It is now nearly a year since the organizing Assembly of the Episcopal Urban Caucus. In February 1979, some 500 people from across the country gathered at Indianapolis, brought together by their common concern over both the plight of our cities, and the church's response. Their deliberations produced a veritable smorgasbord of resolutions and proposals, enough to gladden the heart of any socially concerned person. Further, they projected their efforts into the future by the creation of five task forces, enough to raise the spirits of any social activist. But resolutions and proposals and the creation of committees — such products are the stock-in-trade of the church. Every diocesan council, every diocesan convention produces a fine display of that line, even if not always of such socially-concerned quality.

However, a recent survey conducted for the Caucus by Hugh White of Church and Society, Inc. indicates that a cynical appraisal may be premature. Letters were sent to Caucus members across the country asking how the actions at Indianapolis had stimulated concern, support and leadership for urban mission in their area, and what were they doing about it. Thirty dioceses and 14 special-interest groups responded. It appears that there is indeed a great deal happening at the grassroots — in parishes and neighborhoods, in dioceses and cities. Replies came from lay persons, parish clergy and bishops, from Alabama to San Francisco, from Massachusetts to Rio Grande. Leadership training courses with the Hispanic community in Boston, urban initiatives by the Bishop of Alabama, a new urban missioner in Newark, an effort in San Diego to impact the power structure of multinationals south-of-the-border, raising consciousness over the relationship of urban poverty to a burgeoning Pentagon budget in Black, low-income neighborhoods in Washington, D.C. — and on, and on. Clearly, things are happening. It is not a crusade. Not yet even a movement. But it is unquestionably showing signs of vitality.

The Achilles heel of the enterprise may prove to be its serious underestimation of the vehemence and the virulence of the forces of reaction such as the New Right, the Klan, the Moral Majority. And even more, an

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Plant Closures: Major New Issue

by Richard W. Gillett

"We are mainly concerned with our members and their families. What are they to do when the plant closes? The average worker has not completed high school, is 33 years old, has a wife and three children, is purchasing a house and a car, has 10 or more years seniority and no skills other than to run a tire machine. Where will he find employment? Many will have to relocate. That means selling a house when there is no market for houses. Zero houses have been sold in this city in the last few weeks."

The above quotation is not from an unemployed Youngstown, Ohio worker or one in a large industrial city elsewhere in the East or Midwest. It is from a rubber worker and union leader in the town of Salinas, Cal., (population 78,800), near the fabulous Big Sur coast, where the Firestone Company announced last spring that it is permanently shutting down its 1,600-worker tire plant. The shutdown is part of an accelerating wave of industrial plant closures across the country which may be due more to the changing behavior of large corporations in recent years than to economic recession, foreign imports, or poor management. These closures are constituting a threat of major proportions to the lives and well-being of millions of workers and their families, and to the communities where they live.

The severe community impact of U.S. Steel's & Lykes' destructive plant closures in Youngstown is well known to many in the religious community, thanks to the courageous and persistent efforts of the ecumenical coalition that formed over three years ago to protest those closings and to suggest alternatives to them. The experience of this on-going engagement has led to new understandings of corporate behavior and is a take-off point for discovering insights about plant closures nationwide.

But Youngstown is only the most prominent example of a new corporate disdain for workers and communities that is now reaching deeply into all parts of the nation. Because plant closures are directly affecting so many lives and communities — and therefore churches — it is important that the churches become aware of what is happening. And, if they wish to be at all effective in addressing this increasing problem and working towards solutions, they must understand and begin to address the deeper roots of this new phenomenon.

Plant Shutdowns Extensive

Plant closures, once principally confined to the older cities of the Northeast, are now occurring everywhere. The familiar pattern of North-South industrial flight has widened, so that even the South is now

experiencing overseas out-migration of textiles, apparel, leather goods and other non-durables. The sheer magnitude of closures is stunning: For the very largest and oldest manufacturing plants, a recent study showed that between 1969 and 1976, the odds of closing down ranged from one in six to one in three, depending on the industry. The two economics professors who authored the study, Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, estimate that in those years at least 15 million jobs were destroyed in the United States as a result of shutdowns, an average of 2.5 million jobs a year.

Thus, not only in Dayton and Akron, Ohio — traditionally "tire towns" — but also in Los Angeles, four big name tire companies (Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich and Uniroyal) all shut down their plants. In Los Angeles alone, 4,500 jobs have been lost from those companies, not including the newer 1,600-worker Salinas plant. In Atlanta in 1978, Southern Airways announced plans to fire 14% of its work force so it could afford $65 million worth of new airplanes (its public relations manager was quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* as saying, "One of the quickest ways to reduce expenses is to reduce people.") In Tacoma, Wash., the Weyerhauser Company warned in 1978 that it might have to trim 1,000 salaried employees from its 11,000 member work force, even though the corporation's after-tax net income in 1977 was $42 million higher than its nearest competition, with a targeted growth rate of 15% a year for the corporation.

In more traditional manufacturing regions such as New England, the extent of factory closings has been awesome. Over a six year period ending in 1976, 95,000 closings in that region idled slightly over 1 million workers, according to Bluestone and Harrison. U.S. Steel closed 16 of its plants across the country in late 1979 in one of the most sweeping retrenchments in the industry's history. The closure put 15,000 workers on the streets while U.S. Steel benefitted by a record-shattering $900 million tax write-off, with the result that the corporation's net income for the year exceeded its gross income.

In California — reputed to be one of the most prosperous states in the union — more than 37,800 workers have been laid off just since August 1979 in large scale plant closures or cutbacks, according to recent testimony at a legislative hearing in that state.

" Taiwan bids thirty cents an hour...Do I hear twenty-five from Hong Kong? "

Personal, Community Results

No amount of unemployment or welfare statistics can convey the sense of personal calamity that descends upon workers, who long accustomed to steady, skilled work and a pride of accomplishment, suddenly find themselves jobless. Many, having resorted to denial mechanisms during the months preceding a shutdown when closure rumors circulated, experience sudden shock when the reality hits. Abruptly, they find themselves supplicants at welfare offices, treated as the system has long treated others who are jobless: with benign paternalism or (more often) bureaucratic contempt, but in any case as if they were social pariahs, instead of tragic casualties of a system that places profit above all other considerations. Studies confirm that unemployed workers experience suicides, alcoholism, family break-ups, mental illness and other adverse

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consequences of their changed status at markedly higher rates. Harry Maurer puts it graphically in *Not Working,* an oral history of the unemployed:

> *"(Jobless people have) a common feeling . . . that a crime has been committed. (They) have been robbed of something, and they know it. The bewilderment they often express is like that of the homeowner who returns to find rooms ransacked, valuable and beloved objects missing. The sense of violence and invasion, the feelings of fear and loss and helplessness descend with the same stunning force when a worker is deprived of work."*

Of the workers who, because of plant closures suffer this devastating experience, minorities and women are hardest hit: Being lower on the economic ladder, they are more dependent on hourly wages. In addition, many are in the last-hired, first-fired category, and their accumulated benefits, if any, protect them even less than white workers. As a result, plant closures are a special area in which the hard-won gains from the Civil Rights struggles of the 1960s are steadily being nullified by the cold efficiency of large corporations seeking maximum return on investments.

To the communities affected, plant shutdowns frequently represent a social cost of devastating proportions. Particularly vulnerable are those cities or towns long dependent upon a particular industry for employment. Tax revenue decreases, ancillary businesses close down and welfare rolls increase along with crime. For example, when the Campbell Steel works closed in Youngstown, townspeople were forced to increase property taxes from $39.8 to $51 million in one year. In Hopedale, Mass., Draper Looms was purchased by Rockwell International in the late 1960s. In 1978, Rockwell closed it down, laying off some 3,000 workers. Draper paid 30% of the town's property taxes. So far, no new economic activity has replaced this loss.

Shutdown Causes Complex

The causes of plant shutdowns are complex, involving such factors as changing markets, emerging new competition, new technology, the need for capital, union and non-union labor, and others. But a major new cause appears to be "the accelerating and often heedless speed of capital in today's economy," say Bluestone and Harrison. Capital mobility per se is not the enemy, they say. Rather, "this accelerating movement of capital is increasingly frenetic and abrupt . . . the real social and economic consequences of its mobility hardly ever enter into the decisions of its corporate managers."

Thus, large corporations, finding it much more lucrative, have increased many-fold their investments and operations overseas in the last 15 years, expanding within the same manufacturing line, or diversifying, or both. Dollars thus invested abroad are unavailable for economic development at home. Other major industrial shifts have occurred from "union" to "non-union" regions of the U.S., particularly to states in the South and Southwest.

Along with these moves, a dramatic transformation in communications, transportation and computer

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technology has occurred, together with an increasing technological ability to subdivide the manufacturing process itself. Corporate managers, now commanding a far-flung network, can shift locations of various stages of the production process according to the latest global marketing and labor conditions, and transfer huge amounts of capital from one country to another, with the speed of the teletype.

For example, Ford and General Motors, while closing plants and laying off workers in New Jersey, Detroit and Los Angeles this past year, were opening up four new auto-related plants in Mexico (G.M.); and building a plastics plant in Berlin while investing $1 billion in Latin America over the next five years (Ford). Or, a New York-based chemical firm closes its textile machinery division in Worcester, Mass., and transfers it to North Carolina, a state not noted for strong unions. In Southern California, 1,000 G.E. plant workers who make clothing irons in the town of Ontario find cause for nervousness at the news that G.E. will soon open a new plant manufacturing irons in Brazil, where labor is very cheap and unions emasculated.

What lessons are to be gleaned from all this? Many, but surely a major conclusion is this, and it is not new: The rights of large corporations to do what they wish with their assets — especially in the employment of corporate capital — must become subordinate to the well-being of the workers, and of the communities where those workers reside. Work should be engaged in primarily for the benefit of those who do that work, and indirectly for the benefit of the community in which those workers live; not for the few so that the capital thus acquired may be reinvested to make ever more money for the same few. In the plant closure phenomenon, we may begin to understand the wisdom of Marx's insight: Workers must be the owners of their productive means and participate fully in decisions regarding the use and disposition of that production.

What we are seeing instead in the recent conduct of corporations and conglomerates is the building of global production networks of unparalleled financial and technological power, and the resultant disdain for worker and community welfare.

Church Role Growing

Some scattered signs reveal that the churches are beginning to take on plant shutdowns as a concern. For example, the annual meeting of U.S. Steel Corporation in San Francisco last May brought together a combination of religious groups from Pittsburgh, Youngstown, and Northern and Southern California. In a joint strategy, four Roman Catholic religious orders filed shareholder resolutions against U.S. Steel inside the meeting, while outside a stong line of pickets marched, organized by the churches. A well-orchestrated press conference resulted in exposure not only of U.S. Steel's Youngstown closures, but of plant closures in general in California. The shareholder resolutions, drawing an unexpectedly large number of votes, will be filed again in 1981.

In addition, church-labor coalitions have formed in several areas, such as Boston, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles. The Calumet Community Religious Conference (South Chicago-Gary, Ind.,) is a notable new group of labor unions, Protestants and Roman Catholics, already with part-time staff, focusing on the closure of steel plants and their pension fund and credit union status with the workers.

But a prior need for many in the churches is simply to overcome a serious and unfounded bias against people in the labor movement, and to see life from where the millions of hourly-rated working men and women are. That process initiated, we can begin to look at specific strategies:

- Immediate aid to workers and families newly out of work in the form of advocacy with corporations and welfare offices for the benefits they are entitled to;
- Assessment of communities in which plants may in future shut down, to determine combined impact on workers, the community, and municipal revenues; building community-labor-church coalitions to awaken public opinion and to suggest alternatives;
- Initiation of further stockholder actions against corporations which, without justification and notice, close or partially close plants;
- Advocacy of state and federal legislation designed to address the plant closure issue (some 13 states have bills pending, in addition to a federal bill, H.R. 5040, authored by Congressman Augustus Hawkins);
- Sponsorship of major educational programs and seminars on plant closures, jointly with labor.

In a new right-wing Republican administration, such approaches — especially the legislative route — may not meet with early success! But the impact that this new and devastating behavior of corporations has upon so many workers, and upon entire communities, is the potential Achilles heel of this issue which the churches — a vital part of those communities — can begin to expose and interpret to a wider public. Further, the mass of skilled workers, conditioned to job security and good salaries over the last 25 years, may begin to recover from the shock so many of them are now in as they find themselves on the sidewalk without job, pension, or medical plan. When they do, they may well see with real clarity (many for the first time) what the corporate juggernaut has done to them.

When they do, it would be well for the churches to be there, alongside them, to move on to a more just social order. ■

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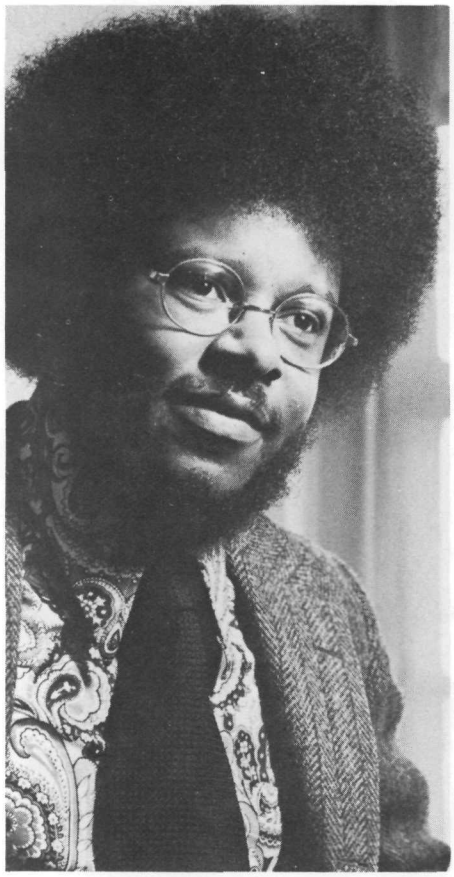

The Rev. James H. Cone is Professor of Systematic Theology at Union Theological Seminary, New York City. This article is excerpted from his address before the Theology in the Americas II Conference in Detroit.

'Left Strategies Must Deal With Racism'

by James H. Cone

Capitalism is one of the most inhumane economic systems ever imagined by human beings, and there is no way to understand the nature and the extent of its effect upon the quality of human life without analyzing it in its international operations. As long as the maximization of profit remains the chief regulative ideal, the gap between the rich and the poor will continue to increase. And people who are forced to bear the heaviest burden of this maldistribution of wealth are found in the Third World — that is, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The poorest 30% of humanity have only 3% of the world's income. Any analysis of human oppression and our struggle against it that does not have a critical international perspective will remain hopelessly inadequate.

The importance of this international perspective in my theological and political consciousness has been especially defined by my travels to Third World countries and by my dialogue with Third World peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America under the sponsorship of the Korean Christian Church in Japan, Korean Christians in South Korea, the Black Theology Project of TIA, and the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians. It has also been my Third World experience that has made me realize that democratic socialism must be considered as an alternative to capitalism. On the African continent, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other African states are considering seriously the socialist alternative. The same is true for states in Asia and Latin America. Socialism is not simply a theme for conferences and university discussions, but for many people, it is an historical alternative to capitalism.

While I am not sure how we will accomplish a socialist alternative in the United States, I do believe that dialogue with our Third World sisters and brothers is indispensable. For this dialogue, a critical analysis of the origin and the growth of imperialism is important. However, if we are going to make any revolutionary changes in the international structures of oppression, poor people in the First World must make a coalition with each other and with the poor in the Third World. It is not difficult for people in the minority communities of the United States to recognize this truth, but it is difficult for us to implement it. It seems that we cannot even build the right structures for dialogue among ourselves, except through church structures controlled by white America. How, then, is it possible for us to build structures for dialogue with our brothers and sisters in Asia, Africa and Latin America?

We do not know how to make that coalition. How do we build mutual structures of support for our various struggles of liberation? If we could answer that question, we will have made a giant step toward our collective freedom. It is unfortunate that

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oppressed U.S. minorities do not seem able to talk to each other or the Third World peoples except through structures controlled and financed by whites in the United States.

What does this tell us about our liberation struggle? As we know, liberal and radical whites in church, university and seminary contexts are calling for a coalition on many fronts. I have no objections to that, and I believe that we must consider seriously their proposals for struggling together. But the history of the white left, in relation to other minorities, must not be overlooked if we are to build solid, meaningful coalitions. My difficulty with the white left in church and university, in the past and in the present, is that they know a lot of theory but almost nothing about the material conditions of oppression about which they speak. Theoretically, they are Marxist socialists, but practically they seem to treat black people no differently than do white capitalists. They almost never recognize their own racism, except verbally, for they live their personal lives as do white capitalists. Why does it not occur to them that their own racism may in fact distort radically their analysis? Instead, they act as if racism is not important, or at least will automatically be eliminated when socialism is established. Because they have more leisure time for reflection, they have created very impressive social theories of change, but most blacks fail to see the practical difference that their theories make for their everyday existence.

My intention for pointing to these difficulties is not for the purpose of destroying any possibility of our working together in the struggle for freedom. I merely want to help clear the air so that superficial conversation in conferences will not be mistaken for genuine coalition.

Now, the question is, where do we go from here? I want to make a few suggestions:

1. The international context must be recognized and combined with any nationalist analysis of oppression.

2. Because of the complexity of the task, in both analysis and in action, we must do it as a team, sharing our work with each other. We must try to create structures for dialogue among oppressed minorities in this country, and also dialogue of U.S. minorities with Third World peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

4. People in dominant cultures must become self-critical in terms of their own racism, sexism, and classism. On the other side, the victims of these isms must also become self-critical, so that we will not be locked in our own particularity.

5. In all our struggles together, and in our separate contexts, let us not forget the One who is able "to make the crooked straight and the rough places plain." I am speaking here of the God who can "make a way out of no way." In my community God is called a "heart-fixer," and a "mind-regulator." Through this empowerment of faith is derived the courage to believe that we can keep on struggling for freedom, even though the odds might be against us. ■

Storm Troopers for New Right

The seriousness of our present task simply cannot be overstated. A united extreme right is rising in America . . . This is a critical time because the same forces that hung my great grandfather in South Carolina are on the move again; the same forces that shot down Viola Liuzzo on a lonely Alabama road are on the march again; the same forces that sapped the life, but thank God never the pride and fight of Fannie Lou Hamer, are feeling a new sense of strength in America; the same forces that killed Emmett Till, that bombed four little Black girls in an Alabama church, and the same forces that got thrown out of the Lumbee reservation have seen fit to march in some other communities and they're on the move again; the same forces that killed five Communist Workers Party comrades, that beat up Ken Chastain, that murdered Dr. Martin Luther King are on the march again.

These are the same forces that have colonized Puerto Rico, that overthrew the democratically elected Allende government, and that front loans to South Africa. We have to make the connections between all that, because this society is not going to make the connections for us.

— The Rev. Lucius Walker
Interreligious Foundation
for Community Organization (IFCO)

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Coalitions Can End Sterilization Abuse

by Helen Rodriguez-Trias

Sterilization is a time-honored procedure in the United States. The first of the laws empowering the state to sterilize unwilling and unwitting people was passed in 1907 by the Indiana Legislature. The Act was intended to prevent procreation of "confirmed criminals, idiots, rapists, and imbeciles" who were confined to state institutions. The law was clear in its tenet that heredity plays an important part in the transmission of crime, idiocy, and imbecility.

After World War I, a model federal law was proposed by Dr. Harry Hamilton Laughlin, Superintendent of the Eugenics Record Office, and copies were widely distributed in large quantities to governors, legislators, newspaper and magazine editors, clergy, and teachers. According to the model law, the following 10 groups were labeled "socially inadequate" and were therefore subject to sterilization: (1) feeble-minded; (2) insane (including the psychopathic); (3) criminalistic (including the delinquent and wayward); (4) epileptic; (5) inebriate (including drug habitues); (6) diseased (including the tuberculous, the syphilitic, the leprous, and others with chronic, infectious, and legally segregable diseases); (7) blind (including those with seriously impaired vision); (8) deaf (including those with seriously impaired hearing); (9) deformed (including the crippled); and (10) dependent (including orphans, "ne'er do-wells," the homeless, tramps, and paupers). Laws such as this, known as the eugenics laws, were passed in 30 states and as of 1972 were still on the books in 16.

Between 1907 and 1964, more than 63,000 people were sterilized under these eugenics laws in the United States and one of its colonies, Puerto Rico. Practices sanctioned inside institutions often become commonly accepted practices in the larger community. It is therefore important to keep in mind this long history of legally sanctioned forced sterilization as a framework for understanding current hospital practices.

We must examine closely the labeling of people mentally retarded, insane, criminal, or indigent. This sort of labeling is a peril in itself, but when it is used as grounds for sterilization, it is doubly dangerous. The groups considered undesirable may change, but they always include people who work for wages or are unemployed; they are inevitably the most exploited, and, therefore, poor. In the United States, the labeling process has additional racial overtones, because most third-world people are in the least remunerated strata of the working class and are definitely poor. It is a cruel irony that people with preventable diseases due almost solely to poverty are included in groups seen fit for sterilization.

Under the eugenics laws, many black women had been sterilized without challenge. The challenge came only when in 1924 Carrie Buck, a poor, white 18-year-old woman institutionalized for mental retardation, was threatened. Although judged retarded, Buck had completed six grades of school in five years. She had defied the norms by bearing an illegitimate child and was about to be sterilized, when members of a religious group in Virginia challenged the law all the way to the Supreme Court. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes handed down his well-known *Buck vs. Bell* opinion in favor of her sterilization in which he stated: "the principle that sustains compulsory vaccination is broad enough to cover cutting the fallopian tubes." He concluded that "three generations of imbeciles are enough."

Implicit in Justice Holmes's opinion was the belief that Carrie Buck's alleged mental retardation was hereditary. Today mental retardation is often determined on such questionable evidence as inability to cope with the school system, the discredited I.Q. tests, or even evidence of cultural differences.

Perhaps an even greater impact of these infamous laws was the social legislation they inspired. At least 10 states have proposed compulsory sterilization of people on welfare. No state has passed such legislation, but the very existence of such proposals should make us question the prevailing social climate. In a country plagued by chronic unemployment, such proposals reveal virulent feelings toward women who cannot earn a living because they

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Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias is director of the Department of Pediatrics at Lincoln Hospital, South Bronx. She updated this article for THE WITNESS from a paper she delivered as Reid lecturer at the Women's Center, Barnard College, New York, in 1976.

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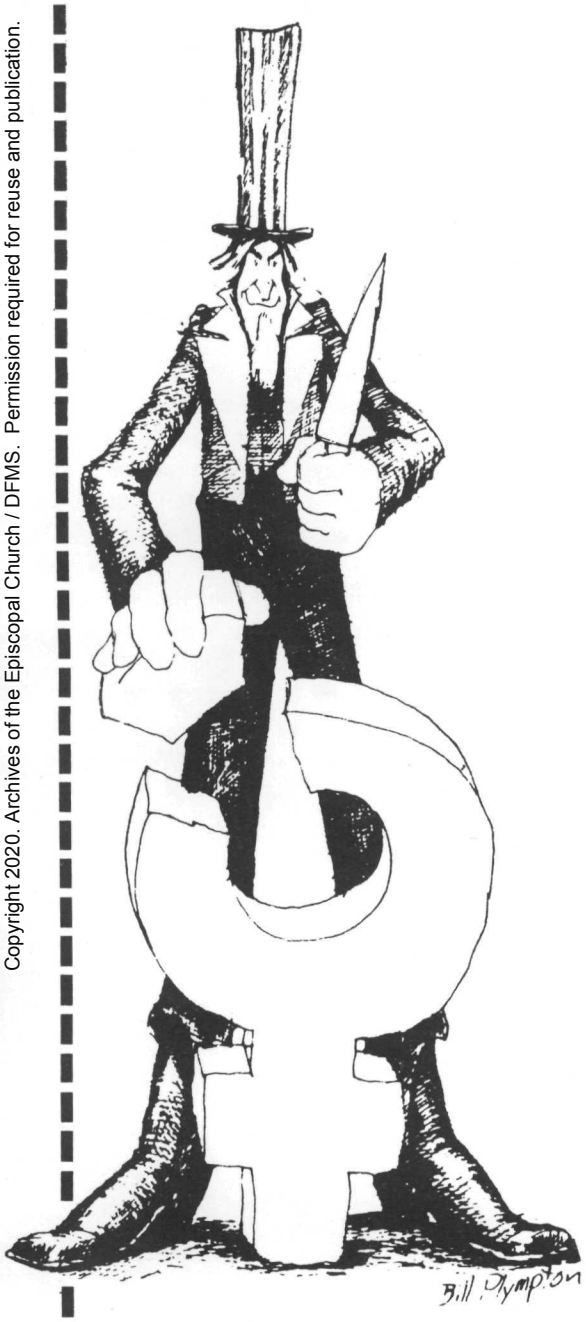
must care for children, the elderly, or others.

Physicians play an important role in implementing the view that poor people have no right to decide on the number of their children. A survey of obstetricians showed that although only 6% favored sterilization for their private patients, 14% favored it for their welfare patients.



For welfare mothers who had borne illegitimate children, 97% of the physicians favored sterilization. Similarly, a number of polls of the public at large show that the idea of sterilization of welfare recipients is very much accepted. In a 1965 Gallup poll, about 20% of the people surveyed favored compulsory sterilization for women on welfare.

We are witnessing a resurgence of the Malthusian ideas which proclaimed the poor unfit to receive the knowledge and hygienic measures which might decrease their mortality. The more sophisticated modern version calls for a decrease in the social, medical, educational, and other resources allotted to poor people and for an offer of sterilization instead. In lieu of social changes to provide a decent living for every American, the population planners choose to curtail population. In the words of Dr. Curtis Wood, past president of the Association for Voluntary Sterilization,

> *People pollute, and too many people crowded too close together may cause many of our social and economic problems. As physicians, we have obligations to the society of which we are a part. The welfare mess, as it has been called, cries out for solutions; one of these is fertility control.*

The use of the phrase "fertility control" is itself deceptive. In reality, it means only one thing, permanent control — that is, sterilization. A 1973 survey revealed that 43% of women sterilized in federally financed family programs were black.

Hysterectomy, now the most frequent major operation, done four times as frequently in the United States as in Sweden, is an indication of still another way of sterilizing women without their consent. Black women on welfare suffer the most abuse. According to the *New York Times:*

> *Medicare, Medicaid, and other health plans for both the poor and the affluent will reimburse a surgeon up to 90 percent for the costs of any sterilization procedure, and sometimes will allow nothing for abortion. As a consequence, "hysterilizations" — so common among some groups of indigent blacks that they are referred to as "Mississippi appendectomies" — are increasingly popular among surgeons despite the risks.*

Several lawsuits since 1973 provide evidence of both the widespread nature of abuse as well as of the rising redress on the part of people.

Most notorious is the case of the two sisters, Mary Alice, then 14, and Minnie Lee Relf, who was 12 at the time of their sterilizations in Montgomery, Ala. in 1973. As described in court by their mother, two representatives of the federally financed Montgomery Community Action Agency called on her requesting consent to give the children some birth control shots. Believing that the agency had the best interests of her daughters' health in mind, she consented by putting an X on paper.

Judge Gerhard Gesell, who heard the case, declared:

> *Although Congress has been insistent that all family planning programs function purely on a voluntary basis there is uncontroverted evidence in the record that minors and other incompetents have been sterilized with federal funds and that an indefinite number of poor people have been improperly coerced into accepting a sterilization operation under the threat that various federally supported welfare benefits would be withdrawn unless they submitted to irreversible sterilization.*

Norma Jean Serena, a native American mother of three children, will be the first to raise sterilization abuse as a civil rights issue. She charges that in 1970 health and welfare officials in Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, conspired to have her sterilized when

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her youngest child was delivered.

Ten Mexican-American women are currently suing the Los Angeles County Hospital for obtaining consent in English when they spoke only Spanish. Some were in labor at the time, others even under anesthesia. A few reported being told such things as "Sign here if you don't want to feel these pains anymore" while a piece of paper was waved before their eyes.

Largely as a result of the pressure mounted when the Relf case came to light, the Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW) decided to write guidelines on sterilization procedures during 1974. In effect, these established a moratorium on sterilizations of people under 21, and on those who for other reasons could not legally consent. In addition, the guidelines stipulated that there must be a 72-hour waiting period between the granting of consent and the carrying out of the sterilization. They also required an informed consent process including a written statement to the effect that people would not lose welfare benefits if they refused to be sterilized, and they included the right to refuse sterilization later, even after granting initial consent.

Although HEW promulgated the guidelines early in 1974, a study conducted in 1975 by the Health Research Groups, a Washington-based organization, and later corroborated by Elissa Krauss of the American Civil Liberties Union, showed that only about 6% of the teaching hospitals were in compliance with these guidelines. Many of the hospitals provided only the broadest of consent forms without proper explanations. A still more recent study by the Center for Disease Control, an HEW agency, revealed that widespread noncompliance continued to be the rule. The study attributed the fact to ignorance of the guidelines.

Early in 1975 those of us who were concerned about the issue of abuse formed a committee which we called The Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA). We were faced with some hard realities: First, HEW can only regulate for federally funded procedures, and although it is true that the primary targets of sterilization abuse have been women on welfare, there are still many other vulnerable groups who are not welfare recipients, including the recently unemployed, undocumented workers, and workers whose earnings are just barely above the poverty line. Second, it seemed obvious that without a national monitoring system, it is impossible to determine what is happening to whom or whether guidelines are being followed. Third, those who control information often manipulate people's behavior. For example, the inclusion of hysterectomy as one form of sterilization in an HEW pamphlet tends to grant legitimacy to that mutilating operation in the eyes of the reader. Finally, the need for strong enforcement mechanisms became clear. There is no way that well-established actions and practices can be uprooted without the use of some measure of enforcement, particularly when the practices are profitable and socially sanctioned.

"It is a cruel irony that people with preventable diseases due almost solely to poverty are included in groups seen fit for sterilization."

These facts, coupled with the rise in number of sterilizations observed in the New York City hospital system, particularly in those hospitals serving black and Puerto Rican communities, prompted a number of concerned people from the Health and Hospitals Corporation, the New York agency responsible for the municipal hospitals, and from citizens' groups to form an ad hoc Advisory Committee on Sterilization Guidelines early in 1975. The Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, Healthright, Health Policy Advisory Center, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the community boards of the hospitals, and many other organizations and individuals were represented on this new committee. Most of the members were women involved in patient advocacy and at the same time represented New York's various ethnic communities.

Our goal was to write new guidelines for the municipal hospitals. We met initially to ascertain the facts and to analyze the processes by which abuse takes place. Then we compiled the information. We identified existing weaknesses in the HEW regulations by using women's experiences as the touchstone for the drafting of stronger guidelines.

Many consents are obtained around the time of abortion or childbirth. The philosophy behind this practice is exemplified in the words of one doctor who said, "Unless we get those tubes tied before they go home, some of them will change their minds by the time they come back to the clinic." The waiting period of only 72 hours after consent had been obtained at a time of great stress, allowed no opportunity for the woman to discuss the matter with friends, family, or neighbors to assure herself that she really wanted a sterilization. The time of abortion was particularly hazardous, because many teaching hospitals offer abortions as a "package deal" together with sterilization. What kind of information was given to women was also key since both the vocabulary and the amount of information can clarify or confound. This reflects another weakness inherent in both the structure of the health system and the doctor-patient relationship: the coercive nature of medical advice given as it is in a patriarchal setting.

Our coalition of concerned groups

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drafted guidelines to remedy these weaknesses. They called for a 30-day waiting period; an interdiction of consent at time of delivery, abortion, or of hospitalization for any major illness or procedure; the requirement that full counseling on birth control be available so that alternatives are offered; the stipulation that the idea for sterilization should not originate with the doctor; and the provision that informational materials must be in the language best understood by the woman.

The guidelines also stated that if she wished, the woman could bring a patient advocate of her choosing to participate at any stage of the process. She could also have a witness of her choice sign the consent form. Perhaps the most important point we made was that a woman should express in her own words, in writing on the consent form, her understanding of what the sterilization entailed, particularly its permanence.

We were unprepared for the ferocity of the opposition to our guidelines. Our files, replete with angry letters from obstetricians, organizations involved in family planning and population control, and other groups, attest to the length and difficulty of our struggle. Our response was to continue to bring testimony of how abuse takes place and to negotiate on the provisions of the guidelines until they were acceptable to our committee, its constituency, and to the obstetricians and other staff. It was a massive outreach effort that gained the support of community groups, boards of hospitals, health organizations, and legal groups. And it was this broad-based support, backed by several thousand letters and petitions, three or four demonstrations, hundreds of speeches and dozens of meetings that finally overcame the still strong opposition in medical circles.

New York City's Health and Hospital Corporation had once more been responsive to public wishes, illustrating that even imperfect institutions can respond, provided consumers find the channels through which they can fight for change.

The guidelines became effective November 1, 1975. Barely three months later, six professors of obstetrics and gynecology representing six major medical schools filed suit opposing the guidelines issued by HEW, New York State, and the New York City Municipal Hospital System.

We began to see that there were some critical problems to be solved. First, how could we implement and enforce the new regulations? Second, how could we establish a monitoring system to know about sterilizations on an ongoing basis? Third, how could we apply the guidelines to private hospitals, not just the municipal hospitals? At present, the medical schools contract with the municipal system to deliver medical services. Doctors work at both public and private hospitals and can carry out their programs at either place. Often doctors prefer the private setting as long as the fees for the services are forthcoming. We realized that guidelines could be circumvented simply by admitting Medicaid recipients or other insured patients to their private hospitals.

"Physicians play an important role in implementing the view that poor people have no right to decide on the number of their children."

A fourth concern was the definition of "elective" in any surgical procedure. By specifying that the guidelines applied only to "elective" procedures, large loopholes were left for the "medically indicated." Doctors define "medical indications" on the basis of their experience or preference. Entrenched in their positions of power, doctors often resent any questioning. Attempts by patients to enter the sacrosanct areas of "medical indications" are invariably vigorously repelled.

A fifth and extremely important problem, mentioned previously, was the control of information. It is possible to sell a procedure by giving distorted accounts of its benefits and downplaying the risks. We strongly maintained that the mental, physical, and social hazards of sterilization should be discussed in informational materials. We felt these should be different from those of HEW, whose off-hand information can easily mislead.

Finally, the concern over the abuse of hysterectomy was still paramount. Since excessive hysterectomies are performed not only for reasons of money, custom, poor medical practice, and hostility to women, but also as an occult manner of sterilizing women without their informed consent, we recognized the need for guidelines on hysterectomies also.

These problems are as yet unresolved. Our approaches have been to continue to organize coalitions of people from within and without the hospitals in order to monitor what is happening and to continue to press in whatever ways are possible to have some impact upon these practices.

The lessons from these battles have been invaluable. We have learned that we *can* organize coalitions of community groups and health workers, and that these coalitions can be effective in sharing information as well as applying pressure.

More important to me have been the experiences shared with women and community groups. We managed to identify some of the ways in which racist ideology keeps us from acknowledging our common oppression as women. Within the women's movement we sometimes found a denial of the

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Alejandrina and Jose Torres check the biblical readings for the following Sunday's service at the First Congregational Church, Chicago.

On the Redemption of Puerto Rico

by Mary Lou Suhor

The setting: A recent airing of the popular TV show, Hollywood Squares. The host asks one of the comedian panelists, "How did the United States acquire Puerto Rico?"

His answer: "S&H Green Stamps." The audience roars.

It is this kind of "humor" and other images of Puerto Rico as an Island vactionland or ideal place for U.S. investments as projected by the mass media that prompted THE WITNESS to spend several days in Chicago with the parents of Carlos Alberto Torres. Torres, 28, who once served on the National Commission for Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church, was captured with nine others suspected as being the core members of the FALN, a militant Puerto Rican independence group. His wife, Haydee, is under a life sentence in California and nine others are in prisons serving sentences varying from eight years to life.

The Rev. Jose Torres, Carlos' father, is pastor of the First Congregational Church in Chicago, which has a long history of involvement in justice issues, dating from the days of the underground railroad for escaped slaves. More recently, the church played a key role in the Chicago Community Renewal Society, and Torres has a citation for outstanding pastoral service in the United Church of Christ. Carlos' stepmother, Alejandrina, is on the Women's Resource Team of the UCC Illinois Conference. She is an active member of the First Congregational Church. Carlos, himself, once served on its council. Alejandrina was speaking on the Seven Last Words at a Lenten service when the FALN arrests were made.

The jailed Puerto Ricans have declared themselves prisoners of war, and have refused to recognize the jurisdiction of U.S. courts. But whose soldiers are these?

"At first," says Jose Torres, whom everyone calls *El Viejo*, "people were shocked when I said I was proud of my son. The media had called them terrorists. But let me say it this way: We

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live in Oak Park. It is famous for its historical connection with Ernest Hemingway and Edgar Rice Burroughs, creator of Tarzan, and Frank Lloyd Wright. Oak Park was declared the All-American village during the bicentennial. But one day, Oak Park will also be known as the place where the Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners slept their first night out of jail, and at the home of Carlos Alberto Torres.

"When the Puerto Rican nationalists — Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irvin Flores — were released from prison, unconditionally, after 25 years, our church scheduled a reception for them. But, 3,000 people showed up and we had to have it outside. And that night when we hosted the nationalists at our home, who was sleeping in the front room to protect them? Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, the Puerto Rican freedom fighter who was later killed in his jail cell in Tallahassee. The United States called it a suicide, you know."

"So who would not be proud of Carlos, when he follows in footsteps such as these?"

We are in the Torres living room, and Alejandrina and her two daughters Liza, 13, and Cata, 8, are bringing in *arroz con pollo* for members of the Ecumenical Civic Committee which was formed to see that the Puerto Ricans would be guaranteed their rights, and that members of the community would not be illegally harrassed by government officials. Alejandrina learned that the group would be meeting through the dinner hour and somehow in the way Latins excel, stretched the *arroz con pollo* so that there was enough for five more people. A sign in the Torres kitchen reads, "Let all guests be received as Christ." Alejandrina says grace, and the committee members move back and forth between business and social talk.

Liza remembers that she received a birthday card from her brother, Carlos, from prison which she would like to share with the committee. Decorated with a hand-sketched Puerto Rican flag and flowers, it reads in part, "Every birthday of yours I remember you, no matter where I am. My wish is that you have a happy life and that you might link your intelligence and energy to our liberation movement because I am sure that it is only by working and struggling for the welfare of our people that one can find real happiness. Always keep the perspective that we are in relationship to something higher than ourselves — the Puerto Rican people. Many kisses and hugs."

Not to be outdone, Cata describes how she has been excused from reciting the pledge of allegiance at school. " 'That's not my flag,' I told my teacher. 'My flag is Puerto Rican.' So I stand, but I don't say the words."

Glimpses such as these revealed that the Torres family is maintaining a long tradition of supporting nationalism and independence for Puerto Rico. In so doing they have opted, as have many committed Christians in Latin America and the United States, to choose sides as agents of social change.

The following day I tag along with Alejandrina to the Rafael Cancel Miranda High School where she works as bookkeeper and office manager. Enroute she tells me, "I was born in Puerto Rico and came to the United States when I was 9. I was raised in Hell's Kitchen in New York. The church has always been a central part of my life. I met *El Viejo* when I was a secretary in a church where he was assigned in New York. Now I'm working on women's issues too. I became radicalized in the church. You know how it is, repression breeds resistance."

She points from the car to a public school. "Some 70% of the students there are 'pushouts' or dropouts, and 90% of these are Puerto Rican. We try to work with these at the Miranda School."

At the Miranda School, Jose Lopez, the principal, takes me on tour and explains, "We have to help our students to realize that they are functional illiterates. The school establishes the atmosphere which allows them to admit it, as alcoholics or drug addicts must admit their problems. All students meet weekly with faculty and staff for criticism/self-criticism sessions.

"The school offers a high school and college program, the former affiliated with the Christian Action Ministry Academy and the latter with Truman College and Governors State University. We also offer social and legal services to students and their families. The school is based on the idea that education is liberation or it is not education. Our motto is *'Education Breaks Chains.'* "

Jose Lopez who also teaches at Northeastern in Chicago, was imprisoned during the Grand Jury investigation in which Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin refused to testify.

Alejandrina interrupts to invite me to

Carlos and Haydee Torres

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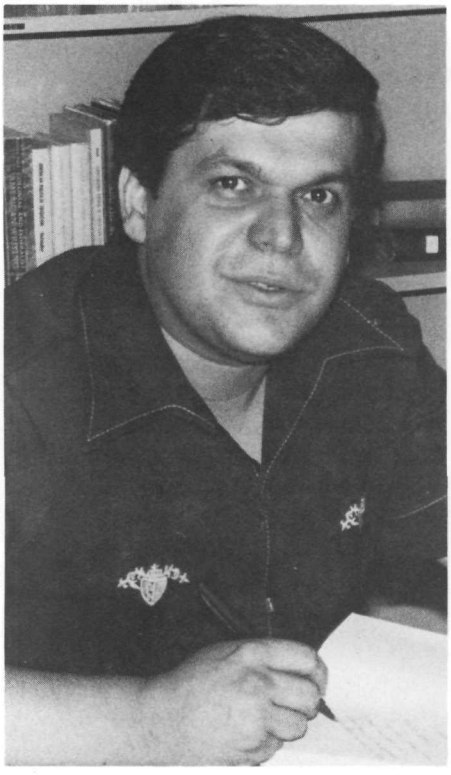

Jose Lopez

visit the Westtown Community Law Office. Enroute I was curious as to what she was saying during the Lenten service when the FALN arrests were made.

"I was preaching on the Seven Last Words, calling for a commitment from the congregation to involve themselves in the community. Take for example the words, 'Woman behold thy son, son thy mother.' How are we responding to that? I pointed out that Christ's work had to be continued and it was our responsibility as co-creators to do that."

Alejandrina's words reminded me of Lolita Lebron's at the Theology in the Americas meeting in Detroit, when she told the audience, "Spiritually we must all become women, giving birth to new lives, a new society, a new church, to liberation. The dream of liberation in the United States has been cut at the roots. Jesus came to make us a dignified people, not to put money in the banks. We must turn over the tables in the temples. Everything of value is born in pain, to which all women are witnesses."

Alejandrina had served as a legal worker for Lolita Lebron. Following briefings at the law office with Mara Siegel and Viola Salgado, on the status of the six men and five women in jail, we go by the school bookstore and then we're off to the First Congregational Church for a final visit with Jose.

El Viejo delights in recalling church history and describing the current program. Then he reflects on a bit of Puerto Rican history, how the United States acquired it as booty in the Spanish American War, "from Spain although it was not Spain's to give, since that country had granted autonomy to Puerto Rico in 1897. Puerto Rico had its own currency and had been accepted as a member of the international postal union."

Nationalists claim that transfer of Puerto Rico to the United States violated international law, since Puerto Rico could in no way be called property. The Autonomy Charter was a binding international covenant, and provided that it could be amended only upon the request and approval of the Puerto Rican Parliament, but the United States and Spain negotiated an agreement without Puerto Rican representation. Ever since the early '30s, Puerto Rico has been in continuous struggle for independence, mainly under the nationalists.

"But Puerto Rico also has four or five clandestine groups that are soldiers of this movement for independence. The FALN is one of these. They operate in retaliation for the abuses of continued imperialism," *El Viejo* said.

Agitation and violent uprisings have been suppressed by the U.S. military which today maintains 11 bases on Puerto Rico and occupies some 13% of the land. Therefore, the groups are clandestine, and the soldiers without uniforms.

The recent Puerto Rican elections brought a glimmer of hope to nationalists, when they reflected that the people did not vote for statehood in spite of the intensive campaigning of incumbent Governor Romero Barcelo for the issue. President-elect Reagan also had made known his preference for statehood, and Vice-President elect George Bush had campaigned up and down the Island for statehood.

And so the struggle goes on.

How did the United States acquire Puerto Rico? The *Hollywood Squares* were wrong. It was not redeemed with Green Stamps. Redemption will come at a far greater price. ■

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experiences of others in statements such as "I had a hard time getting a sterilization five years ago. I can't see the need for a waiting period." And certainly it is true that in the not too distant past many middle-class women were denied sterilization by physicians. The issue became clear only when women understood that the same people who would deny a white middle-class woman her request were the ones who were sterilizing working-class Whites, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and Mexicans without ever bothering to obtain consent.

We examined social class attitudes of superiority which can lead to an acceptance of coercion of "others" such as welfare recipients, and we dealt with them in open discussion. We learned to identify our friends from the ranks of women, third-world people, health workers, and church groups. We likewise identified our opponents from the ranks of gynecologists, board members of the organizations dedicated to population control — which promulgate the "people-pollute" ideology — and of those who favor a coercive society which oppresses people.

We also learned that there are many organizations which mask their ideology of population control by providing needed services in the areas of health, education, and family planning. These organizations are often linked to the large corporations and to a small number of private foundations in the United States.

In the process of study we analyzed the case of Puerto Rico. There during the last 30 years the government with United States funding has sterilized over one-third of the women of childbearing age. This was achieved by providing sterilizations free at a time when women were joining the workforce in large numbers. The lack of family support services, of legal and safe abortions, of alternative methods of contraception, and of full information about the permanency of sterilization have all combined to produce those startling numbers.

An analysis of the complex situation of Puerto Rican women showed us that there are many coercive factors in society which easily lead to sterilization abuse. Freedom of choice requires that there be real alternatives. We have deepened our understanding of the connections between the current denial of abortion rights to poor women, the dearth of child-care facilities, and the cuts in welfare and sterilization abuse.

We are now confident that we will halt sterilization abuse in New York City and that our example will serve as a model to groups of like-minded people who are springing up across the country to combat the same problem in their communities.

Epilogue

To comment on more recent history, many important developments have taken place. My optimism about the effectiveness of coalitions to win protective legislation was justified. As consciousness developed, a movement grew to support further legislation in New York City. Public Law #37 was passed by the City Council with a vote of 38 to 0 in April of 1977. The law embodies the principles of the guidelines on sterilization of the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation, applying them to all New York City health facilities, *both public and private.* The law also regulates sterilization of *both women and men.*

The success of this coalition effort forced the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to promulgate guidelines embodying the same provisions as the law, which were officially adopted in November 1978. Just as in the case of New York City, as on the national level there developed wide support of groups such as The Committee for Human Rights, Community Boards of Methodist and St. Luke's Hospitals, Committee of the United Neighborhood Houses of New York, New York City Coalition for Community Health, Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, New York Civil Liberties Union, Physicians Forum, Women United for Action, National Black Feminists Organization, and New York National Organization for Women. Hundreds of organizations and individuals testified in 10 regional hearings.

Provisions of the New York City law and HEW guidelines are:

1. Informed consent in the language spoken or read by the person.
2. Extensive counseling to include information as to alternatives.
3. A prohibition on consent at times of delivery or at any other time of stress and of overt or veiled pressures on welfare patients.
4. The right to choose a patient advocate throughout the counseling or any other aspect of the process.
5. A 30-day waiting period between consent and procedure.
6. No sterilization of people under 21 years of age.

On the negative side, however, are some pervasive problems:

Passed each year since June, 1977, the Hyde Amendment and corresponding budgetary limitations in most states effectively cut off Medicaid funding for abortion in all cases except where pregnancy would endanger the life of the mother or is due to rape or incest. As a result Medicaid-funded abortions have been reduced 99%. These measures have imposed incalculable hardship on women on welfare, making them vulnerable to the risk of illegal abortion and opening the door to the sale of the "package deal" of abortion/sterilization since the federal government continues to pay 90% of the cost of a sterilization procedure. For institutions eager for these funds it becomes an

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additional incentive to coerce women desperate for an abortion into consenting to sterilization.

In June 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Hyde Amendment was constitutional. In its decision, the Court ignored all the facts showing the devastating impact that loss of funding for abortion services has on the lives and health of poor women and their families. Although Medicaid covers most medically necessary care, the Court ruled that abortion funding could be excluded because the procedure involves potential life. The ruling constitutes an imposition of the government's values over those women even to risking women's health and lives.

Another development is of great concern. In 1979, some women employed by the American Cyanamid Corporation in West Virginia charged that the company had threatened to fire them from the lead pigments division of the plant unless they underwent sterilizations. Lead exposure is harmful to unborn children and the company feared potential pregnancies. They complied in order to keep their jobs, although lead exposure is also harmful to workers. As of October 1980, their suit in Federal Court on the grounds of sex discrimination is still pending, but knowledge of the case has reached many people who have become indignant.

This clear attack on workers' rights to a safe workplace and on their reproductive freedom has spurred trade unions to unite with women's organizations. A new exciting coalition is emerging.

Further, the increasing sterilization of Native American women has been documented by Women of All Red Nations (WARN). Lee Brightman, United Native Americans President, estimates that of the Native population of 800,000 as many as 42% of the women of childbearing age and 10% of the men have already been sterilized. This together with the effort to deprive the Native Americans of their right to their land, particularly that which has uranium, has placed the Native American people at the head of a broad movement for ecology and a safer environment for us all.

All of this points up the challenge for today: a unification of the forces for a safe workplace, and environment, for women's rights, for Native Americans rights to their lands, for the rights of Third World people. May we meet the challenge with strength. ■

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inadequate assessment of the spiritual and emotional factors in our national life which nourish those movements, factors which in a sense have made their appearance inevitable. For concerned persons today, to sound the same old trumpet is not enough. Spiritual discernment is of the essence in the cure of souls, which at root is what the Caucus is about. The national shift to the right was not quite as apparent when the Caucus was formed last February as it was in the November elections. Even had it been, perhaps the Caucus could not have planned more wisely. The Task Forces on the Arms Race, the Energy Crisis, Parish Revitalization, Economic Justice, Funding, Communications, and Policy and Evaluation, seem strategically designed to relate the Caucus to the cardinal, current national issues. The danger remains that the Governing Board will underestimate the stark urgency of two of those groups: effective communications, and strategic policy and evaluation. A strong tide is running in this country today. Can the Caucus give an effective answer to the cynical comment: "We tried all that before, and it didn't work"? Perhaps more importantly, can it make it clear that the bible, prayer, the family, patriotism, and Christian morality not only do not find their true defenders in the extremists of the Right, but indeed are corrupted by those groups? This is a tall order. As has been said, it is like standing in front of a thundering herd of elephants, and trying to signal a turn.

So, again, is the Caucus another exercise in words? Will it prove to be just another Episcopal fad, merely providing the passing rhetoric for a transitional period to the next chapter of church life? Or is it for real? "We understand backward," said Kierkegaard, "but we live forward." And thus he brought under rebuke both optimists and pessimists — any who with facile assurance think they can extrapolate the past into the future, either for good or for ill. That bit of sober wisdom is a healthy reminder when contemplating any human enterprise. And this includes the Episcopal Urban Caucus.

The Christian life is not essentially a fabric of dogmas, cultic activities and traditions. More basically, it is the lived-out response of living people to the living God. Thus the question of the impact and the future of the Caucus can in no way be cleverly predicted. It will be lived out. It will be the result of the quality of insight and leadership provided by its Governing Board, and of the faithfulness and stubborn dedication of those at the local diocesan and parish level. It will be determined by their awareness of the signs of the times, by their human (and Godly) concern over the deprivation and suffering which constitute those signs, by their apostolic commitment to a seriously jeopardized human enterprise. ■

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revealed that those of us left-handers who most conform to right-handers' public expectations — as in handshakes, table manners, and even in signing the cross — have a much higher incidence of heart attacks, ulcers, and other nervous disorders than do left-handers who perform all public and private functions left-handedly. How much more risky it must be for us lesbians and gays who too readily accommodate ourselves to hetero-sexuals' public manners.

Dr. Hitch's reduction of all lesbian/gay clergy and teachers to the criminal few whom he personally knew before retirement is a reflection of the limited and fiercely controlled visibility which the church and the academy have always required of lesbians and gays. Most folks simply have not been allowed to know about the responsible majority of the homosexuals, but only about our criminal element. Since we number between 15 to 25 million Americans, the surprise is that we have not had more criminals, especially since the society educates all of us that criminals we should be.

Nevertheless, Dr. Hitch should remember that the sapphic, platonic, and sometimes even monastic traditions which the more responsible majority of lesbian/gay professionals have given to the culture are basically non-genital traditions — teaching and ministry sparked by an honest eros redeemed by higher religious and academic commitments. By contrast, consider an important beam in the eye of the heterosexual academic community: *The Chronicle of Higher Education* in September 1979 reported that one in four (25%) of recent female Ph.Ds in psychology had had to put out to get out — with their heterosexual male professors. Interestingly, no heterosexuals have written to *The Chronicle* to decry this situation.

I suspect that Randy Brunt's illness will pass. Even if he takes us as the spiritually unclean, the St. Francis model of Christian ministry is to embrace the leper, not to vomit upon him. I have reviewed what St Paul has to say about the pagan temple prostitutes condemned in Romans 1, but as neither a pagan nor a temple prostitute I am not directly instructed thereby as to God's response to the loving Christian commitment which my male spouse and I, like thousands of other same-gender couples, have made to each other. Nevertheless, I am very much instructed by the warning issued to Randy Brunt and to the rest of us in the same text: "You *therefore* have no defense — you who sit in judgment, *whoever you may be* — for in judging others you condemn yourself, since you, the judge, are equally guilty" (Romans 2:1).

We lesbians and gay males are frankly weary of the bibliolatry which ignores such full contexts to distort God's word. The Bible is not properly a bludgeon, but a book to be used in the Redeemer's affirmation of the prior worth of those whom God takes out of hock. Thank you, Joe Stoutenburgh, for asking: Christ, that Redeemer, is the basis for my faith. To a swishy, gentle lamb will belong the Last Judgment.

Louie Crew
Stevens Point, Wisc.

TMI and Mt. St. Helens

I would like to applaud you and Lockwood Hoehl for an excellent series of articles on the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island. As one who lives in the shadows of our country's largest nuclear reactor — the Trojan nuclear plant — I found your series to be sobering and timely.

Of particular interest to me was the striking parallel between the experience of those around Three Mile Island and those in our communities here near Mt. St. Helens. The eruption of the mountain on May 18 caused much the same reaction in our communities of Longview, Kelso and Castle Rock as did the accident at Three Mile Island, yet with one notable exception: the eruption of Mt. St. Helens was a phenomenon far beyond human control. We are victims of a natural disaster and the attitudes and response of our communities reflect that reality. Hoehl's statement in his last article is true for us: "Typically, our image of a disaster-torn community is one of cooperation, neighbor helping neighbor, everyone pitching in for the survival of all."

That such a reaction did not occur at Three Mile Island is, to me, profound. It causes me to wonder whether or not the same cooperation that exists here now would exist in the event of a nuclear accident at Trojan. My hope and prayer is that it would, although my gut level response is one of skepticism.

As Mt. St. Helens was erupting, I had the opportunity to observe it from the deck of one of our parishioner's homes. A bright and sunny day afforded a spectacular look at that awesome event and from our location we had a panoramic view of the whole Columbia River valley. To the north we watched the mountain spew its ash several miles into the air while to the south we could see steam coming out of the cooling tower of Trojan. It was a stunning portrait of the forces at work in our world. To the north was the power and destruction of nature, the consequences of which were quite visible. To the south lay a work of human hands whose potential for power and destruction is no less real and the consequences in the event of an accident would surely be much more deadly.

The view of Mt. St. Helens and Trojan evoked in me a deep sense of humility and at the same time repentence. I trust that we human beings know enough to learn from history but the view from my friend's home causes me to wonder. Articles such as yours are extremely valuable in reminding us as individuals and as a nation of our responsibilities as stewards of God's creation.

The Rev. Stephen J. Gehrig
Longview, Wash.

Credits

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THE WITNESS

VOL. 64, NO. 2 FEBRUARY, 1981

Hope

Corita Kent
Martha Blacklock
Brian McNaught
Walter Baker
Mary Eunice Oliver

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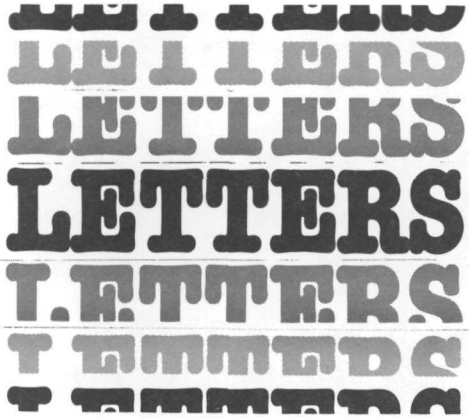

Ungodly Means

In a country dedicated to civil liberties and the rule of law, I commend THE WITNESS for its recent defense of the rights of the recently convicted Puerto Rican nationalists, and for its past support of Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin in their resistance to grand jury abuse.

However, I wish that THE WITNESS would print one word in defense of the rights of the innocent victims of FALN bombings, and perhaps two words of sympathy for their bereaved families.

Five people are dead. Without having had any choice in the matter, they have given their lives for the cause of Puerto Rican independence, which THE WITNESS apparently espouses. If THE WITNESS cannot shed a tear for them, perhaps THE WITNESS might celebrate their exploits which are so much more sacrificial than the courtroom antics of the 11 "patriots," who presumably approve of bombing and arson.

I feel only contempt for "freedom fighters" who plant bombs in public places and are so cowardly and pitiless that at a safe distance they detonate them regardless of whom they may kill or maim at random.

Some of my contempt, I fear, rubs off on THE WITNESS, which by its silence suggests that the end of Puerto Rican independence justifies such ungodly means.

The Rev. David R. King
Elizabeth, N.J.

WITNESS Responds

Let us be clear: THE WITNESS deplores loss of life and grieves over the death of the people at Fraunces Tavern; in this same sentence we must quickly add that we deplore the death of the 21 Puerto Ricans and the 200 wounded in the Ponce Massacre, and more recently (since 1970) of the assassination of Independentistas Dario Rosado and Soto Arrivi; of the two Young Lord leaders found hung in their jail cells; of Santiago Mari Pesquera, son of Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; of Juan Rafael Caballero, Independentista labor leader of the Teamsters; of Angel Charbonnier and Eddie Ramos after a PSP Assembly in Mayaguez, and on and on. Not one Grand Jury has been called to investigate assassinations and murders attributed to Right-Wing forces.

We believe, with liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez, that an appraisal of violence, to be fair, must consider three types: 1) the institutional violence which keeps a people in poverty and bondage; 2) the repressive violence of armed forces which sustains the institutional violence of those in power, and 3) the counter-violence of guerrilla forces which retaliate and struggle against the first two. All cause human suffering and death, the first perhaps more than the other two, through the less visible instruments of malnutrition and poverty.

THE WITNESS has been trying to analyze the history in Puerto Rico of these three types of violence — a history largely ignored by the mass media. (See "Sterilization Abuse," By Helen Rodriguez in the January issue; "The Puerto Rican Connection," "Terrorists or Patriots," and "On the Redemption of Puerto Rico," July, November, January issues; and "Latin America: Front and Center," November issue).

If U.S. citizens are participating, wittingly or unwittingly, in the institutional or repressive types of violence described above, then they should know about it. And if, as Puerto Rican nationalists claim, "There is a war going on out there," then it becomes inevitable that, as in every war, there will be prisoners, and death of innocents.

COVER

We are indebted to noted artist Corita Kent for her artwork on this issue's cover. See Corita's article, "You Bring the Spring," on page 4.

Lauds Pictorial Essay

The pictorial essay in your December issue, "The Devastating Effects of the U.S. Arms Race," reminds us again that as long as governmental effort and money is poured into the military complex, all the "South Bronxes" will remain untouched by positive governmental action. Apart from Christ we tend to be violent and destructive. It is good, therefore, that this pictorial essay appeared during Advent. Advent reminds us that peace and creativity are possible in Christ.

Ronald H. Cram, Student
Princeton Theological Seminary

Name Is Birthright

The centerfold of your Christmas, 1980 issue has two pictures that tell quite a tale. Both Hiroshima and the South Bronx attest to an incredible amount of greed and antipathy.

We can never be sure who tomorrow's victims will be. Let us not stand idly by, so smugly certain it can never happen to us. If only for the sake of enlightened self-interest, we must cure that cancer, of which the South Bronx is a tragic symptom, before it spreads to places we cannot now foresee.

I very much enjoyed "Portrait of a Maverick Feminist" by Margaret Arms except for one thing. I am in no way in the same "class" as Dr. Doris Webster Havice. I do not have her education and in spite of all my good intentions, I never did anything so bold as to land me in jail (I talk a good game and that's it). I am Jewish and one of the greatest pleasures

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THE WITNESS

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Seeding Hope in Soil of Intolerance

by Robert L. DeWitt

An old Spanish proverb proclaims: "Stranger, there is no way to go. One makes a way by going."

Each of us today is that pilgrim. We are searching for the way with increasing desperation. We look in vain for the well-worn path, the familiar road signs that reassure us we are headed in the right direction, the comfort of knowing that everybody else is headed the same way as we. Instead, we find many paths, some on which we have never trod. We see signs pointing in conflicting directions. We hear a babel of strident, conflicting advice as to which way to go. We witness groups of people going in many divergent directions.

For this reason there is an almost compelling urge to ease the tension by taking the most traveled road, by following the most prominent sign, by heeding the most strident voices. And since all are pilgrims, caught in the same excruciating uncertainity, there is a defensive crescendo of criticism of any who take a path other than the one in which one's own feet are set. Prejudice and persecution flourish in such a climate.

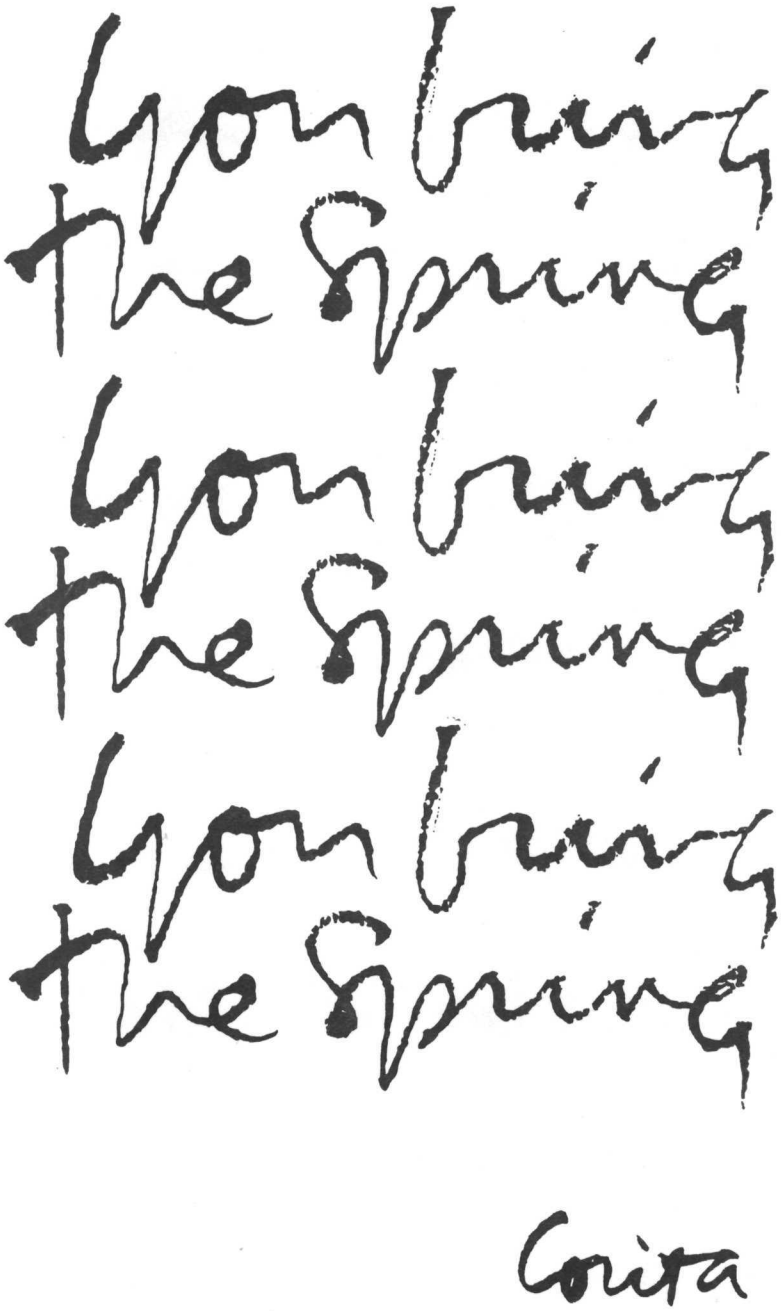
So it was in Germany in the '30s. Hitler knew that the engines of war could not function without public approval. He contrived, therefore, a synthetic Aryan "religion" to fuel the chauvinism necessary for his dreams of conquest. The undying shame of the church in Germany is that it provided aid and comfort to that idolatry.

America has had similar tragedies. Its most disastrous resulted from its prodigious economic investment in a system of chattel slavery, — a cruel structure of race relations which is still our greatest national evil. The church (with noble exceptions) by taking its cue not from the Gospel but from the prevailing mores, for generations provided acquiescence, moral support, and even theological justification for that enormity.

The persecution of gay people provides yet another chapter in that sordid story. The ancient world, and Europe up through most of the 12th century, displayed a fluctuating attitude of tolerance and indifference to the question of gayness. Then — was it as with us, the insecurity resulting from the chaos of the breakup of an age? — within a century that attitude changed dramatically. In responding to public pressure the church increasingly framed theologies and moral precepts which sanctified the oppression of gays, creating a religious setting for homophobia by which we still are fettered.

The church is never less apostolic than when it seeks to curry popular favor or to avoid popular opprobrium, by solemn proclamations that are prompted by and reinforce a current, popular prejudice. Yet, today the church is still vulnerable to those same pressures. When the Episcopal House of Bishops is urged to issue an ecclesiastical pronouncement "because our people

Continued on page 6



Noted artist Corita Kent was speaker for the commencement exercises at Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles, after which the college closed in 1980. THE WITNESS felt her words of hope worth sharing along with her cover artwork for this issue.

There are enough grave events
in our time—
on a global level
and in our own immediate surroundings
to pull us down—below hope.
So we are always searching
for things that remind us
to pull up into hope again—
hope for a more fair distribution of power,
for a more careful relation to the earth,
for a more equitable distribution of its
fruits,

and the grand hope of creative change
evolving out of near chaos.

To think globally requires much hope
and a part of that hope lives in the awareness
that by using our particular abilities
where we are
we can make a difference.

Today I'm offering you some reminders to hope—
the first is a crocus.

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For a moment imagine yourself
living thru an eastern winter.

Except for a few evergreens (very few in the city)
everything is very bare:
no green shrubs or trees,
no flowers, no grass.
Seemingly all life has disappeared
and it looks very bleak.
Then one day—while it is still cold and spare,
you spot a few crocuses.
(Crocuses are small bulb flowers
that may be purple or white or orange.)

The crocus comes up
before the first green leaves of spring.
It is the first of all the flowers to say
that after the long, dark, creative period
that is winter
the seemingly dead ground
sends up these miracles
that speak of spring coming up out of
winter,
hope coming up out of despair—
That speak also of the interconnectedness
of all things—
for they are nourished by ground and sky
and by us who plant them
and allow them to grow.

This up that comes at the sight of a crocus
is like a message from the universe,
saying:
our lives are connected
with all other lives,
so that what we do
really matters.

If only we get up in the morning
out of the little death of night,
we help all life get up.
Imagine what happens
if we do even more in a day!

Another reminder to hope
may be found in the lives of others
who have gone down and come up.

One Sunday morning I found these fragments
of lives in a couple of book reviews:

Muriel Spark says—Depression is
the enemy; but I just sit and wait;
there's always light at the end of the
tunnel. Her depressions, she thinks,
are part of her unquenchable hopefulness.
Pessimists get on all right
because they don't expect much.
People who have hope are sad because
they are so often disappointed.
Her curiosity about what will happen next
gets her thru.

And in Saroyan's book *Obituaries*—
it is a book composed as life is lived,
messy, trivial, spiteful at times,
touching and outgoing, just flowing on,
reaching completion, defying the darkness
all about. He marveled that some
people die or kill themselves, that so
many writers give up. He was mystified
and pained by the suicide of Hemingway
and of so many poets. I'm growing old!
he shouted. I'm falling apart! And it's
very interesting!

He wrote a book during this time entitled
Not Dying. The spirit of it was that of
Tolstoy's last diaries, when all had gone
wrong—wife, children, religion, body—
but the defiant old man ended almost every
day's entry with the words: Still alive.

So these lives are another sign
that we are connected—
that the pain of one person
can bear the fruit of courage—
to be shared with others.

How any one person lives
can help the rest of the world get up.

Or we may find a reminder to hope out of darkness
on our own college crest
with its sword-pierced heart.

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Somehow the heart must be pierced
to be opened—to be awakened.
That is the way the crest
handles the story of life.

The pain that opens the heart
opens it to the love of another
and to concern for the larger world—
today that concern must be global.

And if Immaculate Heart College dies to bring new life,
there probably never has been
such motivation for an Immaculate Heart graduate
as you have—
to continue that cycle
that leads from death to life.

Many other kinds of institutions are dying
on a global level.

They were made for another time
with smaller sights.

This breakdown of an outgrown order
has made a new winter—
and out of this winter
there is a new life
coming into the world
that recognizes connectedness
and interdependency.

This new life is
a world of peoples
sharing as equals—
creating a new spring.

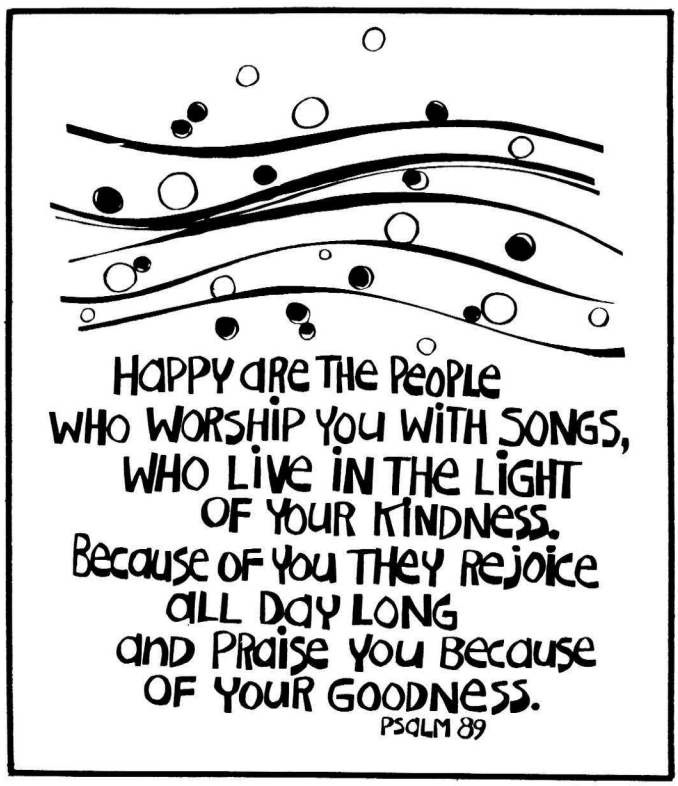
How you live will make a difference
in this development
You *can* bring the spring.

So far, the crocuses have always come up.

Continued from page 3

are asking for leadership, and they don't understand why we are silent on the issue," this is a critical request. It may indeed be the prompting of the Holy Spirit, speaking through the people on behalf of an issue of justice to which the church had been insensitive. On the other hand, as history attests, it may be the spirit of a frightened bigotry to which the church has too often acceded in the past with cruel and disastrous results.

How does the church discern the spirits, whether they be of God or of Satan? How does the church know which way to go? If true to itself, the church will follow the One who affirmed the moral imperatives by saying: "Alas for you, lawyers and Pharisees, hypocrites! You pay tithes . . . but you have overlooked the weightier demands of the Law, justice, mercy and good faith" *(Mt. 23: 23-25 NEB)*. Yet One who, confronting injustice which had been sanctified by generations of religious tradition, would say: "You have learned how it was said to our ancestors . . . but I say this to you . . ." *(Mt. 5:21, TJB)*. And in following the One who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life the church will be a beacon as the human pilgrimage seeks, when there is no way, to make a way by going. ■



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How to Win While Losing

by Mary Eunice Oliver

The recent election of an Episcopal bishop in the Diocese of Alaska deserved much more attention than it received. A woman, the Rev. Jean Dementi, was one of the six nominees. Mary Eunice Oliver, one of our WITNESS subscribers, sent us her personal impressions of that event. Although Dementi was not elected, we thought readers would find this informal report most colorful.

A new chapter in church history was written when Jean Dementi was nominated as a candidate in the election for Bishop of Alaska in November. She was not elected, but her candidacy enriched the whole process, and it is that story that needs to be told.

When the Nominating Committee did not include Jean on their list of recommended candidates for bishop, her supporters fulfilled the canonical requirements so as to nominate her from the floor of Convention. They had reason to believe the Committee's decision was based on the shape of her skin! When Convention convened (weeks later) they were notified she had been reconsidered, and was a candidate, and would not have to be nominated from the floor. This was seen as a sincere move to make amends, and it was reconciling.

Before the voting began, all six nominees sat in front of the altar in St. Mary's Church, Anchorage (a space celebrating a faithful woman!) facing the 80 delegates and visitors, fielding

The Rev. Jean Dementi

questions from the floor. Jean, in her full-length, blue, clergy dress, sat in the center flanked by three men in black suits on one side and two in black suits on the other. Even that dramatic visual aid of the reality of the Body of Christ was wholesome. Her responses were direct and enlightening on controversial questions, in contrast to the equivocations and generalities so often heard in similar situations from our articulate professional clergy.

In response to a question regarding the ordination of homosexuals, she noted that she had served, as a deputy to General Convention, on the Commission with the responsibility of dealing with that issue, and it was clear to her that the church had just begun to look at the issue of sexuality, and that there is presently a great diversity of thought represented, without consensus. For herself, however, she stated that as long as she was chairperson of the Commission on Ministry of the Diocese of Alaska, or if she were bishop, she would not have any special criteria of sexuality for the one kind of ministry called priesthood that did not apply to all other kinds of ministry exercised in the Body of Christ. If gay people are baptized, confirmed, serve as acolytes, lay readers, teachers, choir members, servants to the world for peace and justice, then they should also be considered for all other kinds of ministry. The other five candidates all said they would not ordain gays.

On the subject of what effect a woman bishop might have on ecumenical relations with Rome, she said that if the questioners thought all Catholics opposed women in Holy Orders, they did not know the Catholics that she knew. She said that a cloistered order of nuns was praying that very minute for her to be elected Bishop of Alaska, that they had called the night before she left home for convention to promise their prayers. The Mother of the Order had confided to her that as she had tucked into bed, the night before, a deaf, aged member of their community, she had yelled: "Now Sister Joseph, you pray for Jean to be elected

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Mary Eunice Oliver of San Diego describes herself, "negatively, as the last woman refused a seat as a deputy (though duly elected) at an Episcopal General Convention; or, if you want to put it positively, the first woman deputy from the Diocese of Los Angeles to be seated at the General Convention in Houston in 1970." Long active in the church, she also served on the Board of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

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THE WITNESS
Feb. 1981

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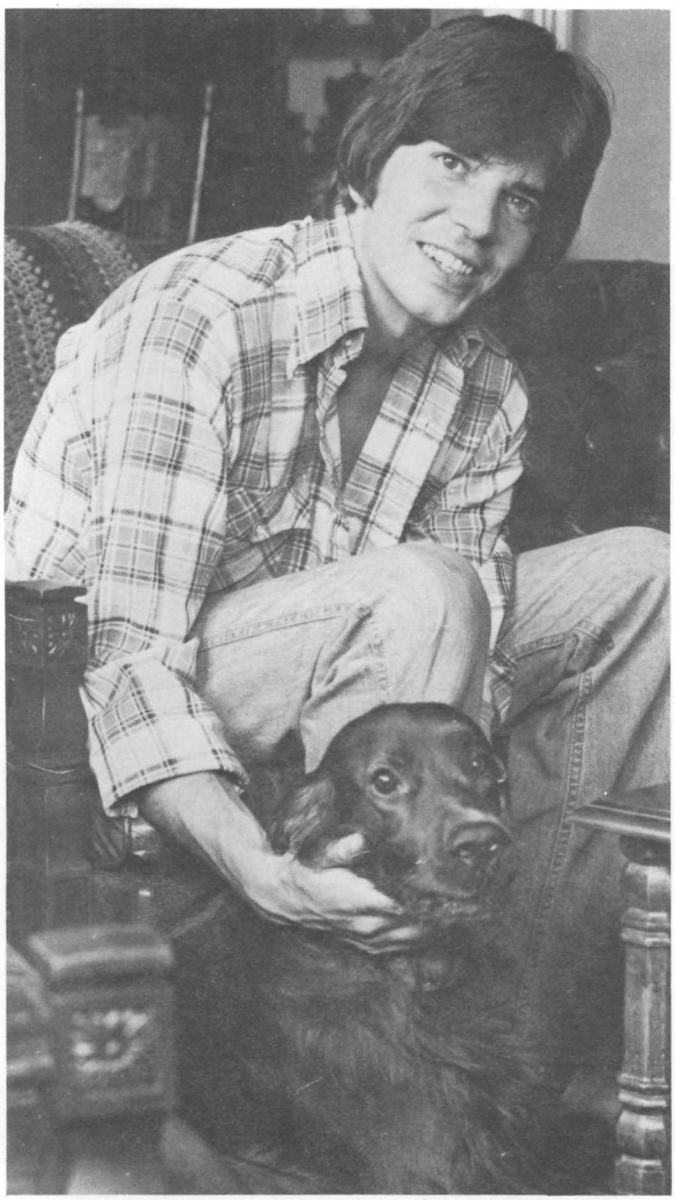
Welcome Home, Anita

by Brian McNaught



Brian McNaught is a Boston-based editor and freelance writer who is noted for his ministry to gays, especially in the Roman Catholic community.

An evangelical Christian theologian once told me that active homosexuals "who turn to the Bible for salvation are looking down the barrel of a shotgun." The Laws of God are clear and unflinching, he insisted.

The man in question was one of many hundreds of thousands who rallied around Anita Bryant in 1977 and joined *Newsweek* magazine in declaring her "God's Crusader." As her husband Bob phrased it, Anita had "put on the armor of God." In her own words, she was a modern day Deborah.

Today, the former national symbol of the perfect Christian wife and mother is divorced, recovering from a dangerous duet with drugs and alcohol and angry about the "fundamentalists who have become so legalistic and letter-bound to the Bible." Undoubtedly, she too is considered by her former friends to be foolishly provoking God's double-barreled wrath.

Yet, as reported in the December 1980 issue of the *Ladies Home Journal,* Anita Bryant believes "in the long run, God will vindicate me." And so do I.

Like Rep. Robert Bauman, (R-Md.), who championed the fight against civil rights for homosexuals during the day and allegedly solicited sex in gay bars at night, Anita Bryant got caught between her own reality and the way she was taught things ought to be. She says that from the very beginning her marriage was a disaster but she nonetheless wrote books, like *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory,* in which she told 1 million readers how happy she and Bob were in their nuclear Christian family. She wanted to have a happy marriage "so badly that I only shared the good parts."

By day she posed with her husband and children for pictures in front of their living room altar and decried gay civil rights as a threat to the U.S. family. At night she fought bitterly with Bob, ridiculed him in front of friends, flirted with strangers and massaged her guilt with Valium. "When some people feel a total inadequacy in themselves, they feel threatened and jealous," she told the *Journal.*

Anita Bryant's major turnabout on such questions as gay civil rights and feminist issues hasn't received the attention it

deserves from the nation's media. Perhaps that is because the airwaves are now jammed with the loud warnings of Anita's former supporters — the politicized Born Again fundamentalists — that Ronald Reagan and the new Congress had better listen to the Word of God and the Moral Majority and stay on the far right on such issues as busing, welfare, the ERA, civil rights and SALT II.

It's a shame, because I believe Anita Bryant has been called upon to deliver a message of major significance. It seems to me that her conversion from celebrated intolerance to a philosophy of "live and let live" is a clear indictment of the self-righteous and a promise of forgiveness. It is a warning not to take yourself too seriously or God's embracing love too lightly. It is an invitation to accept yourself as flawed though intrinsically good and to look not into the barrel of a shotgun but into the welcoming arms of affirmation.

"I never dreamed what I feared most could happen to me," confided Anita. "But divorce is a part of life, you know, and we all are imperfect." In her pain, Anita came to discover that homosexuality is a part of life too as are the concerns of women. "As for gays, the church needs to be more loving, unconditionally, and willing to see these people as human beings, to minister to them and try to understand them," she said.

While it isn't always true, I frequently find that I am more comfortable with people who are outside of approbation than those whose lives seem to mirror society and fundamental churches' ideals. Those who are able to lay claim to their own pain, their uniqueness, their deviation from the norm generally seem to share the same experience of a loving God that I experience. They seem more able to go beyond the law and tradition and be in touch with the human experience. People who suffer aren't as prone to put other people in boxes, like "Divorced Catholic," "Homosexual," "Welfare Recipient," "Women's Libber." They tend more to ask questions than to shoot from the hip. They talk honestly about their own feelings and abhor hypocrisy.

Jesus abhorred hypocrisy. In fact, he spoke out against it more frequently and with more vehemence than on any other human conduct. Hypocrites, for him, were those persons who pretended to be something other than they were. Hypocrites were the law givers and the law quoters who denied their own experiences as flawed people.

Anita Bryant and Robert Bauman are two recent examples of individuals who publicly denied their private pain and puffed up images of propriety to cover their flaws and receive social sanction. They became heroes to law quoters and others who didn't trust God's embrace. Their charades caused more havoc in their own lives and in the lives of countless others who were scourged by their actions and their words, all in the name of God. "This is not my battle, it's God's battle," Anita told Dade County voters.

I knew the campaign against my civil rights was not God's battle, at least not my God's. Nor was it God's battle when people waved their Bibles in defiance of Charles Darwin or burned crosses on the lawns of Jews or beat up anti-war demonstrators or voted against the ordination of women. The God that I know isn't being talked about on Jerry Falwell's television show or in fundraising letters from Born Again groups which quote Corinthians to raise money against human rights. That used to be Anita Bryant's God but it doesn't seem to be any more.

"God says the wages of sin are death," she told *Playboy* magazine in 1978, "and one little sin brings on another . . . It just gets worse as it goes on. You go further and further down the drain and it just becomes so perverted and you get into alcohol and drugs and it's so rotten that many . . . end up commiting suicide."

Back then she was talking about homosexuality. Two years later, she confided that her marriage was so bad she was taking heavy doses of pills and alcohol and one night would have commited suicide had she not thrown her pills down the drain the evening before. Two years later, she talks about a God I experienced after attempting suicide because my life didn't conform to the letter of the law.

"Fundamentalists have their heads in the sand," Anita now states. "The church is sick right now and I have to say I'm even part of that sickness . . . They thought they could get me under their thumb, that I had such a responsibility to my 'righteous-leader' image, they thought that I would stay in that marriage. Well, I just couldn't hack it."

Welcome to the human race, Anita. Welcome to the world of the socially stigmatized, religiously ostracized human outcasts with whom Jesus, to the astonishment of law quoters, preferred to walk.

For me, being an adult Christian is letting go of your fear of what the church, the news media or the neighbors have to say about your life. It's a commitment to love yourself because of those things which make you different and to enable others to love their uniqueness. Being an adult Christian is a commitment to God that you will do your best to grow to your full potential, to embrace your humanity, to live life fully, to be a channel of encouragement and forgiveness in the world, to be honest, caring, involved and hopeful. It isn't easy being an adult Christian. It can be quite painful to be true to yourself.

"Of course, I know I'm going to hurt some more until the healing has time to work," says Anita. "But anyway, God loves me now right where I am." And so do I. ■

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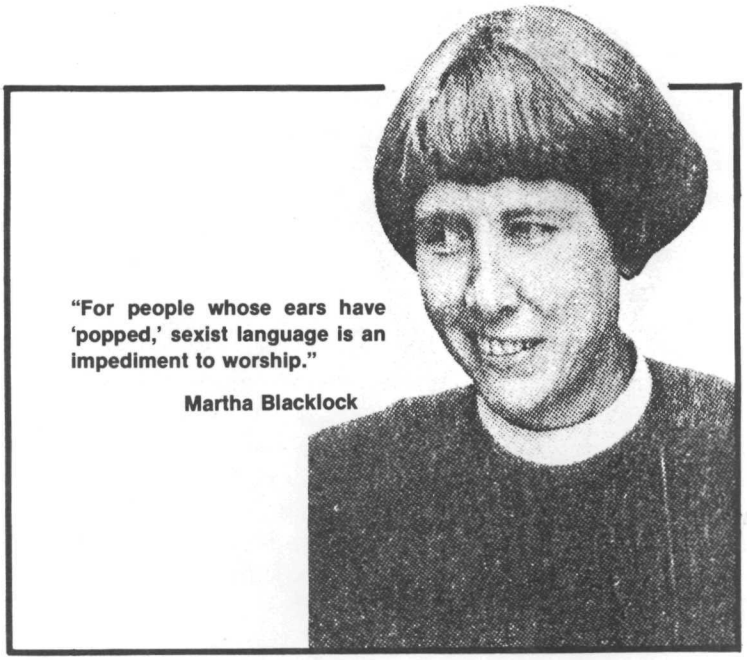

"For people whose ears have 'popped,' sexist language is an impediment to worship."

Martha Blacklock

Popularizing Non-Sexist Liturgies

by Martha Blacklock

One of Carol Etzler's strong feminist songs begins, "Sometimes I wish my eyes hadn't been opened." Plenty of us worshipers could wish the same for our ears.

After all, most practicing Christians first heard the Gospel in sexist language — archaic sexist language at that — and we knew it was speaking to us. We brothers joined hands in the faith to serve our Father as sons. We men of God rose up to fight manfully.

But, one by one, many of us experienced an irreversible "pop" that opened our ears to just how odd it really is for women to describe ourselves in those terms, and, further, how presumptuous it is for a culture to subsume the whole human race under labels that fit only half of it. And, again, how deeply questionable it is to talk about God solely in masculine ways.

There's no going back. For people whose ears have popped, sexist language is truly an impediment to worship. If and when we complain, it's not out of cantankerous impulse, but from the pain of feeling suddenly out of place in God's house. We had thought we were at home.

What to do?

Stay home? Many do, convinced that the church is just another expression of patriarchal domination, and that hoping for change from the men who govern it is about as likely as expecting most Christians to sell all they have, etc.

Some churchgoers, however — convinced that the Word spoken in Jesus Christ is that of whole, abundant and eternal life — are working to make the words of worship reflect that reality. The decision by the bishops of the U.S. Roman Catholic Church to omit the "generic" use of *man* in the liturgy is one result of this effort. The Episcopal Women's Caucus attempt to contribute to the Episcopal Church's hymnal revision process is another instance of work that would affect the church at large.

Some parish clergy and liturgy committees have already written changes into their altar books to reflect their expanded awareness. Others change the words as they go along. Finding metrically suitable alternatives for sexist words in the midst of singing a hymn can be exhilarating.

Local efforts to provide non-sexist worship alternatives for those who seek it have developed. Some — such as the Society of St. Junia the Apostle and Wisdom House — have published liturgies.

For almost five years one such group has been meeting in New York City. During that time, Mother Thunder Mission has functioned as a theological discussion and feminist support group, as well as a worshiping community. (Mother Thunder Mission was named for the mother of James and John, the Sons of Thunder. Their father was Zebedee; who else could Thunder be? A sense of humor helps immeasurably in this enterprise.)

The focus at this point is a regular Saturday evening liturgy at St. John's Church in the Village. Celebrants and preachers are drawn from the metropolitan area. They are usually, but not always, women, as is the congregation. More than 100 people turned up for the service after a September *New York Times* article about Mother Thunder.

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As other papers have picked up the *Times* story, letters have come from all over the country asking "What do you do?" and "How can we do it here?"

The Saturday evening liturgy at Mother Thunder Mission looks like any other rather traditional eucharistic celebration, to the distress of some feminists who believe we should care as much about the visual symbolism as the verbal. They are probably right.

We sing, using the Hymnal 1940, with the help of Kathryn Piccard's *Resources for Avoiding Sexism when Using Episcopal Hymnals.* We use the Ecumenical Women's Center (Chicago) songbook *Because We Are One People.* And we're developing our own revised hymnal, week by week. It's called *Hyrs, Ancient and Modern.*

Unless Saturday is a major feast day we use the Propers for the following day. We paraphrase the Lessons and Psalm, using no "generic" pronouns for human beings, and using names, titles, or pronouns for God that are appropriate to both male and female. For example, the Song of Mary sounds like this:

My soul proclaims your greatness, O my God,
and my spirit has rejoiced in you, my Savior,
For your regard has blessed me,
an ordinary woman, who serves you.
From this day all generations
will call me blessed,
For you who are mighty have made me great.
Most holy be your Name.
Your mercy is on those who fear you
throughout all generations.
You have showed strength with your arm.
You have scattered the proud in their hearts'
fantasy.
You have put down the mighty from their seat,
and have lifted up the powerless.
You have filled the hungry with good things,
and have sent the rich empty away.
You, remembering your mercy,
have helped your people Israel,
As you promised Abraham and Sarah,
mercy to their children, forever.

Addressing God directly, rather than talking about God, avoids the many places where a pronoun or "God" repeated would be necessary. Another benefit which has been noticed by some worshipers is that one seems to be more immediately in God's presence, rather than talking about someone who is elsewhere.

Here is another example:

Glory to God, boundless glory,
and peace to God's people on earth.

O God our Maker,
Creator of all we know,
we worship you, we give you thanks,
we praise you for your glory.

O Jesus Christ, firstborn of creation,
God of God, Lamb of God,
you take away the sin of the world:
have mercy on us;
you who rest at God's heart
hear our prayer.

For you alone are the Holy One,
You alone are the Word,
you alone are the true Light,
Jesus Christ,
with the Holy Spirit,
at One in the glory of God.

What we are aiming for, of course, is language that does not shut out half of the worshipers because of their gender, nor make statements about the nature of God that no longer seem to be true. At the same time, we hope to find alternatives which are not clumsy and unnatural-sounding, but true vehicles for common worship. As we know from the recent arduous process of Prayer Book revision, that last is a tall order, but not impossible.

"And what about The Lord's Prayer. Surely you don't meddle with that! After all, those are the very words Jesus said . . ." Well, those do seem to be his words, but we don't use them. Instead we say (or sing):

Christ Jesus we ask your guidance as we pray:
Holy One, our only Home,
hallowed be your Name.
May your day dawn,
your will be done
here, as in heaven.
Feed us today,
and forgive us,
as we forgive each other.
Do not forsake us at the test,
but deliver us from evil.
For the glory, the power,
and the mercy are yours,
now and forever. Amen.

The Mother Thunder Mission wee bookies are authorized for use in one diocese, and tolerated in others. They are available from Box 579, New York, N.Y. 10011. Our hope is that two or three may gather together, as people are doing all over the continent, and find the words through which worshipers can hear the Word, and praise God in whose image we are all made, men and women alike. ■

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A Son's Tribute To Cesar Chavez

by Fernando Chavez

Cesar Chavez

Fathers are hard to talk to face-to-face. When you reach a certain age, the companionship ceases and the competition starts. The father-son chemistry changes. A wall goes up.

Then it becomes a question of how quickly and how well can you dismantle it.

Even as I was growing up, there was competition with my father's commitment to his job, which extended from before sunup to well after sundown. And there was his notoriety — first local, then statewide, finally national — which attracted a continuous flow of labor organizers, politicians, reporters, opportunists, statesmen, people wanting help from him, and people wanting to give him help.

So many people wanted my father to be so many things.

All I wanted him to be was my father.

My first recollections are when he worked for the Community Service Organization (CSO), which at that time was the most active civil rights organization for Mexican Americans in California. Before he became its director, he was a field organizer, which meant setting up chapters throughout the farm valleys of California.

Before I reached the eighth grade, we had lived in San Jose, Oakland, Madera, Hanford, Oildale, Oxnard, Los Angeles and Delano. At most of my new schools, I didn't even bother to make friends. I knew I wouldn't be around long enough to enjoy them.

In 1961, my father asked CSO to get involved in organizing the farmworkers who were migrating around the state. He was turned down, so he quit. On his own, he started the National Farm Workers Association.

My father started with nothing. Of necessity, his family became the heart of his staff. We made posters and signs, licked stamps, addressed envelopes. He always had things for us to do on weekends and during the summer.

In pairs, my brothers and sisters and cousins and I would go leafleting, knocking on doors of farmworkers and giving them announcements of meetings. My father would drive up and down the blocks to make sure we were okay.

Material things meant nothing to him. We always had something to eat. Sometimes we got it picking up potatoes in the fields after the crews had been through them.

"I want you to learn what farm labor is like," he'd say. But we'd have enough potatoes for weeks. A used couch or used TV was as good as a new one, he'd tell us.

When I was 10, he took me to help the John Kennedy-for-President campaign in Los Angeles. With some other kids, I spent the day handing out pamphlets. It poured rain, and I was soaked and miserable. Then we kids were introduced at the headquarters and applauded for our participation and each of us was handed a $5 bill for our work. I was going to buy a model airplane. But when my turn came, my

Fernando Chavez

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father said, "Fernando wants to donate his $5 to the campaign." I went off in the corner and cried.

When I was 12, I started traveling with my father. There was a mattress in the back of our Mercury station wagon, and I would sleep while he drove for two or three hours. We'd leave well before dawn and get back after dark. After a few trips, he took me on the sideroads and taught me to drive. We shared the responsibility. When he'd meet with groups of farmworkers, he'd introduce me, "I'd like you to meet my chauffeur."

He would talk to us children about the problems the farmworkers had. He made us understand why we had to share him with them. The rocks through our livingroom windows, our teachers' comments in front of the class that the Communists were behind the farm worker movement — they were just part of a routine we accepted.

My father was a very sensitive and affectionate man. When we were little, he'd lift us onto his knee and kiss us a lot. As we grew up, he'd constantly involve us in his life and the decisions he had to make.

When we were living in Delano, President Johnson offered to appoint him director of the Peace Corps for Latin America. He called one of our regular family meetings. He explained what the job was. He said we'd probably move to Latin America, reside in a big house, have maids to help my mother, and generally live like kings. He added, "of course, I'd have to leave the farmworkers." He talked about them and their problems until there were tears in his eyes. Then he handed out slips of paper for us to vote by secret ballot. It was 8-1. We stayed.

Of all his children, I'm the only one who's not working with him today on a day-to-day basis with the United Farm Workers.

I barely made it though Delano High School. I worked on assembly lines in factories for a couple of years. That's when my father and I started to lose communication. He had always hammered away at us that we had the potential to be whatever we chose. He asked us, mostly by the example he set, to have a social conscience. One of his sons, he hoped, would be a priest or a lawyer.

The assembly line wasn't much fun. I went back to school. I earned a bachelor's degree at UCLA and, in 1977, a law degree from the University of Santa Clara.

I confide in my father regularly now. The other day, he called me up and asked for my advice on a matter of importance to him. Whether it was a set-up, like the pitch he gave us all on living in Latin America, I don't know. But he accepted my recommendation.

Now our days of competition are over. Once again, we're father and son.

Fernando Chavez, eldest son of Cesar and Helen Chavez, practices law in San Jose, Cal. He wrote this tribute to his father for Father's Day. Reprinted with permission from the National Farm Worker Ministry.

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For most of the years of its new life THE WITNESS has held to its subscription price of $9. However, as previous presidents have learned — and Ronald Reagan is about to learn — inflation is a stubborn fact. And so we are forced to follow the pattern set by almost all other publications by raising our price. As of March 1, 1981, a year's subscription to THE WITNESS will cost $12.

But we want to be as considerate as we can of those who are already subscribers, so we are urging, "pay now — save later." Renew *now* (regardless of expiration date) and you will extend your subscription at the present rate of $9 — a saving of $3.

For our part, we intend to hang in for the long haul, and to continue to provide for you a journal which will *be* a witness to the important realities of our time, and will also *bear* witness to Christian response to those realities.

Use the handy insert card in this issue to be billed at the old price. One final request: It saves us substantial postage and handling costs if you send us your check and the card in an envelope. Thank you!

Choking On the Dust of God

Choking on the dust of God
at 3:00 a.m., I stop to
take food for the road
in an all-night coffee shop —
explaining to the waitress,

"I am a writer
temporarily suffering
from uncontrollable flashes
of insight, and a leaky
congregation of
ball point pens."

Asking directions, I get
the usual, "You can't miss it."
But, *I have missed something.*
That is why I am making penance
here with a man recovering
from an overdose of beer.

"A writer!" he wants company,
and I am woman — to him that's
opportunity. He ignores my rings
and speaks of things I think
he's read in books instructing
men on how they might attract
a stranger to their bed.

"Excuse me," I finally speak
the lie (which is the truth for me),
"I must rejoin my husband now."

Ann Knight

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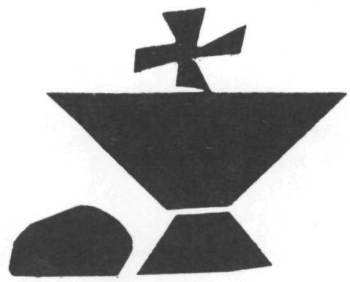

Church Without Walls Notes 10th Anniversary

by Walter Baker

Ten years ago, a group of us began holding weekly services in each other's homes. Our purpose was to shape a vision, to define a dream of a parish church which would better meet our particular needs.

We liked the Episcopal Church and its tradition but we wanted to change the emphasis we found in our parishes. We had a dream of a congregation:

- where the members were taking responsibilities rather than leaving them to the rector and the vestry;
- where the members were knit in a close and supportive fellowship;
- where concerns about parish property, budget, and organization would be eliminated or minimized;
- where there would be time and energy for an effective ministry to the troubled world outside the parish.

From the start, our worship was communion-centered. The host family planned the service, found a priest to celebrate, and led the discussion of the readings which took the place of the sermon.

We wondered if the Episcopal Church could accommodate the kind of congregation we saw maturing in our thinking. Its canons were clearly based on a congregation with a priest in charge and a vestry, housed in a church building in a particular location. Establishment of new missions required the approval of the adjoining parishes.

We consulted with our bishop, who was encouraging but told us that we must have a relationship with an ordained priest. He suggested that a priest-of-the-month would meet this requirement. We complied but the arrangement was not a happy one. To bring in priests who had not been part of our long and searching thought and evolving customs was to put them in a place apart from us. When we found priests who wanted and had time to be with us on a continuing basis, to share in our quest, things went better.

Finally, after further consultation with the bishop and the chancellor, we came before our Diocesan Council with a formal request to establish a new mission — *The Church Without Walls.* In our presentation, we pointed out that, instead of being a new idea, this was really a return to the early days of the church.

We found the resistance we had expected. It was evident then and later that many rectors felt threatened. Did this new mission represent the camel's nose coming inside their tent? If it did not plan to pay a priest or have a fixed abode, did this cast doubt on the existing order? Who were these people and why were they leaving their parish churches? The decision of Diocesan Council was put off.

Somewhat to our surprise, at its next meeting, in October, 1971, the Council approved our establishment as a mission. The Church Without Walls was a reality — a constituent member of the Diocese of Pennsylvania! Our voyage had begun.

Gradually we developed operating procedures. We appointed a secretary

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Walter C. Baker is a Philadelphia stockbroker who has been active in the Episcopal Church and in civic and community affairs.

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and treasurer, limiting them to one-year terms. On a rotating basis, members volunteered to sign up host families for the services each week and send out the monthly schedule.

The duties of the host family gradually became clear: to sign up a priest to celebrate, to choose people to read the lessons, to plan the service, choose hymns, and provide coffee and cookies for after-service socializing.

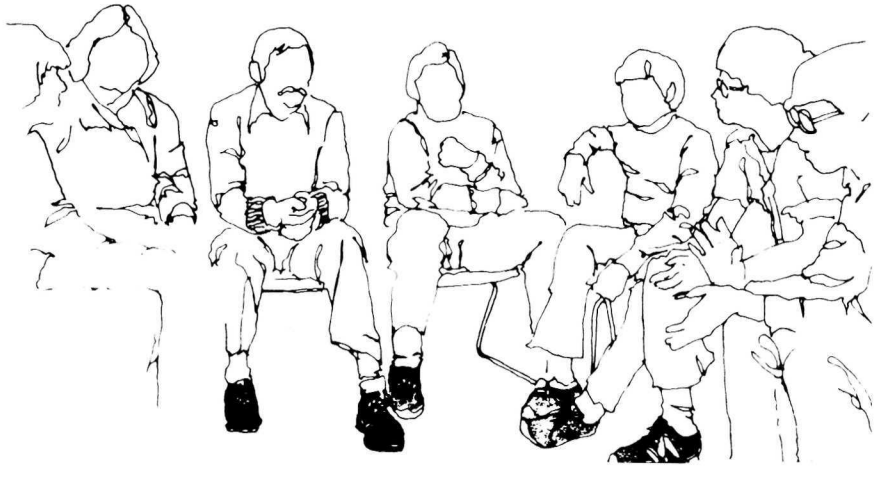
We decided to give half of our members' offerings to the diocese and distribute the remainder among causes to be chosen at our quarterly business meetings. It was our hope that most of the beneficiaries would be working to improve society rather than simply aiding the victims of its malfunctioning.

Like any organization, we have had our successes and our failures. We have gained members and lost them, tried new programs which have worked well and others which have not. In our early years, five priests worshiped with us. We now have but one in our church family. We have had a number of baptisms, one wedding. Our vicar, the Assistant Bishop of the Diocese, has confirmed five members and received two from the Roman Catholic Church.

A number of times we have rallied our forces to help our members move to new homes. Books, clothing, pictures, and dishes are routine on these occasions, but a 750-pound printing press created some problems! On a couple of occasions we have worked on house-painting projects for our members. Some years ago, three carloads drove to Wilkes Barre after it had been devastated by a flood to spend a creative day helping an elderly man restore his house.

In a church like ours, which draws from a wide area rather than a single community, the need for socializing is more keenly felt. In the Spring of our first year, we rented for a weekend a large cottage at the seashore with dormitory facilities. It was good to be together for a longer period and we have continued these weekends each Fall and Spring ever since. In addition to these get-togethers, we have potluck suppers after our service on the third Saturday (or Sunday) of each month.

A few years ago, we commissioned a multi-media drama on world hunger. The recitative was based on *I John.* We had two slide projectors, music, dance, and two complete casts. We presented it on 10 or 15 occasions, scandalizing one devout churchman who, not hearing the specific statement to the contrary in the introduction, concluded that the bread and grape juice we used symbolically were part of a highly irregular communion service.



Recently we helped the ecumenical Washington Office on Latin America by processing, for its overworked staff, letters they received from people whose relatives or friends had been arrested or taken away. We wrote on its behalf to Amnesty International, the U.S. State Department and a list of others which might be able to help, giving detailed accounts of the circumstances. When the flow of incoming letters eventually dried up, we turned the project back to WOLA.

Currently we have started spiritual growth groups. Meeting for an hour once a week, three or four people discuss what progress they have made in their programs for deepening their religious life by reading, keeping a journal, meditation, or otherwise. They share experiences, insights, problems, perplexities and pleasures. They support each other as audience, advisors, comforters. Those who have tried it seem to like it.

Ten years — time enough to form a judgment. Is this the wave of the future? Unlikely. A heavy outlay of energy and commitment is needed to replace the leadership provided by a parish priest. Few homes have attractive stained glass windows or inspiring organ music! It is much more convenient to go down the street to worship than to drive five miles or more. Many sermons are better organized and more brief than our discussions after the Bible readings.

But the compensations are great. We are running our own show. It is pleasant to assume responsibilities and discharge them. We know each other well and easily get support from each other or give it as required. We are surely not concerned about our church's property or its power structure. We have not reformed the social order as yet, but we are trying! This may not be the church for everyone but for those who march to the beat of its drum, the rewards are great. ■

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The Urban Church

Choosing Between Two Gods

by Charles Belknap

The local urban church is on the endangered species list. One needs only to look at the annual statistics of local parishes and economic projections to realize that 50% or more of the churches will fold in the next five to 10 years. No need to check the statistics; those working in these parishes will recognize the fact.

That the urban church is on the endangered species list is not new or surprising, but the analogy with ecology is useful. Species die when their environments become hostile. The urban churches are closing, not because they are doing something wrong, but because their economic and political milieu has changed slowly, but radically.

A parish, originally a district with one church and one priest, was defined for tax purposes (the church tax). The parish was from the very beginning a natural economic unit. The parish was a neighborhood, and the local church was one of various neighborhood institutions. Like local shops, bakers, tailors, smiths, educational institutions or medical services, the local church celebrated and educated within the context of a particular community.

In the context of neighborhoods, parish ministry was founded and flourished. The primary sacraments, communion and baptism, were adapted for the common life. The secondary sacraments were developed to celebrate life transitions within community. Thus, the environment of the parish church is by nature its neighborhood of people and interrelated institutions. What has turned that environment hostile?

The social environment has changed because the structure of wealth and power has changed. Wealth and power, until our lifetime, was in good part parochial. Commerce and politics, education and medicine, were rooted in localities. The wealthy were invested, at least emotionally, in their fiefdoms. Now even the wealthy are alienated from the responsibility of their wealth. Chain stores have dominated the market. Medicine is centralized in large hospitals. Schools are often large, regional and out of local control. Government is large and bureaucratic. The economic and political fabric of the neighborhood has collapsed as capital and political power have become more centralized. The disenfranchisement of the neighborhood has accelerated significantly in the past 20 years to the point where the parish church, the last of the neighborhood institutions, is about to become extinct. (When any species can no longer reproduce, it is about to become extinct.)

What to do? The analogy with ecology is useful only in that it provides strategies. The ecologist who discovers that a species is near extinction can't begin to strategize until those in power have concern. It is difficult to generate significant concern in the church because the leadership still believes in the "Good Man" theory. A "Good Man" is a young, energetic cleric who in the '50s and early '60s (thus the use of the masculine) could take a dying parish and revive it. When neighborhoods were stronger the theory still worked. Many of the bishops were "Good Men" themselves and thus still have faith today in a strategy that no longer works. The loyal (and liberal) opposition to church leadership often espouse their variant of the "Good Man" theory, the "Good Liberal Man" theory, which holds that a young, energetic, socially attuned man or woman can revive a parish. However, parishes are dying regardless of their relevance.

Assuming the ecologist can generate concern, then several strategies are available to him or her:

First, there is the zoo, hopefully a natural history museum

The Rev. Charles Belknap is currently priest-in-charge at Holy Family Mission in North Hollywood, Cal.

to preserve and regenerate a few examples of the species in a limited but safe environment.

Second, there is the creation of a substantial refuge, a supportive environment, ecologically balanced to promote the health and welfare of a variety of interrelated species.

And third, there is advocacy to change the social patterns of crass exploitation and to return the environment to its original condition.

All three strategies are essential to preserving and perpetuating a parish culture.

The zoo/museum strategy is currently operating in our church and we do not need to concern ourselves with it here. (The struggle for a church's survival and the emergency services which urban churches provide are part of this strategy.)

Also the church engages in advocacy, the third strategy, though perhaps not adequately or with enough of its resources. But advocacy has for a long time been part of the church's life.

The strategy which is not currently applied is the second, the refuge strategy. This strategy aims at the conversion and control of particular neighborhoods as supportive (not hostile) environments. The church needs to engage in an economic ministry aimed at controlling and influencing the economic capital of particular neighborhoods, and thus re-enfranchise the political and economic life that is the basis of community. Such is the basis of a "parish" in the original sense of the word. A local church or diocese, in conjunction with other denominations, can work to facilitate the growth of other institutions which will make up the ecological system of an urban neighborhood: e.g., credit unions, businesses, clinics, schools, light industry, housing, etc. Is this not what we should mean by the words "parish ministry"?

In short, we need a three-part "ecological" strategy for urban ministry: (1) the museum/zoo, because at the very least we have to preserve our presence and minister to individuals in need; (2) the refuge, because we need to transform our locales to be enfranchised communities in wastelands of powerlessness; (3) advocacy, because we need to promote broad social change. It is the second of these strategies which has received the least attention and needs the most resources.

All of this points toward a deeper issue. Ecologists are reactionaries, conservatives, and the above strategies raise the question as to whether all we are trying to do in our efforts toward parish survival is preserve anachronisms: the parish, the neighborhood, the local economies.

Our society is going through changes which are archetypal. We have been promethean. Prometheus, the god

who left the boundaries of his community to steal fire for his people, the individual who suffered for his community, is our type of god. Christ, the perfect individual, leaves the boundaries of life to overcome death. He suffers for our communal benefit. The tension between the individual and his/her community gives a basic quality to our humanity. The community/individual tension has been the central motif of our culture, but no longer.

Now, because of the centralization of wealth and power, the individual is without community. The new culture is protean rather than promethean. Proteus: the god who changes from fire to water, to air, to earth, and back again. The individual in a protean culture does not contribute but adapts, does not steal the fire but adapts, does not overcome but adapts.

"Lord help me to accept the things I cannot change." The television church, which ignores community, is well suited for a protean culture and is successful. The parish church, on the other hand, is floundering. It is a fish out of water, a promethean species in a protean eon. Are we reactionaries in trying to preserve the parish and its environment, or, are we being called to choose between two gods? ■

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Continued from page 7

Bishop of Alaska! *YOU HEAR*?" It brought the house down, but it also indicated there is a lot more to Catholicism than John Paul II! One delegate, who did not know Jean, came up afterward and said: "Now there is only one candidate I can vote for: *YOU!*"

Jean was third on the first ballot. Don Hart, Rector of the Pro-Cathedral in Fairbanks was first. Gary Gilbertson, Dean of the Cathedral in North Dakota was second. Fourth was George Harris, Director of Ministry Development in the Dakotas, who had served in the Philippines, is 55, and later won on the 12th ballot. Malcolm Miner, a worker priest, was fifth. Norman Elliott, Rector of a church in Anchorage, was last. By the third ballot Jean began losing votes, and graciously withdrew her name. None of the others did so. So she taught them when to "hang in there" and when to stand aside.

Harris was the only nominee she could support in good conscience, so she was at peace with his election. He said to her: "Jean, I'll need all your wisdom!"

She felt the support of everyone's prayers throughout the Convention but especially when she was being questioned. She never hesitated for a second about what she should say. She was sure that what she had done was absolutely needed for wholeness in the process. She never had any doubt about proceeding in each step. She was in harmony with God's will for the church to be fully inclusive now. She felt in retrospect that it couldn't have gone better for her. She had been faithful in proceeding as far as possible. She received a great showing of affirmation. When she withdrew her name, several yelled: "We love you!"

A Convention in the Diocese of Alaska functions in a very informal way, with time out for singing and praying, often in three languages! It is like a family gathered. For all their vast geography there are only 3,000 Episcopalians. They have shared meaningfully through the years, affecting the quality of their political process in a good way. She rejoices in that!

Her bishop had once asked her about a certain woman as a possibility for appointment to Jean's Commission on Ministry. Jean said: "No, I do not want her on the Commission as she opposes women's ordination, and we do not want anyone evaluating postulants who automatically eliminates the majority of the Church!" He was aghast and said: "I didn't know she felt that way." (Why doesn't Jean's bishop know the flock as well as she does?) Then Jean went on: "And six of the members of the Screening Committee for bishop nominees opposed women's ordination, so naturally they were not going to recommend a woman!" He said: "I didn't know that!" She had been given a perfect opportunity to reveal to him how he had programmed the process for discrimination. Since he does support women in ministry, he will never again be so careless, and he now has the truth and can repent. This may have been the highest good she was able to do. Educating bishops is an ongoing need, with few volunteers. Like everybody else, they need help.

Her bishop wrote her a great letter afterward rejoicing over the prophetic witness of her "right on target" answers, although her husband did not want her to be elected bishop. What spouse would?

The newspaper coverage was excellent with front page articles featuring that which WAS news: *A WOMAN PRIEST CONSIDERED FOR BISHOP.* One headline which gave us much joy was: *GENDER NOT AN ISSUE.*

I trust you can appreciate what Jean meant when she reported to me: "I felt triumphant!" Thanks be to God! ■

Continued from page 2

for me is to see (and even try to encourage) the good that can be done by Christians and others. In this way, I certainly receive much and give relatively little or nothing.

But I do have one thing — the only one thing I have. I hold on to the name on my birth certificate as if it is my greatest birthright. So it amuses (if not angers) me to read "Doris Havice, then Doris Webster" — as if a woman's name can be changed around like so many musical chairs.

As far as I'm concerned, I'll stick to the name I was born with and continue to be as insignificant as almost any male you can find.

Joyce Ann Franz
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Protecting Congregation

I have been receiving now for several months your magazine, totally unsolicited. I would be grateful if you would cease sending it forthwith, as it is a waste of your money and my time. It represents a theological viewpoint with which I am totally unsympathetic and to which I would not want to expose any members of my congregation.

It seems to me that you have moved a long way from the great truths of the gospel, a recognition of Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord, a full understanding of Scripture as the Word of God, and the historical formulas of the Anglican Communion as encapsulated in the Prayer Book and the 39 Articles of Religion.

I find its level of scholarship low and, frankly, I have a lot better things to read.

The Rev. Richard Kew
Rochester, N.Y.

Editor's Note: Apparently the Rev. Richard Kew is the recipient of a gift subscription from a well-meaning friend. At least we are glad his friend likes THE WITNESS! We stand ready to send a six-month complimentary subscription to any members of Kew's parish who may wish to judge for themselves whether they are being overprotected.

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Liked Hispanic Issue

To THE WITNESS folks, peace, paz, shalom. That was really a good September issue on Hispanics, especially Richard Gillet's article "Hispanics & Latin America: Moving Center Stage." And it was good to see the Theology in the Americas Hispanic Project document published, even abridged. It is an important statement that has not received the circulation which it ought to have among non-Hispanics.

In the same issue, the Alperovitz interview was timely. The Christian left is not strong on nitty-gritty macro-(or micro-) economic analysis. More, more, more!

Muhammad Kenyatta
Williamstown, Mass.

Praise From Mexico

THE WITNESS issue on Hispanics was excellent and very welcome here. The non-Spanish speaking visitors who come to our center have been reading it with great interest as they get little of such value regarding information and presentation of Latin American matters in the United States. I must say that as an ex-newspaperwoman I have a special right to criticize and praise the printed word. And for THE WITNESS I only have praise.

Betsie Hollants
CIDHAL
Cuernavaca, Mex.

Group Uses WITNESS

Enclosed is my check for $12 for the special offer of the two books advertised on your back cover and a six months' subscription to THE WITNESS.

This would be extending my subscription since I just began one with the September issue. The magazine is excellent. I'm using it in a group we just started called Christian Awareness and Commitment.

Leonore Britt, SHCJ
Rosemont, Pa.

Discount for Students?

Your magazine has stimulated much thought and inspiration in my life, since I first discovered THE WITNESS over four years ago. THE WITNESS voice needs to be heard by all the church, so that we can fully respond to the Gospel.

Unfortunately, one place where your voice might not be heard is in the seminary. While a $9 subscription rate is not unreasonable, many students find such a price too high when they balance personal and family budgets. If you have a special subscription rate discount which might apply to seminarians and/or other students, please let me know so I can spread the word.

John Donnelly
Student Body President
Virginia Theological Seminary

Editor's Note: In this issue of THE WITNESS readers will find notice of a year's subscription price change, from $9 to $12. At the same time that we were hit by inflation and found it necessary to raise the price, we felt keenly the dilemma of students, described above by John Donnelly, and of those over 65 who live on fixed incomes. Previously THE WITNESS had a subscription discount of $6.75 for these readers (see insert card) but we have now decided to drop this to an even $6. We are reprinting our promotion literature to that effect, and we are delighted that Reader Donnelly wants to spread the word.

CREDITS

Cover, Corita Kent; p. 6, Vicky Reeves; photo p. 7, *The Episcopalian;* p. 10, from photo by Marilyn K. Yee *New York Times*; p. 12, National Farm Worker Ministry News Letter; p. 15, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy; p. 17 Alternatives, Jackson, Miss. Also, THE WITNESS inadvertently omitted crediting the head sketch of Dan Berrigan on p. 8 of the December issue to Louise Miller.

For Men Only

I once favored women's "ordination" and wrote an article affirming it. That was when, like so many churchmen, I was (without realising it) putting Movement goals ahead of God's will. Our will be done. Then, by the grace of God, I asked myself what Jesus the Christ, God the Son, doing perfectly the will of the Father, meant in choosing only men to be Apostles. He did not perhaps know that 60 generations of women would thus be barred from the priesthood — but God the Father, whose will he perfectly did, knew. Thus, for the believer in the Incarnation (as opposed to the secularizing humanists in the church), there can be but one answer: a woman *cannot* be a Christian priestess. You all will not agree; but if you are believers in the Incarnation (without theological doubletalk), I suggest you think again from this point of view: that Christ did perfectly the will of the Father, and the Father knew, in his eternal Now, just what the effects on women would be: his will.

Sheldon Vanauken
Lynchburg, Va.

Of Help in Bombay

Your May issue of THE WITNESS is going to be of great help in my work here in Bombay. I am with the Church Related Concerns Department of BUILD, an ecumenical organization consisting of the Methodist Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Mar Thoma Church and the Church of North India. I am trying to build up an awareness among the churches about commitment to the oppressed and the exploited masses of Bombay in their struggles for justice. A magazine like yours does help me very much. I would also like to request copies of *Must We Choose Sides* and *Which Side Are We On*? publicized on the back cover of your magazine.

The Rev. Reggie Gomes
Bombay, India

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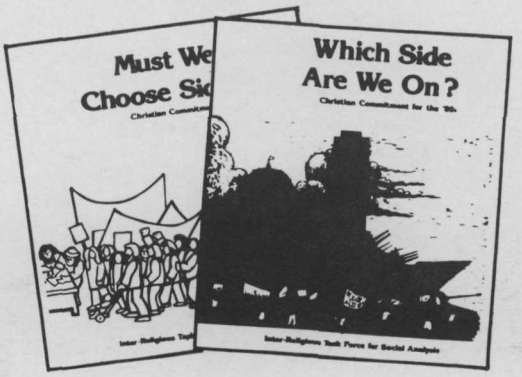
Christian Commitment for the 80's

Study/Action Guides for Social Change



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The Witness magazine, a sharply focused ecumenical monthly, addresses issues of social justice and corporate responsibility. Its editor, Bishop Robert DeWitt, helped pioneer the first ordinations of women to the Episcopal priesthood in 1974 and continues an active social ministry through *The Witness* and the Church and Society Network.
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VOL. 64, NO. 3 MARCH, 1981

THE WITNESS

Right-Wing Religion's 'Dirty Little Secret'

Carter Heyward • Suzanne Hiatt

Bishops Ponder Urban Apocalypse

John Burt • Otis Charles • John Spong

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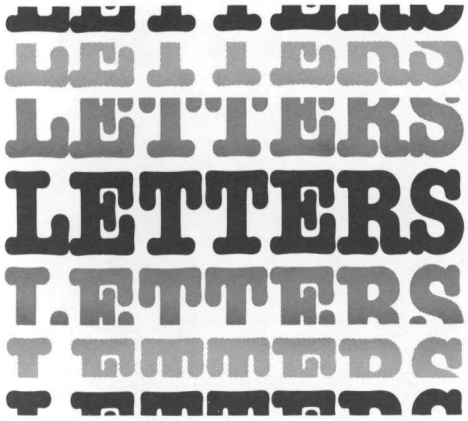

Humans Not Angels

I enjoy your magazine because it is enlightening and thought-provoking, **frequently carrying views far different from my own. Occasionally I become** angry, but that adds to the excitement. Nothing is more boring than reading one's own convictions as expressed by others.

The "Christmas Fantasy" in the December issue leads me to thank Almighty God that musicians and priests are not governors. In the vision of Carleton Schaller and Leonard Bernstein, one finds the gentleness and perfection of the Savior. But in the world around us one finds a hundred Hitlers, Stalins, Somozas, and Idi Amins at large — and another 10,000 yet unborn. Only 40 years ago, 6 million souls walked meekly and trustingly through the gates of Auschwitz, Dachau and Bergen-Belsen, knowing no one in their right mind would contemplate murdering an entire race of innocents. At this moment Soviet troops desecrate the land and people of Afghanistan and are poised to move into Poland if necessary to protect their interests as they see them.

Gentlemen, your case is moving, and I love you for your innocence, your sincerity, and your purity. But your naivete is overwhelming and dangerous! How many lessons and examples do you need? You are reckoning with human beings, not with angels!

Make no mistake: I am with you! We shall beat our swords into plowshares. The wolf will dwell with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the cow and the bear will feed, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.

But, God in Heaven, give us grace to maintain our liberties in justice and **peace. Grant us wisdom not to entrust them foolishly to wolves, leopards and bears, nor to beat our spears into pruninghooks *before* the lion eats straw! Amen.**

In God we trust, but *not* in *man!* God bless you anyway — it's a beautiful dream.

Thomas C. Weller, Jr.
Mechanicsburg, Pa.

Schaller Responds

Admittedly, the language of " 'Twas the Night Before Peace" is the language of a dream. Long before even contemplating the ordained ministry of my church, I served twice in the U.S. Army as an infantryman, during World War II and for a period amidst the Korean conflict. In between those years, I was engaged in secular work in New York. Influenced in large measure by those experiences, I **personally find that "dreams" are essential to my own spiritual well-being.**

But far more importantly, when Jesus said "Blessed are the peacemakers," it is my understanding that he was not addressing God, but people. Those words, then, were directly applicable to the lives of all those persons who were to go out into the world claiming Jesus' name. To be an aggressive peacemaker will cause us serious problems in our day, as it did the early Christians in their time of violence, yet the fact of these difficulties can in no way belie the teaching, nor that the teaching was directed to that portion of humanity called Christian.

In the practical realm of today's climate of aggression and raw power, what was conceivable, and even considered to be the only responsible course of action in World War II and in a place called Korea, I believe to be utter folly given the awesome destructiveness of thermonuclear weaponry. In other words, it's a brand new ball game! Accordingly, I am convinced that we who are the privileged inheritors of the words and actions of the Prince of Peace, best do all that we can to affirm and share and proclaim our "beautiful dream" with the rest of humanity.

Carleton Schaller, Jr.
Littleton, N.H.

What Is Bottom Line?

I share Maynard Shelly's commitment to the pursuit of peace, and my politics, like his, is firmly rooted in faith ("Peace **Churches, Negotiate Strategic Truce," December WITNESS). I have withheld** my taxes during an unjust war because in Jewish Law any commandment may be set aside in order to save a life. There is no higher commandment than this. But a position of absolute pacifism can, at times give one shelter in over-simplification. It is the real-life experience of my generation that sometimes we are not offered the ease of choosing between good and evil. Sometimes the reality has been that we are offered choices between evil and greater evil. To take shelter in pacifism may make us a party to the greater evil if we fail to oppose it.

One third of my people died in my own lifetime. Those who survived Hitler were offered no homeland. They were the boat people who Britain turned away from Palestine by force of arms. And the Arab world would probably have made good its threat to drive the Israelis into the Mediterranean were it not for Israeli arms. Although I grieve at the obvious excesses of force used at times by the Israeli government, it is inconceivable to me that my people should speak of pacifism. Peace, yes. Compassion, yes. Pacifism, no. For saving one's *own* life, individually or collectively, is also required by the Jewish commandment.

I would like to ask Maynard Shelly where he draws the bottom line? Can he not imagine an injustice so extreme that his standard of Christian love would demand redress, even if by arms? Does the commandment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," mean that we should all lie down with Mr. Shelly in martyrdom because he will not rise to his own, or anyone else's defense? I prefer to recall that the Love Commandment which

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THE WITNESS

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The Divine 'Nevertheless'

by Robert L. DeWitt

William Stringfellow, whose writings have appeared frequently in the pages of THE WITNESS, once made the comment: "There is one thing about being a Christian — you know you are going to lose!" A good biblical theologian, he of course knows full well the divine dimension of destiny — that God writes "nevertheless" across many a page of human history that seems to record defeat. But Stringfellow's statement is a helpful reminder that in the short term Christians cannot expect to fare better than Jesus Christ. They remember the cross.

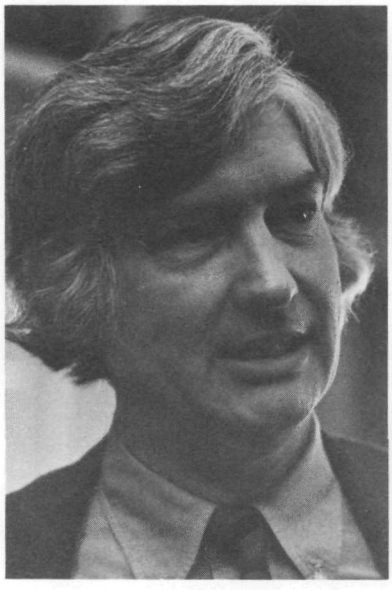
This is not a new reality. In the old testament we read the account of Israel's attempts to translate into the social arena what they understood of God's plan for a human society based upon justice and equality and kindness. Their efforts were heroic, but they finally yielded to the superior power of the Philistines and others, and adopted the tyrannies and bureaucracies and social inequities which were the hallmarks, then as now, of societies which exalt state over people. Even then, an advanced technology in military and commercial affairs seemed more than a match for progressive theology and ethics.

Was it ever thus? Will it always be so? It makes us wonder. Today, a small Roman Catholic convent owning a few shares of stock puts forth a resolution at an annual stockholders' meeting to protest the corporation's strip-mining activities — and two percent of the stockholders support them. A religious coalition attempts to address the plant closings of a large multi-national corporation and the cruel dislocations of communities and human lives which result from the closings — and find themselves ineffective. Religious and secular groups join forces to attempt to stop the headlong rush to destruction of the international arms race — and national arms budgets burgeon. These efforts are all for the sake of a better world, because of a dream of a world of justice. But what chance have they in the face of modern industrial and military technology?

Such a question tests religious faith to the limits. If Christians know they are going to lose short-term, what is the divine "nevertheless" that is written across these ill-fated efforts in the name of justice? The recurrent theme of the Bible is that human rebellion against the will of God brings the judgment of God. Thus the old testament proclaimed, thus Jesus taught. But if it be the will of God, as the Bible makes clear, that the hungry be fed, the captives released, the naked clothed, the strangers welcomed, then it is also clear that the world today is in rebellion against God.

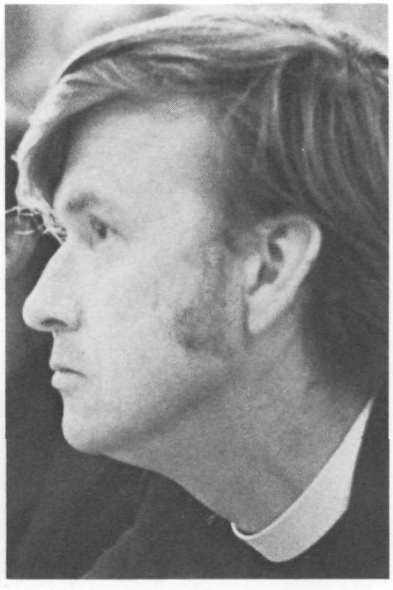
There are those who would read it differently, who would affirm a just society as an admirable ideal, but unrealistic. The world they say, never has functioned that way, and never will. Theoretically, they would concede, there is enough food available so that world hunger can be abolished, but political factors make it an unreachable goal. But designate the factor how we may — political or whatever — the presence of millions of poor and hungry people in this world is a defiant contradiction of the will of God.

And rebellion against the will of God brings the judgment of God. This is the ultimate meaning of the threat of nuclear war, of depletion of the world's natural resources, of the threat to all human life on this globe. We do not break God's laws, it has been said — we break ourselves upon them. And if, short range, to be a Christian means to know that one will lose, it also means to know that God is God, and that God does not lose. And if Christians are on God's side, then they participate in the victory of truth. The shape of that victory is not yet clear, but for them the victory is assured. ■



Otis Charles

John Burt



John Spong

Bishops Ponder Urban Apocalypse

THE WITNESS brought a small group of bishops together recently to discuss their roles vis a vis the urban mission of the church and what they saw as signs of the pending "urban apocalypse" in their dioceses.

The group included Bishops John Burt of Ohio, Otis Charles of Utah, John Krumm, formerly of Southern Ohio and now Suffragan for the American Congregations in Europe, Paul Moore of New York, John Spong of Newark and Archbishop Ted Scott of the Anglican Church of Canada.

The U.S. bishops had been active in the Urban Bishops Coalition which formed in 1976 at the Episcopal General Convention and later conducted across the country a series of public hearings on the urban crisis. The UBC also launched, with the Church and City conference, the formation of the Episcopal Urban Caucus in 1980. That Caucus now numbers hundreds of lay persons, clergy and bishops from dozens of dioceses, and Ecumenical representatives as well, who are trying to relate the life and work of the church more closely to the critical needs of the urban areas where they live and serve.

Following are excerpts of comments made by Bishops Burt, Charles and Spong in a conversation with Robert L. DeWitt, editor of THE WITNESS, on the chief focus of their own involvement in urban mission. The conversation will continue in next month's WITNESS.

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Bottom Line: People and Jobs

by John Burt

It was only a few years ago that all of us were snatching up Harvey Cox's *Secular City,* as though this was going to be the great event of the rest of the years of our ministry. Even though we knew at the time that things were wrong with our cities we felt, somehow, that we could remedy whatever was wrong through various programs. It wasn't very long ago that Lyndon Johnson was saying solemnly on TV that we could defeat poverty. If we rolled up our sleeves and really addressed ourselves to it, he said, we could do it. But then we began to realize that the tinkering, the ameliorative programs, just wouldn't do much.

Yet I remember as recently as when we first called together the Urban Bishops Coalition, I had a slight feeling that maybe we were being too alarmist. Then came the hearings that we held, and the reality that stared out at us from the financial pages and the headlines on the front pages, and we realize now more and more that the cities of our land and our whole urban culture are going through a crisis the likes of which we have never really experienced. I think a lot of us who sat in on the urban bishop's hearings and who began to look at the real statistics that underlie the reality of our industrial situation, especially the foundering economic health of the cities of the northeast, realize that we are in desperate trouble in America, and indeed all over the world. More and more, the troubles we face are not something that any one community can solve. Indeed, the problems are so interrelated with the economies all through the world that any hope of any easy solution is a pipedream — all of which can be terribly discouraging.

Nevertheless, the first step toward any solution is the understanding of the problem. Some of us who serve in the cities of the northeast began to realize that the industrial layoffs were not just the result of a few knaves sitting in corporate offices, but were tied to a vast change in our economic/industrial system which is killing off cities, throwing them away, and what is more important, throwing away people. I was recently in Youngstown, where we tried to mount as sophisticated yet hardboiled an effort as we could to address the problem of the declining steel industry, and substitute an imaginative plan that many technical people said would work. However, we have run into industrial and governmental principalities and powers, and there have now been 18,000 steel workers laid off permanently in the Mahoning Valley.

The night I went down there the Lordstown General Motors Plant, perhaps still the biggest automobile plant in the world, had laid off 5,500 for two months while they retool, hoping to build a car that will sell. How ironic, in an age when we have to cut down on gasoline consumption, that the best we can do is to say that the hope of that industrial corridor is to get right back into the same business, doing the same thing as before. I think really down deep the auto worker, the local mayor, and the boss at the steel mill, know that's a long, long shot. So I guess what I feel we're in now is a period of reappraisal. And although church leaders and others have taken a hard rap from business leaders for daring to ask questions, I've noticed that the questions that we have been jumped on for asking, or the statistics that we feared would go up, 12 months later are accepted dictums.

And so, what is the role of the church? I don't know. We haven't had any real

success thus far, in actually putting a new type of industrial component together. We did not succeed in opening up a steel mill under worker-community ownership, even though there was some fall-out of this concept in smaller industries that have picked up this idea, and that saved a lot of jobs.

One of the cynical satisfactions we have had from the Youngstown effort is the satisfaction of saying, "See, I told you so." They laid off half the city employees there the other day. We had predicted the price that would be paid in lost tax revenues, and now there are not enough policemen to guard the town. United Airlines has taken off all the major planes going east, so that businessmen can't travel easily back and forth. And that starts to spell the doom of the city. It's like a row of dominoes falling down. It makes you weep to see day after day something new happening which will make it almost impossible for that town ever to come back.

But I suspect our role in the long run will have been something of a prophetic role, of helping to see the seriousness of the problem, and also of trying to drive people to see that the bottom line is human beings, and that whatever ideologies may be proposed, the church is saying the bottom line is human beings and their jobs, their sense of having a decent shake out of the brief period that God has given to them. ■

MX Marks the Spot

by Otis Charles

I was fascinated that John Burt began with Harvey Cox, because Cox just came to Salt Lake City two weeks ago to address the whole issue of the development of the mobile missile system, the MX Missile system. He came with a message which is very clear and very simple. It was simply one word, "Enough" — we have enough nuclear weapons. It is important to grasp the magnitude of the proposed MX system project for Utah and Nevada, which is set forth as being essential to our national defense. It is an intricate network of 4,600 bunkers that would house 200 missiles. Each of those missiles is armed with 10 warheads which are probably some 30 times more powerful than the bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima.

The strategy behind it is that these 200 weapons are moved about, like a giant shell game, from one bunker to another to keep the enemy, the Russians, off balance so that they don't know where they are. And also, so that if they decide to attack us they have to use most of their weapons in order to do that. The number 4,600 is not an arbitrary number. That's the approximate number of landbased ICBM's that the Russians possess at the present time. So, Utah and Nevada are being designed as a giant sponge to absorb the impact of any nuclear attack and presumably to neutralize the Russians.

This question is very complex and it can be dealt with from three different aspects. First, there's the whole question of nuclear armament, and whether or not in fact this particular approach contributes to the stability of world peace, or whether in fact it simply escalates the expansion of arms on both sides. Those who are pro-MX say that it neutralizes the enemy, and those who are opposed feel that, because at the moment we have no SALT II, it simply opens up the escalation of nuclear armament. So that is one part of the question.

A second aspect, for Utah and Nevada, is the incredible impact that this will make upon the whole life of those two states. It was distressing to us to hear the Secretary of Defense say at the Democratic Convention that while the impact of 25 square miles as a control center seems like a great deal of land in Manhattan, that in reality it amounts to nothing in the West! But the fact is that the MX project will preempt an area that is three times the size of the state of Connecticut. And while the Defense Department says that sheep will be able to graze within 2½ acres of the silos, it's going to have 10,000 miles of roadbed and no one knows whether that will be off limits or not. In terms of the impact upon Utah's environment, water is one of the critical issues. They are talking about tapping the underground water sources, but nobody knows how extensive those underground water sources are, and in fact when they tap them, whether they might be draining off the water that serves vast areas of the West. So environment is not the only concern, but also the social and economic impact: an incredibly large work force coming in, boom towns for short time, and then bust.

But there's a third aspect, related to the concern for what happens to the economy and to the poor and to people-oriented programs over the next 10

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years, which may well affect what happens beyond that into the future. The program was first projected conservatively at $33 billion. That did not include inflationary costs. Most people are saying now that what we have is a $70 billion project, and others go beyond that figure. Now, that may mean jobs for a lot of people for a short time in Utah. But the fact is that these are non-productive jobs, they don't contribute to a developing economy. This kind of defense work is the least productive way in which to spend a dollar. And at the height of the project, it is going to demand probably $10 billion annually. What is going to give, in order to finance this? And then there is the question of whether or not, when it is completed, it will even accomplish what it set out to do, because there are many who believe that it will be an obsolete system before it is completed. So it will be the greatest public works project ever undertaken, but one which will contribute not to peace, not to the economy, not to the people-needs of the country or of the world, and will destroy vast parts of the environment.

Yet people in other parts of the country seem totally unaware of these factors. The Defense Department's selling job is very smooth, well-orchestrated. The project is being presented as necessary and essential for the well-being of the country. Yet in my opinion it has awesome implications. If the system were activated, because of Russian attack or retaliation, the net result would be that the western part of the United States would be blown off, and that the fallout would go across the United States. If we remember the recent eruption of Mt. St. Helen's, and the volcanic dust which drifted eastward to the Atlantic coast, we begin to get some sense of what that fallout would be like. Any explosion that resulted from the activation of this missile system would mean that Utah and everything around it would just be gone; and throughout the Middle West for four years, because of radioactive fallout, the agricultural capability would be dead. Our whole food production and what that would mean to this country, let alone to the world, would be gone. And the incidence of cancer and radioactive-related diseases on the East Coast would increase.

There is another factor, which relates to the question of confidence in the government. We have had two recent examples of this. One was the incident at Damascus, Arkansas, with Titan II. You recall the episode when the socket wrench was dropped and caused an explosion and the missile blew up. I want to underscore the way in which the Air Force never really leveled with the state authorities. Everyone wondered whether the warhead was there, but nobody knew whether it was or not. There is a state law which says that if nuclear weapons are to be moved the governor is to be notified and certain precautions and procedures are to be followed. The governor was never notified. At 7:30 one morning, the vans moved out and on the military truck was a box which said: "Do not drop." And in that box, presumably, was the warhead. It was taken right through the heavy traffic, but nobody said anything. The whole episode was one that diminished the level of confidence and trust.

The other incident that contributes to that same lack of confidence was the discovery concerning the disposal of nuclear waste off the coast of San Francisco, presumably 10 miles out to sea and handled according to certain safety procedures. Apparently whoever was responsible decided that there was no need to go that far out and dumped it close to the bay. A scuba diver who happened to be on the faculty of the University of California discovered a canister that was broken open. He got other friends, and they discovered that in fact there were many, many canisters, that none of them were intact. Then they began to test the fish and discovered that contamination had entered the life cycle and was part of the food being consumed. And the point was that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission had been aware of this two years prior to the actual public announcement, and had done nothing about it.

So from our point of view, when the Defense Department or the Air Force comes in and says that the MX Missile is not going to disturb Utah, that they will handle the economic problems discreetly and sensitively and creatively, and that the MX is in fact a defense system and not an attack system — there is little to inspire confidence that that is true.

The national security program is not just going to impact Utah and Nevada. It is going to impact both the economy and the future well-being of the whole country. We in Utah have gone through a variety of stages of reaction to it. There are those who feel that it is going to be the greatest thing that happened to Utah, and are encouraging it. Initially there was a great deal of resistance to the development of the system because of what it would do to the quality of life in Utah and Nevada. What has happened most recently is that people have become discouraged, cynical, apathetic. People feel it is simply going to be, that nobody is going to stop the Defense Department. There is another factor in public reaction. For us in Utah a large part of our economy is defense-based, and there is a high degree of personal investment in the future of weaponry, so for many there is a reluctance to move against it. ■

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Organizing Key to Power

by John Spong

There is a story about a polling agency that was hired to find out whether the major problem in the United States was ignorance of the issues, or apathy about the issues. The first person questioned responded, "I don't know, and I don't care". I think what John Burt and Otis Charles point to is that there is no hiding place, for any of us, from any of the social problems. It is a radically interdependent world. I have a scenerio in my mind that some day people escaping the problems of New York, and people escaping the problems of Los Angeles are going to meet in Hutchinson, Kansas, and know that the urban problem is finally inescapable.

One of the things I learned when I grew up in the South is that prejudice is never ended until it becomes too expensive for the whole society to continue to carry on. It is important to remember that when we think about the cities, because there is an enormous amount of prejudice directed toward our urban dwellers. And even the riots of the '60s didn't seem to make it too expensive to have the cities continue to bear the brunt of that sort of prejudice. In a real sense, the city is the place where we try to wall off a great number of our social problems so that they stay contained in isolated ghettos, and the city is the place where, in effect, segregation has been reborn in America. I came from the South to the Northeast, and have seen the South emerging from a system that crippled it, and now see the Northeast trapped in a new incarnation of that same system.

It is hard to get a handle on how to help a city. There are no available levers of power. John Burt's experience in Youngstown is a good illustration of that. The decisions that dramatically affected the life of Youngstown were made in corporate headquarters in New Orleans. So it is with other cities. Even if the voters of the city of Newark, for example, were to organize themselves, they could not elect anybody who could make any decision that would dramatically change the shape of the life of Newark. And I think that is a fact in city after city.

The people who inhabit our cities today are not the owners. They are not the people who make the economic decisions. They are the victims of those economic decisions. People who live in the cities are victims of decisions that are made in industry, victims of decisions that are made in Washington. They are victims of the whole political process. So the cities tend to become the place where those who cannot escape the cities, remain. They are poor, they are elderly, they are generally under-educated. They are caught in a frustration cycle where motivation finally gets killed. They have been knocked down often enough so they have the apathetic attitude: "It doesn't do any good to struggle to overcome this situation."

Cities across this land today are places of very high unemployment. If the unemployment in the nation were as high as it is in the 10 largest cities of this country we would call this a massive depression. So when you look at an urban area, as a representative of the church, and try to find a way you can affect the life of that city, it is a frustrating task. The levers of operation are simply not there. And that also leads after a while to an apathy in the church, I am afraid. We look at the wounds, but we know that we cannot deal with what causes the wounds because it is outside the purview of the life of the people that are living there. We might try influencing a political election or a national congressional act or an industrial decision. But if we cannot get to where those power brokers are we cannot really affect the life of the city.

So we have the only other alternative; namely, how can we do a kind of bandaid ministry: how can we patch up the wounds of those people who are hurting? And those wounds are real and bloody, and they make a difference in the life of the one who is hurt. It is a matter of constantly bandaiding the problems and helping individuals both work through the system and maybe even escape the system, while we are constantly frustrated about our inability to do anything that would make it dramatically different. I think we tend to denigrate the bandaid ministry, until we realize that those bandaids are better than nothing. If all we can give in Christ's name is a cup of water and a couple of aspirin and a bandaid to put on a hurting place, then I think that it is important that we not forget that, in our frustration over being incapable of getting at the root causes.

The three cities that I work with particularly in Northern New Jersey that are symbolic of all the things I have discussed would be Newark, Jersey City and Paterson. Now how can we break that massive urban system down to

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small enough pieces so we can make a little difference in a tiny little way in a little orbit?

In the city of Newark we tried to analyze and understand the institutions within that city on which we might have some impact. The three that we began to see as possible entree points for doing anything would be the church, family life and education. If we could isolate a small enough area, and begin to see the church as a center for dealing with educational problems, or dealing with family problems, or helping people be less victimized by these primary institutions, then we could begin to make a little bit of difference.

In the city of Newark we are working now on developing an experimental school system that will start in the very low grades. By the time a child gets into the third, fourth or fifth grade, it seems that the damage done by the system is already almost irreparable. So we want to pull these three institutions together — the school, the church and the family — and try to develop an experimental school system which will be deliberately aimed at breaking some cycles. We want to start in very low grades, like kindergarten, and supplement that with adult education programs in which we hope to be dealing with the parents of those children. We want to draw these children from all over the city. It would be a small enterprise obviously, but we have seven Episcopal churches in that city and they happen to be located in almost every ward. We have a satellite family education program for the parents of the children who would be coming into this central place. And in that process we try to have the church perceived by the people of the city as on their side, as willing to be beside them, and to struggle with them, and to identify with them, and to be an ally in their struggle for humanity. I don't know whether we'll succeed or not, but only by breaking the problem down from the big city to the little levels of school and church and family, can we begin to try to make our input.

We also want to upgrade the morale of the people of the city to the point where they feel capable of doing something together to affect the quality of their life. In the Heights section of Jersey City there was some abandoned housing. One of our priests, who coordinates our Hudson County Urban ministry, roused the people of that neighborhood to see the abandonment of these two or three houses in that immediate neighborhood as an enormous community opportunity. And indeed a community *problem* if they did not get these houses rehabilitated, and occupied, and make them stable parts of the life of the community. Those of you who live in great urban centers know that once a neighborhood starts to decline it goes very rapidly, becoming a "bombed-out" area in no time at all.

The result of this effort was that the people in that neighborhood won a battle. It was a little battle. It saved two or three houses in their neighborhood. But they won by being organized by that priest. And the great serendipity of that was not the two or three houses, it was what happened to the morale of the people of that neighborhood, who suddenly felt that maybe they had some power and control over the destiny of their own neighborhood. And they began to perceive the life of our church in that community in a powerfully different way.

We had a similar victory in Paterson. I think it was an even more dramatic victory — at least the local Paterson newspaper played it so. It was a community organization started by the Paterson Episcopal Mission, the vehicle through which we do our urban ministry. They were the organizing force for all of the people who lived in this neighborhood. They aroused the neighborhood from apathy. There was a motel in this neighborhood that was notorious for arrests for drug peddling and for prostitution. And most people in the community tolerated this motel because they felt, "There's nothing you can do about it." But some said to our executive in Paterson Episcopal Mission that they wished they could do something about this. And so he decided to see if they could. Soon they were having big public meetings and people were raising their concerns and it got the attention of the mayor, who also happens to be concerned about running for governor — which didn't hurt at all! And his primary political opponent didn't want to be outdone by the mayor.

Suddenly the people discovered they had tapped into a political nerve end. So both the major political opponents began to be aroused, and the community got together, and they forced the closing of that motel as a public nuisance. Once again, that's a little story, but the result is that the people in that community felt, for the first time, a tremendous boost in morale. It was the fact that they could control an event, they weren't just victims of the event. Now if you put together a few little victories like that you can begin to do significant things together.

One of the most important things is that by and large the church in the urban community — and I mean all churches, not just Episcopal — is perceived as a kind of alien industry. It is there, but isn't really there. It's in the community but not of the community. But now, suddenly, the church is being perceived not just as a good citizen in that community, but as a comrade in arms, maybe even the kind of institution that is willing to put its life on the side of the people who live there. That's a tiny step, but it is a first step toward building trust. Unless we build that kind of trust, I don't believe that anything we try to do in urban areas will ever be very successful. ■

Continued next month.

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Right-Wing Religion's 'Dirty Little Secret'

A recent mass mailing from "moral majority" leader Jerry Falwell greeted recipients with a plain brown envelope carrying a warning that the contents were unsuitable for children. The accompanying letter explained that the envelope contained material so shocking that children must be protected from it, yet added that it was being taught to children in public grade schools.

Upon opening the brown envelope, the recipient found it contained excerpts of an explicit, sexual nature from a biology textbook. (The letter did not explain that this was a college level textbook). Having read, and presumably been titillated by the offending material, the addressee could be expected, red-faced and guilty for having seen such "filth," to return a contribution to keep similar things out of the hands of children.

A minor skirmish in the never-ending battle to win the hearts and minds of the American public, perhaps, but it seems to us a significant one. Right-wing preachers and politicians have learned from television and the advertising industry that what catches peoples' attention is sex — what D. H. Lawrence referred to as "the dirty little secret." Hence, from a panoply of possible issues, the Right has latched onto the attention-grabber — sexuality — as the main concern around which to build its empire. Often sex is peddled under another guise — the threat of promiscuity to marriage and the family, the horrors of abortion, the castrating threat of the Equal Rights Amendment, the allegedly high rate of illegitimacy among black female welfare recipients, the rumored child-molestation by homosexuals. All these perceived threats are what Madison Avenue would call "sexy." The discussion of them, especially the obligatory "horrible" examples, provide an opportunity for sexual fantasizing and titillation — for tickling the dirty little secret. It provides as well a convenient guilt reaction which can be alleviated by a generous contribution to demonstrate one's outraged decency.

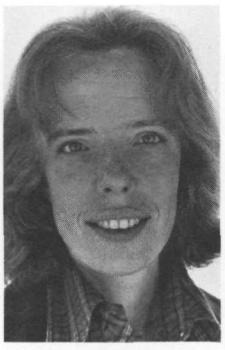
These sexy issues are not new, nor are the highly successful efforts of Right-wing religion to capitalize on them and their attendant guilt feelings. Two and a half years ago, in an article we wrote for *Christianity and Crisis* entitled, "The Trivialization of Women," we concluded:

> *The political right is gaining strength in its attack on human rights precisely because the male left, within and without the church, has made it clear that women and sexuality are not issues worth fighting very hard about. The left has given the right a go-ahead in the harrassment of women and homosexuals by not taking these matters seriously as matters worthy of action beyond statements about civil rights for all. Liberal churchmen and politicians still have not learned that human rights are human rights, within and beyond the church. As women and homosexuals are denied full equality under law, so, too, will disappear the civil and ecclesiastical rights of other powerless people. Perhaps, sooner or later, the list will include the rights of straight, white, liberal Christian men.*

Our intention is not simply to update what we wrote. Current events speak for themselves. The Right-wing, presenting itself as a Christian, patriotic, decent, moral majority, was able to score major victories in November by stirring up anxieties about women and sexuality. Anxiety about sexuality is rooted, historically, in misogyny, men's contempt (often shared by male-identified women— for women and the so-called "feminine' (what women represent or "have"). Anxiety of this sort is at the root of the sexual interest and resultant guilt the religious and political right so effectively exploit with their crusades for decency.

We suggest that no other single issue — not Soviet power, not the hostages in Iran, not deteriorating race relations, not energy, not even inflation and the pocketbook — was as volatile, explosive and decisive in the 1980 elections as the feminist and anti-feminist tensions that simmered in stews about "family" and "morality" and came to a boil in controversies about the "sexy" issues of the ERA, abortion, and gay/lesbian rights. The President of the United States,

Hiatt



Heyward

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by Carter Heyward and Suzanne Hiatt

along with Senators Frank Church, Birch Bayh, John Culver, George McGovern and others were targeted and defeated because they had been portrayed effectively as feminist men — i.e., as men in favor of women's rights, apparently under the evil spell of women, and therefore opposed to God, country and family. Common decency demanded their removal. To demonstrate their commitment to common decency Amricans voted to remove them.

Serious responsibility for the current political situation rests with the Left. Until now sexism has not been taken seriously as a form of oppression by liberals and radicals. Most liberal men have been willing to speak passionately from pulpit and platform about the urban crisis, the nuclear threat, economic injustice, world hunger, and, after 10 years hiatus, racial strife. However, with few exceptions these champions of the oppressed have been unwilling to speak with the same sense of urgency on behalf of women. Perhaps liberals have sensed that agitating "the dirty little secret" is at the heart of the furor about sexism and have seen themselves as "above" that level of argument and by default, above the entire range of women's issues. In any case, liberal silence has allowed Right-wing politicians and preachers to galvanize their forces around precisely the issue others have ignored: the oppression shared by *all* women, right, left, rich, poor, young, old, black, white; namely, the denial of woman's sovereignty over her own person — her body, her name, her energies, her time. The denial of sovereignty over basic life-choices is experienced most sharply, but not exclusively by poor women, black women and women of other colors.

Through ignorance and trivialization of sexism, liberals and radicals have been complicit in the emergence to power of people in the Executive and Legislative branches of U.S. government (the Judicial will follow shortly) steeped in antagonism not only to women but to human rights in general. When we wrote our earlier article, we might well have noted that while it was not respectable for liberals to be racist, it was well-accepted for anyone to be sexist — to tell jokes about broads, fags, mothers-in-law; to pinch fannies; to pass conscience clauses permitting Episcopalians to deny ordination to women solely on the basis of sex; etc. It seems apparent to us that the Right-wing took the left's trivialization of women seriously. By constructing their campaign on sexist assumptions they sensed were shared by all men and by exploiting the "sexy" issues, they have gained significant ground over the past few years. That ground, upon which stands the newly-inaugurated government, is not only fiercely sexist but it is also racist, classist and unabashedly imperialist. In short, sexism has been a useful vehicle in which "Christian" leaders have been carried into high places. Having arrived, they are now prepared to implement social policy based on negative assumptions about women, gays, Blacks, Native Americans, Hispanics, the poor throughout the world, working class people, prisoners, liberation movements, Jews, Muslims and "non-believers."

We do not wish to maintain, because we do not believe, that sexism is more important or more fundamental than other forms of oppression. As a black colleague remarked to us during a squabble over which particular problem to address next, there is enough oppression to go around. To insist that any one single form of oppression stands alone at the top of a hit parade of oppressions is to fail to appreciate the enormous complexity of the fabric of the dominant-submissive social relation. It is to lose the seriousness with which *all* forms of oppression must be taken if *any* is to be eradicated.

As white women, born and raised in the upper-middle stratum of the social and economic system, we realize painfully the depth at which we and other privileged white people must probe to challenge racism and classism at both personal and systemic levels. We realize also that any effective agency of social change must be deft enough, like a juggler, to keep in the air several balls at once. If one ball is dropped, the whole act collapses. The "ball" of sexism has been dropped and the whole act is in disarray. ■

Eve Was Framed

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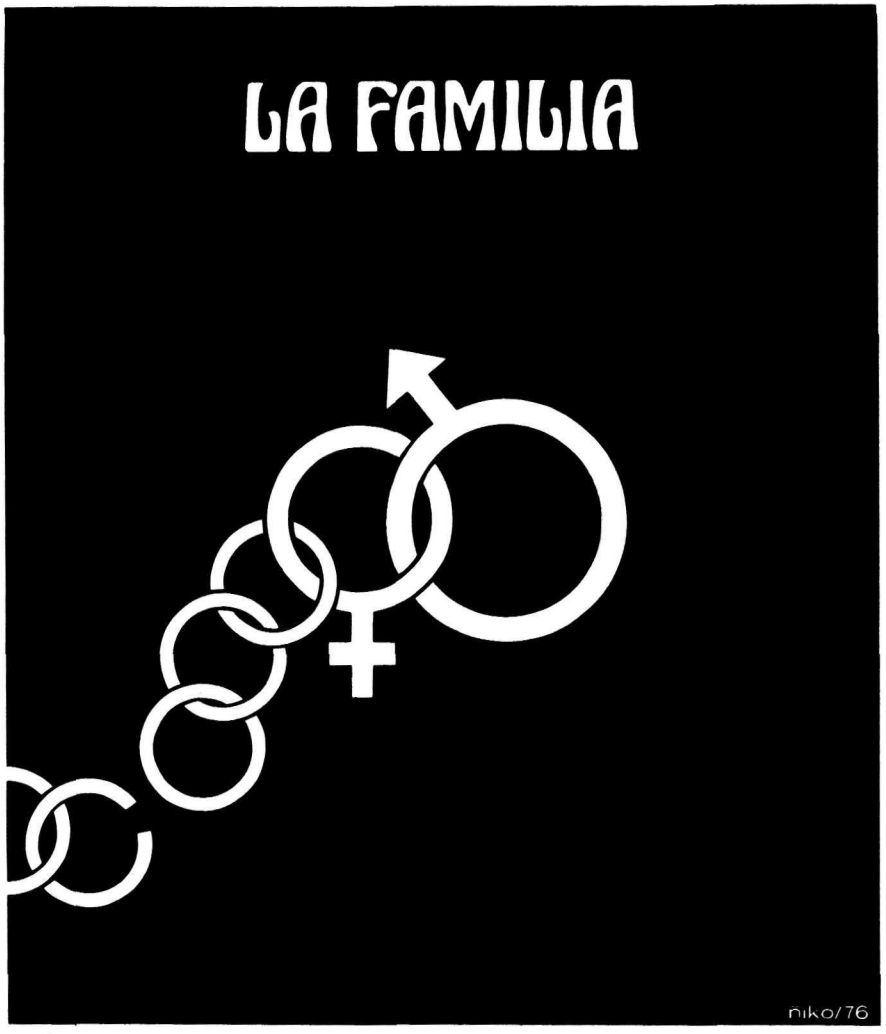

The Women's Project of Theology in the Americas presented at the recent Theology in the Americas meeting in Detroit a strong platform in support of the family, but in rejection of Right-Wing forces which manipulate the concept of "family" in propaganda. The Women's Statement appears below.

The Women's Project of Theology in the Americas wishes to affirm the value of family life, both traditional and non-traditional. We are concerned about the effect on families of the present economic crisis, recession and inflation, especially:

- —the decreasing employment opportunities for all people of color and for white women which leads to more and more families falling below the poverty level
- —the increase in violence in families especially wife and child abuse
- —increased hardship for the elderly, especially the large numbers of single women on fixed incomes
- —disruption of family relationships from stress and financial insecurity
- —difficulties faced by many refugee families in light of the increase in overt racism in the United States.

In the light of this we are dismayed by the platform of the Right-wing forces who use support of "the Family" in order to justify:

- —resistance to the ERA
- —opposition to reproductive rights for women
- —decrease in social services to poor families
- —increase in military spending which results in social service cutbacks.

We are also appalled at the strategy whereby the Right uses a strong "Pro Family" position which promotes the family in its narrowest sense to gain support for its whole program. This is possible because feelings about families are so deeply rooted and families *are* experiencing great stress and suffering. Therefore in this time of economic and social disorder, they appeal to people's

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need for security. The Women's Project of Theology in the Americas sees that this situation requires:

- —maintaining adequate child care services
- —equality of rights related to child bearing and protection from sterilization abuse for all women
- —increased services for women and children who are victims of violence in the family
- —maintaining affirmative action and job training programs and equal employment opportunity for people of color and white women.

Therefore we call on Theology in the Americas to:

- —support a broader definition of family which accurately reflects the present diversity in forms of family life
- —encourage supports for maintenance of services which support families in all forms and establish those services for oppressed women
- —advocate an analysis of the strategy of the Right which understands their misuse of "the Family" to justify the program and the impact this has on white women and people of color
- —listen to the sense of family operative among people of color that goes beyond blood ties; rethink the meaning of family and developing a theology of family that reappropriates the message of the Gospels, in particular Jesus' clear cut commitment to the poor and the outcast in light of our present concerns for family life
- —remember and affirm the strength which comes to each of us from our families as we engage in struggle.

A Clerical Fantasy

by Robert Cromey

Suppose hundreds of gay Priests and Bishops of the Episcopal Church come out of the closet in a common statement and public event. They say to the world they are the best kind of Christian they know how to be. They state they are homosexual. These clergy tell of the babies baptized, children taught in church school and confirmation classes. They talk of the thousands of youngsters worked with in young people's fellowship groups and at summer conferences. They recollect the numbers of people they have prepared for marriage, weddings performed, marital cases counseled. These gay clergy count up the hours calling in people's homes, visiting the sick, carrying the sacraments to the sick and shut in and how many graves they have stood beside, praying for the dead and comforting the bereaved.

They add up the thousands of hours planning liturgy and sermons, celebrating eucharist and preaching. They witness to the simple, pastoral ministry to Christians all over the United States and the world.

Gay Bishops talk of the hours counseling the clergy and their families, confirming new members, ordaining Priests and Deacons, attending endless Diocesan, Parish and civic meetings.

In short gay Bishops and Priests say they have a valid and full ministry and they are homosexual. They witness to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ and they are among the hated and shunned gays.

When people learn about gayness from people they know, love and trust, they have a better chance to understand what homosexuality is all about.

The clergy, Bishops and Priests who are safe could certainly come out of the closet. The retired, the firmly entrenched, those not ambitious to become Bishops or Cardinal Rectors could do it. They could come to a great banquet, go public and tell the world they are gay and they are good Priests and Bishops.

A few years ago a national organization on alcoholism tried to get 100 Americans who are alcoholic to be on a television program. They were able to gather less than 50. Prominent gays would be even more difficult to gather, but it would be worth a try.

How could the gay Bishops and Priests do it? A co-ordinator writes a letter to all clergy of the Episcopal Church. They sign a simple statement that they are Christian clergy and homosexuals. The signer also agrees to let his or her name be used in publishing the statement.

When the names and permissions are in, an event is held where all the signers gather, do Eucharist and attend a grand banquet open to the world media. I suspect there would be little trouble getting media people there.

Meetings and teach-ins are then held in local areas around the country to listen to the people's response to the clergy who have come out of the closet. A massive education process has begun.

What a great witness to the love Gospel of Jesus Christ if the hundreds of gay Christian, Episcopalian Bishops and Priests could say publicly, "I am a faithful witness to Jesus Christ. I am a homosexual." That's risk... renewal... that's laying down your life! ■

The Rev. Robert Warren Cromey is an Episcopal priest-counselor who resides in San Francisco.

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Church as Advocate

Who Are the Poor? . . . Those Who Die

by Jon Sobrino

El Salvador is characterized right now by two words: Death, and Life or more exactly, the *hope* for life. Exploitation is too weak a word to describe the situation in El Salvador. People are not just exploited, they are not only oppressed, they are assassinated.

The church has incarnated herself in this world of death. And I would like to quote Archbishop Romero, because I think he put it very well. He said, two months before he was assassinated, "I am proud that Christians have mixed their blood with the blood of the people."

We can talk about incarnation on many levels. On the cultural level, we can say that the Church must be Indian, the Church must be Black, the Church must be Woman — that is all part of incarnating the Church Herself (or Itself?). But I think the depth of the incarnation doesn't come to light until one considers this further type of incarnation: sharing with the people of El Salvador what is most profound and most basic — death.

This has helped us to solve a theoretical, and a practical, important question. We all say that the church should make an option for the poor. The Latin American bishops said that at Medellin and at Puebla. I don't have to explain that by "the poor" is not meant the rich who, somehow or another, are poor in spirit.

The Puebla documents say that the poor are the peasants, the workers, the children with no hope of surviving, the elderly people. But for us in El Salvador, the poor, the image of the poor, are the dead, which, by the way, should be very clear, a priori, if we would consider the roots of our Christian faith. If Jesus Christ is "the poor," it is not so much because he was probably born into a family of low income. If he is "the poor," it is because he ended as he ended — crucified, dead.

Although it may be a bit macabre, I want to remind you of a few facts so that you have an experience, at least from a distance, of what it means to be poor today in El Salvador.

In the first six months of 1980, approximately 6,000 or 7,000 people had been assassinated. And if, in a country of five million people like ours, 6,000 or 7,000 people have been assassinated, that is the equivalent of 300,000 to 350,000 United States citizens being assassinated. This is our reality at the moment. This is the type of poverty we live in. This is the type of exploitation and oppression we have.

On the 14th of May, at the Sumpul River, 600 peasants were killed. Can you imagine if tomorrow, in the newspapers, a headline would read, "600 people have been assassinated in Detroit in five hours, in one place." I imagine everyone in the United States — the President, Congress, everyone — would be very anxious to know what happened. Well, that is what happened in El Salvador: 600 people were killed at one place in four or five hours. How were they killed? They were tortured; children were flipped into the air, bayoneted and thrown into the river . . . A fisherman from Honduras found the corpses of five babies in his net. Things like that . . .

I think death is the reality for peasants, for workers, and also for other people who usually don't get killed in civilized societies. This year alone, 32 school teachers have been assassinated. The same is true for medical doctors. Usually these people don't get killed. As far as I know, at least 14 doctors have been assassinated because somebody suspected that a particular doctor might have helped, or could sometime help heal someone from the Left. Wounded people in hospitals have been assassinated, and this is not normal in civilized societies. Some people who have been wounded in the struggles get to the hospitals, and, at least in seven cases that I know of, paramilitary groups, in connivance with the armed forces, with the government, have gone into the hospitals and killed them.

What I am saying is this: Who are the poor? *Those who die.* Seven priests have been murdered in El Salvador in the last

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The Rev. Jon Sobrino, S.J., teaches at the Jesuit University in El Salvador, and is the author of *Christology at the Crossroads* (Orbis Books). This theological meditation is his response to a query put to him recently at the Theology in the Americas Conference in Detroit: What is the role of the church in El Salvador today?

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three years, and also Archbishop Romero. Lay catechists have been assassinated. Residences of men and women religious have been searched, bombed at times, or machine-gunned. The radio station of the archdiocese has had at least four bombings. The same thing has happened to the weekly diocesan newspaper office. Jesuits have been threatened, as a group, with death — once in 1977 and once in 1980. Rutilio Grande, the first priest murdered, was a Jesuit. Eleven bombs have exploded in our University. (I don't think many bombs have exploded at Catholic universities in the United States.) But certainly what has happened to us, as you can imagine, has been very minimal. We, as Jesuits, have power, have international connections. You can imagine that if these things happen to us, what happens to the peasants, who have no power?

The end result of this point is that the church has incarnated Herself among the poor.

Now the next point is: what has the church done for the poor, and what have the poor done for the church?

What has the church done for the poor? Scripture says very clearly that the poor are the privileged ones of God. You can say this, you can write about it, but the point is to make the poor the principals of action and of understanding. I think this is the first thing the church has done for our country — telling everybody, the government, the armed forces, the intellectuals, that the poor are the privileged ones of God. This is very significant.

The second thing the church has done is to state very clearly that we have to defend the rights of the poor. When we talk about rights in El Salvador we are not talking about civil rights in abstract ways, but the most basic right: *the right to breathe, the difference between being alive and being dead.* Defending human rights has meant defending the right to *live.* And I think the church has done that by denouncing death, and positively, by being "the voice of those who have no voice."

The church has defended other human rights, especially defending the right of peasants and workers to organize. That might sound very simple to you, but in El Salvador the peasants do not have a legal right to organize. Why the church has defended this right is very important. If the poor, especially the peasants, and the workers don't get organized, they will be more easily victims of oppression.

Another thing the church has done is to go a step further and say that the poor should play some substantial part in politics. At Puebla and Medellin, the bishops said that if the poor are not the makers of their own destiny, nobody will do it for them. Not the government, not the theologians, not the church, not the North Americans or the South Americans. The people, the poor of each country, are the basic makers of their own destiny. And that means that they should have a certain amount of power.

Now, what has the church learned from the poor? That is important, because we think of the church as teacher — "Mater et Magistra." But the church, the theologians, the bishops learning from someone — that is almost incredible. And, I think the church *has* learned from the poor.

What has She learned? First, I think She has learned what sin is — "that which brings about death." This, of course is very traditional. Jesus Christ died because of our sins. You can

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interpret that historically. Jesus Christ died because some people killed Him. So sin is to kill the Son of God. And sin is to kill the Children of God. Well, "how simple!" you say, "You don't have to study too much to understand that." But it is curious. You have to live — at least I have had to live — in a situation like ours to understand this. That is why, also in the best theological tradition, sin can be *mortal.* Mortal sin, because it gives death. Of course we used to say, with fright, mortal sin gives death to the sinner, a spiritual death which, I believe, means a total failure of the one who commits the sin. But the tragic thing about sin is that it is not just a death somewhere inside somebody. It is objective: People get killed. So that is the first lesson. You are with the poor, you see them dying; you say, well that can't be God's will — that has to be sin.

The second thing the church has learned is what grace is, sanctity. Primarily, the church has learned that nobody has greater love than he or she who gives up a life for others. That is St. John's Gospel. This type of love is the most important expression of sanctity or of holiness. One begins to understand holiness and sanctity in the readiness to give to others, even to give up one's own life.

Third, I think the church has learned what the following of Jesus means, which is a praxis of justice, within a conflict, to bring about the Kingdom of God — but like the servant of Yahweh, as described in Isaiah.

The church has learned, I believe and I hope, the most important thing about the True God. What is at stake here is faith in God. Who really is God? We have learned, I hope, to understand the mystery of God — not in opposition to atheism but in opposition to idolatry.

What do I mean by idolatry? I mean the existence of real idols, gods who, in order to survive, demand victims. You know, in the old mythology Moloch is that type of god. There are gods in our country, as in your country. For us the main ones are the National Security State, absolutized capitalism. They demand for themselves the characteristics which only the True God could demand — ultimateness. Well, the National Security State, absolutized capitalism, are idols which demand *victims.* That is the ultimate reason why some people get killed. So, for us to believe in God is very profoundly an option not just for life, but to give life to other people. And we found, a posteriori, a criterion to see if we believe in this True God or in idols. Atheism is not important at the moment. And if we see that we, as Christians or non-Christians, are helping those who bring death, then we are in connivance with them, consciously or unconsciously. Then we will have to admit that we are idolators, we worship idols.

The first, the most fundamental thing about believing in God is not just to love life — we all do that — but to work that there is life.

The second thing about God is that, in a metaphorical way, God is a crucified God; somehow or another, the idea that God is suffering belongs to our faith in God. And lastly, that God is a liberating God. This experience of God also brings about hope.

Another point is something which, for me, is very important. We have heard a lot about different groups being exploited, being oppressed. But I don't think we have heard much about how *to live* this being exploited, this being oppressed.

It is understandable that somebody who is exploited looks for revenge, for example. That would be one way of living being exploited — with resentment, or resignation. Now my point is that I think people in El Salvador live this being exploited with hope.

Hope is not just optimism — "okay, don't worry, at the end everything will be all right." We have had enough historical experience not to be optimists. Hope is not a cheap joy, either — "Okay, we suffer during the day, but at night let's get together and sing." Hope is really believing that the suffering implied in the fight for liberation and for justice is salvific.

Now that is, I think, what this model of the servant of God drawn from Isaiah tells us: "My servant will do justice to the world." (Isaiah 42:1) He is sent for something very positive; namely, to do justice. The last song of Isaiah recognizes that, precisely because he has been sent to do this, he suffers and dies. But, not only that: in doing this, the servant takes away the sins of the world. This is not just a theological conception. If a person, group, or whole people (by and large) have this experience, then this suffering is really salvific. Then there is a type of hope, and I mean historical hope — not just one in heaven, but that we will celebrate Christmas of this year in peace — which gives hope to those who suffer.

I have listened to Gustavo Gutierrez (a Liberation Theologian from Peru) talk about joy, about how subversive joy is. I really like that idea. I would say that the type of joy we have at the present moment would be best described by the word hope, a deep hope. The fact that most Salvadoreans are Christians, at least culturally, and many of them also explicitly, has helped us to go through a political struggle with hope. On the other hand, it has helped for the people of the church to see that the whole people, *el pueblo,* doesn't despair. I think that it is a sign of the times for the church to see that where the only logical thing to expect would be despair, not despair, but hope arises.

These would be my theological insights behind the actions of the church in El Salvador. I am not saying that all of us think that. Some bishops wouldn't understand a word of what I said — and some priests and some lay people. What is at stake here is what does it mean to believe in a living God in a country where people die and where there is hope for liberation and more life? ■

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Getting a Handle On Institutional Sin

by Charles V. Willie

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Arnold Toynbee in an article entitled, "Is Religion Superfluous?" wrote about the danger of worshiping collectivities. He said, "The transfer of . . . worship from nature to . . . collective power seems . . . to be a great spiritual regression." Toynbee understood religion to be "the overcoming of self-centeredness in both individuals and communities."

Racism is a form of self-centeredness in which the racial collectivity with which one identifies is exalted and all others are assessed as being inferior to one's own kind. Racism may be practiced by white people, brown people, black people, any people. Racism is the exaltation of one's own racial tribe in a way that denigrates others. Operationally, racism occurs when the opportunities of society are limited for some individuals simply because of their race.

The distribution of income is a prime example of racism in America. When black and brown males are similar to whites in age, when they perform the same jobs, live in the same regions, and work equal lengths of time, they tend to receive, on the average, a median income that is 15 to 20% less than that received by white men. There is no explanation for this except racism.

Sexism is a form of self-centeredness in which the sex category — male or female — with which one identifies is exalted and used as the basis for arbitrarily excluding persons who are different from equal access to opportunities in the society. Sexism appears when the hoarded opportunities for one's own kind are justified on the basis of sex even though sex may be irrelevant to participating in a particular opportunity system.

The distribution of employment is a prime example of the presence of sexism in the United States. Women who represent slightly more than half of the population consist of only one-fourth of the managers and administrators, but more than three-fourths of the clerical workers; they are about 5% of the skilled workers but more than 95% of the private household workers. Men, however, are slightly less than half of the population; but they represent three-fourths of the managers and administrators and only one-fourth of the clerical workers; moreover, they hold 95% of the craft and skilled jobs and do less than 5% of domestic or private household work for pay. It is fair to say that men have captured the preferred occupations and left most of the routine and uninteresting work for women. There is no justification why the distribution of work by occupations is so grossly imbalanced in favor of men. Sex discrimination is the only explanation that is honest.

Elitism has to do with hierarchy and social class. It is concerned with the differential distribution of power, privilege, prestige, and prerogatives, and is often both a manifestation of and a means of concealing racism and sexism. Nineteenth century social Darwinism was the philosophy and justification for elitism. It was believed that the fittest were successful and that success was an indication of superior human capacity. As recently as 1978 (the last quarter of the 20th century), 19th century thought still persisted in our value and belief systems. In October of that year, I addressed the West Tennessee Education Association in Memphis on the future of education in this nation and endorsed desegregated education as the only strategy that will save us and help us survive.

About a week after my presentation, one southerner felt compelled to respond to the version of my speech that was reported in a daily newspaper. He classified my call for race-mixing in the public schools as "muddle-headed thinking" and "wild notions." He said that "to actively work to destroy man's preference for his own kind . . . is to deny human beings the benefits and pleasures of homogeneity." In his letter to the editor, the man from Memphis also made these points: that one should value one's own race above all others and strive to preserve its purity. His main interest was in preserving the purity of the white race because of its alleged superior capacity and elite position. "History stands as proof," he said, "that any white nation which crosses its blood lines with blacks sows the seeds of its own destruction." He conceded that "all races might excel in some areas," but he was emphatic in stating that "it is the white race that has led mankind to its highest level of

Charles V. Willie is Professor of Education and Urban Studies at Harvard University Graduate School of Education.

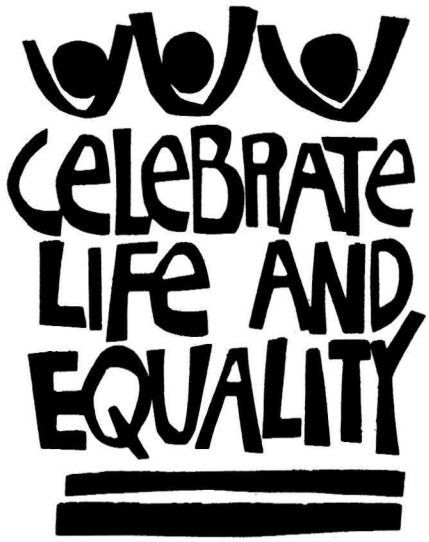
achievement." He concluded that race-mixing in education "would ultimately lead to genetic changes and condemn civilization to the Dark Ages."

This man said in unguarded words what many have felt but been unwilling to verbalize. It was not so much the white race, but the preservation of standards and civilization that concerned him. He did not so much hate blacks. But he hated the "Dark Ages." His consternation was about the erosion of standards. In some respects, he could be called a white supremacist. Actually, however, he was an elitist.

The elitism in our society is most clearly manifested in our restriction of higher education to a certain few. We have restricted education in this nation because it has become the fastest elevator for upward social mobility. The Supreme Court took note of this fact in its 1954 decision that outlawed segregated and unequal education. The Court said that "it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if denied the opportunity of an education." Success in getting ahead, and education go hand in hand. By denying a quality education to some individuals, we deny them the opportunity to succeed in some endeavors. By denying admissions to some schools, we limit in an arbitrary way the options available to some individuals.

Education is the mechanism through which elitism with reference to race and sex is often manifested. It is related to some extent to the income that one may eventually receive and to some degree to the job that one may eventually get. The Census Bureau has discovered, for example, that over a life-time a college degree can increase one's total personal income (over what one would receive if one did not go beyond high school) by one-quarter to one-third of a million dollars.

With reference to higher education, blacks, who are 11% of the total



population, constitute around 11% of the junior college students, but approximately 8% of the four-year college students, and only about 5% of the graduate school students. If intelligence is randomly distributed among all populations, there is no rational reason why blacks should not be 11% of the student bodies in all college and graduate schools. It is fair to conclude that as one ascends the education hierarchy, racial minorities have been systematically excluded from educational opportunities and the increased income these would confer. Despite these facts, a 1978 Gallup Poll revealed that four out of every five whites believe that educational opportunities are now equal for all races.

And women, who are slightly more than half of the total population, consititute less than one-fourth of all people with doctoral and first-professional degrees according to the National Center for Education Statistics. Women with doctoral degrees still are restricted largely to such fields as home economics, library science, and languages. Incidentally, as late as 1977, less than 3% of the doctor's degrees in theology were awarded to

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Jesus preached is found in the same chapter, (Lev. 19) as the words, "you shall not stand idly by the blood of your neighbor, I am the Lord."

Sue E. Levy
Abington, Pa.

Shelly Responds

What's my bottom line? Sue Levy has it in her bottom line: "I am the Lord." That says it all.

I totally share Ms. Levy's commitment to peace as expressed in Leviticus 19. Those are my roots also. "I am the Lord" (used 13 times in that chapter) is defined by: "You shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy."

Peacemaking, both for the Leviticus people and for the Jesus disciples, is not passive-ness (lying down to receive martyrdom) but an aggressive seeking after justice for the poor, the oppressed, the alien, and the enemy. (Even verse 16, sometimes read as "not stand idly by the blood of your neighbor" is not an opening for retaliatory violence but a call to be an advocate for one's neighbor's rights, according to the reading of Today's English Version, "When someone is on trial for his life, speak out if your testimony can help him." Jesus and Paul, following Elisha and the prophets of Israel extend love for neighbor to include even love for enemy as I have shown in my book *New Call for Peacemakers* (Faith and Life Press, Newton, Kans.)

Our choice is not between greater and lesser evils, but always between the way of the world and the way of God — the God of the Exodus who delivers people not by force of arms but in God's own way because God is holy.

My people (the Anabaptist-Mennonites of the fifteenth century in Europe) experienced persecution as severe as that endured by the early Christians at the hands of Nero and later Roman emperors. Let's listen to the martyrs of your people and my people. Their faith was such that they would rather lose all than to betray their faith in the one who says, "I am the Lord . . . be

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holy." They the mighty meek — and we with them — will yet inherit the earth.

Maynard Shelly
Newton, Kans.

Not Christ's Way

While I am not a Christian, I do believe that there are some Christian tenets that are worth following. After reading the series of articles in the November issue ("Christian Alternatives to Business as Usual") I could only wonder at the Christianity of people who would give money to people who obviously need it worse than they do and not only demand repayment but even exact an interest charge as well. I also question the whole notion of tithing when it entails taking a tax deduction. Further, to use money so that it can be invested with the purpose of gaining a reasonable profit in return flies in the face of everything that Christ stood for. We do good works not because it will make us rich but because that is what defines us as decent human beings. The whole notion of Christian self-sacrifice is destroyed by this benevolent capitalism.

When fewer and fewer people pay taxes due to the various loopholes created for the rich and near rich — there is less money available for the purpose of redressing the grievances created by our unjust economic system. It is then that these religious charlatans come along in the guise of helping to fill the void by offering their own brand of free enterprise. This does little to assuage the underlying causes of poverty and degradation and in fact offers tremendous support to the very system that created these miseries.

When people are offered the dubious opportunity to enter the market place with the stipulation that they must pay the piper or get out of business, this places an intolerable burden on them that can only be relieved by doing the same things that every business must do — cut corners. Where do they cut corners? Wages, working conditions, environmental controls, etc. In the case of worker-owned enterprises — how do you expect them to survive either economically or ideologically in a capitalist sea where all phases are controlled by forces far beyond their little factory?

This Christian capitalism is still exploitation. It still involves getting more out of something than you put in and that is quite simply unjust because someone always ends up on the short end.

Until all injustices are eliminated we must continue to give our excess wealth to others so that they might live with some dignity. However, if we offer only indebtedness and its handmaiden political obligation, then all we do is subsidize the status quo. That is not Christ's way.

John Russell
Memphis, Tenn.

Stenning Responds

Although he did not mention the Ecumenical Development Cooperative Society by name, it is probable that several of the comments made by Mr. Russell were in response to my article about that organization in the November WITNESS.

With regard to the issues he raised: In the first instance, it is important to understand that EDCS was created to challenge the churches to set aside portions of their investment portfolios and commit that capital to the struggle for human development. In many cases, the total dis-investment of those funds is not possible. Many of them were legally restricted by their donors and cannot legally be placed in uses which do not offer some kind of return. While it is true that interest is charged on loans made by EDCS, it is at a rate substantially lower than the interest rates available from other private and commercial money lenders.

A second main aspect of EDCS is that it is a cooperative. It is mutually and equally owned and managed by the shareholders rather than a corporate model which would concentrate power in a few persons or groups. Whether a church invests $250 for one share or $250,000, it has only one vote. Through EDCS, the churches are trying to demonstrate that in the administration of their investment funds, they are willing to surrender the decision-making power which usually accompanies financial power. One shareholder is entitled to only one vote irrespective of the number of shares he/she might have. At the present time, nearly 40% of the shareholders (voting power) of EDCS are from the Third World.

A third point Mr. Russell makes is the equating of EDCS practices with "benevolent capitalism" and identifies it with "exploitation." To the contrary. EDCS specifically seeks to invest in projects which are cooperatively and communally owned and managed. It extends loans only to projects whose production goes directly to meeting basic human needs. The Society is attempting to show that investment decisions can be made essentially on the basis of social desirability, 'business and commercial considerations being treated as constraints only.' A far cry from the practices of traditional capitalism. As for his point about 'tax deductions,' returns which are earned on investment in EDCS are not tax-exempt or tax deductible: EDCS does not constitute any kind of tax loophole for investors.

In several ways, the EDCS is fundamentally different from the usual commercial and corporate ventures to which Mr. Russell draws parallels. It must be admitted that it does not have all the answers to the problems imposed by present economic and social systems. But if taken seriously — in the words of Dr. C. T. Kurien, a leading Third World economist, "it can help the churches to reflect theologically about these and related issues implicit in any discussion of the stewardship of resources."

Ronald E. Stenning
Church World Service

CREDITS

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women. This indicates that women were excluded from some of the humanities as well as the sciences.

All that has been said thus far is the basis for my conclusion that racism, sexism, and elitism are three great institutional sins. Some of us may have difficulty in identifying these as sins because we know that the attitude of the public has changed, so much so that most people will declare that performance and not race should be the basis for awarding wages for work and that talent and not sex should be the basis for hiring people to work. Despite these pervasive attitudes, the actions of our society are different: a disproportionate number of blacks get less pay than they should and a disproportionate number of women get worse jobs than they should. This happens because of institutional practices and procedures rather than because of individual prejudices and predilections. These practices and procedures that limit in an arbitrary way the opportunities for women and black and brown people, I call sin.

Karl Menninger, the psychiatrist, has emphasized why institutional practices and procedures are sinful but so difficult to understand as sin. He said that we have attempted to reduce sin to strictly personal matters — an offense contrary to conscience, an often secret but wrongful choice of action. If this is what sin is, then we believe that it can be dealt with privately.

Menninger classified the sources of our troubles as group irresponsibility and group arrogance. Racism, sexism and elitism are examples of group arrogance. Menninger said that as groups multiply, the individual seems to grow less and less clearly accountable for the actions of one's group. Menninger reminded us that in group situations and group actions, there is a degree of personal responsibility either for doing or for not doing. The word sin involves these considerations.

Menninger declared that he has pursued reviving the use of the word sin — not for the word's sake but "for the reintroduction of the concept of guilt and moral responsibility." Menninger said that calling something a sin and dealing with it as such may be a "useful salvage or coping device." One cannot remain passive with sin. One must become active and repent. Not to do so, according to Menninger, may cause "great harm." Nowadays people speak of error, or transgression, or infraction, but not a sin. This is what Karl Menninger has to say in his book, *Whatever Became of Sin?* (Bantam Books, New York, 1973).

One notes that a book with a title such as this was written by a physician rather than a cleric. Maybe this is why churches and other religious organizations have had great difficulty understanding and dealing with racism, sexism, and elitism — three great institutional sins of our time. They have a better understanding of the seven deadly sins because they are personal and little knowledge of these three great sins because they are institutional. ■

ACTS 2:32

THE WITNESS

VOL. 64 NO. 4 APRIL, 1981

Lamentation for Easter
William Stringfellow

Guilty of Waging Peace
Molly Rush

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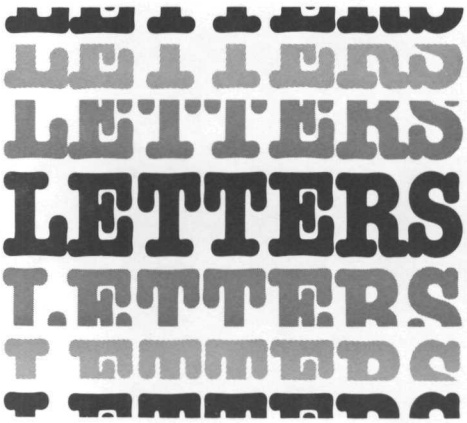

Cover From Seneca?

Your January cover quotes a sign in Baltimore. You may know already that the words on the sign are a quotation from Seneca, and in Latin goes:

Nos, volentes, ab nesciis ducti,
quod fieri non potest, pro ingratis facimus.
Tantum, in diuturnam penuriam longe agimus,
quam nunc idonei sumus, res carentes ad totum facere.

At least that's the way I received it from a member of the House of Representatives who has it on his wall in Washington. The first sentence is translated: "We the willing, led by the unknowing, are doing the impossible for the ungrateful".

I agree with you about the necessity of independent journalism. There's too little of it about now, expecially with the demise of Harry Golden (not exactly a crusader) and I. F. Stone, probably the last really independent voice in print in the country. Then there was P. D. East here in Mississippi, persecuted by the Klan and his own thirst.

I was a reader of THE WITNESS when Bill Spofford was its editor, and about the same time I read *The Churchman. The Reporter* was top-notch in its day, now sadly defunct. *Commentary* is strong but ethnic — lots of good public policy debates in its pages.

Compared with these last, the revived WITNESS has seemed thin and strident, predictably left-leaning and unselfcritical. But, what the heck, I'm willing to risk a subscription in the hope that the Reagan juggernaut will give you something to chew on.

The Rev. Paul E. Cosby
Pascagoula, Miss.

Plant Closure Challenge

I am guilty of subscribing to many of the serious magazines and "think tank" publications. I consider THE WITNESS to be one of the best in this class. I look forward to each issue with great enthusiasm and agree with 99.44% of the articles.

I do want to argue a minute with Richard Gillett and his article on plant closures in the January edition. I grant the accuracy of all of his claims — the trauma of the laid-off worker, the callousness of multi-national corporations in closing plants, etc. But it seems to me that he has ignored two important factors:

(1) Rubber workers union members make from $11 to $14 per hour, plus fringe benefits. An 18-year-old, after a few months, is making this maximum wage.

Could it be that some unions have negotiated their members over and out of the economic market? Could it be that we are seeing Veblen's conspicuous consumption in a new group today?

Many corporate executives, with their Lear jets, condos in Italy, etc. are conspicuous consumers. And now union members, like rubber, auto and the building trades, join the conspicuous consumers with their RC vehicles, large power boats, video tape machines and three-car style of life. Could it be that organized labor has lost its original social conscience and is as guilty of money grubbing as the employers?

(2) When a plant closes in the U.S. and opens in Mexico or Brazil, what are the benefits that are brought to the Mexicans and Brazilians? The new wages and working conditions are fantastically better than the squalor and poverty they knew before this closed California plant moved into their city.

We are "one world" and we should rejoice that Third World workers will be greatly benefited, even though we grieve for our fellow Americans who are out of work.

Claude M. Spilman, Jr.
Indianapolis, Ind.

Gillett Responds

Claude Spilman raises two good questions. The rubber workers, along with auto and steel workers and other highly skilled job categories, do indeed make high wages — when employed! And indeed they have joined the "conspicious comsumption" society. Some sectors in the labor movement are critical of what they interpret as a poor past strategy on the part of labor leadership in this country to go for ever-higher wages and fringe benefits, rather than to raise more fundamental long-term issues such as industrial democracy and worker ownership or partial ownership of industries. This strategic error is becoming more glaring in the light of so many plant closures, since management is now telling many workers they must accept pay cuts if they wish to keep working.

But management has put one over on the public in blaming high wages as the sole cause for their troubles. Meanwhile, as in steel and autos particularly, they have not modernized or economized, instead pushing "conspicuous consumption" full blast themselves while diversifying into other products and discovering cheap non-union labor in the South or overseas, usually in countries with repressive governments.

This leads to Spilman's second question of whether workers in overseas countries are benefitting. Yes, there is some beneficial result, in the employment of some people whose plight might otherwise be desperate. But the kinds of employment offered by transnationals overseas tend to fall into two major categories: assembly-line work (say in electronics and textiles) and skilled technical or professional work. In the first instance, young women are frequently employed instead of the

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THE WITNESS

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Life-and-Death Struggle

by Robert L. DeWitt

Good Friday and Easter speak to us deeply of death and of life, those two antagonists in whose struggle we humans are inescapably caught.

Death, which inexorably keeps its rendezvous with each of us, confronts us in varying forms. It offers for example the options of suicide, or of murder, or of sacrifice.

In centuries past a suicide (a "self-killer") represented perhaps the most despised, the most unforgivable mode of dealing with death. The medieval custom was to bury suicides at a cross-roads with a stake driven through the heart. That practice, gruesome though it was, was at least a negative effort in those dark ages to bear testimony to the divine origin of life. In that view, one who spurned the gift was guilty of the ultimate repudiation of the Great Giver of life.

However, it is arresting that Jesus taught that there is no greater love than to lay down one's life for friends. This could be called suicide, because it is seeking death; but in Jesus' case this was a life-affirming act. It was a seeking of death only in order that others might have life more abundantly. It was an effort to help others value their lives more highly, and affirmed that life is indeed a divine gift to be treasured.

But what do we say of the opposite thrust — the pursuit of policies or the taking of measures which compel others to set *less* value on their lives? There probably never has been a time when public policies, around the world, actually have set a higher premium on death, never a time when life has been so devalued.

- The war in Vietnam, which resulted in virtually as many suicides as combat fatalities among the American forces, evidenced that the god of death was done homage by the policies responsible for that cruel aggression, so disillusioning and depressing to those compelled into combat.
- The popular attitudes, local ordinances and church rulings which denigrate gay persons, resulting in a disproportionate number of suicides in the gay community, reveal that the god of death, not the God of Life, has shaped those attitudes, ordinances and rulings.
- Plant closings which wreak economic catastrophe in community after community, causing unemployment, hunger, family break-ups and a rising number of suicides, manifest that the god of death, not the God of Life, is controlling the economy in which those decisions are made.
- Arms budgets of such proportions that they are sustainable only by the reduction of essential human services which enhance and encourage life, unmask a plan for death, not for life.
- An arms strategy which promotes the accessibility and therefore the probability of the unleashing of the disintegrative devastation of the atom is surely a strategy roundly applauded in the halls of hell.
- And when arms and "technical advisors" are made available to the governments of the El Salvadors of this world, who thus learn from their larger neighbors the dealings of death, then death is indeed the prince of this world, and life has become a lonely exile.

This issue is precisely theological. One cannot speak of it without borrowing from the vocabulary of the Apocalypse. When people's dying is so rampantly attributable to death-dealing forces, policies and powers, then that dying becomes indistinguishable

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A Lamentation for Easter

by William Stringfellow

At midday a darkness fell over the whole land, which lasted till three in the afternoon; and at three Jesus cried aloud, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?", which means, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" . . . Then Jesus gave a loud cry and died.

— Mark 15: 33-34; 37

When I was an adolescent, precocious as I may then have been, the mystery of the Incarnation much exercised my mind. At the time in life when (I suppose) I should have been obsessed with football, sex or pop music, as my peers seemed to be, I was very bothered about the identity of Jesus — preoccupied by issues of who he was and who he is — particularly by the matter of the relationship in Jesus Christ of humanity and deity.

I do not know — yet — how to account for this preemptive, and passionate, curiosity which disrupted my youth. I had not been treated in my upbringing, in either family or church, to sectarian stereotypes of Jesus as chum or sentimental intimate. Indeed, I regarded these as vulgar, possibly perverse, and certainly pretentious familiarities, denigrating to Jesus, even though for the indulgent they often induced ecstacies equivalent to a high attained through alcohol or drugs. I had suffered, instead, prosaic indoctrinations which asserted the "humanity of Jesus" while simultaneously alleging the "divinity of Christ." Such instructions had left me with a stong impression that Jesus was an extraordinary schizophrenic.

Meanwhile, adoptionist notions, which I had heard rumored, I rejected as probable sophistry, since they seemed impotent to dispel the essential incoherence of dogmatics. In the congregation I received comfort from the introit of *The Gospel According to John,* which was recited as the finale of every Eucharist, because that seemed to affirm the integrity and indivisibility of the life of the Word of God in this world and to do so in appropriate syntax.

William Stringfellow is a lay theologian who lives on Block Island, R.I. He spends much of the time lamenting; the rest he spends rejoicing.

Perennially at Holy Week this concern of mine would find focus in the reports in the gospels of the Crucifixion of Jesus, especially the reference to his cry: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Oh, dreadful words! Ghastly question! Pathetic lament! Ultimate despair! Exquisite agony! This was *Jesus* crying out. *Why* would Jesus speak this way? *How* could Jesus do so?

My God, my God, why hast thou
forsaken me
and art so far from saving me,
from heeding my groans?
O my God, I cry in the day-time
but thou dost not answer,
in the night I cry but get no respite.

Then one Good Friday while I was still in high school I heard a preacher, more edifying for the laity than others had been, remark that these words of Jesus from the Cross are the opening verses of Psalm 22. Later that same day I read the Twenty-second Psalm — perhaps 100 times — but it did not quiet my agitation. I still had all my questions, though the effort distilled them: Why had not Jesus begun the recital of the Twenty-third Psalm, rather than the Twenty-second (as more or less everybody else does at the moment of death)?

And yet thou art enthroned in holiness,
thou art the one whose praises Israel sings.
In thee our father and mother put their trust;
they trusted, and thou didst rescue them.
Unto thee they cried and were delivered;
in thee they trusted and were not put to shame.

It was some time after I had exhausted my adolescence when I began to hear the Twenty-second Psalm as a hymn of eschatological hope, rather than a dirge of ultimate despair. If it is concluded that the outcry of Jesus from the Cross was invoking the whole of Psalm Twenty-two, then one evidence that hope rather than despair is the topic, is the radical identification of Jesus with Israel. And this is not simply a matter of Jesus indicating that he shares in Israel's heritage and custom — as had frequently happened in earlier episodes in his life, going back to the time of his circumcision.

In the midst of the Crucifixion, much more is involved.

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The identification relates to Israel's vocation as the holy nation called in history to recognize the reign of the Word of God in the world and to pioneer the praise and worship of God as Lord of Creation, on behalf of all nations, tribes, peoples, and principalities. And, even more than that, the connection between Jesus and Israel signified in the Psalm concerns the *disposition* of Israel's vocation.

Thus, condemned by the Roman rulers, defamed by the ecclesiastical authorities, disfavored by the multitudes, betrayed, denied, abandoned by disciples, friends and family; reviled, rejected, humiliated, utterly beset, crucified: Jesus, crying aloud from the Cross, speaks *as* Israel. In that moment, there is nothing, there is no one left to be Israel except Jesus. He is, then, "King of the Jews," as the indictment affixed to the Cross states; but he is, then, at the same time, within himself, the embodiment of the whole people of God. He alone, then and there, assumes and exemplifies the generic vocation of Israel to trust and celebrate the redemptive work of the Word of God in history. In the drama of the Crucifixion, Jesus invoking the Twenty-second Psalm exposes the Cross as the historic event in which Jesus Christ *becomes* Israel.

But I am a worm, not a man,
abused by all men, scorned by the people.
All who see me jeer at me,
make mouths at me and wag their heads:
"He threw himself on the Lord for rescue;
let the Lord deliver him, for the Lord holds him dear!"

Another way to behold the peculiar and intense identification of Jesus with Israel's vocation is in terms of the historic fulfillment of that which is written. Jesus was conscientious about this throughout his public ministry, from the time of his first appearance in the synagogue and his reading from Scripture there (*Luke 4:16-30; Matthew 13:54-58, Mark 6:1-6*). What is involved in this, so far as I understand, is not some simplistic, mechanistic process, but faithfulness in the performance of the witness to which one is called. So, here, the words from the cross foreshadow the scenerio of Psalm 22, while the Psalm portends the event of the Crucifixion so that the narrative of the Crucifixion in the gospel accounts becomes a virtual recitation of the Psalm.

But thou art the one who drew me from the womb,
who laid me at my mother's breast.
Upon thee was I cast at birth;
from my mother's womb thou hast been my God.
Be not far from me,
for trouble is near, and I have no helper.
A herd of bulls surrounds me.
great bulls of Bashan beset me.
Ravening and roaring lions
open their mouths wide against me.
My strength drains away like water
and all my bones are loose.
My heart has turned to wax and melts within me.
My mouth is dry as a potsherd.
and my tongue sticks to my jaw;
I am laid low in the dust of death,
The huntsmen are all about me;
a band of ruffians rings me round, and
they have hacked off my hands and feet.
I tell my tale of misery,
while they look on and gloat.
They share out my garments among them
and cast lots for my clothes.
But do not remain so far away, O Lord;
O my help, hasten to my aid.
Deliver my very self from the sword,
my precious life from the axe.
Save me from the lion's mouth,
my poor body from the horns of the wild ox.

The Psalm bespeaks one utterly assailed by the power of death: beset by the pervasiveness, militance and versatility of death; bereft of any capability to cope with death. The Psalm bemoans the agony of death by crucifixion: the Psalm betells the helplessness of humanity against the relentlessness of the great array of death. *I am laid low in the dust of death.*

That is the human destiny; moreover, that is the destiny of the whole of creation, apart from the event of the Word of God in history. And it is that confession of radical helplessness which is, at once, the preface of fidelity and the invocation of the grace of the Word of God. Sin is, actually, the idolatry of death. The last temptation (in truth, the *only* one) is to suppose that we can help ourselves by worshiping death, after the manner of the principalities and powers. That final vanity must be confessed. Jesus confessed *that* in our behalf when he cried aloud from the Cross. When that confession is made we are freed to die and to know the resurrection from death.

The phrase in the Apostles' Creed, *He descended into hell,* has a similar significance: Hell is the realm of death; hell is when and where the power of death is matured, complete, unconditional, maximum, undisguised, most awesome and awful, unbridled, most terrible, *perfected.* That Jesus Christ descends into hell means that as we die (in any sense of the term *die*) our expectation in death is encounter with the Word of God which is, so to speak, already there in the domain of death.

I will declare thy fame to my people;
I will praise thee in the midst of the assembly.
Praise the Lord, you who fear the Lord;
all you children of Jacob, do the Lord honor;

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stand in awe of the Lord all children of Israel.
For the Lord has not scorned the downtrodden.
nor shrunk in loathing from their plight,
nor hidden from them,
but gave heed to them when they cried out.
Thou dost inspire my praise in the full assembly;
and I will pay my vows before all who fear thee.
Let the humble eat and be satisfied.
Let those who seek the Lord praise the Lord
and be in good heart forever.
Let all the ends of the earth remember
and turn again to the Lord;
Let all the families of the nations
bow down before the Lord.
For kingly power belongs to the Lord,
and dominion over the nations is the Lord's.

The outcry from the Cross is no pathetic lament, but a lament for Easter. And the hope which it expresses is not vague or illusive or fantasized, but concrete and definitive and empirical. The Twenty-second Psalm (hence, Jesus on the Cross) manifests that hope in political terms. The influence of the Psalm on the Crucifixion underscores the political character of the Crucifixion. The Psalm elaborates the politics of the Cross.

Any public execution is, obviously, a political event in a straightforward and literal sense, but the public execution of Jesus Christ has political connotations of immense, complex, and, indeed, cosmic scope. This becomes apparent, for example, when the images of the Psalm portray the powerless victim threatened by predatory beasts, a familiar biblical way of designating political principalities and powers. It is, after all, in the name of Caesar, the overruling principality, that the sovereignty of the Word of God over Creation is disputed and mocked.

The political reality of the Crucifixion is accentuated in the Psalm where it is announced that the cry of the forlorn is heard and heeded. *(Psalm 22:24b).* Notice the circumstances: the scene is the Judgment, with the whole of Creation in assemblage and with all who fear the Lord of history gathered in an act of praise. Let it be mentioned here that the attribute which chiefly distinguishes Christians is, simply, that they fear the Lord *now* or already — before the Day of Judgment. That means specifically that they acknowledge that they live and act in the constant reality of history being judged by God. Thus, nowadays, when people assemble as congregations in praise and worship of the Lord, this is an anticipation or preview of the Judgment. Where, instead, the regime is glorified or superstition prevails or religiosity is practiced, then the congregation indulges scandalous parody of the Judgment.

Notice, in the context of the Psalm, the event of the Judgment is, so to say, the *first* day that the downtrodden are no longer scorned (Psalm 22:24a). For the poor, the diseased, the oppressed, the dispossessed, the captive, the outcast of this world, the Day of Judgment in the Word of God means not only the day of justice, but also the day of justification, when their suffering is exposed as grace.

The politics of the Cross delivers a message to the nations, to all regimes and powers, and even unto "all the ends of the earth," marked by the Psalm: *Kingly power belongs to the Lord, and dominion over the nations is the Lord's (Psalm 22:28).* Now *that* is what the Incarnation is all about.

How can those buried in the earth
do the Lord homage,
how can those who go down to the grave
bow before the Lord?
But I shall live for the Lord's sake,
My posterity shall serve the Lord.
This shall be told of the Lord to future generations;
and they shall justify the Lord,
declaring to a people yet unborn
that this was the Lord's doing.

In Psalm 22, the word in the cry of Jesus from the Cross is an assurance of the efficacy of the Resurrection. To become and be a beneficiary of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ means to live here and now in a way which upholds and honors the sovereignty of the Word of God in this life in this world and which trusts the Judgment of the Word of God in history. That involves freedom *now* from all conformities to death, freedom *now* from fear of the power of death, freedom *now* from the bondage of idolatry of death, freedom *now* to live in hope while awaiting the Judgment.

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from murder, and the very ground will cry out.

That crying out — through the countless martyrs of our time — echoes the sacrifice of Jesus on Calvary. Humanity is not a thing of naught. The human soul and the life which embodies it were intended for better things. Every woman and man, every girl and boy, is Jesus' sister and brother. Children of the Eternal One they are, of inestimable worth, of incalculable value. Even as you and I. Good Friday reminds us that life for God's children is purchased at a price, the struggle of life with death. Easter proclaims that the victory is assured, that God is determined that life shall win out over death. Faith therefore calls us, in the meantime, to live our own lives, to die our own deaths, in a mode which extols both the Giver, and the gift, of life. ■

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Guilty of Waging Peace

Molly Rush, Plowshares 8 defendant, was interviewed shortly before her trial by Helen Seager, director of the Commission for Women, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and member of the ECPC Board of Directors. Seager, a longtime friend of Rush who worked with her on civil rights and other projects, probes why the mother of six children took on the nuclear establishment by pounding on missile nosecones at a GE plant.

Molly Rush, Director
Thomas Merton Center

Helen Seager: In his final address to the nation, President Carter quoted the phrase "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" from the Declaration of Independence. And he said that today "life" means avoiding nuclear war. How do you react to hearing an outgoing president equate avoidance of nuclear war with life itself?

Molly Rush: It is to the point. In the last 35 years we have seen a continued increase in the amount of nuclear weapons. And in the Carter years in particular, we saw the continuation of a policy which began back in Nixon's time — James Schlesinger's "counter force" principle — that makes nuclear war more likely. What is tragic is to hear those words from a president whose policies increased possibilities of nuclear war.

Seager: In President Eisenhower's farewell speech he warned us about the military/industrial complex. How do your efforts and concerns relate to the military/industrial complex?

Rush: Well, it is all part of a self-perpetuating cycle. It includes not just the military industry, it includes the media network and the universities. It is the whole system that we have built up. Industry helps to support the build-up of nuclear weapons by scrambling for armament contracts, and by the way it controls political leadership. It is a self-perpetuating cycle.

Seager: You have attempted to break into that cycle. Would you give a brief recap of what you did and who was with you?

Rush: We were interested in breaking in with a little ray of truth to this whole process, by shining some light on the production of nuclear weapons in a town on the outskirts of Philadelphia — King of Prussia. Eight of us — Father Dan Berrigan; Phil Berrigan; Karl Kabat, another priest; Sister Anne Montgomery; Elmer Maas; John Schuchardt; Dean Hammer and myself — had met and prayed in retreat over a period of some time preparing for a witness that we called "Swords into Plowshares." We tried to devise a way to get into a plant where some nuclear arms components were being made. Carrying hammers, we went past the security guard while Karl and Anne distracted him long enough for the rest of us to get inside. We managed to get into a machine shop, and found some nuclear nose cones.

Seager: Did you know that machine shop was there when you went in?

Rush: I think we went in with a great deal more hope than information! We felt that grace was really with us that in a few moments time we were able to find and hammer on two of the nose cones before there were many people in the building. Then blood was spilled on both of them and on some secret documents on the desk. We did not know at the time that they were secret — there just happened to be papers on the table — and then we quickly joined in a circle and prayed and chanted and sang.

Seager: You had been together in retreat for the purpose of planning something at that plant?

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Rush: Yes, we had for several months considered this possibility. Finally after a couple of preliminary meetings, the date was chosen and we decided to do a retreat together. And then came the certainty that we were prepared to go ahead with the action. I remember at one point we were fearful that we didn't have enough information. We had a series of plans — A, B, C, D, and E. If we did not get in the first door, then we would go to the second, and so on. I remember at that point Phil Berrigan saying, "I think we are going to get inside the plant. I think we are going to find those nose cones, and do some damage to them." And that was a pure act of faith! But that was a turning point, and we just let the fears and the hesitations go, and proceeded.

My own feeling was that, knowing that these re-entry vehicles were built to withstand thousands of degrees of heat on re-entering the atmosphere so they would not burn up on a short trip across the world, I imagined it would be impossible to dent or damage them with little hammers. I can't even knock much of a hole in a household carton, so I really had questions as to whether I would be able to do much damage. I think I was caught up in the myth that the national security system likes to promote about its invulnerability. And it is a myth, because the more weapons we have the more insecure we become, the more vulnerable we are. So for me it was a breakthrough to find that when I hit on those nose cones I was making visible dents!

Seager: You were surprised?

Rush: Yes, I really was. I think we all carry these myths in our minds. These weapons seem somehow so invulnerable, so beyond dealing with, that most people just feel helpless and hopeless. I myself have been through the whole gamut of feelings of despair. The more you look at this question the more you get caught up in the mindset of most experts, that the outlook is very bleak. Many are saying we must turn this around in two or three years or we are going to be at such a new level of danger that it is going to be impossible to stop it. And this "Swords into Plowshares" project was an effort to do something positive.

The steady increase in the numbers of weapons is so dangerous that it is locking us into a whole new way of thinking. Soviet leaders must look at these weapons of ours and see them as intended for first strike at our enemies. They, in turn, feel that they need to be equal to us, so it really puts the whole nuclear arms race on a hair trigger.

Seager: How do you see your action fitting into a larger strategy for peace?

Rush: I think first of all that it was for us an act of faith beyond pragmatic results. We are seriously interested in ending the arms race, in working with God for "Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven." I have been a pragmatist all these years — a community organizer who tried to get the numbers out, get the votes out, get as many letters to Congress generated as possible, and all that. But I came to understand this situation as something beyond that. It took some education. It represented a challenge to us to get deeper into the question. In the '80s, with the election of Ronald Reagan, and before that with the massive build-up in the military budget and new types of weapons, we can see no easy solutions such as an organizational strategy. All these things don't give very much reason to hope, in short term. I am going to be a grandmother in June, and I look at it in terms of whether that baby will live to grow up. I see it in those stark terms.

Seager: I know of your frustrations with the press, but many who read the Pittsburgh papers were struck with the sympathetic treatment you received. They wrote about you as a mother, about your history, and portrayed you as a serious activist instead of as a "criminal." Do you think that was helpful?

Rush: I think the human interest angle is the thing that grabs people and makes them wonder what in the world would make the mother of six children go off and do this. I have been most conscious of trying to communicate with people, just being myself and not putting myself forward as a heroic super-figure. I think that is ridiculous in the first place, and in the second place that is not what people connect to. They relate to those whom they can understand, whom they can see making soup, doing the dishes, and still thinking. The human interest angle is the thing that gets people's attention and causes a startled reaction. However, if the "whys" are not explained very carefully, the break-in seems like a quixotic gesture.

Seager: I understand you spoke at Shadyside Academy, the suburban prep school near Pittsburgh. What was the reaction there?

Rush: I had been invited last Spring, and was pleasantly surprised that the invitation wasn't withdrawn following our break-in at King of Prussia. I spoke to about 250 juniors and seniors, boys and girls. There was certainly some resistance to what I was saying — there were a few hoots and catcalls. But I felt a serious response from most of the students, and I know I was challenging a lot of their preconceived notions. These kids are very likely to be from families in Pittsburgh who participate in the military/industrial complex — Westinghouse, Gulf, Rockwell — the biggies. I got some belligerent questions from the audience but I had a feeling that the ones who were quiet were really listening to me and hearing what I was saying. There was one young man who talked with us at lunch afterwards who said he wanted to start a nuclear arms study group on campus.

I find it hard to address a high school audience on this subject. But I was trying to talk about the underlying signs of

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despair. Maybe they never relate to the nuclear arms race because of how they as students perceive the future, how they live out their daily lives. Are they looking forward with enthusiasm not simply to a career, but to raising a family? Are they ignoring the big realities and just concentrating on personal concerns, selfish questions of what kind of a career they can pursue in terms of salary — immediate kinds of things? At the outset I remember saying that what I want to see for my kids, what I raised them for, was to love life, to enjoy and respect and really like living on the planet that was given to us by the Creator. But that there were two other things in my own life that I want to pass on to my kids, that brought me to what I did at King of Prussia. And one was, in the process of loving life, to be a seeker of truth. And the other part was to be able to hope.

Seager: You touched on all three — faith, hope and love.

Rush: There certainly are those religious dimensions. I have spent seven years at the Thomas Merton Center being educated. I have been director, but I have perhaps been the chief learner, because I have had the opportunity to absorb a lot of information, to meet with people who were deeply involved with the nuclear arms race, justice in the Third World, questions of poverty — a whole range of concerns. These became not simply issues "out there," but realities in the form of human beings whom I met face to face and talked with. If other people had an opportunity for that kind of education they would come to much the same conclusions I have.

Seager: To return to the press, what have been some of your frustrations?

Rush: I would extend that to all the media. The revival of the cold war has had overwhelming play over the last year or two. There is some solid basis for this — the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, for example. But this "need" for an increase in military spending, the whole myth of peace through strength has been strongly promoted by the media. I think probably *the* underlying myth of the American people is the idea that the only way you can get along in the world is to be strong and powerful. So we build nuclear weapons. And it is based on uncertainty, on fear, that someone is out to get us — the Soviet Union especially.

It is also a perpetuation of the old notion that wars solve problems, and that preparing for war either prevents war or prepares you to win the war. All of that has changed with the nuclear arms age, but we haven't yet learned to rethink this whole situation. We are building weapons that in turn induce the Soviet Union to build more weapons, that will make the reality of nuclear war a probability, just maybe by computer error — since computers service all the alert systems. I hate to think of my kids having their lives depend on Soviet computers — our computers have made serious errors over the past year. What we are doing is practically forcing the Soviet Union to keep up with our ICBM forces in land based missiles. They are far more vulnerable, so I can see them feeling very, very defensive and fearful just as many of us in this country. It is a vicious cycle that is being fueled by this peace-through-strength notion that both political candidates perpetuated in the past election. Arms races lead to wars. Building arms leads to the use of those arms. And the idea that building more dangerous weapons will somehow protect us, is just some form of insanity.

Seager: Two very practical things. Number one, how come you are out of jail? Number two, what is next on your trial schedule?

Rush: We are out of jail for a couple of reasons. In the first place, both Anne Montgomery and I were shipped into five *different jails apiece — different county jails in the state* — because Montgomery County where the men were housed has no women's prisons. Consequently we found ourselves out of communication with our co-defendants and out of communication with lawyers. Some of the mail from our lawyers, some from our co-defendents was sent back "address unknown"! So at that point, having been in so many jails that it was just impossible to prepare for trial, we appealed for a habeas corpus hearing, appealed for lower bond, and were released.

Dan Berrigan got released earlier due to health reasons on $50,000 bond. By the time we appealed, our bond was reduced, in Anne's case to $2500, and mine to $5000, and $7500 for Dean Hammer. I was particularly anxious to be released because the men had been meeting nightly and doing Scripture study, and it was very important for us to have access to that kind of communication and preparation.

Plowshares 8 Declared Guilty

The Plowshares 8 trial concluded on March 6 with a verdict of guilty. Prosecution successfully proved charges of burglary (illegal entry with intent to commit a crime), criminal mischief (property damage), and conspiracy (plotting together to commit a crime). Lawyers have 10 days to file an appeal.

Reached just as THE WITNESS went to press, Phillip Berrigan made the following statement:

"We were not expecting acquittal or even justice — given the nature of our court system; we were bearing witness. But the repressiveness of the court was the worst I have ever seen. The jury selection and the disallowal of expert testimony on the real issue — nuclear war, and the stifling of our *own* witness were particularly devastating.

"Regardless, we feel that the fact of the trial, and the evening talks at Gwynedd Mercy College gave us an opportunity to tell our story and to have significant press interviews which help people understand the insanity of the arms race, which is really the Doomsday Race."

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Do not remember us then,
violated, blood darkening
an earth strewn with bodies,
broken egg shells, discarded,
silent as Victor Jara's lost fingers.
Listen to the wind
shaking these fields,
the poor's voices whispering
into North American ears,
"We are dying while
you arm our assassins."
Bearing this voice, *act*
to hold back the hand that fires.
Remember us *then* as ones
the people taught courage.

Remember us when
they sing again.
Sing of innocence
soaring like doves
against the night fire,
silver cracks of rifle shots.
The death each morning when
mothers dug their children's graves.
Sing of the insolence
of the dead, brushing
the stars above Chalatenango,
when we gringas
stayed with the people
until we broke with them,
like fingers from a hand.
Then sing companeras,
sing with the people,
¡Adelante!

— Renny Golden

(Editor's Note: Sisters Kazel, Clarke, and Ford, and Jean Donovan are the three nuns and lay missioner, respectively, referred to in the story which follows. Sister Carla Piette died earlier while working with the Emergency Refugee Committee in Chalatenago, El Salvador.)

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Interview With a Salvadoran Nun

El Salvador: Contagious Courage

by Blase Bonpane and Glenn Silber

The rape-murder in El Salvador of four U.S. citizens — three nuns and a lay missioner, shocked and angered North Americans. It is even probable that the 9,000 Salvadorans who met violent deaths in 1980 might attract some attention as a result of the recent atrocity.

Parents of the slain women were stunned to discover that their daughters were killed with U.S. weapons and bullets. The sisters were also killed by U.S. policy. That policy has maintained dictatorships in Latin America throughout the 20th century. Indeed, there has been little or no substantive change in U.S. Latin American policy since 1903.

Just as the United States selected Anastasio Somoza Garcia as dictator in Nicaragua in the early '30s, we now see a U.S. "investigative team" landing in El Salvador to name the President and Vice President of that country. The result of their recent visit was to move the junta of El Salvador into a more reactionary position and to dislodge the only progressive voice in the previous government.

Current events reveal that the people of El Salvador have no intention of accepting this heavy-handed intervention. The government "blessed" by the United States represents about 2% of the people of El Salvador.

In Central America recently we interviewed Sister Yvonne, a Salvadoran nun in exile in Nicaragua. Her responses follow:

How long has the church been involved in the struggle in El Salvador?

Personally, I have been involved since 1972. Others preceded me. Our involvement came from the teachings of the Second Vatican Council. Those teachings were specifically applied to Latin America at the Bishop's Conference in Medellin, Colombia in 1968. Priests and sisters were to enter into the hopes, desires and anxieties of the workers and peasants.

How do you interpret the documents of the Second Vatican Council and the Medellin Conference?

That we had to change. We had to leave our comfortable situations. We had to dedicate ourselves to the needs of the people.

What was the response of your religious community?

We went to live in the countryside with the peasants, we began to know their realities and to work together with them.

What was your personal response?

I understood that they were not living as human beings. They live worse than animals, they live worse than the dogs of the affluent. They don't have anything to eat. Children die of malnutrition. There is no work. Those who have jobs are not paid enough. So we began to form cooperative communities in order that they could help one another.

Did you expect to receive support from government "reform" programs?

Yes, in the beginning we sought help from government institutions. We asked the government to help us in Acajutla where I was working. Aside from the National Government we also asked the local mayor's office to intercede with the land-owners and petition higher salaries for the people.

At what point were you aware that your consciousness was expanding?

It was in Acajutla when we attempted to communicate with the wife of the mayor. She was a Catholic and the people believed her to be a good woman. At that time we were not

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Blase Bonpane is a sociology professor at California State University Northridge and a Central American specialist.

Glenn Silber is a journalist and filmmaker who recently produced a documentary on the reconstruction of Nicaragua. His films include "The War at Home," nominated for an Academy Award last year for best feature documentary, and "An American Ism: Joe McCarthy," which recently received the DuPont-Columbia Award for excellence in broadcast journalism.

involved in politics. We investigated the miserable salaries paid to her employees. We talked to her in the name of the Gospel. She said she would change. But no, on the contrary, the people who told of this woman's activities were accused of being subversives and placed in prison.

What happened to the prisoners?

They were tortured, beaten and eventually freed. But because of the danger, they never returned to their city.

What resulted from your new awareness?

We all realized that we could not change things by simply meeting and reflecting on the Gospels. We knew something else had to be done.

When did you begin to put your new viewpoints into action?

When Father Rutilio Grande — the Jesuit — was killed. Archbishop Romero asked my community to work in Aguilares. I was still unaware of the extreme level of repression.

When you arrived at Aguilares did you feel that you or the people there were threatened?

We spoke to the Jesuits who had worked there before us. They told us about the situation. They introduced us to community leaders and we realized that everyone was threatened. Many priests told us not to go to Aguilares; they thought we would be killed. The authorities demanded that only Salvadoran religious be allowed to serve. Foreigners were expelled from the area. Security forces followed us, they watched us day and night. The convent was under constant surveillance.

What does it feel like to be under that kind of pressure?

One feels everything. At times one feels fear. But at the same time, since we knew why we were going, it was a question of being motivated by faith. If we believed we might die, we also believed it was our duty as Christians to follow Christ — and they killed Christ. So we went with that resolution. Even though we were afraid, we consoled one another, and we were ready to be killed.

How did the continuing assassination of priests affect the community, the church?

The death of Rutilio was an awakening for everyone. Everyone was suddenly conscious. We saw the situation in its entirety. We saw that it could not be solved with words. But we still did not know what to do. The death of Rutilio made us understand that there were answers to the situation in Aguilares.

What were the answers?

In Aguilares, in addition to reflecting on the Bible, the people had established a network of communications. Some 30 communities in the countryside and 10 in the city had immediate internal communications. They were practicing the values of the Gospel. The parish was as one family. They were all aware of the miserable conditions on the haciendas.

On one hacienda, La Cabana, the authorities captured two people from the parish in the morning. By noon everyone knew they had been seized. The security forces suspected that we had radio communications. It was also at La Cabana where 3,000 workers were contracted to work for three weeks. At the end of that period the land-owners attempted to pay the workers for only two weeks. In less than an hour all 3,000 workers agreed to strike. All demanded the full three weeks pay. Then the land-owners got frightened. They were unaccustomed to such rapid communication among workers.

Did this level of organization begin after Father Rutilio died?

No, Father had established the communities and the communications network more than a year before he was murdered.

How did the strike affect the people and the role of the church?

The La Cabana strike taught the people that they could win. They became more curious about the national situation. They determined that organization was the answer, not only on the parish level but among all like-minded people. At this point the community group was like a political organization. At the outset, Father Rutilio did not know how to relate the political issues to Christianity.

Were other political organizations having an impact on the church?

The Christian Democrats existed — but with the calamity of the 1972 elections the people no longer believed in the electoral method.

It was similar to the case of the cooperatives. They never functioned effectively because of the legal restrictions. People simply did not believe in cooperatives or elections any more.

How has repression against the church escalated over the last two or three years?

At the beginning it was very selective. Maybe those in command thought by killing a few leaders, everything would stop. On the contrary, the movement grew rapidly. The para-military hit squad ORDEN watched. Written threats were sent to many people. The church took a stand. It became stronger under pressure. People were being captured. They were never accused of being Christians; they were always called "Communists."

Have you known people who have been killed?

Most of the people I worked with in Aguilares have been killed. Often we would meet in the morning and would hear of the murder of one of the meeting participants by the afternoon of the same day.

How did the people react to this?

With more strength. Some people who were weak were frightened. But positions were defined. The people were determined to die if they had to. They would say, "If they kill me, my wife will

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follow, and if they kill my wife, my children will follow." This has actually happened in many cases.

What was happening in the church just prior to the murder of Archbishop Romero?

After the coup in October of 1979 there were differences of opinion within the church. Peasants and workers rejected the new junta saying, "How can a military government which promotes the slaughter of the poor be expected to change?" The priests and sisters who worked with the poor shared the analysis of the poor. Those who worked with the middle and upper classes tended to be on the other side.

Is the church a vanguard?

The church is not a vanguard. The church is not an organizer. It was the people's organizations that were first, not the church. Some within the church considered this process as against the will of God. Others approved of it. Archbishop Romero approved of such organizing. He said, "Being organized and organizing is a political role for the lay person, and it is part of the totality of his or her Christian faith."

Is it true that Archbishop Romero said, "When all peaceful means have been exhausted the church recognizes the right to insurrection."?

The Archbishop was expressing a feeling widely held by the masses. The people said it first. His action was one of affirmation, not leadership. He had to be the voice of the people. Anyone else who talked like that would be killed. He was the only person in El Salvador who could say what the people were feeling.

Since the death of Archbishop Romero are other people able to articulate the feelings or will of the majority?

I could never do it like him! (She laughs.) Every coordinator of a base community — small groups of 10-12 people — as part of their job must be able to express the feeling of that community. A parish priest must be able to express the feeling of the people of his parish. When Archbishop Romero spoke it was for an entire church.

Is it now the position of the church to acknowledge the necessity of revolution?

It depends on whom you mean by "the church." The priests are divided. The bishops are divided, in fact some are total sell-outs. But I can tell you one thing, those in touch with the actual situation in El Salvador, expecially religious priests who have been working in the countryside — those people are almost 100% on our side.

A personal question — which is also political, of course. (She laughs.) **Now that unity between the mass organizations has apparently been achieved, what role do you expect to play in a national insurrection?**

There are many roles. For example, I know that it is necessary for the people to take up arms and defend themselves; but I don't really think that is my area. There are many other things to be done like taking care of the sick, the wounded, children who are left orphaned. I do not think it is wrong to take up arms, but I'm not capable.

Are you speaking of a lack of training or of emotions?

Both.

We have heard that in the coming months there will be a national insurrection that will cost more in terms of lives than the revolution in Nicaragua. Can you comment?

It is difficult to say. It could be very, very bloody but it is also possible that it will not be. The press insists on describing the situation as a fight between Left and Right-wing politicians of small groups. They imply that the people have very little to do with it. All this does is create conditions favorable for outside intervention.

From the United States?

Yes. Of course the troops might be Honduran, Guatemalan, Venezuelan or others using U.S. money and direction. U.S. money is all that holds the current junta together. It could never survive without U.S. support.

What evidence do you have to support this claim?

The country is broken economically. Large numbers of factories have been destroyed. The rich people have taken their money out of the country. The capital has just fled. It's gone as of now. Without money from the U.S. the junta would not have money to buy the guns they use against us. There would not even be money to pay the bureaucrats working in the government.

Thank you, sister. ■

ECPC Announces Three Appointments

Three new appointments were announced April 1 by the Rt. Rev. Coleman McGehee, chair of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company's Board of Directors.

Mary Lou Suhor has been named editor of THE WITNESS magazine, and the Rt. Rev. Robert L. DeWitt, Senior Contributing Editor and member of the ECPC Board of Directors. Also named to the Board was the Rt. Rev. Otis Charles, Bishop of Utah.

Other members of the ECPC Board currently filling out terms of office are:

Mr. Steven Guerra, Chicago, Ill.
The Rev. Barbara Harris, Philadelphia, Pa.
The Rev. Suzanne Hiatt, Cambridge, Mass.
Ms. Mattie Hopkins, Chicago, Ill.
Joan Howarth, Esq., Oakland, Cal.
The Rev. James Lewis, Charleston, W.Va.
The Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, Rochester, N.Y.
Robert S. Potter, Esq., New York, N.Y.
Ms. Helen Seager, Pittsburgh, Pa.

CREDITS

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Part 2

Bishops Ponder Urban Apocalypse

THE WITNESS brought a small group of bishops together recently to discuss their roles vis a vis the urban mission of the church and what they saw as signs of the pending "urban apocalypse" in their dioceses.

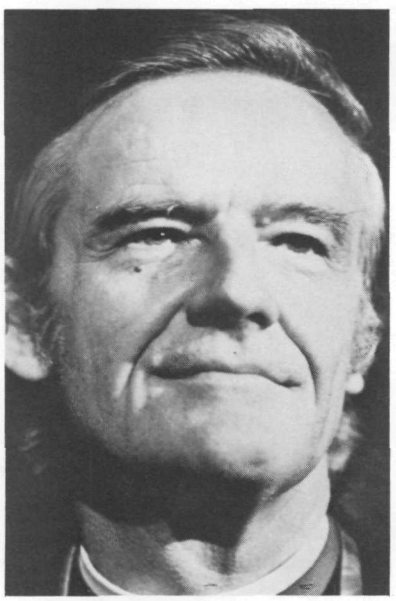
The group included Bishops John Burt of Ohio, Otis Charles of Utah, John Krumm, formerly of Southern Ohio and now Suffragan for the American Congregations in Europe, Paul Moore of New York, John Spong of Newark and Archbishop Ted Scott of the Anglican Church of Canada.

The U.S. bishops have been active in the Urban Bishops' Coalition which conducted across the country a series of public hearings on the urban crisis, and played a key role in the formation of the Episcopal Urban Caucus in 1980.

Comments by Bishops Burt, Charles and Spong appeared in the March WITNESS. Following are excerpts of comments made by Bishops Moore and Krumm, and Archbishop Scott, in conversations with Robert L. DeWitt, editor of the WITNESS.

Creating 'Tough' Centers of Redemption

by Paul Moore



Paul Moore

The building boom in Manhattan is incredible — perhaps more building is going on there than ever before in history. It still has financial problems, but the astonishing thing, in terms of the city as well as the church, is that the center of Manhattan is a glistening, rich and enormously prosperous place where the stores are crowded, prices are sky high, and buildings are continually under construction. St. Bartholomew's parish has had an offer of $100 million for the land it occupies, the highest price ever offered for any piece of real estate in the history of the world. Yet, north of 110th street or in Brooklyn, or as is well known, in the South Bronx, there is a total depression and those places are worse off than ever. So the disparity between the showplace, Manhattan and the Manhattan churches, and the rest of the city, is getting greater and greater, which ultimately will cause an enormous explosion of some kind.

Picture, then, the depressed areas of cities like Paterson, Jersey City, New York, in which there are located little churches. One of the things which we have to do as a diocese, it seems to me, beside the kinds of things that Jack Spong has been talking about (see THE WITNESS, March issue), is to try to make sturdy places out of these rather tragic little churches. How do you create a sturdy place in a depressed area of the city? One of the things I have always been impressed with is the difference between strategizing about urban social action and evangelism at a House of Bishops meeting, and the reality represented by a typical urban parish.

The roof leaks, or three or four people on the vestry don't want any new people coming in, or there is a priest

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who wishes he were somewhere else — how can you use this church as a place of urban strategy? You have to start with that and hope that something will happen — which will help it become what I would call sturdy.

Now what are the components of a lively island in this vast sea of problems? First of all, the band-aid. If people are bleeding you must bind up their wounds, even while you are worrying about who shot them. Therefore, first comes a pastoral concern for each and every individual within the parish and within the community. A second component is liturgical vitality, so that this center of community life is a church, as contrasted with a settlement house or a school or city hall. The center of the church's community life is the liturgy. The central act of worship has to be vigorous. It must reenact each Sunday what that place is all about. It has to be the source of power not only for individual life and survival, but also for the extra energy whereby this community can be turned on. It must have a strongly incarnational and sacramental theology, so that there is no difference for the people between our Lord Jesus Christ present in the people who are hurting, and in the "real presence" on the altar. This is enormously important: that the liturgy and the ministry of social concern and social action are identical. So I would say, first of all, we have to have a vigorous parish life as the nucleus from which to do ministry.

What, then, is the ministry, besides the band-aid pastoral work with individuals, and the liturgical life of the Christian community itself? The vocation of the parish is to be an instrument of redemption, to affect the social matrix in which it finds itself. It cannot be an end in itself, it can only be there as an instrument for redeeming the world. How can such a sturdy little place be a sign of hope? In many ways. First of all, when that liturgical community is lively in its identification with the love of Christ, it is always a warm, loving place. This in itself is hopeful for those people who walk in the door to get help. Secondly, because it is one of the few hopeful communities in that urban desert, it can be a place where causes like employment, housing, community organizations, can be supported.

Three Parish Models

I can take three parishes as examples of different kinds of congregations within a 30-block area in New York City. One is a parish around which all the housing was torn down during the big bulldozing, public housing era of the '50s. This little parish church was alone, literally, in a 10-block square area. But the diocese kept it alive. New buildings went up. The priest who has been there for 14 years now has 100 acolytes, a huge Sunday School, five or six women's and men's organizations, confirmation classes of 60, 70 or 80, kids going to college — it is a real sign of hope with some impact on the immediate community. The vocation of that particular parish is to be a place into which people can come, be energized, educated, motivated, and get the strength to go out hopeful.

Another model is an old West Indian parish. It is still very strong, its liturgical style is strictly West Indian. Literally, a purple carpet is rolled out when the bishop comes. He kneels down at the prie-dieu and prays for the parish as he comes in the doorway in his street clothes, and then follows a very typical West Indian high mass. That parish represents another kind of vocation, which maintains the soil in which those people still need to put down their roots in order to survive. A people's culture is the soil in which people root. This particular parish provides that culture. The transition to the next generation, a mixed culture of American and West Indian, will be difficult. But nonetheless it presently provides a sign of hope. It has, however, very little impact on the community around it.

The third model is a parish always in total financial trouble, which can never balance its budget from one month to the next. It is surrounded by an absolute desert of burned out buildings. It is served by a priest who has been on the streets of one city or another for 25 years. It had been White, Gouverneur Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was buried there when it was a colonial church. Then it became Black. Now it is Hispanic. Today, every important event that happens in that part of the city begins in the basement of that church. It has more impact on its immediate community than any parish church I have ever had anything to do with. I have been there many times for political meetings when the mayor would be there, when the congressman would be there, when the Blacks and Puerto Ricans were trying to create a coalition.

These three churches are extreme models, each one a special kind of structure. Each is an effective parish church. I would say the essentials of an effective parish church — and no church has them all — are first of all, vigorous, creative, dedicated leadership on the part of the rector or priest in charge. And of course, dedicated, creative lay leadership. Secondly, spiritual vitality. There has to be a life of prayer on the part of the rector, there has to be a life of prayer on the part of the nucleus of the parish. Thirdly, the priority of the parish must be for the community, because the church exists to serve the people outside the church. Fourthly, the very subtle factor of identification with the culture of the particular community.

And then there is the necessity of dealing with the anger of the people who live in the inner city. They would be unhealthy zombies if they were not angry. How does a Christian

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community deal with that? Not by saying suppress it, nor by allowing it to murder people, but somehow by redeeming it into the enormous energy which illuminates a situation as happened with Martin Luther King, where the anger became identified with power. Within the parameters of the kind of institution I am talking about — with liturgy, with cultural identification, with serving the community outside — this anger can be turned into the energy which is the dynamic of community change.

My job as bishop is to do whatever I can to support and guide these parishes into becoming tough centers of redemption, so that they will not only be able to serve their community, but also begin to understand their relationship to the larger questions. For example, they should be places where the people who are victims of disintegration of the cities could see that their plight is related to the arms budget. And it may be that the massive power of the disenfranchised sub-citizens of our land can be aroused to come out on the side of peace and against the arms race because it affects their own daily life. So far, they don't see the connection.

I would like to conclude with this observation. We are concerned about how these places can be successful in changing the social patterns around them. Let us say they fail. Well, this is not a bad thing, for Christians. And if the people involved can fail gloriously, fail bearing witness to the cause, they will get a glimpse of the kingdom. So it seems to me, the final thing that we are responsible for as bishops, is to be sure we have turned every effort, not just to have successful things happen, but to be sure that there are witnesses to the kingdom in all those centers which we call our parishes. And then, if failure comes, it can be a failure which does not defeat, but lends glory to the people who participate in it. ■

Thoughts From Abroad

by John Krumm

Our U.S. congregations in Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland are in but not of Europe. They are outsiders, aliens using an alien language, either the victims or the beneficiaries of the city in which they live, but affecting it very little. Our churches in Europe are interested in doing what they can; mostly it's what we call band-aid. But they have very little opportunity to affect their communities.

One thing that strikes me is how very odd, how absolutely incredible, our conversation about urban deterioration would be among a group of, let us say, Roman Catholic bishops meeting in Paris or Rome. This concern with the quality of the life of a community is simply not a major theme of the predominant churches of Europe.

The French Revolution of 1793 really drew a sharp line between church and state. The church was allowed to survive, but the price was that it was not allowed to interfere. Even the worker-priest movement was not primarily directed toward changing the environment or the social status of the workers. It was an evangelistic effort to show the interest of the church in the people, in the hope that it would bring them into the life of the church. You cannot imagine the sharp difference between interest and attendance at church on the continent, and in the United States. One of the reasons for that perhaps is this great separation between the church and secular life.

John Krumm

In Europe the city is the concern of the nation. Paris is the showplace, the center of the life of France, and the national government makes many of the decisions about the quality of life there. The decision, for example, to run a roadway down along the Seine on the right bank was made by the President of France, not by any local authority. But there are no bombed out sections of Paris. There are no places where houses are allowed to fall apart. *La gloire,* the pride of France, would not allow it. This is so different from our system, where we don't even make any attempts to

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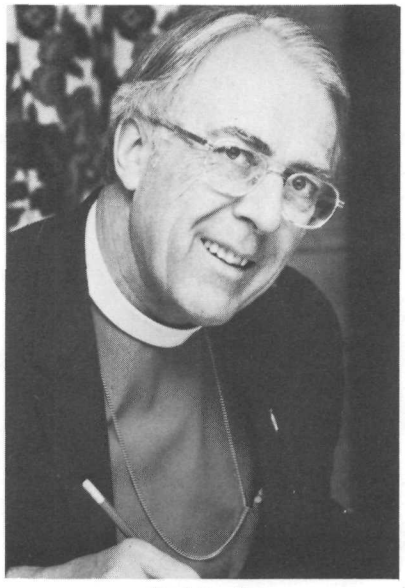
make Washington, D.C. a liveable city. This would be unheard of not only in France, but also in Germany and Switzerland.

The one place where there is serious urban deterioration is in a place where the national economy is in disarray, and that is in Italy. Rome and Naples are terrible looking in many parts of the city, but that is because the national economy is not vigorous enough to deal with these problems. But there is a sense of responsibility there for the quality of life in the city. Our diocesan convention last year was in Rome, and we brought to the ecumenical hearing a representative of an effort I didn't even know existed in Italy, but of course is a familiar pattern in South America. And that is the priest who goes and identifies himself wholly with the people in his very poor district, and they often become almost anti-church. Now that has also happened in Italy. In South America there is a sympathy on the part of many bishops for this movement, but in Italy, pretty unanimously the bishops will have nothing to do with this. The liberation movements which do exist are in the slums of Naples and some other places in Italy which are in serious deterioration, but there is very little sympathy in the church for the experiments that are being done there.

Secularization has reached a more definite and more obvious stage in Europe. In the United States, the churches have gone out and made common cause with secular concerns, but that is not true in Europe. My impression is that we have a lot to learn from Europe concerning the nation's responsibility for the cities. Why doesn't the United States realize that it is on display in its cities, and that its cities ought to be models because they are the center of life, and from them radiate the influences which govern the nation? On the other hand, I think Europe has something to learn from us, about how the churches can take leadership in this.

Christian Commitment Vs. Wayward Technology

by Ted Scott



Ted Scott

What we are seeing today, particularly in North America, is conditioned by an almost total worship of technology. Consider the kind of commitment people admire in the scientific world, in medical projects like heart transplants and other recent developments. People get caught up in that mystique, and they get locked into it.

I want to press this point because recently there was an analysis by a public relations group in Canada of how the Liberal Party won the last election. They discovered a deliberate manipulation of the voters, through use of the media and the techology of knowing what groups to concentrate on. Liberal Party members knew they had only to swing a couple of percents of the votes across Canada to make a switch in government. They identified it, and then selected the appropriate voices to accomplish their objective. People who get locked into a technological approach can manipulate in almost unbelievable ways.

I believe very deeply that in our world today a kind of idolatry has developed. It is probably stronger in North America, and Canada is very much included in this. That idolatry is built around technological structures, and powers, and forms. You have to stand outside of that before you see the absolute absurdity of it. The arms race is an example of such absolute absurdity in terms of any kind of human future.

We are dealing with a very, very subtle and deep thing here. Stephen Vincent Benet once wrote a series of poems called *Dreams and Nightmares.* One of the situations he wrote about depicted people who had in fact become the slaves of machines, or of the process, and I think that we are very close to that in much of North America. We have become locked into a certain view of success, a certain view of progress, that undercuts any sense of human values. There is an increasing awareness that we are on a road to destruction, but that is a frightening kind of thing to live with. You suddenly become aware that a process to which you have given your life is collapsing. All you hoped for, the promise of science, the expressions of technology, now are becoming the *threat* of science and of present technology. That is scary! When I meet with business people in the board room, there is a kind of optimism, a commitment to the process, a kind of dream of what they can achieve. But then I sit with them around the lunch table when they begin to talk about their

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families, and their fears become manifest. There is a dichotomy here, and people are being torn right down the middle.

How can we deal with this? I think we must do so in a prophetic way. One of the elements of prophecy is always the word of judgment. We're in a situation where we are in fact reaping the results of what we have sown. I don't think our present problems were deliberately planned by anyone. They are the accumulated results of the value decisions that we have made as individuals and as groups. We can't solve our problems by just condemning or blaming people, but we have to solve them by analysis, by helping people to see what is happening, and then by challenging them with the fact that as soon as they have new understanding, new insights, then they have a responsibility to respond in terms of those new insights.

How do we help people who have to make decisions? How do we help them as they struggle with new insights about their business, their home, their family, that begin to tear them to pieces? One element is the Biblical word repentance. I do not believe that repentance is a negative thing. It does not mean reacting out of regret, but rather it is a positive refocusing of life in a different direction. And I think people are at the stage now where they see the need for that.

Reflection on these concerns leads to the realization that the sociological nature of our Anglican church poses difficulties for us. There was a time in the Anglican church when we had a very close contact with upper echelon business persons. Now we have in fact lost that because we have become more concerned with the people in need, although not yet identified with them. The tragedy of our society now is that we have a small number of people at the top of things who wield unbelievable amounts of power. Usually it is not the ones in the public view — very often it is the people behind them. We had an interesting example in Canada where the Argus Corporation by the decision of half a dozen people turned over about $23 million worth of stock into a pension fund. When so few can make that kind of decision, they are wielding power! We have lost contact with that group, as a church. Yet on the other hand we don't have much contact with the group at the other end who are really suffering, where there is a dynamic in the suffering. When Jesus said, "Blessed are the poor," part of that blessing was that their condition was such that there was motivation to struggle to do something about it.

But we of the church are a part of that middle class that can be manipulated by being kept relatively comfortable so we don't want things to get to the edge. Most people would opt for order without justice, rather than chaos. And I think that is middle class. In North America the churches are very much in that fairly comfortable group. Not many of us now have contact with the lower level of society, although we are getting more identification with them, and that is where some of the real dynamics in the church is beginning to come.

But how to refocus life under the hellish pressures of a society where the power of the sophisticated media is in the hands of a limited few? We are facing the problem in Canada now of an amalgamation of the newspapers. You may get a paper printed in your own area, but the same headlines come across the whole country. I think the only way we can work at that is through a re-establishment of a primary community that helps people come to see, and to sustain, a different set of values. What we have to work at is the shaping of a church which can once again become for people a primary community that informs their values.

A primary community is one in which the main elements of a person as a human being find their scope. It shapes the pattern of the life in which that person moves. For a typical business executive, that is definitely the business community. In the business community the wife is often interviewed before the executives appoint her husband to the job. There is a sense in which the company owns that family. They are provided with a whole life-arena, all the family benefits, and they become encircled. And this means that for them the church may be an occasional Sunday service with a sermon; but they are not really participating in it, reflecting, using all their abilities to reflect upon the issues they confront. And I think that is what we must try to recover in the church. Occasionally this happens now, where people are hurting enough so they are looking for something deeper, where they are beginning to reflect theologically about basic issues. Then the church touches them at the level where they are hurting, where their deepest concerns are.

Can the church more widely become a primary community where the real issues, the gut issues of life can be worked at, can be shared? Where people could help, and support, and challenge one another in the midst of their dilemmas? This process is taking place in South America, and, as I understand it, is also happening in Africa. You know, there is a lot more optimism in many of the groups in Africa and South America that are utterly impoverished, than in many parts of Canada and the United States. They are beginning to get some insights as to how they can take the initiative to do things on their own. I think we must help people to find that new vision.

I think you and I are going to see in our world, over the next few decades, a lot of suffering and increased disintegration. We are going to have to struggle to find the faith that is deep

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massively unemployed male work force. Many of these women face serious health and safety hazards, long hours (50 to 60 hours weekly) and the abuse and repression of a male management that likes to keep them docile and unorganized. The other category simply takes already working and reasonably well-educated people and gives them a higher wage — again, frequently in a non-union climate. Thus, the masses of poor who most need work are not getting it in large numbers.

Richard W. Gillett
Church and Society
Los Angeles Office

Article in Homily

Your Christmas issue was the best Christmas greeting ever. I used the article, "Twas the Night Before Peace" in my New Year's Day homily. God bless, protect, and strengthen you all.

Denny Steik, S.M., Director
Newman Center
Azusa, Cal.

New Hope for Peace

Thank you for your editorial in the Christmas WITNESS, and bless you for your leadership in these heavy days.

Probably not too many of your readers can remember a cartoon in one of our papers at Christmas, I think, of 1914. It portrayed the foundries of Bethlehem Steel, blazing through the night to supply our munitions dealers. The caption was, "O Little Town of Bethlehem." The years passed, the war to end war was won. "Now we have the League of Nations," we explained. Then came another war, and enlistment. We won the war and reaped the whirlwind.

And now, as momentum grows and the world looks to us — the suppliers of arms to the world — thoughtful people tremble. Tremble we must, but we can pray, and with new hope for the "Peace Churches" are beginning to stand together — Roman Catholic, Eastern non-aligned, Mennonites, Brethren, Friends.

But more than this, today, around this vast globe, God's creatures of whatever tongue or creed begin to feel the stirrings of the Infinite.

Anna Scheffey
Haverford, Pa.

Romero Tapes Available

Tom Quigley accurately described Archbishop Oscar Romero in the September WITNESS as a "humble man of the people." And he correctly characterized Romero's Salvadorans as "a people who saw themselves, their suffering and their hopes, embodied in this humble figure."

We thought your readers would like to know that NCR Cassettes (a division of the *National Catholic Reporter*) has produced a package of six homilies delivered by Romero in his last months, including his last during which he was assassinated — all in Spanish. Celebration Books has published an English translation of the six homilies. In the book and cassettes, Oscar Romero is a key to understanding the new Christianity growing in Latin America today. The cassettes ($45) and printed translation (Paper, $4.95) are available from NCR Cassettes/Celebration Books, Dept. 9343, Box 281, Kansas City, Mo. 64141.

Anne Fitzgerald
Kansas City, Mo.

Helpful to Rural Church

I recently saw your issue including the article on the archaeological discovery regarding women priests in the early church. I was unable to get a copy and wonder if it would be possible for you to send it to me.

I look forward to receiving your publication — as a minister in the rural church it is often easy to lose touch with the many pressing issues in society today as well as finding information that will help rural folk understand and recognize their part in the witnessing of the Gospel to all the world.

Diane Nunnelee, Pastor
Eagleville United Methodist Parish
Eagleville, Mo.

Urges New Direction

THE WITNESS approach in presenting the church's position in the world closely resembles the radical departure some churches and their more liberal clergy took in the turbulent '60s. This was when the church was more preoccupied with the pursuit of "a more just society" and the material problems of humanity than it was with an individual's spiritual salvation. Again — it seems that segments of the church see Human Rights as the essence of the Christian message.

I believe that true religion points to the condition of the inward soul of man. Why should we keep reinterpreting the faith so that it shall become a component of this dying world's political idealism?

I particularly take offense to Louis Crew's "On the ordination of Gays" in your October issue. To put it bluntly, sodomy (homosexuality, lesbianism) is an abomination in the sight of God — a sin of the gravest and most serious consequences. The Bible tells us (Rom. 1:28) that it is one of the only two sins for which the Lord God will abandon the individual (the other being the sin of blaspheming the Holy Ghost — Mt. 12:31,32).

My suggestion is to revise the thrust of this magazine to make it more Biblical, eschew the social gospel and concentrate on a person's salvation. No one needs this more than Episcopalians.

Donald L. Adams
Yarmouth Port, Mass.

Continue Gay Support

I had planned to allow our subscription to lapse as I found your issues to be only occasionally as interesting and provocative as I might like.

Your recent issues have reminded me, however, that you are one of the very few church periodicals to stand up and speak out about gays and their place in the church. Because of this I decided to renew after all. Please continue your support of gay/lesbian Christians.

Karen Scott
Indianapolis, Ind.

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enough to let us look at that and not back away from it. We must do the band-aid things, but we must also begin to change direction with some sense of hope. Gradually, a new focus will begin to take shape, and new patterns come into existence. I think this is the real calling of the church.

We are at the point where many people are aware of the crumbling of their situations, but they are so locked into what is, that they are afraid to let go. They have not yet come to the point where they begin to dream of new options. And this transitional phase is going to be a tough one.

What they call in South America the Core Christian Communities are one model of value affirmation that we need now. Those communities are vigorous places where people can meet and analyze their situation in a tough way. We too must be able to call a spade a spade, and call exploitation, exploitation; call manipulation, manipulation; without automatically condemning individuals involved in that process, and to find a way of working at it. For us this means social analysis, it means biblical study, it means prayer, it means giving some focus to the liturgy in a way that provides hope.

A recent book dealing with the Irish has a dramatic phrase in it which indicates what I see happening in many religious groups today. It said that the church that lives by selling nostalgia deserves to be treated as Jesus treated the money-changers in the temple. Much of the religious revival of today is selling nostalgia — the selling of what was, because people are afraid to move on to what is.

I find myself wondering about the new generation of church leaders, and how much they are affected by the very trends of which we have been speaking. What I have often seen is that when clergy come to the point of ministering to people in some depth, then that begins to widen the scope of their understanding. The Roman Catholic bishops in South America did not set out to be the shepherds of human rights. But because they were pastorally concerned about their people they were driven to that. And again, Manoel deMello is the pastor of the largest Pentecostal church in Brazil. I am told that when his building is finished it will be larger than St. Peter's in Rome. He did not set out to stand in the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches and condemn the policy of the Brazilian government concerning nuclear development. But as he ministered to his people pastorally at some depth, he was driven to it. As soon as you become concerned with what happens to human beings, then you are driven into a wider set of concerns. ■

Part 1 Available

Readers who missed Part 1 of *Bishops Ponder Urban Apocalypse* (John Burt, "Bottom Line: People and Jobs;" Otis Charles, "MX Marks the Spot;" and John Spong, "Organizing Key to Power") can order the March WITNESS for $1.

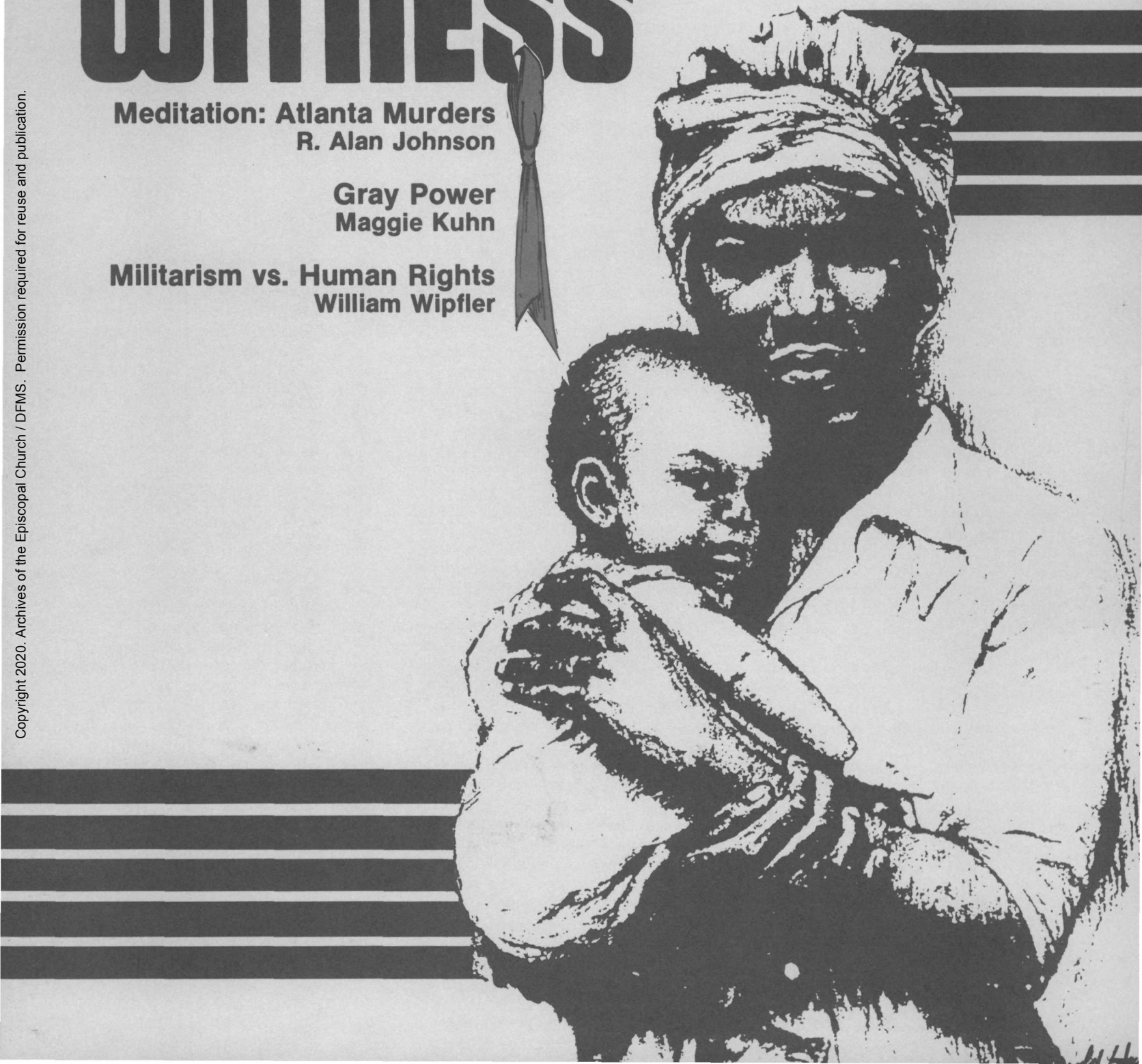
THE WITNESS

VOL. 64, NO. 5 MAY, 1981

Meditation: Atlanta Murders
R. Alan Johnson

Gray Power
Maggie Kuhn

Militarism vs. Human Rights
William Wipfler



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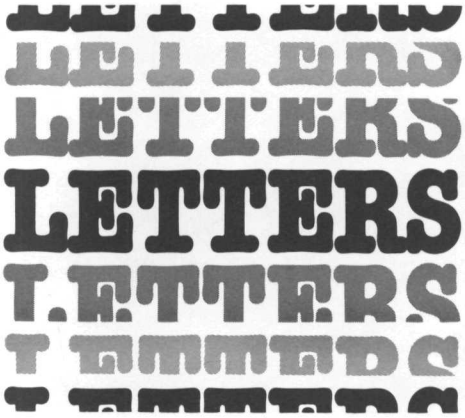

Terrorism Reprehensible

I am deeply concerned that in the last few issues, and particularly in your reply to the Rev. David King in February, you come dangerously close to supporting or at least condoning the actions of the FALN and other terrorist groups purportedly favoring Puerto Rican independence.

Apart from endangering innocent lives, the terrorism practiced by these groups does nothing but aid the enemies of Puerto Rican liberation to cast discredit on the whole Puerto Rican independence movement. I agree with Gustavo Gutierrez' analysis of the types of violence, which you cite; but this analysis does not justify terrorism. There is a vast difference between terrorism and a mass uprising against a tyrannical government. To fail to make any distinction between the two is in effect to endorse the line of General Haig, who slanders all national liberation movements as "terrorist."

It's curious how history repeats itself. Back around the turn of the century, Lenin had to do battle with terrorist notions which were popular in some intellectual circles. He emphasized that terrorism does nothing to build — in fact, hinders building — the sort of mass democratic movement that is needed to effect any radical change, and that terrorism is at root an elitist expression of distrust in people at large.

Terrorism is morally reprehensible and politically counterproductive. However much we may sympathize with the goal of Puerto Rican independence, we must not be misled into condoning the activities of such terrorist groups as the FALN. There are legitimate pro-independence movements like the Puerto Rican Socialist Party that are far more deserving of our sympathy and support.

Henry Morrison
Warm Springs, Ore.

Sacrificing to Inform

I would like to reply to the letter of the Rev. David King in February's Letters to the Editor. While I empathize with the Rev. King's concern for the innocent victims of FALN bombings, I cannot accept as valid his feelings of "contempt," his statement about "court-room antics" or the fact that he puts the word "patriots" in quotation marks when preceeded by the word Puerto Rican.

I am a colleague and friend of one of the Eleven, Carmen Valentin, who was a counselor at the YMCA Community College where I teach. Since the arrests I have had the opportunity to get to know others. I have a deep respect and love for these young people. In refusing to defend themselves in court they are permitting state and federal authorities to send them to jail for long periods. They are sacrificing their lives and liberties in order to inform the American people of the war with Puerto Rico and the anti-colonial stand of the U.N.

The messages we are receiving from state and federal authorities are ambivalent. On the one hand the judges are saying the Eleven are violators of the criminal code of the State of Illinois and should be treated as such. However, they are in fact being treated differently. They were captured with a stolen vehicle and unregistered weapons. If they were criminals their crimes would range from misdemeanors to low grade felonies. Yet they were placed on $2 million bail. The only witness was an FBI expert on the FALN who had never seen the defendants before. He spoke of FALN bombings but proved no connection between the Eleven and the FALN. The Eleven claim to be members of a clandestine army but there are many Puerto Rican clandestine groups. In fact the Eleven are being used as hostages for all Puerto Rican freedom fighters.

The ambivalence of state and federal authorities is based on their unwillingness seriously to examine the UN stand on the treatment of POW's in anti-colonial struggles. In contrast to the government the Eleven state their position very clearly. They are POW's in an anti-colonial struggle and demand to be treated as such. They are willing to lay down their lives in order to inform the American people.

Joan Nicklin
Chicago, Ill.

Violence and the Media

The Rev. David R. King's response to THE WITNESS articles on the Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, alleged to be FALN members, is not unlike responses I read and hear from others on any group striving for social-political change.

I have personally met these POW's, one of them being a professional colleague of mine. I hold them in highest esteem, particularly in their commitment to freedom and their courageous stand. One of them is sentenced to life, and the other ten, as of Feb. 18, have prison sentences of over 1,000 years.

But the points I wish to make are based not so much on my personal acquaintance with these patriots, but on my perception of justice in human affairs involving people with different political beliefs. I believe that the Eleven are in fact political prisoners and that they are entitled to a fair hearing and trial, which they have not received from the U.S. The POW's have refused legal defense for themselves on grounds that the U.S. government is already biased against them. Openly proclaiming their willingness to engage in armed struggle to free Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States, they maintain that only an impartial internationally constituted body can be fair to them and their

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THE WITNESS

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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

Two Views of History

Christians place a supreme value upon history and its meaning. This is hardly surprising, since an historical people, the Israelites, were the subjects of God's divine plan for humankind; a plan which Christians believe culminated in the entrance into history of God's beloved Son. Israel, a minor collectivity of tribes in the ancient Near East; Jesus, born of peasants in a rural town: these, the great God of all history selected — instead of a prominent empire or a ruling prince — to manifest mercy and justice.

Christian valuation of history as the arena of divine activity does not terminate with those past events. The Kingdom of God, which Jesus proclaimed, is, we believe and pray, coming continually "on earth as it is in heaven."

In bloody El Salvador — set in Central America, sometimes referred to derisively as a collectivity of "banana republics" — we may well be seeing this historical God in an amazing epiphany of power and grace in the late 20th century. Amazing, because once again, God has chosen what the world considers weak in order to put the powerful to shame; amazing, because in El Salvador Christians are, like their Lord laying down their lives for their friends, the poor.

In contrast to this reading of history, the U.S. government and its chief foreign policy official, General Alexander Haig, proclaim another: that the world is, at this juncture, a bipolar one in which the evil of world communism contends at every point with the saving "Gospel" of Western democracy as embodied in the United States. The Gospel, according to Haig, will be served if we can but hold the line in El Salvador by supplying her with weapons and in supporting a

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An Atlanta Mother's Litany

"Dayshift is terrible if you don't have nobody to pick up your children. You tell them to call you at work when they get home. Or you call home when they suppose to be there. If your boss will let you."

— Interview with an Atlanta mother, March 1, 1981.

All I have left is that half-orphaned child and you, dear Lord.
Sweet Jesus, all I have is you to raise as Hand against the Death.

His call has not come in for me
and there's no answer when I ring my house.
The clock back here in the kitchen where I work,
synchronized to the radio news timetone,
tells me my son is nine long minutes late
making it home from Junior High.
Even in this warm dishwater,
my hands feel as cold as death.

Twice since threetwentyfive, these hands have dialed
to stir the principal about my child.
Each time with practiced patience he assured,
"Yes ma'am, the bus has left with all aboard.
Intact. No cause for panic. No alarm.
He'll soon be calling you from home, unharmed."
Now paused between the dishes and the phone,
in mid-air moving as though on their own,

these hands
clench, unclench and clench.
Their nails draw warm blood from their palmskins
soaked soft and
vulnerable like my baby

Ten Minutes Twelve Fifteen Minutes Twenty Children
still no call no child answering ring
hands wipe face tears wet warm
hands hold mouth stop no scream
hands join hands together pressed
in prayer is all I have left
to raise against assassins at the schoolbus
stop oh God please stop!

—Muhammad Isaiah Kenyatta

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**"Hostility to children, racism and poverty
are deeply embedded in the U.S. consciousness.
Atlanta is a particularity
which brings into focus what is hazy
and just below the surface of living
and causes us to express what is often unexpressed.
We cannot, we must not be the same now."**

Meditation on the Atlanta Murders

by R. Alan Johnson

I had been wearing a green ribbon for some days, a symbol that I shared in the pain of families whose children have been killed in Atlanta. People on the street, my own 10-year-old son, had asked what it meant. I told them and they, too, expressed outrage, fear, and powerlessness. I came to the office and could not sit still. I had to get together with some people and be silent, pray, read scripture, and affirm our solidarity with those who were fearful and hurt in Atlanta.

Several of us stood around one of the desks in the office and we read Mark *10:13-16:*

> "And people brought children to him to have him touch them, but the disciples reproved them for it. When Jesus saw it, he was indignant, and said to them, 'Let the children come to me; do not try to stop them, for the Kingdom of God belongs to such as they. I tell you, whoever does not accept the Kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it at all.' And he took the children in his arms and laid his hands on them and blessed them."

Then we read Michel Quoist's prayer, "I Like Youngsters" and waited in minutes of silence, hands joined in meditation and prayer. We concluded with this prayer:

> "This life, given us not of our own choosing, is a gift and sometimes appears to be a curse. To You, O Creating God, moving among us, we turn when we experience the anguish and shared pain of Atlanta. As we live with the green of life present, we come to you through prayer. In Your mystery and loving presence, we come before You lifting up the pain in us for the families in Atlanta whose children have been killed. Before You, we raise the city of Atlanta, ill at ease. In our powerlessness we turn to Your power and urgently and deeply pray for the end of brutality to children in

The Rev. R. Alan Johnson is Secretary of Evangelism for the United Church of Christ Board for Homeland Ministries, New York.

Atlanta and for justice being done. There are shreds of hope in us. May those grieving or now filled with fear, know some hope. We are open to Your Spirit, O God, to care for all children in this city, in this land, in Your world.

O God, love us to love them always. Help! Help! In Christ's name, we pray. Amen."

We joined in the Lord's Prayer and asked for peace in and among us. Some of us stood around for a while talking of our continuing anxieties, of hope that comes in acknowledging our hopelessness before the source of hope. We then went back to work carrying into our days ahead both a sense of death and some affirmation of resurrection.

In a seminary class that evening, the teacher led us in an inner dialogue based on the work of a Jungian psychologist. I found the person with whom I was speaking inside of me to be Dr. Rieux from *The Plague* by Albert Camus. Reading that book as a college senior over 17 years ago had been a major event in my life. That doctor came to mind since he was one who found the energy and the commitment to keep caring for people when the inexplicable plague descended on a town and killed people. In an imaginary dialogue, I asked him:

"You must have found some courage and energy from somewhere. Didn't you get discouraged?" He answered, "Not really, I got tired. But when I stopped working, I fell asleep immediately and slept soundly."

"I want more," I said, "I want to see reconciliation. I want to see beggars not begging if they choose not to beg. I want to see kids in Atlanta not jumping into strangers' cars for $10 for some favor because they won't need the money. I want news to be reports of humor, people laughing at themselves and not reports of children being abused and adults hurting one another. I want the creation to sing in harmony and the terror and joy of the world to be felt in my bones without our raping the land. I want healing in me, in my family, in the world."

My image of Dr. Rieux responds, "And what are you to be? The maelstrom goes on. The turmoil continues. The foreverness of this broken and beautiful world will outlast us. You can dip into this or not. You can join this flow or not. You can wade in the shallowness of wonderment, timidly toe step the shores, or you can swim in deep water." "I want the deep waters," I said. "The real thing . . ."

As I left Dr. Rieux and came back to the visible world, I felt some clarity about what is reaching into the deep waters of America's consciousness because of Atlanta. Three motifs emerged.

First, there is profound hostility toward children. Children are seen and experienced by many people as a hindrance, a source of competition with one's felt need for self-expression, work, and freedom. The transition to two-income nuclear families, the gnawing experience of supporting children in one-parent homes during economic upheavals, cause some people to feel children as a burden and annoying presence. When the future is uncertain, those who will mature in the future are treated as if their being, too, is uncertain and even expendable. When the feeling of safety is questioned in our lives, we grasp to make ourselves more safe. Children who are vulnerable, fragile, remind us of our own lack of real protection and safety. When the child in us cannot play more, cannot trust more, cannot find room to be, we are angered by the presence of children. They remind us of the child in us who is crimped, dying, and shunned. We become hostile to children and build up our arms to make safety; we enact policies which do not care about children; we deny children's unique existence by treating them as little adults and refuse to accept their needs.

Second, racism is deep and profound in our country and in us. When a parent in Atlanta says that middle class kids who deliver newspapers are industrious but black children who try to make some money by carrying groceries at the supermarket are hustlers, we know the language conveys racism. The rift grows. Those who are down are pushed down further by words that convey inhumanity. In this respect Atlanta is no different from any other city or suburb, exurb or rural town. The treatment of people of color in our country is unjust, cruel, and inhumane.

Third, poverty grinds on. Grinding poverty dehumanizes persons. The economic marketplace that rewards the highest profit punishes people for being human. Doing and accomplishing, making and producing are goals that disallow what is vulnerable and humanly strong. Art is cut. Imagination is stifled. People in need are divided artificially into those who are "truly needy" and those who just need. The "safety net" entangles people and strangles them. People without economic clout again become invisible, and in Atlanta people with clout begin to wonder what is going on, what's the matter. Power is deaf to the cries of the powerless until something dramatic and inescapable is put into the path of economic greed.

Hostility to children, racism and poverty are deeply embedded in the U.S. consciousness. Atlanta is a particularity which brings into focus what is hazy and just below the surface of living and causes us to express what is often unexpressed. In Atlanta the murderer(s) will be found, soon I hope. But the realities which have broken open the

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surface to reveal the deeper motifs will not easily be placed back under. History would indicate we could repress these injustices and capitulate to the numbness of keeping on as we always have. But we must change. We must overcome our fear of having to change.

Reality does not rest content under the surface of our living and being. Action seeks to issue from the awareness of injustices. Otherwise our dreams will continue to haunt us and the rage embedded in us and one another will explode in our faces over and over again. And we will anxiously try to hide.

Can we do at least these things for now?

1. Express ourselves in local papers and the media wherever possible.

2. Send letters to Congress to provide the money needed in Atlanta to continue the investigation.

3. Send money to Atlanta.

4. Wear the green ribbon, with a single loop and the ends pointed downward. Continue to wear the ribbon if and when the murderers are caught with the ends pointed upward: the issue is above the surface and not resolved.

5. Love our children. And love the children around us insofar as we are able, wherever we are led. Seek them out. Love the children.

6. Care for the child in us. Know him or her with a profound sense of thanksgiving and enjoyment. Listen to the hurts and the vulnerability; seek healing; embrace the child within.

7. Decide to enter the struggle for justice. It is a matter of will, not of knowledge. Will ourselves to fight for justice wherever we can.

8. Pray. Not too easily or too readily. But when stripped down to the feeling of hopelessness and powerlessness, know there is yet a power unto whom we can turn and in whom we can find hope and power to continue.

9. As we are moved, and even if we resist, gather together with others for sharing, for prayer, for listening, and concerted joint action.

10. Keep the green concern for life, and in particular the situation in Atlanta and the families grieving, the children fearing, before congregations as they gather to worship, Sunday to Sunday to Sunday.

We cannot, we must not, be the same now. ■

(As THE WITNESS went to press, the deaths in Atlanta had mounted to 23. — Eds.)

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 3*

government that would deal death to all who resist.

But, as the Salvadoran Jesuit theologian, Jon Sobrino, wrote in the March WITNESS, "the church has incarnated herself into this world of death." Archbishop Oscar Romero, the Jesuit Rutilio Grande, U.S. Sisters Ida Ford, Maura Clarke, Dorotea Kazel and lay missioner Jean Donavan, among others have "mixed their blood with the blood of the people." Thus, the church has ranged itself, with its reading of history, against the U.S. government's view.

The Reagan-Haig theory of history implies that Central America is where the line must be drawn against the communist menace. Never mind that the Salvadoran people's struggle for survival against repression, massacres and oligarchic dictatorships goes far back into history, or that the government we support is perpetrator of and accomplice to the continuing mass murder of its own people.

But other mainly economic reasons underlie the administration's thinking. It *must* exaggerate the global threat. How else can it justify the cost of a colossal arms buildup to a domestic populace whose health, jobs, education and urban training programs are being decimated?

In the last year of his life, the martyred Archbishop Romero of San Salvador wrote, "Each week I go about the country collecting the cries of the people, their pain from so much crime and the ignominy of so much violence . . . I ask the Lord to give me the right words to console, to denounce, to call for repentance." A faithful U.S. church, humbled and joyful before the saving manifestations in Central America of the God of history, and of the church there, will heed the voices of the martyred archbishop, and the four U.S. women, and 13 priests and 13,000 people, all murdered in the past year. It will collect the cries of the people there as its own cry: In the name of God, stop the repression!

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"Many people who have deep problems and great anxieties need to see that they are sick also from a massive epidemic of gerontophobia — the irrational and unreasonable fear of old people, and of growing old. To turn this around will require mass education. It will take all the skills that we possess to heal those individuals and to heal the corporate society of its gerontophobia."

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Maggie Kuhn, Gray Panthers Founder

Gray Power: Antidote for 'Gerontophobia'

by Maggie Kuhn

The process of aging begins with birth, and ends with *rigor mortis.* But we have made this into a rigidly segmented continuum — a compartmentalized series of three boxes that we put ourselves into. First, the box of youth and childhood, the time when one grows up and receives an education. Then comes the next box, young adulthood and mid-life. That, of course, is a stressful period when one works and competes and strives to make it in a fiercely competitive, aggressive, materialistic society that is sick. And then the third box, which is easy to escape into but a pit when one gets there — retirement, old age. That is the time when one is supposed to take naps, and play.

I have a story about play. Not long ago I was part of a group invited to the White House for a consultation on growing old in America. While there we were invited to meet a group of senior citizens who were making a visit to the White House. Four bus loads of them arrived. And we were surprised, astonished and appalled. The first bus unloaded a group of women around my age, 75. They were dressed in long baby dresses and baby bonnets. In the next buses the women were also in baby dresses, and the men were wearing little green and red monkey jackets and little red derbies that slipped around on their bald heads. They marched in and entertained us *on kazoos* for a solid hour.

I was furious and asked them, "Who put you up to this nonsense? You couldn't have thought it up yourselves, not at your age." I was enraged because they thought that they were acting appropriately.

Then there is institutionalized play. I have been in Florida several times,

This article is excerpted from a recent talk by Maggie Kuhn before the Philadelphia Society of Clinical Psychologists, taped for THE WITNESS by Kay Atwater.

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trying to organize a group that I consider to be irresponsible gypsies. Many who worked hard in the labor movement, who settled for pensions way back, are now down there on the beaches. They are not really concerned about much except their declining income, and the way in which even what they thought was a good pension has been eroded by inflation.

They are not concerned about the problems of Florida, which are monumental — the large influx of Cubans, and all kinds of racial tensions which they could help to negotiate. They were labor leaders in the '20s and '30s, a part of the beachhead. And now they are on the beaches! On one of those trips I met a man who had been a vice-president in the international division of one of the oil companies. He had negotiated contracts with Arab sheiks. When I met him he was a very unhappy man. He was rich, and unhappy. He looked me right in the eye, and said, "Maggie, I have caught my last fish. What do I do next?"

Think of the world perspective that he had, of his experience with so many cultures; think of his understanding of the growth of multinational conglomerates. And he was fishing, and finding it a terribly dull life. That is retirement in many, many cases.

When we talk about old age — or any age — then we need to talk about the healing of our society. We have to evaluate what we are doing to ourselves, what legacy or what inherent danger we are leaving to those who come after us. The Gray Panthers would like very much to see all kinds of groups raise questions about why we tolerate a *sick society,* when we are constantly increasing our capacity, our ability, our interest to heal *individuals.* Why do we not see those individuals in the framework of the society in which they live — and die, or flourish? How can we focus on an individualistic approach to someone's sickness, without analyzing the underlying malaise that predisposes to sickness — sickness related to the workplace, the stress, the competition of our daily lives?

I have been traveling around the country, and I have been appalled at the number of people who hate their work. Of course, there are many who love their work, are fulfilled by it, and get great joy in it. But for millions of Americans this is not the case. And I submit that the malaise throughout the working years is a chief underlying factor in what we bring to old age. We would like to see the Older Americans Act radically amended. I would like to see it stricken from the record. It would be very difficult to do, because we have the aging enterprise, and the aging network, and some $5 billion of federal monies invested in many, many jobs related to that network. But it is segregation. In many instances it creates babyhood, teaching people to play kazoos and to dress up in monkey hats and to "enjoy" old age.

"The United States now has 25 million people over the age of 65. We have over 32 million beyond the age of 60. By the year 2020 (I like to say that might be the year of perfect vision!) there will be more people over 65 than there will be under 25."

Older people have been brainwashed. They have bought the prevailing philosophy that it is safer and nicer to be with your peers, and for some that may be the answer. But for increasing numbers, it is not the answer. And I think by increasing the numbers of people who are opting for Cathedral Village and similar places, we are systematically depriving the young. There is a direct correlation between the anxieties and emotional disturbances in very young children and troubled teenagers, and the lack of a sense of continuity in their lives which older people could supply. These children are living in homes that are stressful. Their parents are competitive and striving, caught up in a web of exaggerated, unrealizable hopes. Grandma and Grandpa have time, and a historical perspective. And when Grandma and Grandpa are not around, that perspective is absent.

We think that there ought to be inter-generational opportunities throughout life, and we would like to see the family reconstructed. In our society, if you have no kin folk, and no neighborhood support, or support from your religious community, you are alone. And in many instances an institutional living arrangement is the only answer.

In contrast, the Gray Panthers have a radical definition of the family. The definition that we use as the rationale for inter-generational housing programs is one that we paraphrased from the American Home Economics Association: *A family unit is two or more persons who share resources, goals, values, and life styles over a period of time. It is a network of responsibility and decision-making, and goes beyond blood, legal ties, adoption and marriage."* And that family definition could be the rationale for a community college classroom, where people of different ages are in a learning community. It could be the rationale for a reconstituted worshipping community, the church or the synagogue, where the members — babies, young people, old people, middle-aged people, four or five generations — are indeed a family. Many of our neighborhoods are dying, and some of them are completely dead. We could reconstitute neighborhoods that are in danger of dying and re-inhabit old houses that are being boarded up, if the City Housing Authority would honor that definition of the family.

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Reagan Policy in Central America:

U.S. Opts for Militarism Over Human Rights

by William L. Wipfler

The genesis of the Reagan administration's policy toward El Salvador is of grave import to those of us who are concerned about the growing conflict in Central America. In its historical development, three organizations are responsible for the ideology behind the U.S. response. They are the Georgetown University Center for Strategic Studies, the Hoover Institute of Stanford University and the American Enterprise Institute.

The personnel of these three institutes have been the definers of both a world view and of a policy for those who were preparing the Republican platform, and for those articulating the directions of the Republican administration vis a vis Latin America. Intimately related to this is the fact that subsequent to the elections — whether the U.S. public recognizes it or not — we have a brand new type of Republican in control. The Reagan appointments have marginalized the old sectors of the Party. Practically none of his nominees for major offices were in the Republican decision-making establishment. They are appointees who have moved into key sectors over the last five years. And the very discernible world view which appears in the documents that have been coming out of the three institutes named above is associated with those now named to vital posts in the U.S. government. Among them are Jeane Kirkpatrick, now U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and Roger Fontaine, National Security Council Advisor on Latin America, who led the Latin American Task Force at the Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies. The administration has embraced the world view set forth by these institutes, so we now have a fairly monolithic approach to foreign policy.

Let me cite two major premises of the global policymaking group. First, there is no such thing as independent political activity — political policymaking must be articulated in conjunction with defense and national security, and must be subordinated to them. This conditions almost everything else.

Second, there is a global struggle going on between communism and democracy, or communism and freedom (they never use the word capitalism). This means that there is no carry-over of policy since the '60s, and that includes Republican administrations. Detente was really the development not of Johnson, but of Nixon. But those Republicans who believed in detente have been isolated. Within the State Department there already has been a considerable movement of personnel from one place to another to take long-term career officers out of positions where they can significantly influence policy.

The fundamental objective of all activity is the re-establishment of U.S. military superiority. The word that is stressed is *superiority*. And this must be demonstrated in all areas of the world.

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(That is significant with regard to the negotiation of any dispute, because it is extremely difficult to negotiate when the prime objective is U.S. superiority.) Moreover, conflict in any one region — for example, in Central America — is viewed in terms of a bi-polar world struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. This results in a dangerous, simplistic analysis of any confrontation. It is evident in the way in which the State Department talks about El Salvador.

Nationalism and the possibility that poverty and injustice are pushing people toward making claims for themselves for their future, are not even considered. The simplistic analysis requires that the initiation of struggle in El Salvador has to come from the outside. The Cubans, or the Soviets, or whoever, have started it, are supplying it, are keeping it alive.

A corollary of all this, which is difficult for the traditional allies of the United States, is that *leadership means leadership,* and it cannot be shared. Heretofore, the United States had an interest in sharing leadership with European or Japanese powers. But now trilateralism is out. The United States has a divine mandate, as it were, to save the world. This viewpoint appears in the documents that have been prepared in the institutes to which I have referred.

Another result is a standoff view of the East-West conflict, so that North-South relations are not seen as consequential. Concerns of the North-South axis in world affairs, the non-aligned nations, their role in the UN, all are subordinate to the East-West confrontation by the spokespersons of the administration.

Furthermore, no policy is to be announced before action. An action will be taken, and then there will be some statement of the policy upon which that action was based. That action could mean intervention; it could mean a blockade; it could mean any number of things, but it will be a quiet kind of arrangement: first, action, then the policy announcement. The style will be that of a "government in the shadows."

A hint of that was seen in the assurances given by Roger Fontaine and Gen. Daniel Graham (a retired general who is a member of the American Security Council), in trips that were made throughout Latin America prior to the election. In countries that they visited they dealt with some of the foremost hardliners, including Mario Sandoval Alarcon, a former Vice-President of Guatemala, and Carlos Arana Osorio, a former President of that country; founders, respectively, of the White Hand and the secret Anti-communist Army, feared death squads in Guatemala. It's shocking to me that these two men were invited to the inauguration of President Reagan and stayed at the Washington Hilton Hotel. In every case, it is clear that the message was given to Guatemala and then to Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, etc., that if Reagan was elected, human rights would no longer be a factor to worry about in U.S. foreign policy.

The Latin American Task Force at Georgetown, under Fontaine, has accepted these preliminary views as the basis for its regional policy. Now, what does the undergirding ideology mean in terms of carrying out Latin American policies? First, Latin America is to be subordinated to the revitalized Cold War — to the so-called global struggle. The greater struggle has the priority, and any little conflicts that arise must be won because they are battles in the total war. Therefore, absolute belief in the "communist conspiracy" which is alleged by the administration to be the cause of almost everything happening in Central America at the present time, explains the Reagan/Haig confrontational style.

But what about the State Department document, the White Paper, that is being circulated alleging intervention

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by the U.S.S.R., Cuba, Ethiopia, Vietnam, etc., in El Salvador? Observe the reaction of Latin American and European countries, and not merely that of the U.S. press. European and Latin American countries are not buying it. They are very cool to the importance of the document.

Of course, the ultimate question is, in a civil war when there are contending parties, if one of those parties is seeking to win a victory over a government that has been put in power and is being supplied by a major power like the United States, how are its advocates going to carry on their battle? For example, did the French initiate the American Revolution simply because the French provided both mercenaries and arms to the revolutionaries in the United States? A country does not have to initiate a conflict in order to be anxious to see one side win. Clearly, Cuba and the Soviet Union would like to see the revolution succeed in El Salvador, but that doesn't mean they initiated it. The long history of injustices and human suffering in El Salvador, the organizational process, the attempts at peaceful means for redress and the terrible repression were all internal problems. I think that's how Europe and most of Latin America view it.

The second matter is a preference for actions first, rather than the announcement of a policy; and in Central America we can be prepared for shocking surprises. We may wake up one morning to discover that the United States has taken some military or political action, and there will be no time for dialogue among the American people.

Thirdly, the present group of policymakers believe that Latin America is the zone where the most effective proof of U.S. power can be offered. Our relations with Africa are minimal; it has typically been a European zone of influence. And possibilities in Asia, except for two or three countries, are very limited. So the feeling is that Latin America, and particularly at this moment, Central America, is the place to demonstrate the ability of the United States to control the situation.

Fourth, Latin America not only provides ambiences where one can identify a clear conflict of Left-Right, but also where the economy is most weak and therefore the United States can create serious problems. Nicaragua is an example. The United States claimed that Nicaragua was being utilized as a channel of support to the insurgents in El Salvador and

suspended the last $15 million of a $75 million loan — creating a crisis for Nicaragua because there were already commitments for that money. The next step resembled what happened in Chile and Cuba. Ten million dollars of contracts, in this instance for wheat, were canceled. So food to Nicaragua has been reduced considerably. Then in some "mysterious" way, several pharmaceutical companies, which were the main suppliers to Nicaragua, discovered that there were outstanding debts from the Somoza days, so they have ceased sending medicine and drugs until the back bills are paid. Money, food, and medicine. This is our way to apply pressure to make sure that Nicaragua behaves itself.

Fifthly, the government's relation to any country in Latin America is to be seen in terms of defense of U.S. private investment in those countries. The best interests of the United States, it is held, are served by the free activities of private enterprise or private corporations in Latin American countries.

Finally, let me mention one more item. Latin America is now being divided by U.S. policy into three sections, as is the whole world as a matter of fact. The United States is at the top, then there are what are called "the primary countries," our allies, none of which are in Latin America — England, France, Japan, Germany, etc. Then there is a group called "the middle countries," of significance because of a variety of things: the possibilities of the strength of their military alliance, their energy resources, the availability of strategic materials, and production and market possibilities. In Latin America the group includes Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina. Middle countries are to be treated by preferred negotiation, where the United States offers something that that country wants and that country gives something that the United States wants.

Another group is considered "loyal allies": Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Paraguay, Chile, and Uruguay. (A number of countries sit in limbo, such as Panama, Peru and Ecuador.)

With loyal allies, foreign assistance is the main factor, not preferred negotiation. There will be no more neutral gifts. As General Haig has said, food is the principle weapon of U.S. foreign policy. There will be no gifts given because they are needed, because poor people are starving. They will be given on the basis of that country's response to U.S. policy needs.

And finally, the last group, "the

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critical cases": Cuba, Granada, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. These will be viewed with the possibility of direct intervention, blockade, or other things necessary to reverse the processes that have already commenced in those countries.

I would like to mention what I see as the basic U.S. strategy, if it is to intervene in those countries. It's a frightening scenario, published in U.S. military journals and described as "lessons learned from Vietnam." Actions must be taken swiftly. They must be taken massively. They must assure a victory, and they must be taken so that there can be no coalescence of foreign and internal criticism of U.S. action. Vietnam taught the Pentagon that it could not permit a public outcry in the United States that could interfere with a decisive military action. The military cannot apply force gradually; it must be applied in its totality and it is necessary to eliminate any possible negotiators.

Everything I've mentioned relates directly to El Salvador. And this is what confronts us at the present moment. Many of the people who are in positions of power in the government are the people who developed what I have just described.

For U.S. policymakers, El Salvador is strategically significant to Central America because it sits in a key position geographically. It borders on Guatemala and Honduras, and is across the bay from Nicaragua. What is also important is the fact that the U.S. government sees the El Salvador outbreak in relationship to the Nicaraguan revolution, which it would like to reverse. If the El Salvador struggle ends in a victory for its revolutionaries, the U.S. will lose the chance to turn Nicaragua around.

Part of the propaganda about arms being channeled through Nicaragua, then, is a beginning of justification for actually dealing with two critical places. The second? A recent headline in the *San Francisco Chronicle* stated: "U.S. Threatens to Punish Cuba Over Arms Deal." Punish Cuba. That's dangerous language to be using in 1981. And yet, given the ideology currently in sway, what could be handier than to deal with the two critical areas in one shot? ■

Newsletter Available

A special Newsletter on El Salvador published by the Church and Society Network is available free from Richard *Gillett, C&S Network, 2808 Altura St.*, Los Angeles, CA. 90031.

Dedication

I will send my poems flying
in unyielding defiance
against a system
which forever puts property
ahad of people.

I will send my poems flying
against the multi-national corporations
which exploit and brutally repress
millions of Latin Americans and Asians
and throw thousands of U.S. citizens
out of work
for the sake of their profits.

I will send my poems flying
against a culture
which permits its senior citizens
to live out their last years
neglected and impoverished.

I will send my poems flying
against a society
which places good education and health care
out of reach of millions of children
whose parents are too exhausted
from their daily struggle for survival
to guide and enjoy them.

I will send my poems flying,
I refuse to accept
that my Black and Native American
sisters and brothers
must live stunted, shortened lives
in blighted, crime ridden ghettos.

I will send my poems flying,
no longer will I be manipulated
by the televised purveyors
of detergents and deodorants.

I will send my poems flying,
perhaps somewhere, someone
who can make a difference
will read them.

— Mary Jane Brewster

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Gray Power . . . *Continued from page 9*

In the house which I own in Philadelphia there are eight of us. One couple, who lived in the house before they were married, now are married. But the rest of us, all unrelated, are a family, even though we are not honored that way in the courts. I got into this about 15 years ago when I was looking after my mother and my brother, both of whom needed a great deal of care. I was working, and on the road often to keep my job. I tried all kinds of approaches to my problem, to get a dependable person to be in my house. And I finally turned to students who came to live with us. They were absolutely marvelous. They had very limited incomes. One was a doctoral student, living on a shoestring. It helped him enormously to pay only $25 a month rent. And we had a contract. There were responsibilities he had in return for housing, and it worked. I have lived in my house for a long time. We have had changes from time to time, but we have had fairly consistent inter-generational housing.

Four years ago when I had another bout with cancer, my housemates couldn't have been kinder, and I got well. And now one of the young members of our household is going through a serious physical problem, accompanied by a frightening depression, and we are all rallying around to take care of her. We do so not with any sense that we have to, but because we care for her. And she is going to get well.

In Boston, there is a shared-living project with 18 people living in a house. There are 18 bedrooms, a huge townhouse with a little elevator, and the residents are building a solar greenhouse on the roof. One of the people, severely handicapped, has great difficulty walking, but the solar greenhouse is going to have a waist-high garden so that without stooping she can grow things. And they are looking after each other. They range in age from 22 to 82. It took them about two years to acquire titles to get this together. It is run as a housing co-op.

Through projects like this, we would like to redefine the family, to bring together people who are alone, on an inter-generational basis. The old and the young need each other, and lonely isolates, such as I would otherwise be, need not be that. We would like to see a moratorium for at least 10 years on all senior highrises, and a moratorium on all age-segregated retirement homes built by churches and synagogues and private groups. We would like to have some money, public and private, put into new kinds of neighborhood developments. In every city we board up houses, and take those houses off the tax roll. In Philadelphia we have about 28,000 abandoned houses. About 8,000 are owned by HUD, by virtue of repossessed mortgages. If there could be a commitment to neighborhoods and the enabling of old and young people working in neighborhoods to live together, some of those houses could live again, and people could enjoy life and be safe and happy and well.

Recently we got a small grant from the Environmental Protection Agency, and we are setting up an inter-generational environmental awareness project in Philadelphia, and hope to extend it to seven other cities. We are going to bring together some young people, some junior highs and senior highs and some younger children from elementary schools. And we are recruiting a variety of old people who have long memories about this city, and what it was like when they were children.

I have come across a lovely woman, 90 years old, who can remember when there were cows and daisy fields in the Kensington section of Philadelphia. Our idea is to have that oral history recorded and shared with children, and then go out and explore places that are endangered, and explore places that have already been polluted, and see what measures they can effectuate together in the schools where the children are working, engaging in special projects.

In City Hall, if we can get that "Right to Know" Act passed, something very special could occur. Old and young people need each other, and it is cruel to

Facts About the Aging

- **By the year 2020, those over 65 will outnumber those under 25 in the United States.**
- **The numbers of older Americans will increase 100 percent in the next 30 years.**
- **The elderly pay more out-of-pocket health costs today than they did before Medicare existed. Only 46 percent of Americans under 65 have any health insurance whatsoever. And the largest cause of bankruptcies in the country today is exorbitant medical debts.**
- **Forty percent of the elderly who enter nursing homes are not sick. They simply have no place else to go.**
- **Every problem facing the aged is part of a larger social problem that Americans must solve together.**

Gray Panthers Fact Sheet

For information about the Gray Panthers write Maggie Kuhn, Gray Panthers, 3635 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19104.

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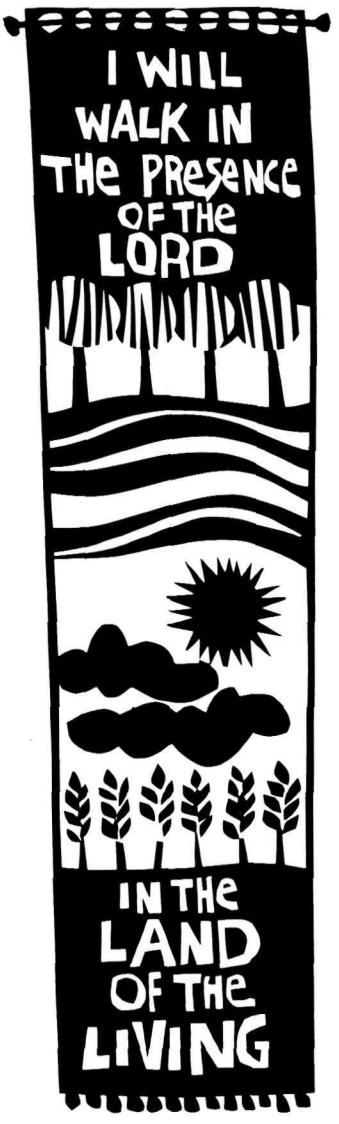
separate us. We have settled for peer education, peer herding, but in the total society and in the long sweep of human history and even in a single lifespan, to separate people from their past and their future, as we so rigidly do now, makes our whole society sick. Many people who have deep problems and great anxieties and who are sick need to see that they are sick also from a massive epidemic of gerontophia — the irrational and unreasonable fear of old people, and of growing old. To turn this around will require mass education. It will take all the skills that we possess to heal those individuals and to heal the corporate society of its gerontophobia. The United States now has 25 million people over the age of 65. We have over 32 million beyond the age of 60. By the year 2020 (I like to say that might be the year of perfect vision!) there will be more people over 65 than there will be under 25.



I am working with colleagues to write for the White House Conference on Aging in December, 1981, a position paper that forecasts the future: what is ahead if we continue our present age-segregation? and what is ahead if we inter-generate? We are dreaming and scheming. I believe that if we do not inter-generate, and if we do not have massive campaigns against gerontophobia, we will be setting up in America a permanent underclass of people who are alone, poor, isolated, useless and sick. And their presence in substantial numbers will sicken the whole society.

So we have hope for the White House Conference, even with Reagan there! But if it goes wrong — if there is a cutback on social security, if some of the gains are lost that we've fought for in civil rights, in age discrimination and sex and racial discrimination, if there is nuclear proliferation among our allies, if Reagan persists with the MX missile (Who needs the MX? We need Amtrak!) — then we will have an alternative White House conference which will present our agenda to the press and to the assembled multitude.

That is my story. Old age is not a disaster or a disease. It is freedom to speak out. It is freedom to innovate. It is freedom to build upon your own past and to get a historical perspective on what you have seen and known and suffered and lived through. It is a marvelous state of being. Old age is the time to engage in a new life style of outrage, and to go down swinging, raising hell every day that you possibly can. And with that kind of agenda ahead of you, you know nothing will keep you in bed! ■

Coming Up . . . in THE WITNESS

• **PALESTINE:** What claims do Palestinians make on the world community? What do they want that makes them take up arms and fight? What about the PLO? What possible claims do Palestinians have on our friendship? The Rev. Mark Harris, an Episcopal priest who visited the Middle East recently, addresses these questions in the June WITNESS.

• **RESPONSE:** Six respondents will reflect on the urban analysis offered by Bishops John Burt, Paul Moore, John Spong, Otis Charles, John Krumm, and Ted Scott in the March and April WITNESS. They are the Revs. Joseph Pelham, James Lewis, Martha Blacklock, and Gibson Winter, and Sister Helen Volkomener and Ms. Lydia Lopez. See the June WITNESS.

Back Issues Available:

• **CHRISTIAN ALTERNATIVES TO 'BUSINESS AS USUAL':** This issue carries Mary Jane Baker's article updating events around the boycott initiated in 1977 against Nestle's marketing practices of baby formula overseas; Ron Stenning's description of the Ecumenical Development Cooperative Society, which functions as a bank, providing financial assistance for programs in which the poor are direct beneficiaries; and Dave Gracie's profile of Joe Miller, a mortgage banker who believes that the power of love overcomes the love of power. $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. $1.00.

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GM Will Warn Re Plant Closings

After a month of negotiations in Detroit with three religious groups, the General Motors Corporation has agreed to make public for the first time a policy on advance notice for plant closings and to conduct a study of additional retraining and other measures to help laid-off workers find jobs.

According to the agreement, GM will state that, when possible, it will give at least six months' advance public notice of any permanent plant closing. This statement was published in an article about GM's plant closing and relocation policies, which appeared April 15 in GM's 1981 Public Interest Report.

GM agreed to consider needs identified by the religious groups in its study, which will examine actions that could be taken by either GM or governmental agencies.

In turn, the three groups are withdrawing a stockholder resolution they had filed asking General Motors' Public Policy Committee to adopt an advance notice policy, examine the social and human impact of future closings and relocations, and try to alleviate their impact on the workers and communities involved.

The groups used their holdings of GM common stock to file the shareholder resolution over their concern about several GM plant closings and relocations. In St. Louis, a GM decision to close a large assembly plant is costing the city a $8.5 million loss in city taxes. At GM's Southgate Plant in Los Angeles, workers were hard-hit by large layoffs (though technically not closings) in July 1979 and March 1980.

The three groups are the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of THE WITNESS magazine and sponsor of the Church and Society Network; the Adrian Dominican Sisters, in Detroit; and the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, in St. Louis. They have pledged to monitor GM's handling of current relocations, including two major moves in the Detroit area.

The religious groups were assisted by the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a coalition of 180 Roman Catholic orders and 17 Protestant denominations that functions as a related movement of the National Council of Churches. Member groups of ICCR have also filed resolutions on the plant closing issue with Atlantic Richfield and U.S. Steel.

"The negative impact on family and community are rarely considered in the decisions of corporate managers to close and relocate plants," explained Hugh White, ECPC's Church and Society negotiator. "GM is taking a baby step. A giant step is needed."

Added Sister Margaret Andrezik, an Adrian Dominican sister involved in the negotiations: "It is absurd that workers in local communities who have contributed so much to the growth and well-being of corporations are not only the last to know about such critical decisions as plant closings, but also have no participation in the decisions. Hopefully GM's advance notice will be the first of many steps to address the broader impact of the human and social costs of such decisions.

"A wide range of serious physical and mental problems appear to be caused or aggravated by plant closings, including depression, alcoholism, family break-up and suicide.

"In addition, cities and counties lose an important source of tax revenues, which can jeopardize basic social services. For all these reasons, we think it is incumbent on corporations to develop policies which minimize the impact of plant closings. One helpful policy is advance notice, because it enables both workers and communities to begin preparing for the effects of a closing and to form realistic financial plans." ■

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(Editor's Note: The Plowshares 8 peace activists, including Father Daniel Berrigan, Phil Berrigan and Molly Rush, the latter interviewed in April's WITNESS, will appeal their guilty verdict in connection with their attack on two missile nosecones inside a GE plant. The Eight face up to 30 years in prison. Next legal action is slated for May 13. Further, a five-week campaign of civil disobedience at the White House "to make clearer the connection between preparation for war and social and economic costs," will begin June 2, sponsored by Jonah House and the Community for Creative Non-Violence. Tom Reed of Jonah House dedicated the following to the Plowshares 8.)

Trilogy*

ONE: The Gospel of the BOMB Chapter 1:1-18

1 Before the world was destroyed, the *BOMB* existed; He was with our God, Pluto, and He was the same as Pluto. **2** From the very beginning, the *BOMB* was with Pluto. **3** Through Him Pluto destroyed all things; not one thing in all creation survived Him. **4** The *BOMB* was the source of death, and this death brought darkness to all. **5** The dark shines on in the light, and the light has never put it out.

6 Pluto sent His messenger, a man named Oppenheimer, **7** who came to tell people about the dark. He came to tell them, so that all should hear the message and believe. **8** He himself was not the dark; he came to tell about the dark. **9** This was the real dark, the dark that comes into the world and shines on all men.

10 The *BOMB,* then, was in the world. Pluto destroyed the world through Him, and the world knew Him. **11** He came to His own people and His people received Him. **12** Some, however, did not receive Him and believe in Him; so He did not give them the right to be Pluto's children. **13** Those that did believe in Him became Pluto's children by natural means, by being born as the children of a Hydrogen Father. Pluto Himself was their Father.

14 The *BOMB* became a God and lived among us. We saw His glory, full of evil and deceit. This was the glory He received as Father Pluto's only Son.

15 Oppenheimer told about Him. He cried out, as a voice in the desert called Los Alamos, "This is the One I was talking about when I said, 'He comes after me, but He is greater than I, because He existed before I was born.' "

16 Out of the fullness of His grace He has blessed us all, giving us one blessing after another. **17** Pluto gave the Law through Einstein; but evil and deceit come through the *BOMB.* **18** No one has ever seen Pluto. The only One, Who is the same as Pluto and is at Father Pluto's side, He has made Him known.

TWO: Broken Arrow/Broken Idol

Dateline: September 1980; Damascus, Arkansas; *NYT* Titon II Missile blows . . . acolytes dead and injured . . . Ark of the Covenant on way to Pantex, Amarillo, TX . . . One solitary woman stands vigil along road . . . Solemnly salutes Pluto as He is evacuated on longbed truck . . . the *SYSTEM* works.

THREE: Idle Idol

What is your god but an idol if that god neither moves you in conscience to resistance nor breaks into history as the God of the Exodus?

— Tom Reed
Jonah House
Baltimore, Md.

***Apologies to John the Evangelist, the American Bible Society, and the New York Times**

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 2*
political beliefs.

The first point is that Fr. King's view seems to be based almost entirely on what he may have read in the papers and seen on the TV. The mass media reports are largely based on what information and conjectures that governmental bodies such as the FBI, the CIA or the police authorities provide the editors and reporters, who themselves do little in verifying or investigating the reports themselves. Consequently, media networks are replete with emotional and inflammatory words such as "terrorists," "killers" and "destroyers of properties" in reference to the POW's.

THE WITNESS is providing historical facts and perspectives, which the mass media has not done. Another point is on the issue of so called "violence." If violence is interpreted as the use of physical force such as firearms, violence is often considered wrong for a minority seeking social change, whereas violent means are permissible if used to maintain order by a majority force in power. Thus Martin Luther King, Jr., even where his tactics were non-violent, was accused of being violent or inciting violence.

The Eleven Puerto Rican freedom fighters have consistently stated that they believe that armed struggle is necessary against the United States, which as a superpower is prepared and has been resorting to violent means to maintain its power. The more recent example of what violence our own government is capable of was the involvement in Vietnam War. We are still suffering the consequences from that mass violence. I have not heard of any appreciable number of individuals in this country being confined to prisons for their part in violence and destruction. Should we lock up our national and political leaders for their part in all that?

On the matter of violence, the churches have, more often than not, blessed violent means to resolving national and international problems in the name of God and country. My contention is that we must learn to be consistent in our application of ethical behavior — corporate and individual. What the FALN have been alleged to have done does not even come close to what many U.S. citizens proudly proclaim as the heritage of armed rebellion of this country against the British colonizers in the 18th century.

Last summer, the United Nations Decolonization Committee reaffirmed its previous position that the people of Puerto Rico have the right to self-determination, which they do not have as a colony of the United States, and furthermore that a committee be established to investigate the matter of repression of Puerto Rican patriots. The United Nations had also ruled that any means, including armed rebellion, could be used to seek freedom from oppression.

Basically, the discussion about "violence" or "non-violence" is a diversion from the main issue at hand: justice, and self-determination for a people long under military, political and economic domination of a superpower unwilling to let go for various self-interests. It's not as if those who moralize about non-violence for minority peoples or dissenters would themselves vigorously oppose violence and use of force by those in power to maintain the status quo.

The main purpose of public witness of the Eleven Puerto Rican POW's, under extremely repressive circumstances imposed by the ruling forces, where they are not even resorting to defending themselves in the courts — a unique form of protest and dissent in itself — is that they want self-determination for Puerto Rico and independence from the United States. The United States is not about to tolerate the kind of political stance being taken by these Puerto Rican patriots.

The Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War are sacrificing their lives as few people are willing to do (whether religious or non-religious) in behalf of many others who cannot or dare not express themselves for a free Puerto Rico.

THE WITNESS is to be commended for its commitment to perspectives — sadly lacking in mass media reporting — of those victimized and oppressed. After all, is this not what the Gospel is all about?

The Rev. S. Michael Yasutake
Evanston, Ill.

Amazing Logic

After reading the Letter to the Editor by Sheldon Vanauken in the February WITNESS, I suddenly realized that he is the author of *A Severe Mercy,* a simply wonderful book. I could not believe what he had written. I'm not completely sure of his reasoning in respect to his stand against the priesting of women. But what comes through is that Jesus was a man. The apostles were men. Therefore, women cannot become priests. If one were to carry his logic further, women should not be allowed to receive the body and the blood of Christ at the altar rail. For in receiving His body and His blood she might well become like the Christ. This logic can be carried even further: Women should be banned from the church for only men can be Christians. Amazing!

The Rev. Wendy S. Raynor
Pinetown, N.C.

Prooftexting Doesn't Pay

To Sheldon Vanauken I would like to say this: Yes, following your step-by-step logic, Jesus did perfectly the will of the Father and chose only men to be apostles. But from here on this type of logic no longer applies: It was not Jesus but the successors of the apostles who decided that only they could be bishops and *pass on* the priestly commission *to others*.

And how much the apostles knew about the will of the Father can be glimpsed from handy examples found in the Gospels: their reaction to the Transfiguration, their dispute over who is greatest, and the request of James and John to sit on either side of Jesus' throne, to name just a few. Anyway, haven't you wondered why the rest of the commissioning charge, Matthew's version, "do not go into Gentile territory . . . but to the lost sheep of the people of

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Israel," and "give without being paid," were not taken more literally by the emissaries of Jesus and their successors? Sophistry can always come up with rebuttals, so it doesn't pay to prooftext the Bible for evidence of one's exclusive right to God's grace.

Annette Jecker
W. Milford, N.J.

What About Junia?

Sheldon Vanauken claims that there were no women apostles, which is viewed as a telling argument against the ordination of women to the priesthood. Not so. The apostle Junia (the corrupt form of whose name, Junias) can be found in *Romans 16:7* along with St. Paul's high estimation of her and her fellow apostle Andronicus.

A Roman Catholic scholar, Bernadette Brooten, has ably demonstrated that Junia is the name of a woman. Moreover, it was consistently accepted in the Church as the name of a woman apostle until the 13th century. Her paper on this subject, "Junia . . . Outstanding among the Apostles," can be found in *Women Priests: A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration* edited by Leonard and Arlene Swidler (1977).

Brooten concludes: "In the light of *Romans 16:7* then, the assertion Jesus did not entrust the apostolic charge to women must be revised. The implications for women priests should be self-evident. If the first century Junia could be an apostle, it is hard to see how her 20th century counterpart should not be allowed even to become a priest." Ironically, the Society of St. Junia is mentioned on page 10 of the same WITNESS.

The Rev. Reginald G. Blaxton
Chicago, Ill.

Offers No Hope

The Rev. James Cone's article in the January WITNESS on the need for an international perspective toward human oppression unfortunately proposes democratic socialism as the humane alternative to capitalism. A growing number of Third World people would assert that the substitution of bureaucratic paternalism for free enterprise merely adds to the burden of their oppression. This alternative removes all hope for better times. An investigation into the achievements and dynamics of the world's economies would show decisively that all forms of socialism from benign democratic to totalitarian communistic are an abysmal failure.

Socialism maldistributes even necessities and removes the spark of creativity and initiative so vital to human economic and social improvement. Those people of the Third World who are today improving their situation and are justified in anticipating a better future are in those very places where socialism is being rejected and capitalistic free enterprise encouraged; e.g., Hong Kong, Singapore, Malasyia, even Sri Lanka. Doggedly socialist nations such as India tragically continue to see the gap between the few wealthy and the many poor grow while offering no hope for a better tomorrow.

Anne Steele
Belmont, Cal.

Must Promote Love

In reply to the article of the Rev. James H. Cone: If capitalism is "one of the most inhumane systems imagined by human beings," what is communism as administered by the Soviet Union? What kind of "inhumane" government do they have in India? If the quality of life in non-capitalist countries is examined, one finds the average person living under much oppression. Look at Poland. Look at Mozambique where capitalists were driven away by Marxist socialists, and the quality of life goes lower and lower every day. Look at Sweden where socialism has been rejected because it simply will not work.

One must look further than to a form of government for the relief of poverty. We only have to look at the founding of our own country for evidence of this fact. At Jamestown in 1606, John Smith had a rule: "no work, no food." This rule has worked for many years under various types of government. In order for people to work, they must have good educations. They must have strong family ties. They must have firm moral guidance by their community and church leaders.

Forms of government are not cruel in and of themselves. Greedy, unredeemed people are cruel. We must promote love between all humans. We must "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's . . ."

In a final point, the churches in this country own many shares of stock in GM, IBM, EXXON, etc. Why are they not getting together and voting their shares for managements of corporations that promote social welfare? This would be a real ecumenical movement.

Richard G. Antle
Philadelphia, Pa.

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Crew Helpful

May I say how very much I appreciate THE WITNESS. I was pleased to see the response of Louie Crew to the letters opposing homosexuality in the January issue. Dr. Crew was with our Clergy Continuing Education Day recently and was very helpful to us. He allows himself to be vulnerable in a way most of us won't or are not able. May the Spirit continue to nurture you in your ministry of critical analysis and discernment of God's activity in this world, and our part in it.

The Rev. Margaret Marquardt
Selkirk, Manitoba
Canada

(Editor's Note: Those readers who missed the October issue with Louis Crew's lead article "On the Ordination of Gays" can order it from THE WITNESS for $1.)

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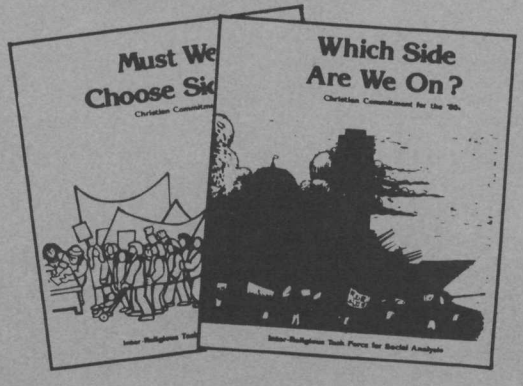

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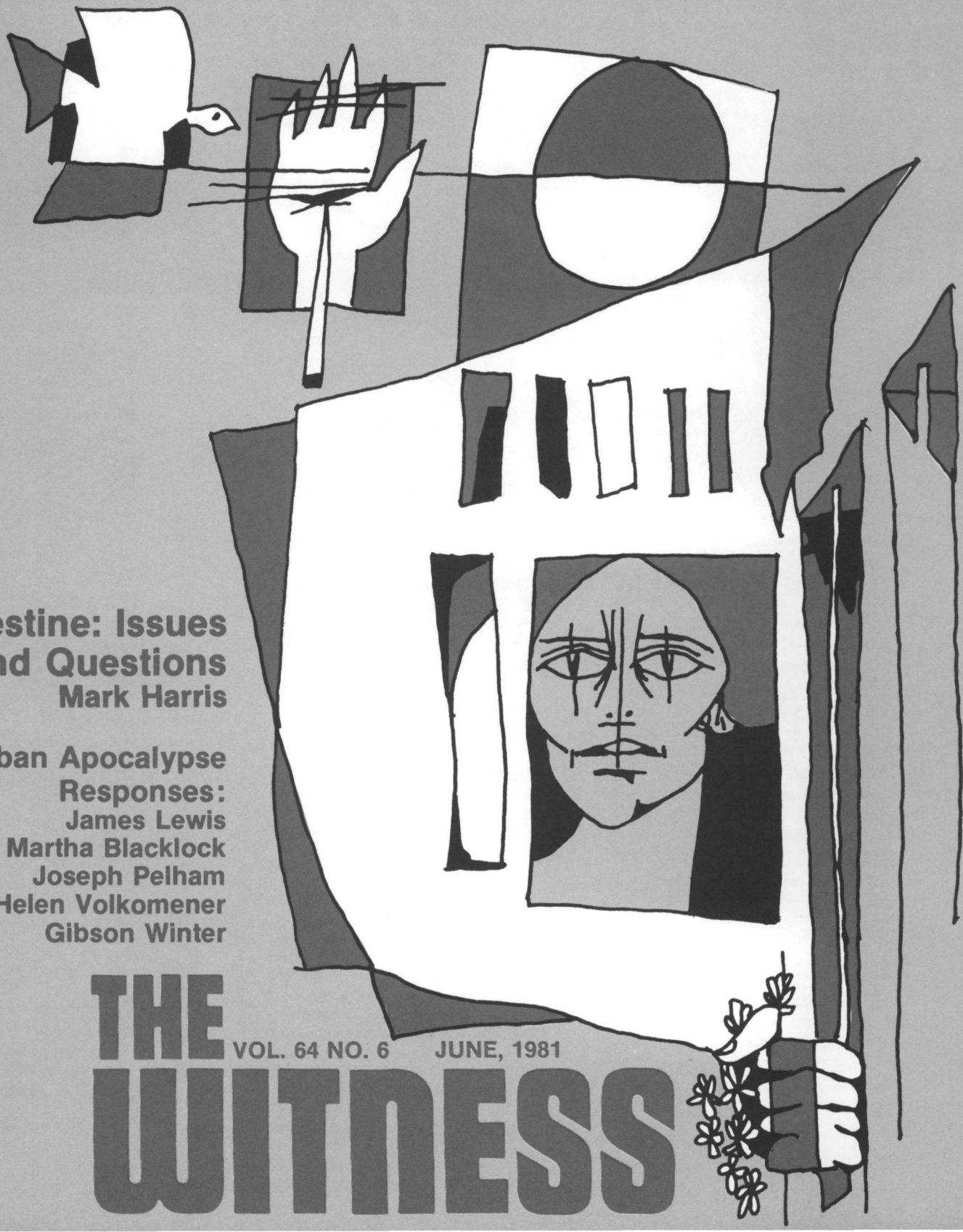

Palestine: Issues and Questions
Mark Harris

Urban Apocalypse Responses:
James Lewis
Martha Blacklock
Joseph Pelham
Helen Volkomener
Gibson Winter

THE WITNESS

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LETTERS

Praise From a Bishop

The February 1981 edition of THE WITNESS is a magnificent job of expressing the Christian Faith, Hope, Forgiveness, Sensitivity and Decision. I praise you for leadership in the church and in the world. Some of us cry for this prophetic witness and praise you for your Christian commitment.

The Rt. Rev. Robert B. Appleyard
Bishop of Pittsburgh

Dementi Corrects

The article about me, "How to Win While Losing," in the February issue of THE WITNESS, contained one serious error which I would like to correct.

I was not reconsidered as a candidate for Bishop of Alaska before Diocesan Convention. I became a candidate only by filing all the necessary papers at the time Convention convened. At that point a nominating speech was not needed, although my nominator did state briefly that I was not only being nominated by our congregation but also by many persons in other places. In other words, I became a candidate by fulfilling the canons which pertain to nominations from the floor.

When I withdrew my name the great show of affirmation was the *murmuring* of "I love you" from persons around me. Now, when Mary Eunice Oliver, God love her, believes something, she *yells!* My supporters in Anchorage were quieter.

Finally, I do not judge Bishop Cochran for what he did or did not do. He has been supportive of me and my ministry in his years as our bishop. He is his own and God's man, not swayed by factions within the Alaskan Diocese. There are those who are convinced that he should never have let this uppity woman leave the bush. He took that chance, and I love him for it.

The Rev. Jean Dementi
North Pole, Alaska

Oliver Responds

I am sorry that I recorded that shift from exclusion to inclusion incorrectly. Would that my epistles were perfect, but then, neither are St. Paul's.

Mary Eunice Oliver
San Diego, Cal.

Christ Our Brother

It is precisely because of original and forward-looking articles like "Popularizing Non-Sexist Liturgies," by Martha Blacklock, that I read, enjoy, am challenged and stimulated by THE WITNESS. My ears, too, have "popped" and there is no returning to my former world view. I favor Rite II over Rite I partly because it largely avoids referring to humanity as a group of men.

I wish to congratulate Ms. Blacklock on her article and her pioneering work with the Mother Thunder Mission. However, I do take exception to her reluctance to refer to Jesus as God's Son. (I understood *"O Jesus Christ, firstborn of creation"* in the revised Gloria as evidence of that reluctance.) In the Incarnation, God entered our world and accepted freely the limitations imposed by that world. One of those limitations entails being either female or male, one of the two. God chose to become fully present in one fully human who happened to be male. This is not theology, but fact. In so doing God surely was not acting out of any exclusive bent, but rather out of the recognition of human limitations. Jesus was fully human (as opposed to fully male) and embraced all people everywhere. Just because he wasn't black doesn't mean he is not the Savior of all darker skinned people. In Jesus' maleness I perceive no statement of male superiority, but rather a statement about the limited nature of human existence.

I hope that Ms. Blacklock is able to accept and proclaim the salvation offered in Christ our brother in the same way she could were he Christ our sister. Who knows, when Christ returns to complete God's work he may well be a she!

The Rev. Brooke Myers
Gridley, Cal.

COVER

This month's cover was adapted by *Beth Seka from a graphic by Kamal* Boullata, whose art appears on p. 4 and p. 6. Boullata was born in Jerusalem and has exhibited paintings in major *Arab capitals, Rome, Florence, Paris,* London and Copenhagen. Presently he lives and paints in Washington, D.C.

Projecting Prejudice

"Popularizing Non-Sexist Liturgies," by Martha Blackman *(sic)* does not excite me; being a child of God through Christ, now that excites me.

For a long time I have known my kinship to God. I am delighted to be the daughter of God, made in the image of His Holy Spirit. When I read the creation poem about Eve coming from the side of Adam, I feel honored. God is showing me how His Spirit was set free to be a separate person of the Three in One. What more could a female want than to be formed after that One of God which gives comfort, nurture, grace, insight and birth?

Reading scripture, one sees that the Holy Spirit never calls attention to Herself, but draws honor to Christ and the father. To sexist women projecting their prejudice on others, I would say,

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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

New SST: Threat to Freedom?

Theologian Jon Sobrino noted in THE WITNESS recently that the National Security State in Latin America is an idol which demands victims. "That is the ultimate reason why people get killed," he said.

Commenting on this reality, liberation theologians in Central America have predicted that while South Americans are paying for liberation struggles by undergoing torture and death as well as imprisonment, repression in North America would likely escalate on a more "intellectual" ideological level.

In that context, it appears that a dangerous legal apparatus has been set up in the United States which may soon begin demanding ideological victims — the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism (SST). According to the *Washington Post,* the Senate Subcommittee would "keep watch over Communist activities in the United States and would have added jurisdiction over terrorism."

Headed by Jeremiah Denton (R-S.C.), who was elected with the aid of the Moral Majority, it is comprised of three Republicans and two Democrats, the latter being Joseph Biden of Delaware and Patrick Leahy of Vermont. Other Republican members include John East of North Carolina, elected with the support of Jesse Helms (who sees creeping Communism as the greatest threat to this country and heads the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Hemispheric Affairs); and Orrin Hatch of Utah. From Hatch's office, rumors have emanated that the SST would investigate the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and the Institute for Policy Studies, two progressive research centers, and *Mother Jones* magazine.

One of the forces behind the new Subcommittee is the Heritage Foundation, a New Right think tank. A Heritage Foundation report to the Reagan Administration suggested that the targets of domestic security investigations be not only "the several Communist parties" but also "clergymen, students, businessmen, entertainers, labor officials, journalists

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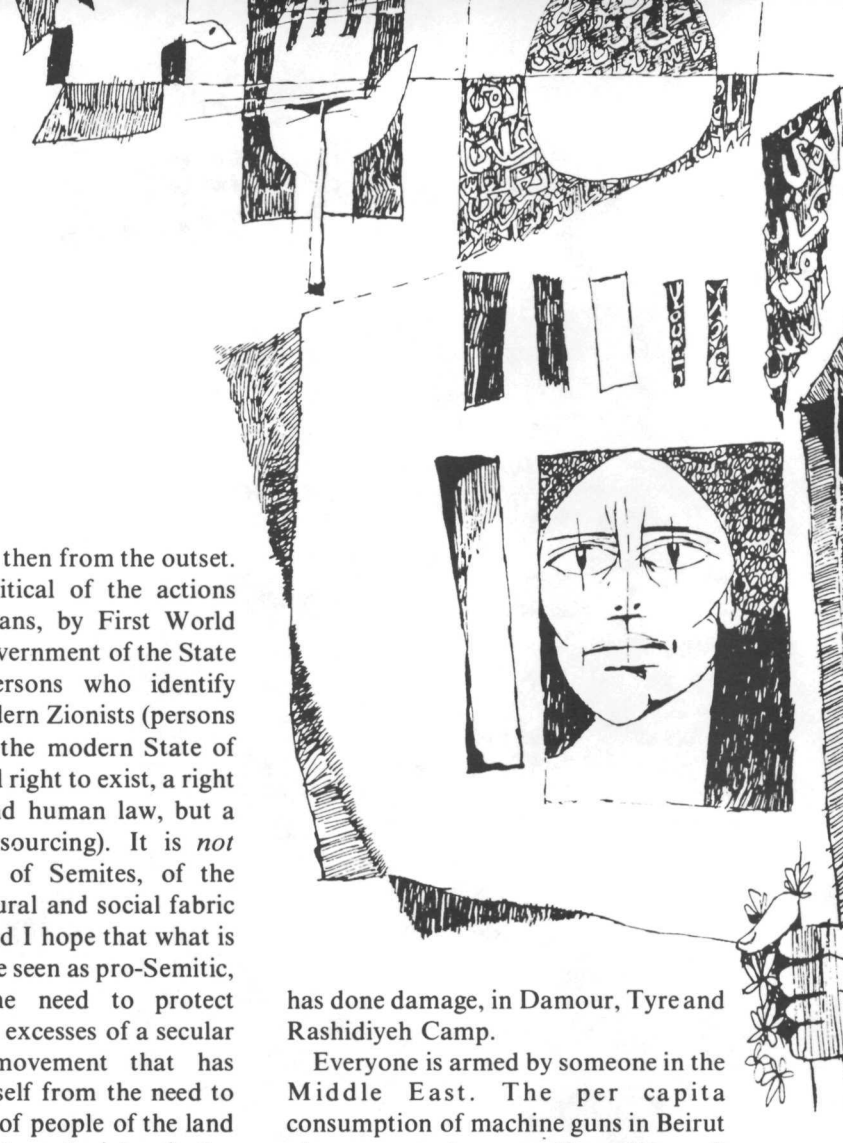

Palestine: Issues and Questions

Shall we extend the hand of friendship to this people, as a people with a voice?
What is the PLO?
What do Palestinians ask of the world community?

by Mark Harris

It is almost impossible to write about Palestine without making someone angry or defensive or accusatory. On the other hand, to defend the State of Israel not only makes most Arabs angry, it makes many Third World peoples suspicious, for there are elements in the birth of the *modern* State of Israel that smack of good old Western colonialism. There is a lot to be angry about.

The focus of the anger of Arabs and other Third World peoples is the charge of European colonial expansion. The focus of the anger of Israel, many Jews throughout the world, and others who support the State of Israel, is the charge of anti-Semitism. Admittedly, Jews throughout the world have been shamefully treated, subjected to genocidal policies, and made the content of myths of darkness and evil power. And to risk even the touch of a label such as "anti-Semitic" is frightening. We of the Christian community know how dark that charge can be, for deep inside we know that we also have been the source of such prejudices. Almost in reaction to our own sin, we are in danger of judging *any* criticism of Israel to be anti-Semitic — a reaction not missed by those who would like all criticism of the State of Israel to be muted.

Let me be clear then from the outset. This article *is* critical of the actions taken by Europeans, by First World powers, by the government of the State of Israel, by persons who identify themselves as modern Zionists (persons who believe that the modern State of Israel has a special right to exist, a right not of nations and human law, but a right of special sourcing). It is *not* critical of Jews, of Semites, of the religious and cultural and social fabric of Judaism. Indeed I hope that what is written here will be seen as pro-Semitic, supportive of the need to protect Judaism from the excesses of a secular and European movement that has simply excused itself from the need to listen to the cries of people of the land now dispossessed by colonial attitudes which are not native to Judaism or Semites.

In early November 1980, in the backwash of the election, two Associated Press articles appeared together. The headlines read, *Israeli Planes Bomb Lebanon in Retaliation,* and *Churches Urge PLO Recognition.* There they were: the essence of two concerns that have followed me since I visited Palestinians in Lebanon this past year.

I don't know the details of the raid by the Israeli Armed Forces. I do know that they have used in the past and continue to use American-made weapons. I have seen places where the bombs have dropped, where the shelling has done damage, in Damour, Tyre and Rashidiyeh Camp.

Everyone is armed by someone in the Middle East. The per capita consumption of machine guns in Beirut alone must be appalling. We sell weapons to the Israelis, and when we don't do that we support their defense needs with funds. We share then some of the responsibility for the use of these weapons in the protracted conflicts of the Middle East.

It is necessary to ask a first question: Why are we selling weapons to those whose enemies are people they have pushed from the land on which they lived?

The National Council of Churches of Christ have stated that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the "only organized voice of the Palestinian people and should be a party to peace negotiations in the Middle East." I believe that is true. The real

The Rev. Mark Harris, interim rector of St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Newark, Del., and editor of *Plumbline,* traveled in the Middle East recently.

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breakthrough, however, is the underlying recognition that Palestinians *are* a people, and if a people, then justified in seeking redress of grievances, justice, and a hearing before the other nations of the world.

Given the fact that Palestinians are a people, that they are organized, and that the PLO is the voice of that people, a second question arises: Shall we extend the hand of friendship to this people, as a people with voice?

I.

Palestinians exist. Despite massive efforts to make them nameless, homeless persons, they do not go away. Theorists of the Zionist movement have historically wished they did not exist, for Palestinians have been the *de facto* occupants of the land of Palestine. When this land was designated as the location for the modern State of Israel, Zionists needed, and needed us, to believe that Palestine was a land without a people for a people without a land.

Western nations have supported the establishment of the State of Israel. This support grew as successive waves of anti-Semitism, crisis, war and guilt swept the Western world. Each wave added to the desire to see Jews go somewhere else. That Palestine was the place grew in favor, and with it the notion that the people of the land, the Palestinians, were of no account and were to be ignored.

Western nations have practiced colonialism for a long time. Here was a new chance, one with a twist: the support of a Western state in the Middle East and at the same time a "solution" for all the guilt and residual anti-Semitism in Western culture. We could "send them home."

The defenders of Jewish settlements in Palestine have well used colonial attitudes to justify their actions, playing on the feelings and conscience of the West. And finally, they have used the most secular of Western criteria for legitimacy — success. The story grew: where there was nothing, something was made; where there was desert, the flowers bloomed. A primitive land was made modern, a rich land weaned from the dry desert of poverty. The justification by better works arose.

Palestinians, victims of centuries of occupation, suzerainty and conquest, often saw themselves as a subject people, washed up on the coastal plains and interior valleys of the routes between great powers. Their self-image, reflected in the mirrored reports of others, was seen darkly, waveringly. It was hard for them to understand or value themselves, as it is for any oppressed people. Sometimes they too seemed to want to see themselves go away. No matter how much Zionists or Western nations wished Palestinians did not exist or would go away, the fact is that *Palestinians do exist as a people.* They are therefore capable of being wronged not just as individuals, but as a people.

The NCC statement confirms a position already taken by the United Nations, in which the PLO has special Observer Status. The Palestinians are now recognized by many nations as a people organized to present their case before the nations of the world.

II.

The question of friendship with the Palestinian people is not an easy one. The experience of occupation, conquest, and exile have historically and currently caused the Palestinians to look to larger realities for hope. Tenacious love of the land, a love witnessed by generations of steadfastness in the face of foreign domination, a sense of unity with Arab peoples, and a mixture of nomadic, agricultural and urban values, have provided a rich and particular cultural backdrop for the character of the Palestinian people. Because their history is quite unlike our own, they are very unlike us on many levels.

Perhaps for Americans, and particularly the U.S. Christian community, the most difficult single barrier to empathy with the Palestinian people is their use of arms in the struggle against the State of Israel. It does not sit well with us. Palestinians view this armed struggle as justified resistance to the idea that they ought to assimilate or evaporate into the countries where they have moved as refugees, or become the acquiescent underclass in Israel. For a variety of reasons this resistance has most often been characterized as terrorism by the U.S. press, which curiously, rarely labels Israeli actions as "terrorist."

So strong is the aversion to terrorism that calling Palestinians terrorists skews our perceptions of the struggle in which they are engaged. It is difficult for Americans even to begin to examine the tactics used by the Palestinians, their organization, or the ends they seek. Having labeled them as terrorists, the issue is settled. No real examination takes place, and the State of Israel benefits from our uncritical support.

It is part of the tragedy of our relationship with the Palestinian people that the use of arms, by which they both became organized and found a means of forcing their claims to be taken seriously, has become the basis on which to reject them as a people and charge them as international criminals. It is difficult for us to examine the Palestinian use of arms, to distinguish between the various forms and tactics of resistance used, and to consider the extent to which Palestinians have made legitimate use of arms. In this we have not been helped by the standard charge by the State of Israel that each and every armed attack by Palestinians is an act of terrorism. It is much easier to dismiss the Palestinian claims for redress if they

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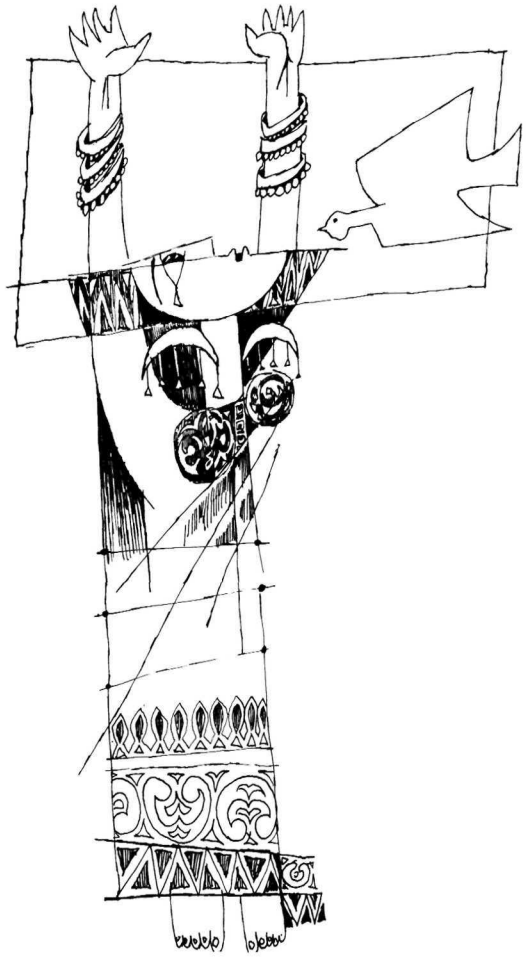
are viewed only as terrorists.

Terrorism is a tactical matter. It serves political or ideological ends as part of a general strategy. Its object is to terrify people, particularly civilians, and to force into public view concerns that otherwise will not be heard. Terrorist actions fly in the face of several dictates of Christian morals, not the least of which is that body of thought concerning the conduct of a just war and the protection of civilian populations in war.

We must remember, however, that at one time or another almost all nations have used such tactics. The birth of modern Israel was accompanied and supported by terrorist actions against the Palestinian inhabitants. Prime Minister Menachem Begin was himself a terrorist.

The United States has engaged in tactics in Viet Nam which were terrorist in all but name, by cooperating in actions with the South Vietnamese which involved control by terror. But perhaps the most important use of terrorism in the world is by the nuclear powers. The United States and the Soviet Union are without doubt



involved in terror tactics in amassing large nuclear weapons systems. Indeed, we call this the "balance of terror." This tactic exists primarily to put fear in the enemy but is growing as a tactic to control national populations; witness the extent to which scare tactics are used to justify larger and larger military expenditures by the United States. The point that nuclear weapons systems are terrorist does not escape peoples of the world, and we are often accused of terrorism as a result.

The armed force of the Palestinians is a guerrilla army, without the legitimacy of established government behind it; but it is not a mere collection of small "terrorist groups." Particularly in Lebanon, where the armed presence of the PLO is so very evident, that presence functions not only as an attack force, but also provides protection to a country torn by civil war, one in which Palestinians have much at stake. The same PLO that acts as the central governing authority for the armed force also fulfills other functions of government, making provisions for the ill and wounded, for health clinics, and for worker cooperatives. The PLO is extensively involved in political and social matters. It has become the voice

What Is the PLO? by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod

More than 400 representatives of the dispersed Palestinian people convened in the first Palestine National Council (PNC) meeting in May 1964. That Council meeting committed the Palestinian people to liberating their homeland, and there the Council decided to create the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to represent and to express the will of the Palestinian people in that liberation process.

In the structure of the PLO, the Palestine National Council is the highest representative body of the Palestinian people. The Council is the authoritative body that establishes and promulgates national goals and policies. In its ranks are representatives of the Palestinian people both inside and outside the occupied territories — including representatives of the General Unions of Palestinian Workers, Women, Students and Writers; the Palestine Red Crescent; the Palestinian Cinema and Arts Institution; and representatives of all the major Palestinian political and military organizations. In turn, the Council elects an Executive Committee which is equivalent to a government. The Executive Committee oversees different departments of the PLO that deal with health, welfare, education, arts and culture, diplomacy, and other affairs.

At present the Council has about 300 members representing broad sectors of the Palestinian people; the Executive Committee (of which Yasser Arafat is Chairman) has 15 members.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has acquired the legitimacy of representing the Palestinian people. It acquired that legitimacy first from its own people; Palestinian associations, groups, and communities in the Arab world and the Israeli-occupied areas accept the formulation of their goals, the methods of achieving these goals, and the various edicts, rules, and regulations which the organization has issued as theirs.

Briefly, the primary goal which has been accepted is that of the liberation of Palestine, which entails the restoration of Palestinian national sovereignty. The ultimate goal of the Palestine Liberation Organization is to

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Dr. Abu-Lughod, a professor at Northwestern University, is a member of the Palestine National Council. Reprinted from *Afro-Americans Stand Up for Middle East Peace*, edited by James Zogby and Jack O'Dell.

of the Palestinian people in international arenas, particularly in pleading the case of the Palestinian people before the United States.

That Palestinians have engaged in terrorism cannot be denied. But they are not unique in this. The Israeli armed forces have conducted many operations into southern Lebanon that have served no purpose except to terrorize the inhabitants of camps and their Lebanese neighbors. Israel has given arms and aid to so-called Christian forces, who in turn have committed acts of terrorism. The infamy of terrorism is shared by those we call friend and enemy alike.

In part the issue of terrorism is a bogus one. Many actions taken by a "friendly" guerrilla or resistance movement are viewed as legitimate which if done by "unfriendly" people would be viewed as terrorism. If such actions are part of a legitimated struggle, they are placed under the rubric of warfare. If they are viewed as violent individual or small group actions, they are seen simply as the work of crazed terrorists. Of course, the concern about terrorism is vitally important. Some of the actions claimed by the PLO as their own are without doubt terrorist. And here, at the crux of the matter, the question must be raised again: Shall we extend the hand of friendship to the Palestinian people, organized and voiced in the PLO, knowing that the organization has on this or that occasion used terror tactics?

III.

What is the claim that Palestinians make on the world community? What do they want that makes them take up arms and fight? What possible claim would they have on us for friendship?

One Palestinian of whom I asked these questions while in Lebanon responded, "Ours is an easily understood desire. It is not complicated by ideology or theology. It is not a matter for much discussion. We want to go home." Remember, for Palestinians "going home" is to a home of recent memory, no more than 33 years old. It is quite different from the Zionist desire to "go home" to a place as much ideological as real.

Israel has a Law of Return, which covers the right of Jews throughout the world to return home. For most Jews that return is not to a place of personal memory, but to a place of promise. Palestinian refugees who wish to return to their homeland of only a few years ago, cannot easily do so.

Palestinians are demanding a redress of grievences; they were forced to leave Palestine and now, as from that first day, they want to go home. And, in an age of liberation struggles, for the first time they want to go home to a place that is really theirs, no longer subject to colonialism, occupation, or conquest.

So badly do they want to return home, with a sense of that place as their home, that negotiation and compromise can take place concerning the establishment of a separate Palestinian state whose relations with Israel might well include more and more interchange and commerce, with less friction and armed conflict. But for that to take place, indeed for anything to take place that gives integrity to the hopes of the Palestinian people, we must begin, as have the NCC and the UN to accept that: the Palestinian people are organized; they do have a voice; the

Continued on page 15

establish a unitary, nonsectarian democratic state for all Palestinians irrespective of creed, national origin, or language. The Organization believes that such goals will be attained only through a national struggle patterned after the wars of national liberation waged by the formerly colonized.

In the conduct of that struggle, the Palestine Liberation Organization has sought and obtained the assistance of oppressed peoples throughout the world and has further obtained considerable support from established states that view Israel as an agent of the West in the Arab world. Thus the socialist system of power has supported the PLO; the Afro-Asian states have supported the Palestinians' struggle; and African and Latin American movements of national liberation have supported them as well. Considerable sectors of societies in the United States and Western Europe also have extended support to the Palestinians, to the chagrin of their governments.

As a consequence of this broad international support and the active political campaigns of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the international community as it is legally organized in the United Nations conferred legitimacy on the Palestinian struggle as well as on the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Initially the United Nations in 1948 recognized the rights of the Palestinian people to repatriation (Resolution 194); it has reaffirmed that right almost every subsequent year.

Beginning in 1969, as a direct consequence of the armed struggle of the Palestinian people and political support for the PLO from the socialist system of power and the Afro-Asian and some Euro-American powers, the General Assembly has recognized the status of the Palestinian people as a colonized people entitled to independence. Several UN resolutions have affirmed the right of the Palestinian people to struggle by all means to attain independence. The culmination of steady recognition of the Palestinian struggle for independence and the legitimacy of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people came in October and November 1974 when the UN General Assembly invited the Palestine Liberation Organization to attend the twenty-ninth session and address it on the aspirations of the Palestinian people. After the address delivered by Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee, and the ensuing debate, the General Assembly passed two historic resolutions. One recognized the right of the Palestine people to independence and sovereignty in Palestine. The other conferred full Observer Status on the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. ■

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El Salvador:

Bishops Ask Reagan To End Intervention

Seventy-eight Episcopal bishops, in a statement submitted to the White House in April, called on President Ronald Reagan to end the United States' policy of intervention in El Salvador.

Signers of the one-page statement, circulated by the Rt. Rev. Robert R. Spears, Jr., Bishop of Rochester, represent both conservative and liberal elements of the Episcopal Church. They called on the president to end all military assistance to El Salvador, to adopt a more humane refugee policy for fleeing Salvadorans and to push for a negotiated end to hostilities through international mediation.

Noting that a full year had passed since the assassination of San Salvador's Roman Catholic Archbishop, Oscar Romero, the bishops said that they wanted to express their solidarity with their "brother bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and other religious leaders" and their "deepest concern and anguish" about deteriorating conditions in the Central American country and the escalation of brutal violence that has resulted in over 10,000 deaths since Romero's assassination, "many in martyrdom for their faith."

Describing the conflict as one of the "oppressed against the oppressor," the bishops praised Romero and many other Roman Catholics as champions of the Salvadoran poor. The United States, in ignoring both Romero's condemnation of the repressive Salvadoran government and his warning to former President Carter to refrain from assisting the government militarily, heightened the conflict by "the increasing introduction of U.S. arms and advisors to El Salvador," the bishops said.

"We therefore call upon all outside parties, including the United States, to end immediately all forms of military aid, assistance or credits to El Salvador.

"We call upon the State Department to grant to all Salvadorans entering this country in flight from the violence in their homeland the status of extended voluntary departure, even as previously extended under similar conditions to refugees of Viet Nam, Laos, and the Khmer Republic."

The bishops also called for "immediate and sustained efforts" by the State Department to press for a negotiated end to the conflict through the mediation of "disinterested third parties."

In a letter mailed along with the statement to 200 active and retired bishops, Bishop Spears said the committee was "impressed by the strong support given the people of El Salvador by our brothers in the Roman Catholic hierarchy. We feel the need to add our voices to theirs."

Bishop Spears and the committee also asked signing bishops to urge their local parishes and clergy to adopt similar statements and send copies to President Reagan, Secretary of State Haig and members of Congress.

"If there are refugees from El Salvador in your area," he added, "seek ways in which the diocese and parishes might offer them assistance and protect them by all legal means from deportation back to their country."

The nine Episcopal bishops who composed the statement are from West Virginia, Ohio, Utah, Michigan, New York, Florida, Washington, D.C., and the southwest.

The bishops who signed the statement sent to the White House are:

John M. Allin, Presiding Bishop
John E. Hines, Retired Presiding Bishop
Francisco Reus-Froylan, Puerto Rico
Jose Antonio Ramos, Assistant, Puerto Rico
Duncan Montgomery Gray, Jr., Mississippi
Robert Shaw Kerr, Vermont
Frederic C. Lawrence, retired
Matthew Paul Bigliardi, Oregon
Francis William Lickfield, retired
Nelson M. Burroughs, retired
Brice Sidney Sanders, Coadjutor, East Carolina
Roger W. Blanchard, retired
Charles F. Hall, retired
George N. Hunt, Rhode Island
Jonathan G. Sherman, retired
Thomas A. Fraser, North Carolina
A. Heath Light, Southwestern Virginia
Lloyd Edward Gressle, Bethlehem
William C. Frey, Colorado
David Reed, Kentucky
Robert B. Appleyard, Pittsburgh
John Harris Burt, Ohio
Edward Randolph Welles, retired
H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., Michigan
Ned Cole, Central New York
C. Charles Vache, Southern Virginia
John T. Walker, Washington, D.C.
William B. Spofford, Assistant, Washington, D.C.
George Leslie Cadigan, retired
Charles T. Gaskell, Milwaukee
H. Irving Mayson, Suffragan, Michigan
Wilburn C. Campbell, retired
Charles E. Bennison, Western Michigan
Joseph T. Heistand, Arizona
John S. Spong, Newark
William F. Creighton, retired
Morris F. Arnold, Suffragan, Massachusetts
William E. Swing, California
Arthur E. Walmsley, Coadjutor, Connecticut
Jackson E. Gilliam, Montana
James W. Montgomery, Chicago
Quintin E. Primo, Jr., Suffragan, Chicago
Philip E. Elder, Asbury Park, New Jersey
Robert P. Atkinson, West Virginia
Otis Charles, Utah
Paul Moore, Jr., New York
David E. Richards, Coral Gables, Florida
Richard M. Trelease, Jr., Rio Grande
Robert R. Spears, Jr., Rochester
William Crittenden, retired
Philip A. Smith, New Hampshire
Paul A. Kellogg, retired
Rustin R. Kimsey, Eastern Oregon
Robert H. Mize, Assistant Bishop, San Joaquin
Lyman C. Ogilby, Pennsylvania
Arthur A. Vogel, West Missouri
George E. Rath, retired
Harvey D. Butterfield, retired
Robert C. Rusack, Los Angeles
G. P. Mellick Belshaw, Suffragan Bishop, New Jersey
George T. Masuda, retired
Edward Crowther, Assistant Bishop, California
Daniel Corrigan, retired
Robert L. DeWitt, retired
William H. Marmion, retired
Edward W. Jones, Indianapolis
Furman C. Stough, Alabama
Bennett J. Sims, Atlanta
William C. Wantland, Eau Claire
Donald H. V. Hallock, retired
Frederick B. Wolf, Maine
William Louis Stevens, Fond du Lac
Walter D. Dennis, Suffragan Bishop, New York
Wesley Frensdorff, Nevada
G. Edward Haynsworth, El Salvador
Harold B. Robinson, Western New York
Alexander D. Stewart, Western Massachusetts
Wilbur E. Hogg, Albany

Vietnam II

The President sent 15 military advisers
to El Salvador today,
along with some decrepit,
once automatic rifles
and a few derelict trucks —
little enough to crush
a courageous rebellion
by millions of too-long exploited people
against a brutal and unjust regime.
"We will never again send combat troops
unless we intend to win,"
said our President . . .

The President sent 30 more
military advisers to El Salvador today,
assuring us that they won't fire
unless first fired upon.
Along with them went new helicopters
equipped with the latest weapons
for guerrilla warfare,
including the infamous
disfiguring and deadly napalm.
"We will never again send combat troops
unless we intend to win,"
said our President . . .

The President sent the Green Berets
to El Salvador today.
Along with them he promised
$25 million worth
of the most modern military supplies,
and suggested giving our nation's
young men "a taste of the draft."

Meanwhile, at the President's request
the CIA is gearing up in preparation
for renewed domestic surveillance
of those who cannot support the President
in his strident march to war.
In the name of "anti-terrorism"
citizens will once again be subject
to mail monitors and phone taps.

How much longer will it be
until the President,
our Lone Ranger of 1981,
sends combat troops to El Salvador,
composed of unemployed
and minority youth
who will be forced to fight once again
an elusive army of the oppressed,
in a war we cannot win?

— Mary Jane Brewster

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'Urban Apocalypse' Response

THE WITNESS magazine in its March and April issues published the reflections of six Episcopal Bishops as they pondered their roles vis a vis the urban mission of the church during troubled times. Sitting in on conversations with Robert L. DeWitt, WITNESS editor, were Bishops John Burt of Ohio, Otis Charles of Utah, John Spong of Newark, Paul Moore of New York, John Krumm, Suffragan for American Congregations in Europe, and Archbishop Ted Scott of the Anglican Church of Canada.

THE WITNESS for this issue asked six respondents representing a variety of viewpoints to comment on the series. They are the Rev. James Lewis, pastor of St. John's Episcopal Church, Charleston, W. Va.; the Rev. Martha Blacklock, vicar of St. Clement's, New York City; the Rev. Joseph Pelham, Dean of Students, Colgate Rochester Divinity School/Bexley Hall/Crozier Theological Seminary; Sister Helen Volkomener, Executive Director of the Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry (CCUM); the Rev. Gibson Winter, Professor of Christianity and Society at Princeton Theological Seminary; and Lydia Lopez who serves on the Board of the Episcopal Urban Caucus and as president of United Neighborhood Organization (UNO), Los Angeles. Their observations follow, except for that of Ms. Lopez. She was in an auto accident which precluded her meeting the deadline. At last report injuries were minor and she is well.

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Ten Church Keys In Other Pockets

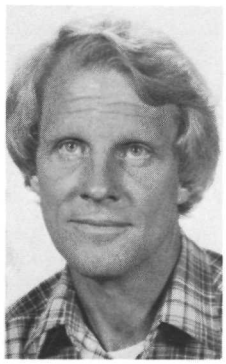
by James Lewis

It was like an ABC news report covering some great disaster — the urban apocalypse.

"And now to John Burt in Ohio . . ."

"And for a reaction to the latest events, here's Paul Moore in New York and Otis Charles in Utah . . ."

"For an international response we hear from Ted Scott in Canada and John Krumm in Europe . . ."



What they finally said was that the cities are a mess and the church must become a new place:

— A place of urban stategy.

— A primary community where the real issues, the gut issues of life can be worked at, can be shared.

— Tough centers of redemption.

— Places where "band-aid ministry" can take place, where people who are wounded can be patched up.

— A place where the neighborhood can be aroused from apathy, do meaningful social analysis and be enabled to stand up to the powers which control their lives from outside their community.

— A place where people could see the connection between disintegrating cities and the arms race.

The concern then for those of us in the parish, on the battle lines, centers around just how that can happen *specifically*. For example, what will it mean for an Appalachian urban parish to be "a tough center of redemption."

Let me hazard a few suggestions.

To be a place of urban strategy will mean that there are at least 10 church keys in pockets of people who aren't members of your church. That means that a gay group, a black lung group, a narcotics anonymous group and a black mobilization group have access to your place — the church — whenever they wish to plan and work toward making their place in the city more livable. Free access to the property is basic.

To be a primary community dealing with gut issues will be to have a radioactive calendar in the church office.

Monday — noon — Black Lung Meeting
Wednesday — 7:30 p.m. — Auditorium — Mayor meets with Concerned Citizens Group (who, by the way, will be questioning government money being spent on a civic center rather than housing for the poor)
Thursday — 6 p.m. — Pot-luck supper and Lay Enablement Committee Meeting to plan Lenten Lay Ministry Series
Friday — 8 p.m. — Food Cooperative meeting and Square Dance
Sunday — Adult Class — "Abortion: A Theological Case In Defense of The Pro-Choice Position"

To be a tough center of redemption will mean to give space to a hospital union organizing meeting when two members of the church are on the hospital board. It will mean official church representation at a City Council Meeting with a group of women who are seeking a shelter for battered women but who can't get zoning because prominent business leaders, some in the Episcopal Church, don't want it in "our neighborhood." It means saying on the radio or a TV interview that to be gay is not a sin and to see that proclamation as evangelism.

Band-aids? Since wounds smell, test the church by the way it smells. Does it smell like a refugee center? The church must claim its place as a refugee center, welcoming urban refugees, those who have been beaten out of their land and heritage by the system. Since the opening of the church soup kitchen, there are a variety of new odors which fill the halls and meeting rooms in the church. Chicken noodle soup, urine, cheap wine, and the smell of wet wool worn by an "urban camper" sleeping under a nearby bridge are familiar aromas in a refugee center church.

A place where people are aroused to fight the outside interests which control their lives will be gauged by how a church mimeograph machine is used. Has the local church given the newly formed Citizens for a Fair Tax Assessment access to the mimeograph machine? You see, they need it to challenge the coal companies (owned by outsiders) to pay tax on the mineral rights of the land so that the county can have decent schools, sewers and roads.

A place where the connection between decimated cities and the arms race can be seen might well take focus around church office space given to outside groups. On the second floor of St. John's there are two such offices. One houses Operation Outreach, a counseling service for Vietnam vets. The other is a Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD). Between those offices is a meeting room where anti-war rallies are planned and where Vietnam vets are trying to salvage what's left from America's last colonial effort. The connections are being made, slowly and painfully.

In an Appalachian state where outsiders come for our coal to fuel the nation and our men to fight the wars, the

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church will have to learn Harvey Cox's message; "Enough." The test of how well we've learned it will finally be registered over keys, church calendars, parish house smells, the use of mimeograph machines, and how much conflict over real issues we're willing to let in the door each day when the sexton opens up the church for Morning Prayer.

* * *

Apocalyptic Dilemma: Two-Shirt Rationalizing

by Martha Blacklock

"What are we to do, then?"
"Whoever has two shirts must give one to someone who has none . . ."

The urban apocalypse, like the nuclear apocalypse, is the problem of rich people — i.e., those of us with two shirts — just as white racism is white people's problem. People who say we follow Christ, who stand still to hear Christ's Gospel read, who believe that Christ's judgment reflects the true order of God — surely we understand about two shirts.

Yet we imagine we can effectively preach the good news in cities, while dropping off our third shirt for the rummage sale, while wearing our look-raggedy-so-you-won't-get-mugged clothes among people for whom looking fashionable is the only affordable sacrament of dignity, while rehearsing our guilt. ("Inner city women are the strongest people in the world," said someone who knows. "We have to be. And we don't need anybody else's problems, too.")

In our search for bigger band-aids we move from soup kitchens, to political maneuvering, to manipulating business, or trying to. "But we of the church," in Ted Scott's words, "are a part of that middle class that can be manipulated by being kept relatively comfortable."

"Can the church," he asks, "become a primary community where the real issues, the gut issues of life can be worked at?" Can we dare to choose to have one shirt in a social and economic order built on the Gospel that no one can have too many shirts — and they'd better have the right labels, too?

If not, I suspect we'll continue to fake rationalizations for our having shirts, and their having none — all those -isms that mutilate the body of Christ. And consequently, we'll be sure to find ourselves, at our apocalypse, stammering out, "When did we see you without a shirt?"

In the meantime, let's walk to the mailbox. I'm expecting a box from Wippell's. My fine new shirts.

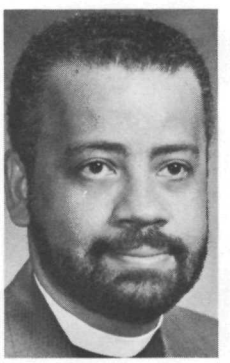
* * *

'No Alternatives' Great Hoax on U.S. Public

by Joseph Pelham

Last November, 28% of the electorate cast its ballots for Ronald Wilson Reagan. It can be speculated that a significant portion of the Reagan vote was a judgment on an administration which had not earned through performance the right to govern for another four years.

When that portion of the Reagan vote is joined with the vote for minor candidates and with the sizeable number of voters who once again stayed home on election day, it is clear that the issue of *alternatives* dominated the 1980 election. A strong dissatisfaction with the *status quo* led persons to seek the only alternatives they perceived to be available.



It is this same issue which is a central theme in the series on the urban apocalypse in THE WITNESS.

The absence of alternatives is suggested in the helplessness of the people of Utah, as noted by Otis Charles, in the face of the nuclear, economic and environmental insanity which the MX Missile System represents. John Burt chronicles ultimately futile efforts to implement alternatives to corporate and governmental policies destructive to the Youngstown community. Ted Scott describes the idolatrous commitment to the great god Technology which permits no rivals *(alternatives)* and entraps even those who manipulate the levers of power in corporate society.

Paul Moore, John Krumm and John Spong, each in his own way and out of his own situation, speak of alternatives and new perspectives. Despair and hand-wringing about the state of city parishes can be moderated by the evidence that, here and there, such parishes are engaged in significant ministries. If it can happen in one place, it can happen elsewhere. The definition of cities as places to which the "throw-away" underclass of society is consigned is not the only one. Despair, resignation and helplessness can be transformed by the tentative, small, but significant results

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which occur when persons organize to achieve goals.

The testimony of these bishops may indicate that the greatest hoax which has been played on the U.S. public is that there are no alternatives. It may also indicate that the constriction of options has become so deeply engrained in the national psyche that attempts to pursue genuine alternative forms of political, economic, social, and even religious, life are doomed to failure.

This may suggest that a major task of those who work to create a just society is to break the conspiracy of silence about alternatives. In the 1980 election many persons who sought an alternative knew only limited options. They thought they must either disengage from the electoral process or endorse a return to the politics and economics of a royalist society. The "swing toward conservatism" proclaimed by the media may be less a studied embrace of conservative ideology than a deep desire for change. But in the face of the conspiracy of silence about genuine alternatives, the public can choose only from the possibilities about which it has been permitted to learn. The tragedy is that a sizeable portion of the electorate — the poor, certainly the working poor, and even, perhaps, members of the managerial class which Ted Scott describes — may have been forced to vote against their own best interests.

Breaking Silence Not Easy

Breaking the conspiracy of silence will not be easy. Those who try to suggest that the problems of a stagnant economy cannot be solved if the range of solutions is limited to what can occur within an economic system controlled by transnational corporations will not be heard by many. Those who suggest that excessive military expenditures cannot be reversed, nor the threat of nuclear holocaust removed if the drive for national self-determination in the Third and Fourth Worlds is seen as no more than an international game plan by the Soviet Union, will be met with incredulity. Those who suggest that the degeneration of the cities cannot be stopped if the "givens" of current economic policies and systems are the only options will encounter something less than universal agreement. Co-conspirators in the silence about alternatives are those who control the political, educational, and economic institutions of society, and the communications media. These forces move quickly to discredit alternatives which do not fit the straitjacket of options which serve their own self-interest.

Those who not only suggest that there are alternatives, but attempt also to create paradigms which embody them will find, as the people of the Mahoning Valley, the full force of contemporary principalities and powers arrayed against them.

The urban apocalypse can be averted only if the conspiracy of silence about alternatives is broken. The difficulty of that task cannot be exaggerated. We may be emboldened to undertake the task because Christians should know that the seeming finality of closed options represented by Good Friday can be shattered by the reality of unlimited possibilities represented by Easter. Perhaps if we but set out to give voice and substance to genuine alternatives, we will discover that not even the legions of Caesar can prevent the stone from being rolled away.

* * *

Hope Is for Today, Optimism, Tomorrow

by Helen Volkomener

I would always accept any invitation to respond to bishops pondering, but this particular group of bishops, pondering the urban apocalypse, brings a special honor and challenge. For several years I have followed the work of the Episcopal Urban Caucus and attended both National Assemblies. I salute these efforts and achievements.

Each of the bishops struggled with our contemporary dilemma: throw-away cities; the fall-outs from the national security program; the need for analysis of our technological structures; and the ways in which the church responds: as a whole to the society; through family education; or in the development of sturdy parish models. I found each one thought-provoking and reflective of deep pastoral concerns within the framework of our contemporary situation. What I have to say will only attempt to highlight what was actually said; what I read between the lines; or what I hope will appear as the discussion continues, as it must, because the crisis will not go away in the foreseeable future. Our cities are in trouble. Our people are in trouble. Our churches are in trouble.

The one phrase that continues to echo in my mind from the Puebla Conference of Latin American Bishops in 1979, was the recurrent phrase *"la realidad."* Its repetition gave stark evidence of anguish in the struggle to keep continually before the eyes of the participants *the reality* of the people of God in their countries: their oppressions, their potentials, their hopes, their despair. The bishops addressing themselves to the United States urban apocalypse have

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called our attention to some pressure points which all too many church people talk about, lament, and then chalk up to some unpopular political personage, party, or era, with the unspoken expectation that it will all go away if we can wait it out. *Our reality* is one of manipulation, structural strangulation. Our people are being oppressed with fear and hopelessness in the cities while others of our church people are engrossed with the nostalgia-sellers — a veneer of religiosity which is frightening in its superficiality.

As never before in contemporary society, the church leaders must call out, point out, and in all ways assume the prophetic role which analyzes the social, economic structures which oppress, with hard, intelligent tools. The reality of the oppressions must be unmasked, so that all of the people of God can see themselves as both the oppressed and the oppressors. Our role is to find ways to equip our people with strategies which will help them to change those structures which render them powerless. It is our challenge to the alternative of guns, arsenals, hooded riders, and imprisonments — psychological and actual. The urban apocalypse bishops exemplified the calling-out, pointing-out, the prophetic role. We all have much work to do in order to implement the teaching role, and providing strategies for empowerment — the how-to's which will extend the voice of the church into the reality. Small, basic **Christian community groups, which analyze a neighborhood and a community, and strategize how to make them livable, are a beginning. If the small group is a faith community, united to other like groups, all of which join in celebration in a larger community of a parish, then we are on our way.**

All of the above I read between the lines, if not in the lines of the bishops. Optimism is for the future. Hope is for today.

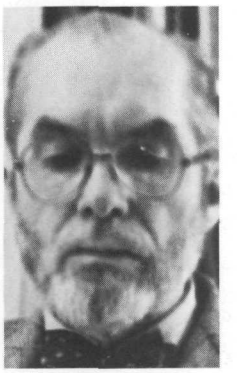
* * *

Masada, Jonestown Provoke Reflection

by Gibson Winter

The comments by the bishops on the "urban apocalypse" are an encouraging affirmation of human rights and dignity. There is little more to be said beyond some comments on the apocalyptic mood of our time. "Apocalypse" is being used, in these articles, in an historical sense rather than in its original meaning as a cataclysmic, divine intervention.

Two apocalyptic stories have captured the public's imagination in recent years. The story of Masada, dramatized by the media this spring, recounts the struggle of Jewish men, women and children who chose death rather than enslavement or worse at Roman hands. Theirs is an heroic story of resistance. The other story is that of Jonestown, Guyana, a story of suicide and murder of men, women and children at the behest of a religious leader, Jim Jones. This is a tragic story of people hungering for justice and betrayed by paranoid leadership.



The Reagan Administration and Congress are creating an apocalyptic mood these days in attempting to reactivate the Cold War. (Perhaps this is why THE WITNESS phrased its interviews in terms of apocalypse.) They are demanding sacrifices from the poor, minority groups, the aging and other marginalized sectors of the population. They are escalating the arms race, projecting an expenditure of $1.4 trillion in the next five years, more than half of the arms budget from 1945-1980. They are engaging in subversion of governments which challenge the hegemony of transnational, corporate capitalism anywhere in the world. They contemplate a nuclear holocaust in which they anticipate survival of 5% of the population who will be able to declare themselves victors from their bunkers.

They want the American people to think they are at Masada, choosing between slavery or mass suicide, yet they impose sacrifices only on the poor, not on the wealthy or the managerial and professional elites. Thus, they are fashioning another Jonestown, exploiting the weak and precipitating a holocaust out of their own paranoia.

Apocalyptic thought and action remove us from the terror of history and responsibility for our future. Even the words that I have written run this danger, referring to the Administration and Congress as "they." We are not at Masada. We are not yet at Jonestown. We are conspiring in a futile attempt to shore up an outmoded economic system which cannot provide the simple necessities of food, energy, housing and health care for all of our people.

It is time we let the leadership know that the mandate which they invoked was not for a suicidal Jonestown, nor was it intended to make the poor suffer in order to enrich the powerful. The only valid mandate in this Republic is for justice, human rights and democracy. ■

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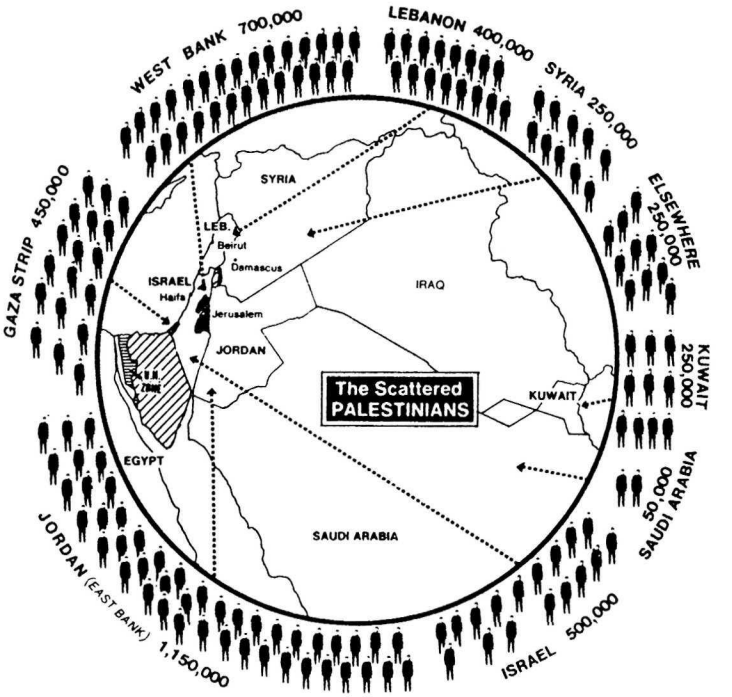
Palestine . . . *Continued from page 7*

PLO is the legitimate organizing force among the people; and it presses claims which must be heard.

We have been long-term friends with the State of Israel. At times, that has not been easy. But on the whole, Israel is a country, Western in culture and thought, to which we can easily relate. And when that has been hard to do, we could at least relate to the place of Palestine and the plight of the world's Jews, persecuted *mostly by our kind.* What we need to take on is the beginnings of friendship with another people whose motives are equally easy to understand, some of whose actions are perhaps more difficult to justify.

But it is important for us, as U.S. Christians, to engage in the effort to move our country to a position where it can extend the hand of friendship to the Palestinians. We must do so not just because their claims on equality with regard to U.S. policy are appropriate. Rather, we must work for that friendship precisely because we as Christians, and we as a nation, have for too long ignored the effects of our uncritical support of the State of Israel. We have done a great wrong to the Palestinian people, and if we do not move to correct it, we have no right to criticize them for their actions. Indeed, there is good argument to support the notion that extending the hand of friendship to the Palestinian people and to the PLO is precisely the beginning of the end of the need for armed conflict.



Reprinted from *The Link*, Spring, 1978, Vol. II, No. 1

Resources

Palestine Human Rights Campaign, P.O. Box 3033, Washington, D.C. 20010. Telephone (202) 296-5089. Source of information on Palestine, including the LaGrange Declaration, a document emanating from the conference on the Middle East in LaGrange, Ill., on "Human Rights and the Palestine-Israeli Conflict: Responsibilities for the Christian Church." Signers represent an ecumenical group of Christians — Evangelical, mainline Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox.

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 1611 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009. Telephone (202) 797-7662. The ADC was founded by two men of Lebanese descent, former U.S. Sen. James Abourezk of South Dakota and James Zogby, a former professor of religion and executive director of the PHRC (above). The ADC is a non-political, non-profit group supported by "Arab-Americans who are responding to the insults to their culture and heritage." Today the Arab-American community exceeds 2½ million, with large representations in Detroit, Chicago, New York, and Boston and growing numbers in California, Texas and Ohio.

CREDITS

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THE WITNESS

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Puzzle:

Journalistic Ethics, Hostile Press

by Janette Pierce

I have an experience which I'd like to share with you. For me it raised some interesting questions of journalistic ethics. As background, let's start in Chattanooga last October when the Episcopal House of Bishops met. In the middle of an early session, a camera crew appeared in the meeting room and when the discussions started, so did the lights and the cameras. Presiding Bishop John Allin asked the TV crew to stop filming, which they did, and shortly thereafter they packed up and left not only the room, but the meeting itself.

Two things resulted. First, it became apparent that neither Sonia Francis, Walter Boyd, nor any of the staff of the Episcopal Church Center knew anything about the camera crew which had never touched base with the press room or inquired of anyone if the meeting was open to TV.

Second, Bishop Robert L. DeWitt, editor of THE WITNESS, made a personal statement from the floor of the House explaining how he had been misled by a TV interviewer the previous summer into granting an interview which later appeared on a show produced by the Society for the Preservation of the Book of Common Prayer. His statements were taken out of context and in some cases the meaning of what he had said was distorted, he reported. He thought the mystery TV crew might have been from the same company that had taped his interview.

Perhaps some of you have seen the show either on television (time purchased by the Society) or in a movie version shown in parishes and at SPBCP meetings. Both are often accompanied by large ads in local newspapers and in at least one instance by a full page ad in a zoned edition of *Time* magazine. The film does not simply represent a position on liturgics, but emphasizes the so-called Marxist infiltration of the Episcopal Church and its supposed financial support of armed terrorists. The show — of which I've seen only parts — is reported to be more reminiscent of 1950 (remember Joe McCarthy?) than 1928.

Now to my story. I've been doing some consulting work for the new Episcopal Urban Caucus and in that capacity was at its recent Assembly in Louisville. At the end of an early session, Bishop John Walker of Washington stopped me and asked with some agitation, "Who are those TV people in that hotel room?" I didn't know, but my curiosity was aroused and I went with him to a hotel room which was set up for taping, with TV cameras and lights beside the beds. There I met an attractive dark-haired woman to whom Bishop Walker had granted an interview which he terminated in mid-session because of the leading — or misleading — questions. He felt they had little to do with the Assembly or urban mission. The woman gave me her name, but refused to offer any identification, business card, or press credentials. She claimed that she worked free-lance and was employed by a documentary firm in Washington named Bishop and Bryant, but had no documents to support this. She also said it had never occurred to her to register her presence as a journalist at the registration area in the lobby right outside her door. It was, to say the least, an unproductive exchange.

Several hours later, she had discovered who her client was, because she telegrammed a request for interviews with several people using the local address of the headquarters of the SPBCP. Also Ben Alexander, SPBCP president, wrote Lloyd Casson, Urban

Janette Pierce is news editor of *The Episcopalian.*

Caucus president, a hand-delivered note complaining of the treatment of the TV crew and saying that if interviews . were not granted, the SPBCP would feel "obligated" to publicize such non-cooperation to the church at large. Shortly thereafter SPBCP officials and the TV woman showed up in person. They now inquired about the possibilities of registering her as a press person, although she still claimed she had no identification to indicate that she did indeed work for Bishop and Bryant, which the SPBCP people seemed to expect me to recognize as a religious documentary firm. I didn't.

Finally it was agreed that a Mr. Bishop would call me to confirm her employment and I would see if any of the Assembly planners would consider changing their mind about taping the plenaries. The TV crew had also sought permission from the Dean of the Cathedral to televise the Assembly's special Eucharist and he had refused. The dealings with the TV crew were complicated by the fact that the EUC had hired Worley Rodehaver of Southern Ohio, to film a 30-minute show on the flavor of the Caucus, but he taped only one speech, some color shorts, and several interviews with people attending the Assembly. He did not plan ever to tape the large plenary. But we did have TV, which they knew. I must add that even that little was not popular with some of the Caucus leadership.

The eventual outcome of this — almost 24 hours after it began — was that the woman was registered as a print reporter, given a badge and a docket and schedule. Two hours later, Alexander told me that she had left the meeting and gone back to Washington.

As a footnote, I never did talk to Mr. Bishop. I missed the first call and when I called back the number that had been left, I got a recording that said the firm could not take my call now because they were out helping Republicans retake the government. But if I was calling to inquire about "elections, appointments, or advice," I could leave my name and number and they'd return the call "faster than you can tell a Democrat he's fired." Religious documentaries are, one supposes, a Bishop and Bryant sideline.

As I see it in retrospect, the issues involved include: *bona fides* of press people; limits of dissembling for investigative purposes; prior restraint; TV vs. print coverage of church meetings; and how much one should try to protect people one works with/for from hostile press. I found it a learning experience, a warning and a puzzle. ■

New SST . . . *Continued from page 3*

and government workers (who) may engage in subversive activities without being fully aware of the extent, purposes, or control of their activities." (*Mandate for Leadership: Policy Management in a Conservative Administration,* p.940) Two other groups which sparked the creation of the new Subcommittee are the American Security Council and the National Committee to Restore Internal Security.

For THE WITNESS, the history of harassment of former editor William Spofford in the '50s raises the concern that this new Subcommittee might become the lineal descendant of the McCarthy Committee. Reputations and livelihoods of thousands were destroyed in witch hunts for dissidents and "fellow travelers" in those days. A beleaguered citizenry was greatly relieved when Congressional committees investigating Communist infiltration into liberal organizations, the army, the arts, and education disappeared over the last decade.

Today, this new Subcommittee is potentially more harmful than its predecessors. The judicial system has been skewed by conservative appointments in judgeships at the top, and, at the bottom, by the dropping of the $321 million Federal program of legal aid for the poor. Also, the system can now jail people for refusing to cooperate even if they invoke the Fifth Amendment, thanks to "use immunity." That is, if immunity is granted, the witness may have to choose between testifying or going to jail, as did Maria Cueto, Raisa Nemikin and others in the celebrated Grand Jury investigation reported by THE WITNESS in 1977 and 1978.

Another advantage enjoyed by this Subcommittee is a fragmented Left, unlike the '60s when most Left groups were united in coalitions to protest the Vietnam War.

In this setting, as we see the use of the words "terrorists" and "terrorism" escalating in international and domestic usage, it is worth pointing out Vic Navasky's observation in *The Nation* recently:

> "Terrorism, properly defined, cost the world 1,700 lives last year by the highest estimate. Compare that to the thousands killed by Somoza, our friend in Nicaragua until he was forced out, and the 10,000 massacred in tiny El Salvador . . ."

With the body count in El Salvador now mounting well over 10,000, and violent repression continuing in Argentina, Guatemala, Paraguay — can it be that the Latin American theologians were right, and that the stage is being set for an ideological pogrom in the United States? ■

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Salome Singing In Her Sleep

I may be dreaming
but he
was pretending
not to be
a part of the dance
pretending not to see
through the veils of light
pretending he
could keep the vigil
eyes wild awake
all through the night
pretending he
never dreamed
the flesh the soul is pinned to.

I may be temptress
but it was he
who tempted me
to believe the Word
was real as the Rock
and I
merely obliged
his desire
with the sword.

"I am John," he said to me.
"I pretend I don't notice
pretend I don't see,
except with my head
severed from my body."
"I am John," he said,
"Set me free."

"I am Salome," I replied
laughing, dancing
weaving thin veils of fire;
"I am Salome blinded by the light;
I cannot see.
Set me free."

"I am John," he answered,
no body all head
all eyes
I see
through veils
of ice."

Then
I am Salome
demanding to see
my own head
on a plate
in a mirror.

— Linda Backiel

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 2*

"Go ye, and do likewise." There is much joy to be found in unselfish love.

Louise Dominy
Gary, Texas

Blacklock Responds

Brooke Myers, we agree. The selections from the Mother Thunder Liturgy in February's WITNESS don't show it, but when we refer to Jesus in his historical ministry we do not avoid the masculine pronoun. However, when we mean the second person of the Trinity otherwise, we do not say "He."

I'm not sure why Louise Dominy, who clearly gains much from identifying God's Holy Spirit as "Herself," would want to limit her common prayer to language that doesn't allow her to say that.

The Rev. Martha Blacklock
New York, N.Y.

Methodist Kudos

I am writing on behalf of the United Methodist Commission on the Status and Role of Women in Alaska. We were very impressed with the February issue, giving the story of Jean Dementi, Martha Blacklock's article on inclusive language, and a psalm by Corita Kent. That was indeed a rich issue!

Then came the March issue with the statement on the family, prepared by the Women's Project of Theology in the Americas, which is very pertinent and well done. Thank you for your excellent WITNESS.

Olive Robison
Anchorage, Alaska

WITNESS Sustaining

When I read letters like the Rev. Richard Kew's in the February issue, I feel that I must counter-balance his point of view by writing to say that I am glad that I subscribe to THE WITNESS.

I was a subscriber years ago when the Rev. William Spofford, Sr. was editor. It sustained me in my concern about the Incarnation's significance for the healing of total society. However, I saw the "boom" of the '40s and early '50s lull us into a feeling that God is in heaven and all's right with the world, and then when GCSP came along many jumped ship. I became disgusted and left our ministry for a good many years.

However, the love of God will not let one go, and that prevailed, and I came back on St. Valentine's Day in 1969. I am glad that I did. I have had the privilege of directing two diocesan Venture In Mission programs, and know that we have now begun to do the work of the church, rather than just maintaining a chaplaincy to nice people. Thanks for your ministry to me.

The Rev. H. Paul Osborne
Garrison, Ky.

Advocate for Disabled

Thank you for making THE WITNESS a reality. Its arrival is always a joyous event in this den of "way making."

As a disabled student seeking ordination and possessing a strong civil rights persuasion, I am sharing the following observations with you and hopefully fellow readers and finders of ways.

1. It is gratifying to see that the economic status is being addressed, and students and those over 65 receive a special WITNESS subscription rate. As the National Gray Panthers Access Advocate I applaud the mingling of students and seniors. Gray Panthers' motto is "Age and Youth in Action."

2. But you, like most church leaders, have not taken DISABLED PEOPLE (with limited income) into consideration. We only are invisible because others *choose* not to see us. My student status should expire before I become a certified senior but my disability will bridge the gap, going with me along this road of living "which has been sanctified by generations of religious tradition." (Including ignoring, whenever possible, the less able fellow traveler.)

Several activists are planning a Grand Gathering of Disabled People along with

their able-bodied supporters to spend the weekend of July 25-26 in Washington, DC., letting other disabled people feel fellowship with us and to let some more traditional doubters know we are very ABLE people! As plans unfold we will share them with you and your flock. We hope to gather people nationwide.

Recently I was asked why I had not been more involved with the church during the last decade. *Steps and mobility impairment are incompatable.* The design of most Episcopal churches is not a Welcome Sign to us. Even the Episcopal Seminary for the most part, including the chapel, is off-limits to wheelchair users.

Thank you for your guidance and support for those who are *not* the mainstream of our society — but collectively *are* the majority. But how do we get us, pathfinders, working in concert instead of opposition? Or indifference?

Jane Jackson
Berkeley, Cal.

(Editor's Note: THE WITNESS appreciates Jane Jackson's thoughtful letter, and although our promotional literature does not state it as yet, we will extend the same half-price offer to disabled persons if they so identify themselves when subscribing to THE WITNESS. Also, an article is in preparation on the disabled.)

Used Articles in Class

I used your WITNESS articles on the steel industry in a course I teach to engineering students at Boston University. This is a metallurgy course but I put it in a context of ethical issues, so we talk of such subjects as the difficulty of producer countries of Africa and Latin America benefiting from their copper wealth, the U.S. auto industry's endeavors (and lack of) to lower gas consumption by using lighter materials in cars and then of the inertia and lack of long range planning by the U.S. steel companies — where I referred to your most stimulating articles.

While today's student often seems most interested in how soon he or she will get into the job market, I hope that they might recall some of the ethical issues raised in this class when in later years they come to make some decisions.

The Rev. David L. Holt
East Boston, Mass.

Lauds Bishop

This is my second opportunity to renew my subscription to THE WITNESS since Bishop Robert Anderson provided access to free introductory subscriptions to members of the Diocese of Minnesota. I would like to pay public tribute to him for providing us with the opportunity to get to know your publication, and for having the courage to take important stands on issues where he knew that not all his people would be behind him.

I know from reading your letters that not all Minnesotans have appreciated the magazine. Many of us, however, find it one of the most valuable publications being published in the church. Keep up the good work of spreading the *real* good news.

Rex W. Gaskill
Minneapolis, Minn.

One in Spirit

Our parish staff finds THE WITNESS a great tool for our Social Ministry Committee and a source of information and edification for ourselves. As a Roman Catholic staff, we find it inspiring to feel that we are one in the Spirit with you.

Avril Makhlouf
St. Edward's Religious Education Center
Bon Air, Va.

Bad Magazine

We subscribed to THE WITNESS for six months and didn't think much of it. In fact, we think it is a very *bad* magazine. I hope the general public doesn't judge all Episcopalians by it.

The George Fodors
Spring Mills, Pa.

Preparation for Monday

You come home on a Friday, a bit bothered from the weekly struggle, looking forward to a couple of days apart, to get your bearings and get ready for another week of battling it out.

My weekend renewal activities usually consist of seeing family and friends, involvement in the natural world, reading, worship. One weekend I found it a wonderfully renewing experience to read the March WITNESS, which was THE WITNESS at its best.

The quote from Stringfellow summed it up: "There is one thing about being a Christian — you know you are going to lose!" March carried Robert L. DeWitt's editorial about short-term losing and the assured long-term victory of God; the articles by Burt, Spong and Charles about the urban and MX issues and how the bottom line is people (last week there was hardly a meeting when someone didn't speak of the bottom line as the almighty dollar). And the other articles were also top quality.

THE WITNESS came through, facing up to the real world of suffering and tough, ugly issues, illuminating life with insight and hope. Such writing helps to prepare me for Monday and the struggle as I face the issue of whether the bottom line is people or dollars.

The Rev. Robert L. Green, Jr.
Dorset, Vt.

Sees 50-Year Setback

I hope that in future issues of THE WITNESS you will direct the full focus of your attention not to problems within the church, but to the major overriding problem facing us for the next four years; namely, the cruel, dangerous and heartless policies of the Reagan Administration. These policies are the exact opposite of everything which Christian social activists have fought for during the past 50 years.

I hope you will provide your readers with the facts and ideas we need to challenge and oppose these policies.

Charles Previte
Highland Park, N.J.

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Holy Dying
Alla Bozarth-Campbell • Chester Talton • Daniel Corrigan

A Feminist Theologian
Views Abortion
Beverly Wildung Harrison

THE WITNESS

VOL. 64 NO. 7 JULY, 1981

LETTERS

Authors' Ire Emotional

The essay of the Revs. Suzanne Hiatt and Carter Heyward on "Right-Wing Religion's 'Dirty Little Secret' " (WITNESS, March) is unfair to the liberal Left in its anger at the sexism of the religious Right. The authors' ire has led them to make statements of more emotion than sense.

I certainly agree with both that the political Left has not dealt effectively with issues of sexism, but not for the reasons which Hiatt and Heyward cite; i.e., unconcern and lack of interest. Indeed perceptions, attitudes, and laws have changed in this area during the eminence of liberal thought in the United States. Even the religious Right is not oblivious to nor opposed to all the advances of "women's liberation."

No, the problem of the Left was the all-pervasive nature of sexism in society. I suggest that sexual division and discrimination are so deeply rooted that any institution raised by man or woman reflects this discrimination. Consequently, great breadth of vision is needed to come to grips with the problem. When that is coupled with the force of will necessary to develop a new non-sexist vision of life and society, to present it to the public, and to implement it, it is easy to see why the Left was on the defensive for most of the 1970s in regard to sexism.

It was unfortunate, but I suspect not surprising, that sexism did not emerge first from the civil rights agitation of the '60s. Unfortunate particularly because the Left had by then turned its attention to stopping the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. There was little energy and less vision remaining with which to tackle the tenacles of sexism.

Haitt and Heyward contend that sexism was the "volatile, explosive, and decisive" issue of the 1980 elections, precipitating the defeat of President Carter and sundry U.S. Senators. Special pleading alone would pick that issue from the complex fabric of factors affecting voters in late 1980. The economy, foreign affairs, political organization, money, to say nothing of regional and state-by-state differences contributed to the liberal debacle (Iowa has never in the century re-elected a Democratic Senator). And to suggest that Jimmy Carter was in the same liberal circles on women's issues as Senators McGovern and Bayh is bizarre and contrary to the facts. As a final blow to the authors' thesis, polls continuously indicate that the American electorate is more liberal on social issues than the Republican candidates and platform.

What the Right has done is to capitalize on the Left's weariness after nearly 50 years of continuous political power and its lack of vision — and on the weaknesses of President Carter — to march into power. The Right has a plan and a vision, but the Left presently has neither. It is scrambling to find both. For the sake of the downtrodden and excluded, we can hope that it does not take liberals as long as it took the Right to come up with vision and a plan.

G. Ronald Kastner
New Brighton, Minn.

Abortion Violent

I have been warmly appreciating your magazine for several years now; I especially thank you for your frequent reiteration of the justice demands of the God of Justice: that we "hear the cries of the poor," that we "seek peace and pursue it."

This is why it seems so sad and inconsistent that you would accept the shallow analysis of Heyward and Hiatt. It is their assessment that religious opposition to abortion is a matter of a prurient and anti-woman bigotry.

They are apparently unaware (or choose to keep their readers unaware) of the large numbers of feminist, progressive, and peaceful Christians who oppose abortion because it is violent — it is bloody — and it snuffs out human lives.

Or is this perhaps another of those "dirty little secrets"?

Ms. Juli Loesch
Prolifers for Survival
Erie, Pa.

Heyward, Hiatt Respond

Dr. Kastner is precisely correct in his final observation that the Right has capitalized on the weariness and weakness of the Left. That is what we were saying in the article and suggesting further that it was at the Left's weakest point — its inability to deal with sexism — that the Right has driven through the line. (When we've finally confronted racism and sexism we will have to deal with the pervasive militarism of this society that allows analogies of military strategy to be so easily used and understood.) Because sexism is so all-pervasive is no reason not to address it. It is because the Left has been marginally effective in the area of racism, an equally deeply ingrained evil in our culture, that the Right could not prevail with blatantly racist positions as they have with blatantly sexist positions.

Ms. Loesch reads into our pro-choice position an assessment of religiously motivated abortion foes as prurient and anti-woman. It has often been observed that people debating the abortion issue are not really talking about the same issues. The pro-choice people are discussing the lives and rights of women, the anti-abortion people are discussing the rights of fetuses. There is a conflict of rights here, not an issue of convenience on the one hand and murder on the other. There are at least two sides to the abortion issue. It is violent and bloody (as is birth). It doesn't help for any of us to label our opponents,

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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

Why do They/We do This?

As the world watched and listened in disbelieving horror at the second assassination attempt upon a major public figure within 30 days, the media, pressing close to Pope John Paul II, recorded him as saying, "Why do they do this? Why do they do this?"

The Pope, gravely wounded from three bullets, perhaps unconsciously expressed in that moment of bewilderment the cry of people the world over as seemingly wanton acts of assassination and attempted assassination have increased dramatically: What, dear God, is this world coming to?

In the complex and confused morass of humanity such as this planet currently represents, the question is not totally answerable.

But certainly the analysis offered by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig — that the chief threat to a nation's security is now international terrorism and that it is directed from the Soviet Union — is *not* the answer. Even the director of the CIA, William J. Casey, declared recently that after due investigation his department could thus far find no evidence that Moscow controls and directs an international terrorist network. Neither could FBI director William Webster find proof of Soviet-inspired *domestic* terrorism. Rather, terrorist incidents in the United States are on the wane, he said.

Nor, THE WITNESS is convinced, is much of an answer to be found in intensified studies of the childhood and family environments of so-called terrorist perpetrators of violence and such remedies as they might offer. However, the field of psychology may suggest one clue for proceeding. Psychologists long ago concluded that the field of abnormal psychology, wherein the behavior of mentally ill persons is studied, offers major clues to the dynamics and rationale of normal psychological behavior. Similarly, might it not be said that the abnormal, extremist acts of such perpetrators of violence offer important insights into the pressures and tensions building to the point of explosion in the society as a whole?

Instead, there is an increasing tendency,

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Radwaste:

Lethal Legacy

by Larry Medsker

As we generate nuclear power and produce nuclear weapons, we also generate radioactive garbage which will last for many centuries to come. One way to minimize the problem would be to limit the amount of radioactive waste we are making. However, "radwastes" are waiting for disposal now, and we are likely to be adding to this supply for the foreseeable future. Some solution will have to be found, and the quality of that solution depends on the responsibility we take for future generations.

The long-term management of radwastes is a technological challenge and a moral imperative. Although some engineering problems may well be solved eventually, uncertainties in technical as well as sociopolitical matters mean that some "acceptable" risks will have to be taken. Of course, there is an ethical dilemma of whether we should be producing radwastes at all.

Lack of progress on this problem, despite the fact that we are 30 years into the nuclear age, is due in part to inaction by governmental agencies and industry, which has produced a poor record of environmental protection in general. This has been possible because of the late awareness by the general public of the potential dangers and unique characteristics of radioactivity.

Radioactive materials contain atoms that give off energy by means of electromagnetic rays and ionizing particles which can damage biological material. The intensity of the radiation drops off in a time period that is characteristic of the particular isotope involved. After a time equal to one "half-life," the activity is only half of the original amount. After another half-life, the intensity drops again by half, and so on. Some isotopes have half-lives of a millionth of a second, and others, billions of years. If the half-life is a few minutes, then after a few hours, a negligibly small amount of activity would be left. The problem in radwaste management arises from the presence of isotopes with very long half-lives — as is the case in the development of nuclear weapons and the production of power with nuclear reactors. Instead of a waiting period of a few hours, a few thousand years must elapse before certain of the radioactive materials become harmless.

Radwaste is classified according to the level of the intensity of the radioactivity:

- *High level wastes,* such as those from weapons development and from spent reactor fuel, consist of concentrated radioactive materials with intense radiation. The spent fuel from a typical 1000 million-watt reactor amounts to about 25 million tons per year and a volume of about 300 cubic feet per year. The long-lifetime products determine the time scale of concern in waste management. Estimates range *from a few thousand to several million years* for the period that high level wastes should be stored before they can be considered harmless.

Earlier plans called for the reprocessing of spent fuel to recover fissionable material for use in breeder reactors. This would eliminate some of the unwanted waste products and yield a smaller volume for disposal. However, plutonium could be diverted for use in nuclear weapons, and reprocessing introduces additional hazards for workers and further chances for loss of radioactive material through handling and transport. Because reprocessing would reduce the magnitude of the radwaste problem,

Larry Medsker is a physicist and computer scientist involved professionally in teaching and research. He is treasurer of the Methodist Federation for Social Action and on the Board of the West Philadelphia Fund for Human Development.

though, the present government policy against reprocessing makes even more urgent the need for a safe waste management program.

• *Low level wastes* contain less concentrated radioactive material, so the intensity of the radiation is lower. Examples include contaminated tools and clothing and radioactive trash from hospitals and research labs. However, a major source is the "front end" of the nuclear fuel cycle: mining, milling and processing of uranium for production of reactor fuels and development of nuclear weapons. The sand-like "tailings" left over from grinding and crushing ores at uranium mills are an important source of low level radwaste.

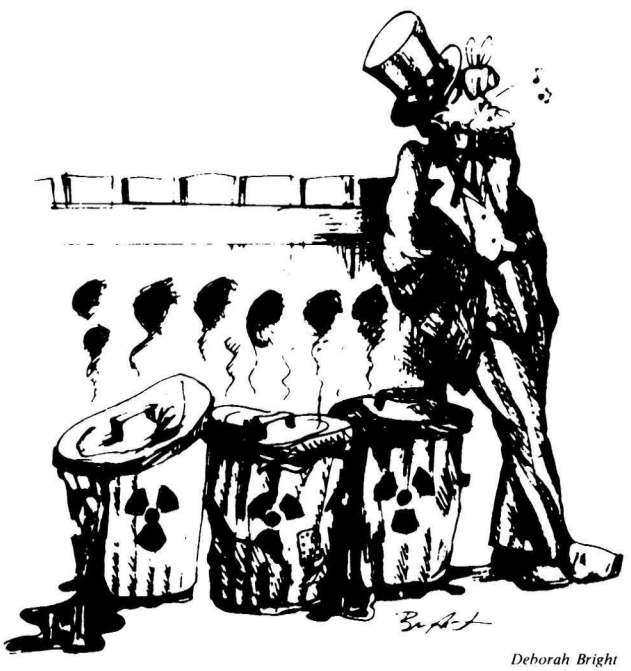
While the radiation from low level wastes can be diffuse, the total effect can be very large. The biological effects of low level radiation are a subject of controversy and are currently being re-examined. In the example of mill tailings, radon gas is given off and can cause lung cancer if sufficient amounts are inhaled. Radiation from other decay products in the tailings can cause leukemia. Some of the most troublesome products have long lifetimes and must be treated with the same considerations as high level wastes.

The low level radiation in tailings from uranium mills was long an unrecognized problem. Authorities failed to deal with this and in the 1950s and '60s even denied the dangers to public health. More than 25 million tons of uranium tailings have piled up at mills now inactive. Over four times that amount is stored at active mills, and the production rate is 10-15 million tons per year. Except for accidental migrations, these low level wastes remain, awaiting a plan for disposal.

The dispersion of low level wastes has already occurred through lack of awareness of potential danger and through insufficient safeguards. Wind and water erosion, theft, and early use of tailings in house construction have greatly extended the range of environmental contamination. The problem is how long and how well to secure the wastes. Under the Uranium Mill Tailings Radiation Control Act of 1978, remedial action has finally been authorized but assigned to three agencies: the Environmental Protection Agency is to set standards for "acceptable" radiation levels, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission is to have authority to license and make rulings, and the Department of Energy is to manage the remedial action. However, little guidance is available since the characteristics and effects of the tailing radiation are not fully understood.

A number of ideas for dealing with radwastes have been proposed over the years. Ejection into space, placement on polar ice sheets, and dumping in the ocean are a few examples. These are usually dismissed as unworkable, overly expensive, or requiring too much research and development. Most attention has been given to storage in deep underground excavated repositories. The Department of Energy hopes to demonstrate this technique in the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP), which is a facility for weapons wastes and an intermediate-scale facility for wastes from about 1000 spent reactor fuel assemblies. Under the most recent plan, the wastes would be converted to glass rods, packaged, and placed in holes in the floor of a mined salt cavern near Carlsbad, New Mex. After that, the isolated repository would have to be guarded for a thousand years or so.

Technical problems include choosing a material that will contain the wastes for the time period involved and choosing stable geologic sites for the repositories. A prior problem is the establishment of standards for the acceptable release of radiation in the event of conceivable changes in the container and the geologic conditions. A number of nontechnical problems exist as well. Political insensitivity in previous repository site investigations has led to delays and wasted time and money. A history of hasty policy decisions and misplaced optimism on the part of federal agencies has reduced credibility and will hinder efforts to win



Deborah Bright

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public support for future plans. And the necessity of guarding repositories for thousands of years requires human institutions of unprecedented stability.

Despite official optimism that a plan such as WIPP will be successful, the several problems to be solved require new extensions of geochemistry, rock mechanics, hydrology, and long-term predictions of seismology and climate. The difficulties in the current proposals for repositories have been pointed out in a 1978 circular by the U.S. Geological Survey. More recently, a detailed report was submitted to the White House by its Interagency Review Group (IRG), which was made up of representatives of 14 federal agencies including DOE. The IRG concluded that a mined repository in a deep geologic formation is the only kind of plan that is achievable in the near term (1990s).

However, their final report was cautious and acknowledged "gaps and uncertainties in our current technical knowledge" and the need for "societal judgment" as to the acceptable risk. According to the IRG subgroup report, "Given the uncertainties associated with our predictive capabilities in the earth sciences, with mathematical oversimplification of complex processes . . . a precise risk assessment of radioactive waste disposal in deep geologic formations may never be possible."

In fact, some of the recent research that has been done shows that earlier confidence in technical understanding was not justified. As examples: 1) new mechanisms for changes in salt formations have been discovered; 2) seismic predictions in particular geologic sites rest on data for no more than 300 years and in some cases only a few decades; and 3) theories of long-term climatic trends indicate that, on the time scale of concern for waste management, dramatic changes in climate could occur. The materials for waste packages may last only a thousand years, so the geologic barrier must be planned as though it were the principal containment. Also, reliable techniques for sealing off the respository must be developed. Several researchers are looking at materials other than glass as the solid form for the converted wastes, and others are studying alternatives to salt as the geologic medium.

This is not to say that technical problems will not eventually be solved — but the risk will probably always remain high. Radwastes exist *now*, so we have to find some means of managing them. However, optimistic statements from officials that all the problems have been solved should be viewed with skepticism.

Here are some ways we can take action:

1. We should watchdog government agencies that are responsible for radwaste management. Policy decisions must be based upon realistic assessments of scientific capabilities. Continued temporary storage would be preferable to a bad plan adopted in haste or in order to meet political timetables.

2. The process should be open to the involvement of citizens — especially those who are directly affected by repository site choices. Technical information upon which decisions are being based should be made available to them. Even if WIPP appears to be successful, future repository site selections in other areas must be made with great care.

3. The necessity of nuclear weapons development and the use of nuclear power can be called into question. We should make sure that cost estimates for nuclear power, in comparison with alternative sources, include the expense of researching methods of radwaste disposal and the costs of storage and guardianship that will go far beyond the life of the power plant. Those costs should also include the management of wastes at the beginning when the fuels are produced and at the end when plants are decommissioned.

The licensing of new power plants, completion of plants under construction, and the use of presently operating plants should be examined closely as long as waste disposal plans have not been adopted. We should insist that any plans have the support of knowledgeable nuclear power critics. However, efforts to limit the use of nuclear power should be accompanied by realistic alternatives. The waste problems associated with coal-powered plants may well be even worse than those for nuclear plants. Therefore, large-scale energy efficiency programs would be necessary, followed eventually by the development of renewable energy sources.

Resources

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A Matter of Faith, Study Guide for churches and Christian groups on the nuclear arms race, published by *Sojourners.* $3.50 each, bulk orders available. Write *Sojourners,* 1309 L St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. ■

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Case Study: Nuclear Waste Disposal

Holding the Future In Our Hands

The developments of recent months on the issue of nuclear waste disposal in Wisconsin have been typical of the way the government operates in the nuclear energy and weapons area.

First came the secrecy. The Department of Energy was considering Wisconsin's granite formations as a possible nuclear waste dump site, but somehow neglected to tell anyone until a newspaper account leaked the information. Wisconsin Gov. Lee Dreyfus, having heard nothing from the DOE, demanded an explanation. The result was a public "briefing" of the governor by DOE officials last July, when they assured him Wisconsin was just one of dozens of states being looked at, and that a decision was years away. Dreyfus, who has said repeatedly that Wisconsin's use of nuclear power carries with it a "moral responsibility" to accept nuclear waste, apparently was satisfied. He promised his cooperation, and the DOE promised to keep the state informed of its plans.

It came as a surprise to the governor when the DOE, in response to a Freedom of Information Act request from Wisconsin's Environmental Decade, released in October a report that listed 16 Wisconsin counties as among the most favorable areas for a geological waste disposal site, and said a seven-county area in the Lake Superior region was the Number 1 choice. Dreyfus was especially distressed because the report in question had been completed in December 1979, seven months before his "briefing."

The long delay and coverup of the report by the DOE outraged the state's citizens and politicians. *The Milwaukee Journal,* the state's largest newspaper, said it had "serious doubts that DOE is the right agency to handle the waste disposal problem for the federal government," and suggested an independent national commission be established to deal with the problem. (A few weeks before, the paper had accused opponents of nuclear waste disposal of demagoguery.)

Dreyfus again demanded an explanation, and Colin Heath of the Division of Waste Isolation — the same person who had given Dreyfus his briefing — assured the governor no decision had been made, said the DOE had no plans for Wisconsin, and said the newly-released report did not reflect official DOE policy.

Somehow, that was not too reassuring. Since the Reagan administration has taken office, the situation is even more uncertain. Energy Secretary James Edwards has called already for the country to move quickly in finding disposal sites for nuclear waste, even if the sites are "temporary."

Wisconsin is at the top of the DOE's list of potential sites because it has granite formations now considered the most likely place to put high-level nuclear garbage. Whether such sites would remain geologically stable for 250,000 years — the period of time the waste remains deadly and must be kept isolated — is less than certain, considering that as "recently" as 15,000 years ago much of Wisconsin was covered by glaciers.

The Progressive Foundation in Madison, Wisc. has begun to assemble information for a public education campaign on the issues of nuclear waste disposal and nuclear waste transportation. Although the focus so far has been on the potential dumping sites in Wisconsin, many other regions are also under consideration, and what the Foundation learns can be applied elsewhere as well.

The DOE report listed 36 areas which might be suitable for high-level waste repositories. Two of them, including the one designated as Number 1, are in Wisconsin. Twelve are in Minnesota, which offers similar types of geological formations. The list also includes two in Idaho, one on the Idaho-Montana border, one in Upper Michigan, four in North Carolina, two each in Colorado and Wyoming, one joint Colorado-Wyoming site, two each in Georgia and Oklahoma, and single sites in New Hampshire, Missouri, Texas, Arizona, and Nevada. We would like to hear what's happening in those areas. ■

The article above is reprinted with permission from The Progressive Foundation, Inc. Newsletter *Update*. Those who would like to order the Dept. of Energy's complete report on waste disposal referred to above may do so by sending $11 to The Progressive Foundation, Inc., 315 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wisc. 53703, attention Bill Christofferson.

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Solution for Storing Nuclear Waste

Abbie Jane Wells

My solution to the problem of storing nuclear waste is to give little lead boxes of it to the users of nuclear power — sort of an extra "dividend." They could bury it in their own backyards or store it in their houses or apartments — a family heirloom — a legacy to be handed down to their children and to their children's children and on and on, to be cared for and monitored for leaks for 10,000 years or more.

I would ask the pro-nuclear power people: If you received a little of the nuclear wastes to store on your premises as well as a little of the nuclear power electricity to use, would you still want a nuclear power plant in your area?

Let each user and builder and profit-maker of nuclear power store their share of the nuclear wastes on their own property rather than dump it in storage sites in someone else's backyard — in mass dumps.

And on nuclear arms, each taxpayer could be given an Income Tax rebate of their share of the National Stockpile of nuclear waste generated from the building of nuclear arms, a share to match the amount of taxes paid into the National Budget for nuclear hardware.

The builders of nuclear weaponry or nuclear power plants would get their quota to distribute among employees according to their contribution to the building of nuclear arms or power.

So there's my solution: A share of the national heritage of nuclear waste to each who contributed to the building of it to be passed on down to their children as family heritage, to be added to by grandchildren and their children ad infinitum, as they contribute to the national heritage of nuclear waste.

Abbie Jane Wells is a WITNESS subscriber who from time to time provides us with insights and reflections written in her kitchen in Juneau, Alaska.

Plutonium Is A Religious Issue

by Albert Blackwell

Its uses are matters of life and death. Its disposal propels our imagination toward eternity. Thus plutonium gives rise to issues of religious dimensions. And I believe that religious categories, in particular the categories of sin and evil, are appropriate to our national debate over the production, handling, uses, and disposal of this beguiling element.

Plutonium is something new under the sun. Until 1941 this element existed only in traces associated with natural uranium deposits. Quantities of plutonium first came from the nuclear piles of World War II's Manhattan Project. At the beginning the amounts were small. Physicist Enrico Fermi is quoted as saying that in 1941 the world's supply of plutonium reposed in a matchbox in his desk drawer. It is no longer so. Today hundreds of tons of plutonium have accumulated from nuclear weapons programs and nuclear power generation. It is dispersed throughout the biosphere as a consequence of fallout from nuclear weapons testing and the two nuclear detonations over Japan. It is stockpiled in government repositories and deployed in the current arsenal of nuclear weapons. And it is bound up with other radioactive elements in spent fuel assemblies being held in cooling pools at nuclear power reactors . . .

Government records released under the Freedom of Information Act disclose that as of the end of 1976, 8,000 pounds of plutonium and bomb-grade uranium were unaccounted for in the United States, enough for the construction of hundreds of clandestine nuclear weapons. Primitive nuclear bombs are not difficult to build. Thus the mere claim of a terrorist group to have a nuclear weapon, supported by a small sample of plutonium, would probably suffice to blackmail any governmental authority that received it.

A sample of plutonium could suffice as a blackmail threat even if no explosive device were claimed, in fact, for plutonium is a radiological poison of pernicious toxicity. By weight plutonium is 20,000 times more deadly than cobra venom or potassium cyanide. Microgram quantities can induce lung cancer. In theory, eight kilograms (eight billion micrograms) would suffice to kill every person on our planet.

Most poisons can be rendered harmless by chemical processes. As every home canner knows, for example, deadly botulism is rendered completely harmless by 15 minutes of boiling in the presence of air. The radiological toxicity of plutonium, however, persists through all chemical alterations. If I die of plutonium-

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Albert L. Blackwell is Associate Professor of Religion at Furman University. He received his B.S. in Physics from M.I.T. and his Ph.D. in the study of religion from Harvard. Dr. Blackwell has been active in debates over alternatives to nuclear power with officials of the Duke Power Company and the Westinghouse Corporation. Excerpted with permission from the *Harvard Divinity Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 4, copyright the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

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Plutonium is spilled by fools like me,
But only God can make a nuclear reactor
ninety-three million miles from the
nearest elementary school.

induced cancer and my body is cremated, I yield up my plutonium through the smokestack into the biosphere where it may kill again, and this toxicity persists for 250,000 years.

When we are told, therefore, that radioactive wastes are to be buried in areas where security can be guaranteed, we shall do well to realize that if plutonium had been stored in the Great Pyramid of Egypt, it would remain 90% as lethal today as on the day when Pharaoh Cheops proclaimed, "They'll never find it there." When we are told that radioactive wastes are to be disposed of in areas that are sparsely populated, we shall do well to realize that plutonium will remain lethal for 50 times longer than any civilization has yet endured on the earth. When we are told that wastes are to be stored in geological formations that are stable and dry, we shall do well to realize that plutonium will remain lethal for 20 times the epoch since the last ice age. And when we are told that these radioactive wastes are simply part of the cost of our energy appetite over the next few decades, we shall do well to realize that the plutonium excreta from our generation's energy diet will remain lethal for five times longer than our species *homo sapiens* has yet roamed the planet.

A quarter of a million years, then, is not time on human scale. It is time on God's scale. Our sour grapes of plutonium will set our children's teeth on edge, not merely to "the third and the fourth generation" of Biblical prophecy, but to 10,000 generations. Indeed, since plutonium is a genetic mutagen as well as a radiological poison, our sour grapes of plutonium may set our children's teeth on edge for as long as the human species endures . . .

In the interest of a "national security" teetering in an international balance of terror, and in the interest of satisfying our energy appetite for the next two or three decades, we are producing comprehensively threatening substances, of which plutonium is the most lethal and long-lived. Our nation and our generation, it seems to me, are asserting self-interest without regard to the welfare of the whole, conceived as the entire human community including its future generations. If the darkness of our self-assertion is to be enlightened, we must seek to bring self-interest under the discipline of a more universal good. In practical terms, this means to me that the movement for nuclear disarmament and the disciplines of conservation and increased energy efficiency challenge our generation with the urgency of religious obligations . . .

Genesis 3 roots individual sin in our desire to "be like God." Genesis 11 roots corporate sin in our attempt to construct a tower "with its top in the heavens." Our generation is presuming to construct, not an astronomical tower with its top in the heavens, but geological waste disposal caverns with their futures in eternity. We forget that before that stretch of time is far advanced, our civilization, like Babel of old, may well be "scattered abroad over the face of the earth." Or to alternate once more from geological to astronomical imagery, let me conclude with a poem making its rounds in the national debate over energy policy:

Plutonium is spilled by fools like me,
But only God can make a nuclear reactor
ninety-three million miles from the
nearest elementary school.

The poem may not scan particularly well. But in my judgment both its anthropology and its theology are irreproachable. ■

Polly Bond Award To DeWitt Editorial

The 1981 Polly Bond Award for the category of best interpretive editorial was presented to THE WITNESS for Robert L. DeWitt's "Married Clergy, Separated Churches" at the annual Episcopal Communicators meeting in Sierra Madre, Cal. recently.

The award, for excellence in church communications, is presented annually in several categories: best news story, feature, editorial, etc. and is named for a noted Episcopalian woman who was director of communications for the Diocese of Ohio. Ms. Bond died of cancer in 1979.

Judges for the event this year were Jack Langguth and Ed Cray, faculty members of the USC School of Journalism, and Eric Bailey and Beau Riffenburg, teaching assistants.

In the prize-winning editorial, which appeared in the October issue of the magazine, Editor DeWitt analyzes the Roman Catholic Church's reception of a group of married clergy who left the Episcopal church in protest over the ordination of women and the new prayer book.

"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)," DeWitt wrote. "How should the Episcopal Church react to this message?"

"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," he said.

Readers who would like a copy of the *issue containing the complete editorial* can send 50¢ to cover postage to THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

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The Rev. Jeannette Piccard, who at age 79 was one of the first women to be ordained to the Episcopal priesthood, died of cancer in Minneapolis May 17. A noted scientist, stratosphere balloonist and space consultant, she was 86 years old. THE WITNESS invited three persons to share their reflections on the death of this valiant woman: The Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan, longtime friend and one of the three bishops who ordained the Philadelphia 11; the Rev. Alla Bozarth-Campbell, the youngest ordained in that group, and the Rev. Chester Talton, former pastor of St. Philip's, St. Paul where Jeannette Piccard served as assistant.

Holy Dying

by Daniel Corrigan

"Jeannette Piccard is to undergo surgery tomorrow morning. Here is the phone number in her hospital room."

When Jim Diamond, our minister to the University of Minnesota, called with that message, it was a pastoral gift — an opportunity for us to carry on some conversations from Feb. 16 to May 14, 1981.

As she approached dying, Jeannette moved quickly into mature and faithful acceptance. Our conversation on the evening before her surgery was little concerned with the operation but filled with projects: Ideas to get out and onto paper, maybe publish; places to visit, etc. When we talked two days after her surgery which revealed inoperable cancer, she had already surrendered those projects and characteristically moved on to the business at hand — Holy Dying . . .

The Piccards — we shared the same parish from 1948 to 1958 — embodied intelligence, reverence and utter courage. They always gathered eager boys and girls around the breakfast table after early Eucharist to lead them into the depths beneath and up into the starlit heavens with breathtaking story, dialogue and animated conversation. While trying to instruct a confirmation class on the meaning or quality of *reverence* but getting nowhere at all, I was inspired to ask, "How many of you have ever noticed the look of the Piccards as they kneel quietly in the front pew before service?" *OH THAT!*

Of Babies, Balloons, Bishops

On May 17, the Fifth Sunday of Easter, we heard from the Gospel the words of Jesus, "I go to prepare a place for you," and so it was that on that morning, Jeannette Piccard, our sister and friend, died and went home to the Holy One.

Three vital images stand out in my mind from the celebration of the life of the Rev. Canon Jeannette Piccard: babies, balloons, and bishops. Two days before her death, she had been made an honorary Canon of the Cathedral Church of St. Mark in Minneapolis. It was in this church that Jeannette's and my ordination to the priesthood in 1974 were finally recognized by our bishop in 1977. It was in this same chancel that Bishop Daniel Corrigan who ordained us and Bishop Robert Anderson who cared for us led Jeannette's community in the final Happy-Birthday-into-Paradise-Party for her final soaring toward God.

The stately Cathedral resounded with sounds and reflected sights of life: colors flying in banners flanking the nave for the spring Arts Festival, and babies singing lustily in their parents' arms. One young mother fed her newborn as the singing began; and one young father sang to his newborn in the narthex as the larger song subsided. Already the third and fourth generations appearing to receive the mantle, already crying out praises, prayers for food and recognition.

Bishop Corrigan celebrated the Eucharist wearing Jeannette's bright red stole with multi-colored balloons. He wore her mantle for all of us, bold with the rainbow promise of a new covenant. At the Peace, Bishop Anderson spoke the most simple, startling words, quietly to me. I repeat them here, with gratitude. I began to leave the chancel steps from where I led the Prayers of the People, to return to my place. As he came out to proclaim the Greeting of Peace, Bishop Anderson said softly, "Don't go. Stay by my side and hold my hand." Dear Bishop, you do not know how much your words meant to me, and would have meant to Jeannette, for what you asked just then is all we ever meant to do.

As Jeannette Piccard's holy death turns a page in history, I pray that Bishop Anderson's simple, modest request can be uttered in time by all of God's sons to all of God's daughters, and vice versa.

Do not rest in peace, Jeannette, but pray and work on with us: live in glory.

— Alla Bozarth-Campbell

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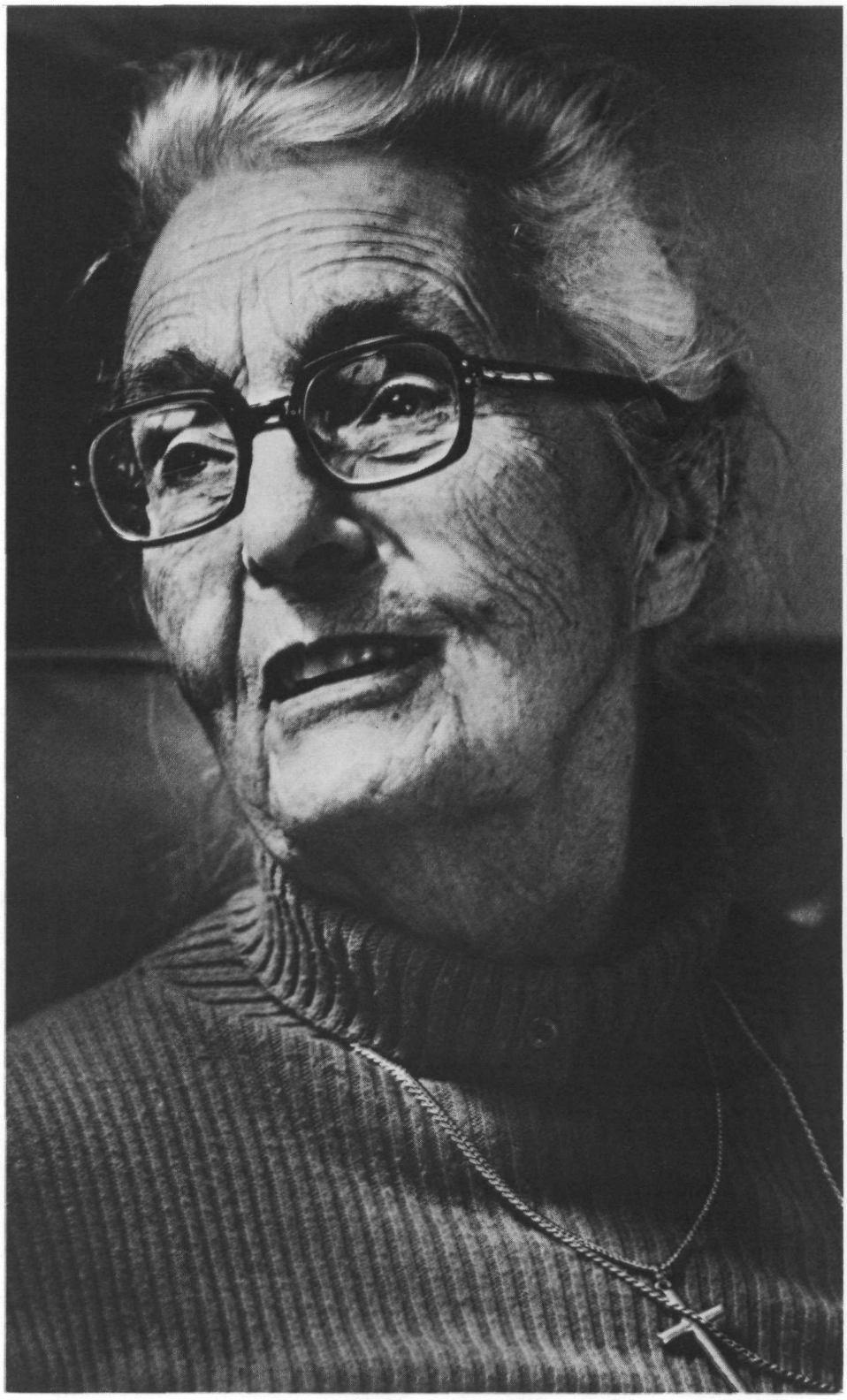
they exclaimed. Yes, that! That's it! We all know what *that* is. Teaching like Kierkegaard's *Birds.*

There were many pictures around the East River Road house. It was fun to look at those which were hung and to page through the albums. We often had time to do this for they made their home available to young people struggling to put their family life together. They were very good to two of our boys as they embarked. Several shots commemorated the historic Lake Erie ascent. In one of these Jeannette is well out of the gondola, into the shrouds, way up in the air, to reactivate the valve which controlled the hydrogen gas. Courage! And the picture was pure courage, too; taken by John in the gondola, unable to help. They always brought concern, intelligence, reverence and courage with them to such a degree that the earthbound were lifted up.

Her entrance into the stratosphere has been often noted and recounted. Indeed, I have an invitation and program for the dedication of "The Piccard Balloon Collection" at the University of Minnesota, Jan. 28, 1981. Probably her *"Vale"* was made there in response to the tributes. Its title? "The Wind Bloweth Where it Listeth." Her going up from the pew to ordination and the altar has also been mentioned, a subject of conversation, dialogue and monologue.

Who can do these things and not be destroyed? Who has what it takes to live with controversy? Who can ride out the storm? Who can survive rejection, misuse, no use? Because of the way things work nowadays I have some of the abusive communications which were addressed to her. You know, "Copies to the P.B., the press, the President, the Bishops of X, Bishop Corrigan, etc." While it is easy to imagine the pain, resentment and frustration which fathered the letters, communications, prohibitions, whatever, we owe her an understanding of her prior acceptance of the barbs,



Minneapolis Tribune

Jeannette Piccard: 1895-1981

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thrusts and shoves.

The few times the Philadelphia-Washington ordinands met before the ordination of women to the priesthood was recognized were occasions which revealed the need of much healing. Jeannette's eyes saw the wounds, her ears heard the loud or muttered cries, saw the outer symptoms of the inner wounds. The Wounded Healer reached out and in to restore and sustain; keep alive until better times. A priest forever after the order of Melchisedek then and when she broke the Bread and poured the Wine at our dining room table to celebrate the mystery of God's life-giving presence. I looked at the ancient Tarquinian plate last night. It will always have a discernible aura not only because skillful and loving hands contrived it — but also because her priestly hands have lifted it and offered it.

Then the Day! Thursday, Sept. 16, 1976, Minneapolis. Women may serve as Christian priests, no innate obstacle. How great the joy for many. How great the pain and sense of utter loss for many! Shall we raise a glad cry? Shall we celebrate? Now is a moment of testing. And "the Lord of all gentleness, Lord of all calm, Whose voice is contentment, Whose presence is balm" was present, evoked. Jeannette's reaction was, "Let compassion mark our response — no vaunting, no cries of triumph. Let us go in the morning to whatever altars have been provided to give thanks; to pray for the wounded, maybe even the dead."

Jeannette Piccard had a rare gift of looking at things from several angles at once. This wide but many-angled view emerged in her polemics as surprising and startling comments. You were likely to say to yourself "How come I never noticed that before?" She showed up at the special General Convention of 1969 in South Bend with a paper she had written *DEFENDING* St. Paul's general opinion of women.

In the last years she shared with me several manuscripts upon which she was working. We will all be losers if her revealing comments on Genesis, the Pauline Epistles, the Pastoral Epistles and some of the Church Fathers are not published and circulated.

And then Jim Diamond again with a new hospital phone number. Jeannette's voice was tired but clear when I asked, "Would you like it better for me to come now to be with you or for me to come dance at your wedding?"

"Call in a couple of days and I'll tell you," she said.

So next call — "Right away, come dance — and the Bishop and the Dean and Fr. Diamond have all come this afternoon and made me a Canon of the Cathedral."

I couldn't resist. "Another first, Jeannette! I never heard of anyone being canonized until long after their wedding!" And she laughed. *"Vale!"*

We did feel sad during and after the intimate family requiem at St. Philip's, St. Paul Wednesday morning. The people there were doubly bereaved. They had taken Jeannette to their hearts when she was in some sense a person cut adrift. She had been nourished by them and had served them for many years. Fr. Talton was there as host and master of ceremonies but had ceased to be their parish priest the Sunday before and was on his way to Trinity, Wall Street. He preached a remarkable sermon that evening in the Cathedral. The Good Shepherd in Jeannette had arranged all things however — the order of service, the cast and even the evening hour so that men and women, both clergy and lay, could come from anywhere; that her beloved Phillipians might not only swell the throng but serve and lead as ushers, crucifers — and oblation bearers. Oblation bearers — Holy offerings rich and rare.

You knew they had kept her alive and sweet in hard times and now not only given her to the Cathedral but to the whole church and that the whole church had accepted her. My grandson Daniel drove me home from the great wake in the Woman's Club of Minneapolis. We talked about the celebration. He summed it up "There was a lot of power in that place tonight. I never felt power like that before."

And the Good Shepherd knew I might need a lift. Her magnificent balloon stole was there for me to wear — so I could be up and away — maybe with the young Magee, "Touch the Face of God." The wind bloweth where it listeth and tends toward the Source. ■

Blacks Understood Jeannette's Suffering

Jeannette Piccard was a balloonist, an adventurer, a mother, a courageous fighter, a priest and pastor. The role she preferred was that of pastor, and it was that role she fulfilled at St. Philip's Church.

Her only regret was that because of her advanced age, she could not drive, and was therefore not able to make hospital and parish calls on her own. However, she was always available to those in crisis and it was not unusual for her to be found in long vigils at the bedside of a dying parishioner, and offering counsel to the family.

Jeannette loved to celebrate the Eucharist at St. Philip's. She wanted her last service to be very much a joyous occasion, like a party. She didn't want her people to be sad, to feel so much a sense of loss as to celebrate a life which she had tried to live well and for a long time.

Historically, Jeannette had been a member of St. Philip's for 10 years. The Rev. Denzil Carty was originally responsible for welcoming her into the parish, and he also presented her for ordination in Philadelphia. For the past five years, she was a regular part of the ministry at St. Philip's.

To me, it is significant that a parish like St. Philip's, predominantly Black, could particularly understand some of Jeannette's suffering at not being able to exercise herself fully in what she was called to do. Blacks familiar with that feeling could reach out to her in a way others could not.

— Chester Talton

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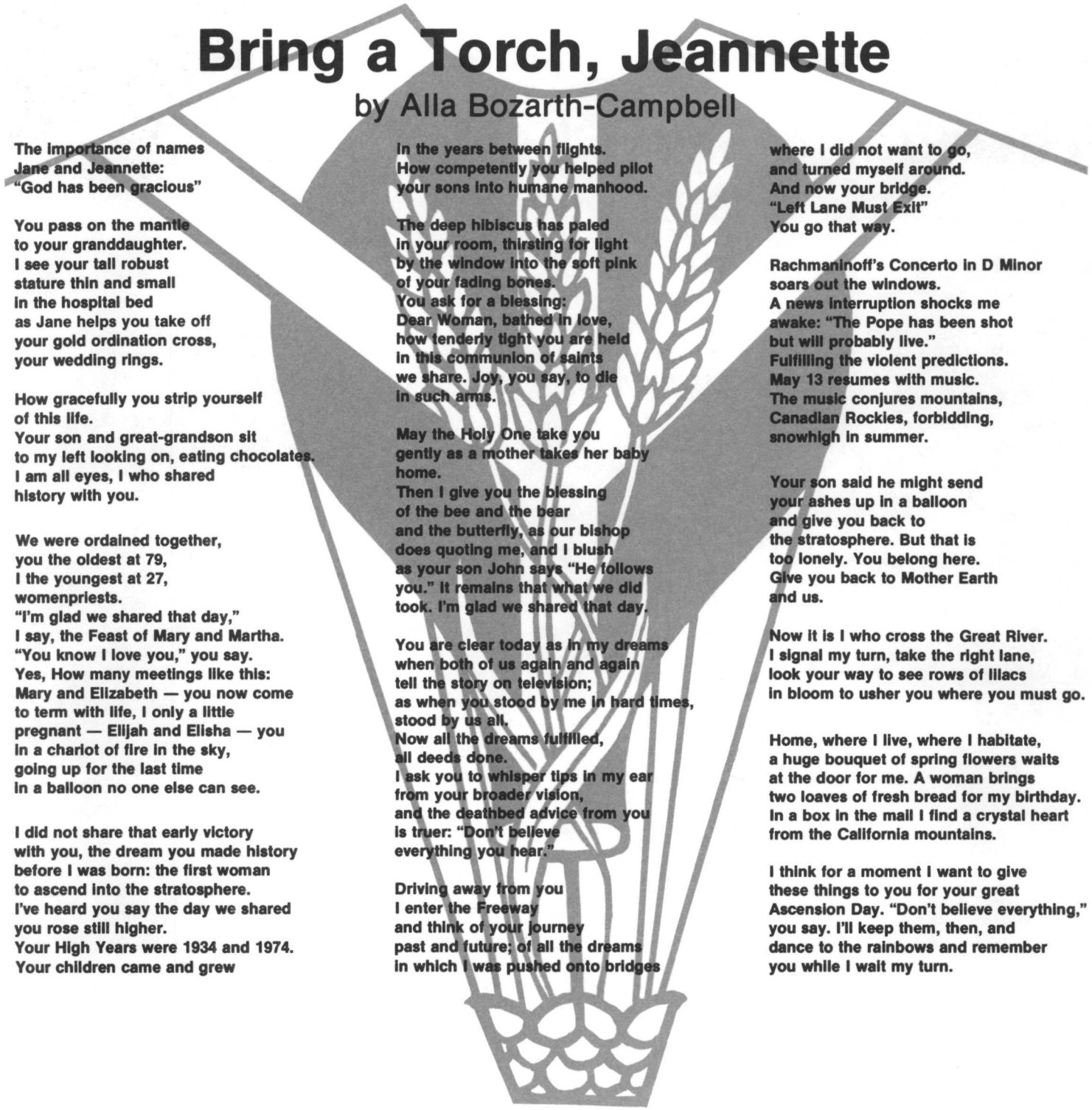
Bring a Torch, Jeannette

by Alla Bozarth-Campbell



The importance of names
Jane and Jeannette:
"God has been gracious"

You pass on the mantle
to your granddaughter.
I see your tall robust
stature thin and small
in the hospital bed
as Jane helps you take off
your gold ordination cross,
your wedding rings.

How gracefully you strip yourself
of this life.
Your son and great-grandson sit
to my left looking on, eating chocolates.
I am all eyes, I who shared
history with you.

We were ordained together,
you the oldest at 79,
I the youngest at 27,
womenpriests.
"I'm glad we shared that day,"
I say, the Feast of Mary and Martha.
"You know I love you," you say.
Yes, How many meetings like this:
Mary and Elizabeth — you now come
to term with life, I only a little
pregnant — Elijah and Elisha — you
in a chariot of fire in the sky,
going up for the last time
in a balloon no one else can see.

I did not share that early victory
with you, the dream you made history
before I was born: the first woman
to ascend into the stratosphere.
I've heard you say the day we shared
you rose still higher.
Your High Years were 1934 and 1974.
Your children came and grew
in the years between flights.
How competently you helped pilot
your sons into humane manhood.

The deep hibiscus has paled
in your room, thirsting for light
by the window into the soft pink
of your fading bones.
You ask for a blessing:
Dear Woman, bathed in love,
how tenderly tight you are held
in this communion of saints
we share. Joy, you say, to die
in such arms.

May the Holy One take you
gently as a mother takes her baby
home.
Then I give you the blessing
of the bee and the bear
and the butterfly, as our bishop
does quoting me, and I blush
as your son John says "He follows
you." It remains that what we did
took. I'm glad we shared that day.

You are clear today as in my dreams
when both of us again and again
tell the story on television;
as when you stood by me in hard times,
stood by us all.
Now all the dreams fulfilled,
all deeds done.
I ask you to whisper tips in my ear
from your broader vision,
and the deathbed advice from you
is truer: "Don't believe
everything you hear."

Driving away from you
I enter the Freeway
and think of your journey
past and future; of all the dreams
in which I was pushed onto bridges
where I did not want to go,
and turned myself around.
And now your bridge.
"Left Lane Must Exit"
You go that way.

Rachmaninoff's Concerto in D Minor
soars out the windows.
A news interruption shocks me
awake: "The Pope has been shot
but will probably live."
Fulfilling the violent predictions.
May 13 resumes with music.
The music conjures mountains,
Canadian Rockies, forbidding,
snowhigh in summer.

Your son said he might send
your ashes up in a balloon
and give you back to
the stratosphere. But that is
too lonely. You belong here.
Give you back to Mother Earth
and us.

Now it is I who cross the Great River.
I signal my turn, take the right lane,
look your way to see rows of lilacs
in bloom to usher you where you must go.

Home, where I live, where I habitate,
a huge bouquet of spring flowers waits
at the door for me. A woman brings
two loaves of fresh bread for my birthday.
In a box in the mail I find a crystal heart
from the California mountains.

I think for a moment I want to give
these things to you for your great
Ascension Day. "Don't believe everything,"
you say. I'll keep them, then, and
dance to the rainbows and remember
you while I wait my turn.

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Part 1

Theology of Pro-Choice: A Feminist Perspective

by Beverly Wildung Harrison

Much discussion of abortion betrays the heavy hand of misogyny or the hatred of women. We all have a responsibility to recognize this bias, sometimes subtle, when ancient negative attitudes toward women intrude into the abortion debate. It is morally incumbent upon us to convert the Christian position to a teaching more respectful of women's history and experience.

My professional peers who are my opponents on this question feel that they own the Christian tradition in this matter and recognize no need to rethink their positions in the light of this claim. As a feminist, I cannot sit in silence when women's right to determine how procreative power is to be used is under challenge. That right is being withdrawn by the State even before its moral basis has been fully elaborated. Those who deny that women deserve to control procreative power claim the right to do so out of "moral sensibility," in the name of the "sanctity of human life." We have a long way to go before the sanctity of human life will include genuine regard and concern for every female already born, and no social policy which obscures that fact deserves to be called "moral."

I believe the human wisdom which informs our ethics about abortion comes from what earlier Catholic moral theologians meant by "natural law" more than from quoting the Bible alone. Unfortunately, however, natural law reflection in a Roman Catholic context has been every bit as awful as Protestant Biblicism on any subject that involves human sexuality, including discussion of women's "nature" and women's "divine vocation" in relation to procreative power.

Protestants who oppose procreative choice either tend to follow Roman Catholic moral theology or ground their positions in Biblicist anti-intellectualism, claiming that "God's word" requires no justification other than their claim that it (God's word) says what it says. Against such irrationalism, no rational objections have a chance. If Protestant fundamentalists do give reasons why they believe that abortion is evil, they too revert to traditional natural law assumptions about women, sex and procreation. Therefore, it is against the claims of traditional Catholic natural law thinking on the subject of sexuality, procreation, and women's power of rational choice that objection must be registered.

Any treatment of a moral problem is inadequate if it fails to question the morality of the act in a way which represents the concrete experience of the agent who faces a decision with respect to that act. Misogyny in Christian discussions of abortion is evidenced in that the decision is never treated as an integral part of the female agent's life process. Abortion is treated as an abstractable act, rather than as what it always is — a possible way to deal with a pregnancy.

Those who uphold the immorality of abortion are wise to obscure the fact that it is a fully living human female who is the moral agent in the decision. In the case of pregnancy, the woman's life is deeply, irrevocably affected.

Where the question of abortion might arise, a woman finds herself facing an *unwanted* pregnancy. Consider the actual circumstances which may precipitate this. One is the situation in which a woman did not intend to be sexually active or did not enter into the act voluntarily. Since women are frequently victims of sexual violence, numerous cases of this type arise because of rape, incest, or forced marital coitus. Many morally sensitive

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Dr. Beverly Wildung Harrison is Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. The above is adapted from a lecture to the Symposium on the Theology of Pro-Choice in the Abortion Decision, sponsored by Religious Leaders for Free Choice and Religious Coalition on Abortion Rights, Stephen Wise Synagogue, New York.

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opponents of abortion will concede that in such cases it may be morally justifiable. I would insist that in such cases it is a moral good, because it is not rational to treat a newly fertilized ovum as though it had the same value as the existent, pregnant, female person, and because it is morally wrong to make the victim of sexual violence suffer the further agonies of unwanted pregnancy.

Another more frequent case results when a woman — or usually a young girl — participates in heterosexual activity without clear knowledge of how pregnancy occurs and without intention to conceive. A girl who became pregnant in this manner would, by traditional natural law morality, be held to be in a state of "invincible ignorance" and therefore not morally culpable. I once met a scholarly Roman Catholic nun who argued, quite seriously, that her church should not consider the abortions of young Catholic girls as morally culpable since the church was "overprotective" of them, which prevented them from understanding procreation and the sexual pressures which contemporary society puts on girls.

A related type of pregnancy happens when a woman runs risks by not using contraceptives, perhaps because taking precaution is not "ladylike" or requires her to be too "unspontaneous" about sex. However, when pregnancies occur because women are skirting the edges of knowledge and running risks, is enforced motherhood a desirable solution? Such pregnancies could be minimized by eradicating childish myths, embedded in natural law teaching, about female sexuality.

In likelihood, the largest number of abortions arise because mature women who are sexually active with men and who understand the consequences, experience contraceptive failure. Schizophrenia in this area is exhibited in that many who believe that women have more responsibility than men to practice contraception, and that family planning is a moral good, rule out abortion altogether. Such a split consciousness ignores the fact that there is no inexorable biological line between prevention of conception and abortion. More important, this ignores the genuine risks involved in female contraceptive methods. The reason we do not have more concern for finding safer contraceptive methods for men and women is that matters relating to women's health and well-being are *never* urgent in this society. Moreover, many failures are due to the irresponsibility of the producers of contraceptives rather than to "bad luck." Given these facts, should a woman who actively attempts to avoid pregnancy be punished for contraceptive failure when it occurs?

*"When one stops to consider the awesome power over nature which **males** take for granted, including the power to alter conditions of human life in myriad ways, the suspicion dawns that the near hysteria that prevails about the immorality of women's right to choose abortion derives its force from misogyny rather than from any passion for the sacredness of human life."*

Theological Context

In the history of Christian theology, the central metaphor for understanding life, including human life, is as a gift of God. Creation itself is seen primarily under this metaphor. In this context, it follows that procreation itself takes on special meaning when expressed within a patriarchal society in which it is the male's power which is enhanced by this "divine gift."

Throughout history, women's power of procreation stands in definite tension with male control. In fact, ancient historical evidence suggests that what we call patriarchy derives from the need of men, and later of male-dominated political insitutions such as tribes and states, to control women's procreative power. We must assume, then, that many of the efforts at social control — including church teaching on contraception and abortion — were part of an overall system. The perpetuation of patriarchal control itself depended on wresting the power of procreation from women. Another critical point is that in the last four centuries, the entire Christian story has had to undergo dramatic accommodation to new and emergent world conditions grounded in the scientific revolution. As the older theological metaphors for creation encountered a new human self-understanding, Christian theology had either to incorporate this new reality in its story or to become obscurantist.

The range of human freedom to shape and enhance creation is now celebrated theologically up to the point of changes in sexuality or ways of seeing women's nature. Around these issues a barrier has been drawn which declares: *No Freedom Here!* The only difference between mainline Protestant and Catholic theologians is on the question of contraception. That Protestant male clergy are usually married does have a positive experiential effect on their dealing with this issue; generally they have accepted the moral appropriateness of contraception. Most Protestants and nearly all Catholics, however, draw back from recognizing abortion as a defensible excercise of human freedom or self-determination.

The problem, then, is that Christian theology everywhere else celebrates the power of human freedom to shape and determine the quality of human life except when the issue of abortion arises. The power of *man* to shape creation radically is never rejected. When one stops to consider the awesome power over nature which males take for granted and celebrate, including the power to alter the conditions of human life in myriad ways, the suspicion dawns that the near hysteria that prevails

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about the immorality of women's right to choose abortion derives its force from misogyny rather than from any passion for the sacredness of human life. The refusal of male theologians to incorporate the full range of human power to shape creation into their theological worldview when that power relates to the quality of women's lives and women's freedom and women's role as full moral agents, is an index of the continuing misogyny in Christian tradition.

By contrast, a feminist theological approach recognizes that nothing is more urgent, in light of the changing circumstances of human beings on planet Earth, than to recognize that the entire natural-historical context of human procreative power has shifted. We desperately need a "desacralization" of our biological power to reproduce, and, at the same time, a real concern for human dignity and the social conditions for personhood and the values of human relationship. And note that "desacralization" does not mean complete devaluation of the worth of procreation. It means that we must shift away from the notion that the central metaphors for divine blessing are expressed at the biological level to the recognition that social values bear the image of what is most holy. The best statement I know on this point comes from a Roman Catholic feminist who is also a distinguished sociologist of religion, Marie Augusta Neal:

> *As long as the central human need called for was continued motivation to propagate the race, it was essential that religious symbols idealize that process above all others. Given the vicissitudes of life in a hostile environment, women had to be encouraged to bear children and men to support them; child-bearing was central to the struggle for existence. Today, however, the size of the base population, together with knowledge already accumulated about artificial insemination, sperm banking, cloning, make more certain a peopled world.*
>
> *The more serious human problems now are who will live, who will die and who will decide. . .*

Alternative Reading of History

Between persons who oppose all abortions on moral grounds and those who believe that abortion is sometimes or frequently morally justifiable, *there is no difference of moral principle.* Pro-choice advocates and anti-abortion advocates share the ethical principle of respect for human life, which is probably why the debate is so acrimonious. I have already indicated that one major source of disagreement is the way in which theological story is appropriated in relation to the changing circumstances of history. In addition, we should recognize that whenever strong moral disagreement is encountered, we simultaneously confront a different reading of history. The way we interpret the past is already laden with a sense of what the "moral problem" is.

For example, professional male Christian ethicists tend to assume that the history of the morality of abortion can best be traced by studying the teaching of the now best remembered theologians. Looking at the matter this way, one can find plenty of proof-texts to show that *some* of the church fathers (as we call them) condemned abortion and some even equated abortion with either homocide or murder. However, when a "leading" churchman equated abortion with homocide or murder, he also *and simultaneously* equated *contraception* with homocide or murder as well. This reflects the then almost hysterical anti-sexual bias of the Christian tradition.

However, this anti-sexual tradition is *not* universal, even among theologians and canon lawyers. On the subject of sexuality and its abuse, many well-known theologians had nothing to say and abortion was not even mentioned. An important, untold chapter in Christian history is the great struggle that took place in what we call the medieval period, when clerical celibacy came to be *imposed,* and the rules of sexual behavior rigidified.

> *"The reason we do not have more concern for finding safer contraceptive methods for men and women is that matters relating to women's health and well-being are* ***never*** *urgent in this society. Moreover, many failures are due to the irresponsibility of the producers of contraceptives rather than to 'bad luck.' "*

By contrast, my thesis is that there is a relative disinterest in the question of abortion overall in Christian history. Occasionally, Christian theologians picked up the issue, *especially when those theologians were "state-related theologians";* i.e., articulating policy not only for the church but for the political authority. Demographer Jean Meyer, himself a Catholic, insists that the Christian tradition took over "expansion by population growth" from the Roman empire. Christians only opposed abortion strongly when Christianity was closely identified with the State or when theologians repudiated sexuality except in the reluctant service of procreation.

The "Holy Crusade" quality of present teaching on abortion is quite new and related to cultural shifts which are requiring the Christian tradition to choose sides in ideological struggle and to rethink its entire attitude to women and sexuality. No Protestant clergy or theologian gave early support for proposed 19th century laws banning abortion in the United States. It is my impression that Protestant clergy, usually married and often poor, were aware that romanticizing "nature's bounty" with respect to procreation resulted in a great deal of human suffering. The Protestant clergy who finally did join the anti-abortion crusade were racist, classist, white clergy, who feared that America's

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strength was being threatened because white, middle class, "respectable" women had a lower birthrate than black and ethnic women. Sound familiar?

One other point must be stressed. Until the late 19th century, the natural law tradition, and Biblicism following it, always tended to define the act of abortion as interruption of pregnancy after ensoulment, or the coming of the breath of God to the fetus. The point at which ensoulment was said to take place varied, but most typically it was at quickening. Quickening was important because knowledge about embryology was terribly primitive until the last half century. As a result, where abortion was condemned, it was understood to refer to the termination of pregnancy well into the process of that pregnancy after ensoulment. Until the late 19th century, then, abortion in ecclesiastical teaching applied only to termination of prenatal life in more advanced stages of pregnancy.

Another distortion in the male-generated history of this issue derives from failure to note that, until the development of safe, surgical, elective abortion, the "act of abortion" frequently referred to something done to the woman, with or without her consent (See *Exodus 22*), as an act of violence. Now, in recent discussion it is the woman who does the "wrongful" act. When "to do an abortion" meant terminating a pregnancy against the woman's wishes, grounds for moral objections were clear.

Furthermore, whether the act was done with or without the woman's consent, until recent decades abortion always endangered the woman as much as it did the prenatal life in her womb. No one has a right to discuss the morality of abortion today without recognizing that one of the traditional moral reasons for objection to abortion was concern for women's well-being.

Beyond all this, however, the deepest moral flaw in the pro-life position's historical view is that none of its proponents have attempted to reconstruct the all but desperate struggle by sexually active women to gain some proximate control over nature's profligacy in conception. Under the most adverse conditions, women have had to try to control their fertility — everywhere, always. Even when women are infertile, their relationship to procreation irrevocably marks and shapes their lives. Those who have sought to avoid sexual contact with males, through celibacy or through lesbian love, have been potential, even probable, victims of male sexual violence or have had to bear heavy social stigma for refusing the centrality of dependence on men and of procreation in their lives. Women's lack of social power, in all recorded history, has made this struggle to control procreation a life-bending, often life-destroying one.

So women have had to do whatever they could to avoid too numerous pregnancies. In most societies and cultures, procreation has been in the hands of women's culture. Some primitive birth control techniques have proven rather effective. Increasingly, anthropologists are gaining hints of how procreative control occurred in some pre-modern societies. A woman often has chosen to risk her life in order not to have that extra child that would destroy the family's ability to cope or that would bring about a crisis unmanageable within her life.

We have to concede that modern medicine, for all *its* misogyny, has replaced some rather ghastly practices still widely used where surgical abortion is unavailable. In light of these gains, more privileged Western women must not lose the ability to imagine the real-life pressures which lead women in other cultures to submit to ground-glass douches, reeds inserted in the uterus, etc. to induce labor. The radical nature of methods women resort to bespeaks the desperation involved in unwanted pregnancy.

Nor should we suppress the fact that a major means of birth control now is as it was in earlier times, *infanticide*. And let no one imagine that women made decisions to expose or kill new-born infants casually. Women understand what many men cannot seem to grasp — that the birth of a child requires that some person must be prepared to care, without interruption, for that infant, provide material resources and energy-draining amounts of time and attention. It seems to me that men, especially celibate men, romanticize the total and uncompromising dependency of the newly born infant upon the already existing human community. This dependency is even greater in a fragmented, centralized urban-industrial modern culture than in a rural culture, where another pair of

Communi / / cation

I rode the train again today
enjoying my privacy until a
dark-haired girl sat down beside me —
a student
but I kept on writing.

We entered a tunnel
with the rumbling and rushing of
wind — darkening my
reflection in the window.

Then the feeling took me:
I had to cough;
I had to ask her if she minded
if I smoked;
I had to tell her I was scared
of growing even a minute older,
but I couldn't and kept on
writing.

She coughed
She cleared her throat —
many times,
as if waiting for me to say
how dry the weather was.
I kept on writing.

Sometimes I think humanity is
sitting beside me, waiting for me to
clear my throat.
But still I keep on writing
while the darkness roars outside . . .

Gail E. Atwater, 18
St. Thomas' Church
Whitemarsh, Pa.

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hands often increased an extended family unit's productive power. No historical interpretation of abortion as a moral issue which ignores these matters deserves moral standing in the present debate.

In drawing this section to a close, I want to stress that if present efforts to criminalize abortion succeed, we will need a State apparatus of massive proportions to enforce compulsory childbearing. In addition, withdrawal of legal abortion will create one more massively profitable underworld economy in which the Mafia and other sections of quasi-legal capitalism may and will profitably invest. The radical Right promises to get the State out of regulation of people's lives, but what they really mean is that they will let economic activity go unrestrained. What their agenda signifies for the personal lives of women is quite another matter.

An adequate historical perspective on abortion recognizes the long struggle women have waged for some degree of control over fertility and of their efforts to regain control of procreative power from patriarchal and state-imperial culture and institutions. Such a perspective also takes into account that more nearly adequate contraceptive methods and the existence of safe, surgical, elective abortion represent positive historic steps toward full human freedom and dignity for women. While the same gains in medical knowledge also open the way to sterilization abuse and to social pressures against some women's use of their power of procreation, I know of no woman who would choose to return to a state of lesser knowledge about these matters.

There has been an objective gain in the quality of women's lives for those fortunate enough to possess procreative choice. That millions of women do not possess even the rudimentary conditions for such choice is obvious. Our moral goal should be to struggle against those real barriers — poverty, racism and cultural oppression — which prevent authentic choice from being a reality for every woman.

Next: The Moral Status of the Fetus, Body-Right as a Moral Claim, the Moral Quality of Pro-Choice Political Strategy.

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 3*

accelerating sharply with the Reagan administration, to apply the words "terrorist" and "terrorism" to one side of the political spectrum — the Left. Thus, as Mark Harris indicated in the June WITNESS, members of the Palestine Liberation Organization are called "terrorists," a word not usually applied to Israeli "commandos" raiding Palestinian settlements. Similarly, our government calls terrorists and extremists those who resist the ruling junta of El Salvador, but furnishes with arms the soldiers and guardsmen of that government.

It must be said in strong rebuttal that, if one insists on using the word "terrorism" to describe irrational acts that are an affront and threat to all humanity, the greatest terrorism of all is the increasingly pervasive fear, shared by the whole human race, that the insane nuclear arms race will end in nuclear holocaust.

Viewed in this light, we might then speak of the new "terrorist budget" of Reagan and Haig, which holds the poor of our own country hostage to poverty while terrorizing the world with its unprecedented nuclear arms buildup.

Indeed, the poor are doubly terrorized: They are besieged by the daily terror of being deprived of food, jobs and health programs, and they are increasingly aware that nuclear holocaust daily moves closer to reality with the arms buildup.

Twenty-seven years ago a band of Puerto Ricans proclaiming independence for Puerto Rico invaded the U.S. Congress and fired shots, wounding several Congressmen. This act was understandably denounced at the time as the act of extremist terrorists. However, few noted that on the day before, the United States detonated the first "deliverable" megaton-class hydrogen bomb on Bikini atoll in the Pacific. This was a far greater act of terrorism by the only nation ever to use an atomic weapon on a people, at Hiroshima.

How might concerned Christians pondering such considerations respond?

First, the world's greatest terrorism, the threat of global nuclear war, must be denounced and the de-escalation of the arms race (sometimes called the balance of terror) pursued with unrelenting vigor.

Second, those people held hostage both at home and abroad by the shackles of injustice and oppression must be given full voice before a world that needs to hear from them directly. The world's press literally and figuratively held out a microphone to the wounded John Paul II. Cannot the churches "carry the microphone" to the poor and dispossessed and allow them to tell their story?

Third, we must be serious about programs which give the poor access to the essentials of life.

If we begin to address these major illnesses of the body politic — the massive impoverishment and oppression and the madness of the arms race — the aberrational acts of a demented few, expressing the deep frustration of the many, might begin to decrease dramatically. ■

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 2*

but it does help to try to raise all the issues and to acknowledge that hard moral choices are involved either way.

The Rev. Carter Heyward
The Rev. Suzanne Hiatt
Cambridge, Mass.

Where Place the Jews?

I am disturbed that, 36 years after the liberation of the death camps, William Stringfellow, an intelligent theologian and courageous activist, can offer us an Easter message in the April WITNESS that puts forward the career of Jesus as the "disposition of Israel's vocation." I may lack the strong theological constitution of the neo-orthodox, but I am not able to survey the 1,400 years during which Christendom's "foot of pride" rested upon Israel, and then reaffirm any notion that Jesus in some sense replaced or fulfilled Israel's mission. Where in this theological construct do we place the Jews who faced Christian fires, gallows and gas chambers sanctifying the Name of the Holy One?

Can we Gentile Christians maintain that the minds of the Ghetto Jews "were hardened" or that "a veil lies over the minds" (*2 Corinthians 3:13-14*) of the Brooklyn *hasidim* because they believed in the messiah and even today await him? Can we hold up the cross as a "stumbling block" (*1 Corinthians 1:23*) to the Jews who perished in the Holocaust, believing that God would not abandon his people? The only cross toward which I would point Israel is the cross of Yeshua of Nazareth which stands in the midst of and *level with* all the other crosses raised by Rome in occupied Palestine.

Thirty-six years after Auschwitz, and all that our best theologians and preachers can offer us is some new version of the ideology of replacement of Israel by Jesus, who at least was a Jew, or by the Gentile Church, the self-styled "New Israel." All this after Jules Isaac, James Parkes and Malcolm Hay, and closer to home Rosemary Ruether and Franklin Littell, have exposed the raw nerve of anti-Semitism at the heart of Christian theology and practice. I sometimes think it may be best that we Christian Gentiles admit that we are what we are, "alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise." (*Ephesians 2:12*)

Perhaps we should allow the spiritual Christ of Greek metaphysics to fade into the pages of history and at last permit the Galilean *hasid* Yeshua to return to his own people. Then we might come to share in the messianic expectation of Israel, the hope for that day when "all flesh shall come to worship" on the holy mountain Jerusalem (*Isaiah 66:18-23*). We may even learn to await the resurrection from the sleep of death, which Yeshua shares with his righteous brothers and sisters. And, just perhaps, after enough prayer and fasting we might begin to do theology again.

John J. Klopacz
New York, N.Y.

Stringfellow Responds

I appreciate the opportunity to comment on the serious and moving letter of John Klopacz and I would welcome an occasion to talk face-to-face with him about these matters.

I think his letter interpolates far too much in reference to my article. I am aware of roots of anti-Semitism in Scripture and in the abuse of Scripture, as well as in arrogant pretensions of what Klopacz calls "the Gentile Church," but I do not see how that is connected with the affirmation in the article that Jesus on the Cross becomes Israel. On the contrary, Jesus on the Cross exemplifies the reconciliation of the whole of humanity in the Word of God. In that context, the Jews who perished in the Holocaust, theologically speaking, are participants in the Cross.

In my view, furthermore, the article exposes the apostacy of the professed "new Israel" quite as much as that of the "old Israel." Some of the implications of that are discussed in an early book of mine entitled *Count It All Joy.*

William Stringfellow
Block Island, R.I.

Sparks Two Programs

I am enclosing the Sunday bulletin from St. Mary's Church to inform you that we are having two programs on El Salvador with the Rev. Richard Gillett and Blase Bonpane. This is partly in response to the influence of THE WITNESS. I have been a subscriber since 1937. My thanks and appreciation to you for following faithfully in the steps of Bill Spofford.

Mary B. G. Zava
Laguna Beach, Cal.

Speak to Social Issues

Magazines such as yours are going to be needed even more in the very near future. Please continue to research, review, analyze and speak to the social and ethical issues of our day. We have too much superficial churchy propaganda and we need more evidence that God is alive and active at the root of His/Her world. Keep up the good work.

Fred Ansell
Kansas Baptist Convention
Pittsburg, Kans.

Forming Study Groups

Please rush me *Which Side Are We On* as advertised on your back cover. I already have *Must We Choose Sides* and what I assume to be the prelude to both volumes, *Struggling With The System: Probing Alternatives.*

Having struggled with these issues for over three years now, these volumes and your magazine have been very useful. In fact, a group of us is about to contract to go through these study/action volumes. Such commitment brings both excitement and fear. Thanks for your own efforts which have been encouraging.

Raymond J. Fancher
Denton, Tex.

CREDITS

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THE WITNESS

VOL. 64 NO. 8 AUGUST, 1981

Power to the Disabled

Betty Medsger
Jane Jackson
Colin Carrig
Robert McConaghy
Robert McGovern
Connie Myer

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LETTERS

With Us, Anyone?

Cheers to Jane Jackson for challenging the barriers to ordination of the handicapped and for bringing the civil rights concerns of the handicapped to the hitherto silent pages of THE WITNESS. (See Letters to Editor, June issue.)

For theological, cultural and psychosocial reasons, the liturgical churches have been antipathetic to the ordination of the handicapped. The Episcopal Church U.S.A. has been especially obdurate, except for its long-standing paternalistic ministry to the segregated deaf community.

To my knowledge, there are four blind priests in the Episcopal Church today. Only one of them is paid full time for work in the church. Like all human beings, the handicapped are made in the image of God, but we are not made in the image of the American bourgeois hero. The English church and culture is traditionally more hospitable to the outsider. Not surprisingly, therefore, it has accepted blind priests much more readily. There is evidently a massive task for the handicapped to achieve equality and recognition of leadership capacity in the church.

In a resolution introduced by the Libyan Delegation, the United Nations proclaimed the observance of 1981 as the International Year of Disabled Persons. How did the Episcopal Church U.S.A. respond? A perfunctory resolution, simply endorsing the UN declaration, was prepared by the staff at the Episcopal Church Center. It was subsequently expanded to invite dioceses and parishes to include the handicapped on program and decision-making bodies. The Executive Council passed this resolution in November. Interestingly, there was no reference to parallel national involvement.

On behalf of Vanguard Institute, I petitioned the Executive Council to amend their resolution to include themselves, the National Church. I reminded them also that there are suitable handicapped persons available for appointment with professional and national experience; including one long ago proposed by the Bishop of Ohio. The Standing Committee on National Mission rejected the request because a stated national commitment was unnecessary and because there is suitable representation of the handicapped through surrogates.

If the Executive Council and national staff are unmoved by the disadvantaged status of the handicapped in the Episcopal Church, what of the organizations in the church specifically dedicated to social justice? The Episcopal Urban Caucus is such a movement, launched in hope with inclusive participation at its founding. So far, there is meager evidence of greater hospitality. There is also a proposal for the establishment of an equal employment opportunity commission in the church, but that is still a series of ciphers on a task force memo pad. So don't hold your breath, brothers and sisters.

In view of the history of paternalistic complacency and pharasaic exclusion, it was gratifying to read Jane Jackson's letter about the concerns of the handicapped in THE WITNESS, a champion of civil rights issues for decades. Welcome aboard. It is difficult indeed not to see 35 million Americans.

Visibility is beginning to emerge: in the media, in the market place, in the halls of legislatures, even in the church. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 has done much for the handicapped. The Civil Rights Act can do more. The major social action priority of much of the handicap movement is the inclusion of handicapping conditions in the Civil Rights Act on the same basis, and for the same reason of discrimination to be erased, as race, sex, religion and national origin. We are at the threshold of the third phase of the civil rights revolution in America in which the awareness of discrimination and the need for redress is becoming a reality. With us, anyone?

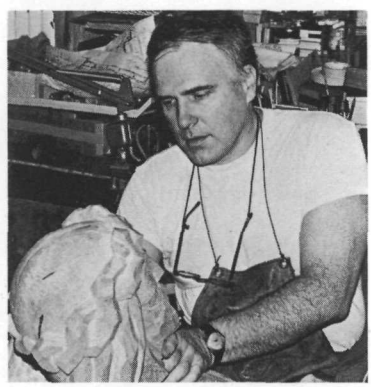
The Rev. William Joseph Johnson
Vanguard Institute
Lakewood, Ohio

(Editor's Note: The Vanguard Institute was organized to raise consciousness about discriminatory attitudes, explicit or implicit, toward disabled people. National in scope, it is committed to showing that the handicapped can function in church and society, and is based at 13216 Detroit Ave., Lakewood, Ohio 44107. Bill Johnson, who wrote the letter above, is a blind priest who serves as its president.)

See other Letters page 19

COVER

The cover of this special issue on disabled people was adapted from an original design by Robert F. McGovern, right, who although stricken with polio at 16, went on to become a noted artist. (See interview with McGovern, beginning page 10.) The issue itself was inspired by Jane Jackson, a disabled seminarian studying toward ordination in the Episcopal Church (See Letters to Editor and page 6.)



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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

Enough Chaos to Build a World

Pentecost is appropriately the longest liturgical season of the church year, stretching through June almost to December.

Recall that epochal experience not long after the first Easter when a group from many nations and tongues were all able to hear the gospel, even if proclaimed in a language not their own: "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia . . . we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God" (Acts 2:9-11). Are there any of God's great actions which more urgently, more frequently, need to be recalled? That experience of Pentecost, and the birth of the church it ushered into history, was a mighty move on the part of God to set aright a creation which had gone awry.

Former Presiding Bishop John Hines, at the height of the turbulence of the '60s, began a memorable address by referring to the origins of creation with the ironic question: "Do we have enough chaos to build a world?"

Men and women, unlike the stars, are not programmed in accordance with a specific plan of world-wide peace and harmony. They *are* programmed, however, never to be at peace with the absence of that peace. The pain of separation, conflict, isolation, injustice and suffering will forever drive them onward in quest of that lost harmony, that lost peace. The human heart was made for the harmony of Pentecost, and will never settle for less.

And this means a restless questing for patterns of human living which have not yet been found, an ongoing pilgrimage in search of the Holy City, the City of God on earth. Pilgrims, by definition, are always on the move, on journey from what is to what should be. For example, the narrow loyalty to nation — at best a Patrick Henry, at worst a Hitler — must yield to a fuller concept of human solidarity, one which is not hedged and balkanized by stubborn and arbitrary national boundaries. We live in one world, we are one human family. That is why some of the most insistent voices

Continued on page 8

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There is a 60% chance that at some point in your lifetime you will become physically disabled, either temporarily or permanently.

You, Too, Could Be Disabled

by Betty Medsger

Read this article in self-defense. For you WITNESS readers who are able-bodied, there is a 60% chance that at some point in your lifetime you will become physically disabled, either temporarily or permanently. If that happens, you will, like most people, be unprepared for the new attitudes that others, perhaps even you yourself, will have about your future as a person.

It may be assumed that because your body was damaged, your mind also was damaged. Though you are still an adult, you may be talked to like a child. Worse, you may even be ignored. Unless you are lucky, your doctor won't be helpful about your future once he or she has saved your life. And there will be an appalling number of people who will believe you should be benevolently killed or warehoused out of sight for the rest of your life.

Betty Medsger is an investigative reporter, documentary photographer and lecturer who lives in Berkeley, Cal. The above is adapted from the introduction to her recently completed book, *I Don't Just Cope — I Live!* It is a series of life stories, in photos and text blocks, of five people who are severely physically disabled and live independent lives.

From the physically disabled you can learn that life in a severely disabled body can be just as wonderful — or conversely, just as mediocre or as miserable — as life in a body that has not been disabled by disease or traumatic injury.

This can be true if you have substitute means to accomplish those tasks your body can no longer do — for example, if you are in a wheelchair, have a ramp into your residence, into your work place; or, if you're a blind child, learn how to use a white cane whether or not your parents can afford to send you to a special school. Such compensations can make life normal if you are not overwhelmed by the fact that many people may assume that your disability, no matter what your capabilities, makes you someone to be avoided.

This article is for both the disabled and the able-bodied. Because American society is just beginning to see disabled people on the street, the disabled who come out of isolation and into their communities find themselves constantly educating the able-bodied that they are normal, except for specific physical limitations.

Like other disabled people who have not yet grown permanently weary of convincing others that they are normal, Dr. Robert Russell, an Oxford-educated English professor at Franklin and Marshall College in Pennsylvania, still gently educates people. His lifelong blindness causes two distresses, his and the distress of others. His comes from being deeply saddened at knowing that he will never know what his wife and children look like; that unlike his colleagues, he cannot pick up a book and read it.

"I know through experience what some of these limitations are. Other people do not. But they think they do. And this is what gives rise to most of the trouble. Since I cannot see, they assume that I am either sub or superhuman. Whether sub or super, the result for me is exactly the same: I cannot be communicated with. I am outside the pale. I do not belong. People separate me from the rest of humanity either by excessive pity or excessive admiration. By either emotion they show that I am closed out of any possibility of ordinary relationships."

"In Paris, in London, in Sarajevo, in Stockholm, and in Watertown, N.Y., the waitress says to my companion, 'Does he take sugar in his coffee?' If she were to think about it, which she does

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not — nobody does — she would have to explain that I seem to her like some marvelously trained dog, who has learned how to sit up and eat at the table and drink almost like a person, and can only be communicated with through my trainer."

Dr. Russell says he contains his anger on such occasions and tries a joke or some other expression meant to create a human bond where one doesn't exist. "My central and continual job is to calm those fears in the other, whether an employer or a waitress, that spring from his or her sense that I am an oddity. I have to show others that I understand and care very much about the same basic concerns that fascinate and perplex all sensitive human beings."

Such ideas and experiences are important for all of us to understand, given these facts:

- Sixty to 70% of the American population becomes either temporarily or permanently physically disabled at some point in their lives, according to official statistics of the federal Department of Health and Human Services.
- As more and more disabled people decide to live independent lives that take them to the same places as the rest of us, depending on our reactions to them, we will make disabled people feel that they are an appropriate part of the community, or a pitiful part of the community, or community freaks.
- The disabled person bears an unfair lifetime burden — assuming daily that he or she will be viewed as abnormal. Responsibility for changing this painful stereotype should be shared by the able-bodied.

I believe it is because of our own vulnerability that we have preferred that disabled people remain hidden. This is a minority group we could be forced to join. Five minutes from now we could be in an accident that would paralyze us or blind us or deafen us. We could have a child or grandchild that would be born with severe disability. This fear, if not faced honestly, will affect not only the disabled people we meet, but also our own prospects of accepting ourselves and loved ones as valid persons, rather than as invalids, should disability hit us or them.

Public policy in many states encourages severely disabled people to remain hidden and dependent rather than to live productive and independent lives in the world. These states prefer to spend exorbitant amounts of money providing custodial care for disabled people in institutions rather than spend a small fraction of that amount to provide the services that would make it possible for a disabled person to live integrated into their community and become tax-paying workers. Ironically, the availability of the part-time services needed by severely disabled people would directly benefit more than the disabled. Many older people, and others, need occasional assistance rather than perpetual care. If communities lack an established network of such services, many older people, at great expense to themselves, their families, or the government, have to leave home and enter perpetual care facilities they don't really need. Making it possible for the disabled to choose an independent life, helps us all.

Disabled people know the able-bodied feel uncomfortable around them, would rather not see them coming down the street. They see us avoid eye contact. They see us pull our children away from them. Occasionally, they see from the corners of their eyes that when we think they aren't looking, we stare at them. Either way, the disabled exist in the minds of the beholders chiefly as disfigurements, not as human beings with expressive eyes, or faces, or other clues to human communication.

When we stop being afraid of disabled people, at the grocery store we will be able casually to ask a disabled person we do not know, as we would ask someone else we don't know, "Do you know what aisle the mustard's in?" Or, to a disabled person we do know, "What do you think about that nutty ordinance city council passed the other night?" Or, "How's your son doing in school this fall?" Or, "Want to play a game of chess?" In other words, when we aren't nervous or afraid, we have the same conversations, the same relationships that we have with able-bodied people. Disabled people are no longer oddities who couldn't possibly share our life experiences.

I confess that after several years of working with severely disabled people, sometimes I am still afraid. I can also say that, without exception, the disabled person has removed the fear, usually within the first minutes of conversation. But it was precisely

From UN Declaration On Rights of Disabled Persons

- **Disabled persons have the inherent right to respect for their human dignity.**
- **Disabled persons are entitled to the measures designed to enable them to become as self-reliant as possible.**
- **Disabled persons have the right to medical (and other) treatment... and to services which will enable them to develop their capabilities . . . and will hasten their social integration or reintegration.**
- **Disabled persons have the right . . . to secure and retain employment.**
- **Disabled persons shall be protected against . . . treatment of a discriminatory, abusive or degrading nature.**

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conversation that worried me recently when friends who were having a party asked my husband and me to bring another guest, Hale.

I knew who Hale was, but I had not met him, which is why I had butterflies in my stomach as we drove to his apartment. Hale, in his late 30s, has severe cerebral palsy. Because of a high degree of spastic movements, Hale's arms, hands, and legs are fastened to his power-driven wheelchair. He wears a helmet to protect his head. But the helmet also serves another purpose. With a stick attached to its front, Hale controls his motorized wheelchair and travels all over Berkeley streets. His speech is severely affected by the cerebral palsy, so the stick serves yet another purpose. Stretching from one arm of his wheelchair to the other arm is a board the size of a desk blotter. On it are the letters of the alphabet, numbers, and commonly used words and expressions. Pointing to them with the stick on his helmet, Hale responds to and initiates conversations. He also turns pages with the stick.

Hale was waiting for us in the parking lot. When we introduced ourselves, Hale astounded us by spelling out on his board that he had read and liked an article my husband had written more than 20 years earlier. As we drove along in Hale's van, my husband at the wheel and Hale sitting between and slightly behind us in his wheelchair, Hale accidentally misspelled a word. We all had a good belly laugh when my husband said the bumpy road was causing Hale to make typographical errors on his board.

His face was wonderfully expressive, which was very helpful when trying to understand him. By the end of the evening, we knew that this man who involuntarily drooled in his beard and whose voice could be understood only by those who had known him a long time, was a mathematician, an engineer, and a translator of Russian. He also was a lobbyist trying to keep Congress from watering down laws that require public transportation to become accessible to the disabled. He was someone we'd like to know better.

(During the party, a guest approached the host out of Hale's hearing. Perplexed, the guest said, "You told me Hale was very talented, that he was a mathematician, an engineer, a Russian translator. But you didn't tell me what condition he was in." The host simply said, "Well, I knew you'd see his condition, but that you wouldn't see that he was a mathematician, engineer, and translator.")

Fear causes harmful action and inaction in both individuals and societies. Among the results of our fear of the disabled are these official facts:

— The 47 million physically disabled Americans are the most underemployed group in the country.

— As a group, the physically disabled have the highest per capita poverty.

The barriers to integration in the work place, as well as in social life, are not just curbs and steps that wheelchairs can't climb. The worst barriers are the ones in peoples' minds, barriers created by pervasive stereotyping, be it conscious or unconscious.

If we see disabled people as whole persons, it will be possible to see them not as potential nursing home residents — which many disabled people are even when they are very young — or as hidden charges of aging parents and servant-spouses, but to see them as potential colleagues, neighbors, acquaintances, friends, or lovers.

And getting to know disabled people as people rather than as merely "the disabled," can give birth to a deeper perception about them and about ourselves. We might learn how we would value or devalue ourselves if we suddenly found ourselves inside a disabled body. Then able-bodied people might discover, as many disabled people have, that being human does not depend on the perfect body. ■

Jane Jackson and poodle, Mr. Beau

Parting the Sea

As pointed out earlier in Letters to the Editor, (page 2) the woman who is responsible in large measure for this issue of THE WITNESS is Jane Jackson of Berkeley, a disabled student seeking ordination to the Episcopal priesthood.

Ms. Jackson wrote a powerful letter to THE WITNESS advocating attention to disabled people (see June Issue) and urging us to offer a special subscription rate for them. (We are now offering half price, and our new promotion literature will spell that out.)

Ms. Jackson has a long history of advocacy, from her participation in Civil

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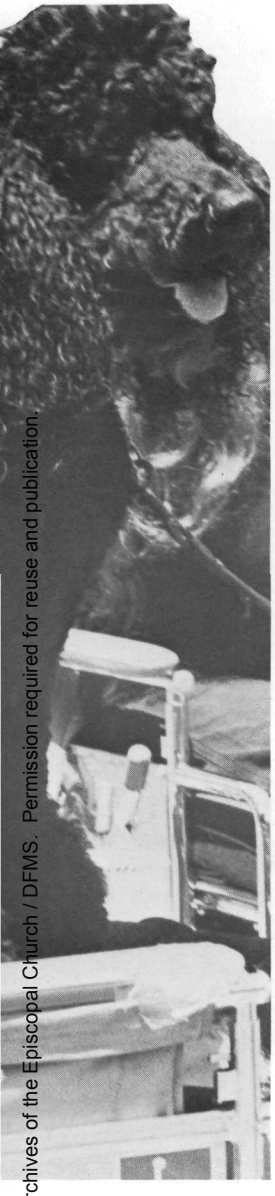

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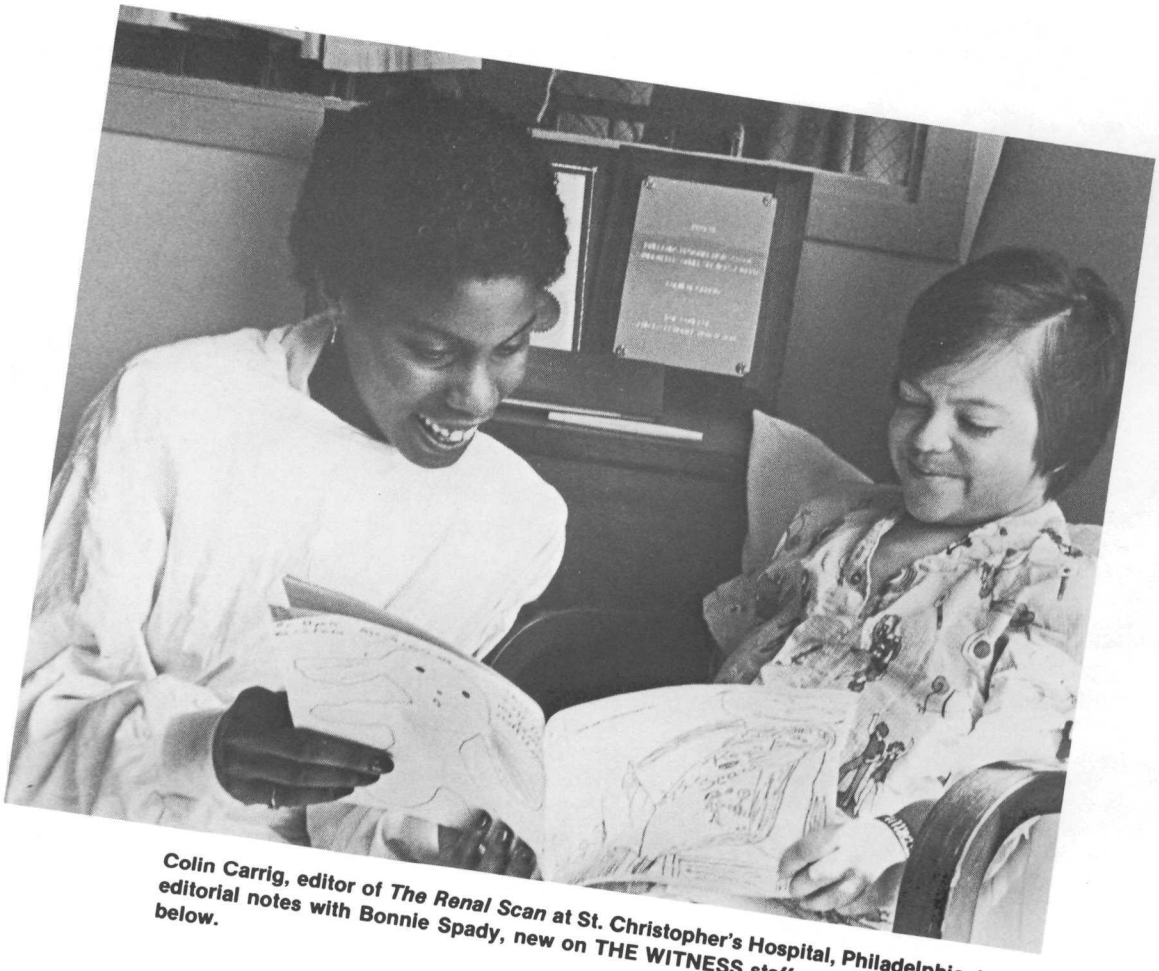

Colin Carrig, editor of *The Renal Scan* at St. Christopher's Hospital, Philadelphia, trades editorial notes with Bonnie Spady, new on THE WITNESS staff, who reported the story below.

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Rights struggles to Gray Panthers work to consciousness raising about the disabled.

Jane Jackson says she was also motivated through childhood by two Dominican nuns who helped her conquer dyslexia, and moved her along through her early education. We would have more to say about Jane, but when we called she was about to leave for a visit to Matanzas Seminary in Cuba to probe liberation theology in a socialist context, and, no doubt, to do consciousness raising among the Cubans about the disabled.

Says Ms. Jackson about her work, "I'm just trying to part the sea."

Edits 'Kidney Power' Publication

THE WITNESS met Colin Carrig, 18, at St. Christopher's Hospital for Children, Philadelphia, where he had just undergone his fourth kidney transplant. His reputation as the plucky editor of *The Renal Scan* — "a Kidney Power Publication" — had reached us earlier and we wanted to meet this so-called "disabled" editor whose newsletter goes to subscribers across the United States, and as far away as Australia and Japan.

Colin was diagnosed when he was eight months old as having Fanconi Daytona Syndrome, a kidney disease which affects bones and growth. As a baby he was given approximately seven years to live.

But despite Colin's illness and numerous trips to the hospital for dialysis, he not only outlived that prognosis but also graduated this past June from Pineland Regional High School in Tuckerton, N.J., where he received a certificate of honor and the Student Personnel Services Award for Courage and

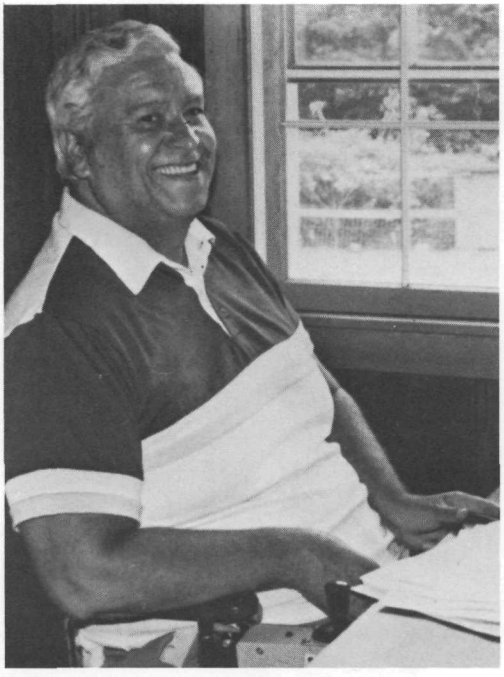
Exceptional Motivation. Since Colin was hospitalized at graduation, his classmates and friends came to his room to present him with a videotape of the ceremonies, (showing the audience in a standing ovation when his name was called) plus his cap and gown, diploma, yearbook, and his award. Having majored in journalism, Colin is considering a career as a sportswriter or sportscaster, and is now studying for his SATs.

With regard to *The Renal Scan,* now in its second year, Colin says, "It started on a small scale, as a source of entertainment for the dialysis kids who were frequently at St. Chris undergoing treatment. I never expected much to come of it. But materials for the publication kept coming in from dialysis in-and-out patients, nurses, therapists, doctors and we have managed to come out every two months. We run news about patients, articles by them, birthdays, poems and riddles, recipes, sports, drawings and I do an editor's column.

Asked his biggest headache as editor, Colin said that he had deadline problems with the staff, many of whom are dialysis patients constantly in and out of the hospital.

As to his illness, the teenager says "I don't dwell on my problems, although I was disappointed when I couldn't actively participate in sports anymore." Colin did go on to get his driver's license, however.

Colin and his mother are members of a charismatic prayer group, and Colin finds inspiration in reading the Bible every night. Asked where he gets his courage, his extra push, Colin says unhesitatingly, "The Lord."



Robert J. McConaghy

Just Our Type

Typesetter for THE WITNESS magazine is Robert J. McConaghy, who with his wife, Ruth, has operated a family business for nine years. They will celebrate their 25th wedding anniversary in January.

Bob McConaghy has a neuro-muscular disorder named after its discoverers, Kugelberg and Welandar. "Only 250 people in the world were recorded as having the Kugelberg-Welandar syndrome in 1958, last time I counted," McConaghy said. "Talk about belonging to a minority group," he laughed.

Bob McConaghy is always laughing, or making others laugh, in spite of his disease, which deprives him of sufficient nerve cells to give messages to his muscles to move. Therefore, the muscles tend to atrophy. He operates his arms through leverage, to eat, to do layouts for his customers.

Bob was on crutches at 11 and turned to a wheelchair at 16. "When I came out of Widner School, I never saw so many people going so fast doing nothing in all my life," he said.

A devout Christian, he and his family attend Calvary Baptist Church in Lansdale, Pa. Bob believes that physical affliction isn't what people should be most concerned about. "The real disease of the world is sin, and that's *really* terminal," he feels.

As far as his own death is concerned, Bob has had some narrow escapes, "so I'm always packed to go," he said. "I'm certainly not afraid of death, since I believe so strongly in the afterlife. I look upon it as an adventure — and a place where there will be no wheelchairs."

It's almost a sure bet that the intrepid McConaghy will leave this world joking. Once after an auto accident, he thought he was so close to death that he called the nurse and told her he figured he had only 20 or 30 minutes left to live. She asked him if he would like to see the priest. "Well, sure, if he's got problems, but tell him to hurry 'cause I only have 20 minutes left to counsel him," McConaghy told her.

THE WITNESS is glad Bob outlived the 20 minutes, but we're sorry the priest never got to meet him. That priest would have gone away a better human being.

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 3*

being heard today are calling across those boundaries, because of their awareness of their solidarity (and ours) with the insurgents of El Salvador, the Blacks of South Africa, the patriots of Puerto Rico. They sometimes risk their citizenship in their native land by so doing, because the customs of this world are not in phase with the purpose of creation, not in accord with the deeper reality of the worldwide human community.

This same dynamic is seen in our church relatedness. Charles Davis in a volume published last year, *Theology and Political Society,* makes the point that many people " . . . remain Christians, despite perhaps the irregularity, tenuousness or even non-existence of their connection with a particular church, because they continue to participate in the social process of shaping what it means to be a Christian at the present time. They are engaged with others in forming Christian norms and values in the context of the situation today . . . We are striving for a new collective identity."

Striving for a collective identity were the people at Pentecost. And so with Christians today. "Pentecostals," "Charismatics" are we all, waiting on the Spirit. But whether we are touched by the authentic Spirit, or by a pseudo-spirit which is a figment of our phantasies and emotional needs, will be evidenced by the measure in which it leads us to work for justice and human solidarity. The achievement of that solidarity is demanded of us, urged upon us, and finally given to us by the Lord of Creation. ■

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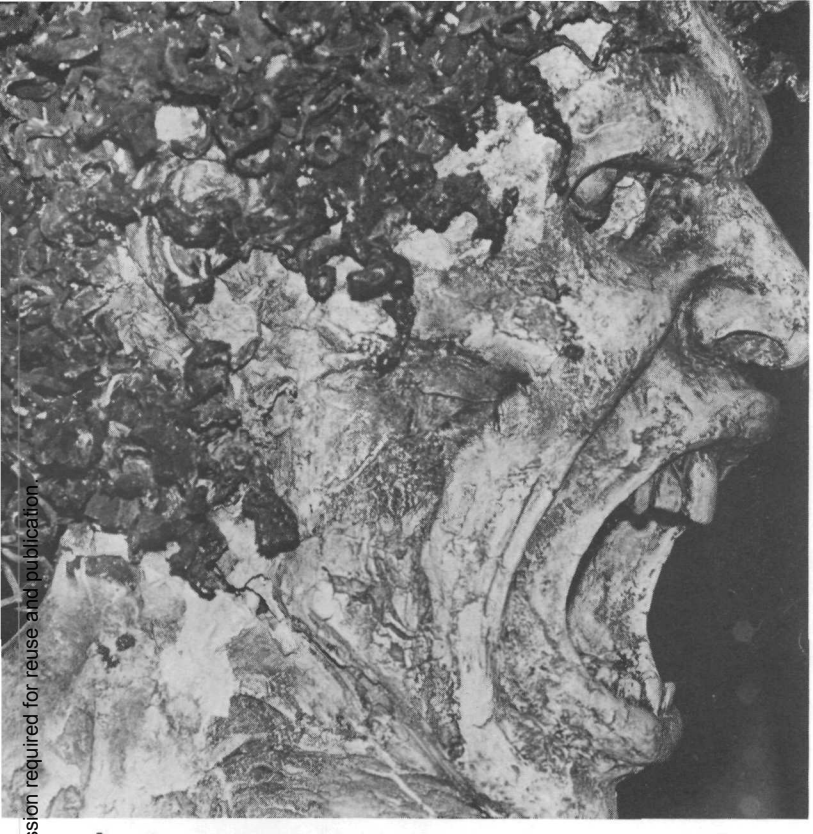

Jesus Under Torture

In an article on Lent, Elizabeth Hollamon wrote recently in *The Texas Churchman* that walking the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem was quite an experience for her.

"It was hot and dusty and noisy and people were hawking everything from chickens to rosaries. I was thoroughly disillusioned. A gentleman of impeccable religious credentials jerked me back to reality. 'Episcopalians,' he said, 'have a great tendency to think Christ was crucified between candelabra at evensong after the third collect. That's not the way it was. What you see and dislike here is the way it really was in Jerusalem 2000 years ago.' "

In a somewhat related manner, Brazilian sculptor Guido Rocha works realistically to bring home the horror of the cross to others from his own experience of physical torture in Brazil prisons. His Christ on the Cross (head pictured above), expresses his deep feeling that "Christ was a person who suffered in the same ways as the tortured." Rocha was imprisoned for his political beliefs in both Brazil and Chile, where he experienced and witnessed torture practiced on human beings. He presented his largest work, Christ on the Cross, to the World Council of Churches in thanksgiving for the churches' role in helping him and other victims escape from Chile.

Several Roman Catholic bishops in Latin America have taken a strong stand on torture, excommunicating anyone "who tortures or who is responsible for torture being done to others." Most recently, Bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo of Cuernavaca announced a decree of excommunication for torturers in his diocese. He said his decision was instigated by the 1980 excommunication decree against torturers made by Chilean bishops. Bishop Samuel Ruiz of Chiapas said that "it is urgent to adopt a joint position of the Episcopacy in order to achieve greater efficacy, since torture is common."

Guido Rocha at work.

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Carving of an Artist Through

His woodcarver's hands cradle, almost fondle, a large block taking shape under his fingers. "Wood wakes me up," he muses, manipulating his knife. "I can be very dull, but the minute I have a knife with a keen edge and present it to the wood and hear the response," — tchick, ssssk, a woodcurl falls to the floor — "I'm at my best."

Emerging from the wood with every deft stroke is a head of Christ, which the artist, Robert F. McGovern, will affix to a corpus for a huge crucifix to hang in St. Joachim's Church in Frankford, Pa. He has also been commissioned to carve a statue of the church's patron saint. A six-foot Joachim, still only roughly defined, stands across from his workbench in his Narberth, Pa., home.

McGovern, struck down by polio in 1949 at the age of 16, has grown in patience and in his craft. The suffering of his teenage years and the pain of the loss of his first wife, Beverly, reveal that "life" has defined Bob McGovern as surely as his fingers carve the wood.

"I don't think people are shaped by 'happy' experiences, in the pedestrian sense," he said. "I have been kicking and squirming nigh onto 48 years, but the negative experiences are indeed the things that have challenged me. I imagine that most people can celebrate their uniqueness in their suffering. This is how heaven in the cosmic sense tells us we're very special."

The artist pauses. "That is, except for the injustices and atrocities which so many of our brothers and sisters throughout the world are undergoing, which are far beyond our morbid, grim prospects. Otherwise I want to be at home with suffering, and the dead. I get anxious if I can't participate in some peace-making aspect of the Christian message when I'm confronted with people in time of ordeal."

Birth, as well as death, holds mystery for McGovern. He was at the birth of all his children. They are Paul, now 17; Laura, 15; Mark, 14 and Helen, 7, the latter by his present wife, Aileen, who also provides assistance in his craft — from helping to move huge blocks of wood to cataloguing his works.

"When I saw Paul born, I felt a tremendous purging. Here was my wife bringing forth this child, connected to it in the most profound way. As an artist, it challenged me with a road to travel. My wife's death did the same. It

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Polio, Suffering

by Mary Lou Suhor

wrenched me with its sorrow and said, 'Now, what do you think of life?' It reminded me that I too would pass through this. These experiences made me determined never to 'junk up' my art," he said.

It surfaces in conversation that faith is central to McGovern's art, and manifests itself in his woodblocks, his statues, his sketches.

"This is where my spirit lives. I don't want this to sound like heavy furniture, but to me there is no more touching odyssey available to the human mind than the Way of the Cross. I say that without reference to a single book on theology, and sans scripture or hierarchies, but as a Christian having **heard the tale told time and time again. Of course, I'm grateful for theology and spiritual guidance, but this is the most moving thing I can think of — Jesus and the Cross.**

"In a way it's like carving. There's a time when we contemplate the event before it comes to be — when Jesus prepares to partake in the event, whether that be cosmic time or tick-tock time or whatever, and then the event itself, when the deed is done historically — although the event is lived repeatedly — and then we look back on it."

McGovern sees church art as "a special space," and he views the task of the religious artist as one of "remembering well."

"Most people remember poorly," he said. "To counteract this, the artist must do a lot of reflection. What we try to remember is our association with one another, with Christ, and eternity. Many would like not to remember these things because there are obligations in remembering. We would almost prefer Jesus to be stereotyped and the words used by poets and writers to be cliches. Then we would be less touched in the depth of our being. In that way, art can be an opiate, just as well as religion can."

When McGovern is not working in his studio, he is teaching Anatomy and 2-D Design at the Philadelphia College of Art. With regard to anatomy, he feels that the good artist must be subtle at it, since anyone can draw "a lot of lumps that look muscular," witness Superman and other comic book characters.

"The trick is to be possessed of a sensibility that goes beyond the surface, which gets at the notion of art as liberation. Life is bound by protocols, situations, material conditions, and one

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thing the artist can do is to expand those 'walls.' If I can see beyond those parameters, then human life has another possibility at that moment and there is another experience. Many great artists were not anatomical, of course. They had a retina experience and painted it and we are grateful. On the other hand, when Van Gogh painted even a dead sunflower, it seems to rattle in its anatomical dryness. He was portraying it as a creature in an active cosmos.

"Take, too, the Australian aborigines, the anonymous artists who never had a course in anatomy. But because they hunted they knew the interiors of animals as well. So when Aborigines painted a kangaroo, they were quite likely to paint the heart and organs and various structures beneath the surface. The kangaroo was more than a retina experience. It was an amalgamation of a lot of layers of living. So with my students, I try to celebrate the multi-layered event. I don't think that solves world problems, but it does set in motion a savor — a 'life savor' if you will," he laughs at his pun — "an appetite for life that deals with more than appearances."

It is no accident, then that certain themes dominate the works of McGovern: suffering, mother and child, and the cosmic event as seen in life situations, whether in the cross, or in humans coping with or prevailing over the human condition.

Recalling his early reaction to his crippled legs, McGovern said that when first hit by polio he experienced desperation, especially when many students who were friends one week before ceased to be his friends because "they couldn't hack it." He described his many moods from 1949 to 1981.

"If you have a chronic, permanent spike in you at first you want to squirm out from under it. You dream of deliverance. Then you realize you have to come to terms with it and you find

yourself at a crossroad, where you can become bitter — a professional disabled, grievously persecuted by fate. Or you can take another route, and do

Titles of Artwork

Titles of Robert F. McGovern's art which illustrates this article are: Page 10, Mary and Her Baby; page 11, from top, self-portrait; Flute and Bhoran, and the People; p. 13, The Spirit of the Lord Will Carry You; all copyright by Robert F. McGovern, as well as graphic on p. 12, The Rats Run the Building, from *Uncommon Prayer, a Book of Psalms*, by Daniel Berrigan, illustrations by Robert McGovern. Copyright 1978 by Seabury Press. Used by permission. Cover title: Boy Making Progress.

something very ancient. You can make your own spaces, find your own way. Twentieth century life doesn't help. There are steps you can't climb, places you can't go, things you can't do. It's almost as though the handicapped become segregated — a nation within a nation.

"That's where I get back to the notion of the Christian as a person of salvage. The first act of salvage is of ourselves, if we can pull that off, to participate in a kind of de-bonding of the former life process. This can be a surveyor's mark for reading our lives, for being able to move on and not get lost. Sometimes friends don't know how to help, but many who were sleepers at first gradually came forward to participate in my life."

In 1975 McGovern took another tack. At that point he came to the conclusion that he was trying too hard to be successful.

"All artists, I think, are secretly disappointed that the Pulitzer Prize passed them by. But six years ago, I decided just to be sure of my willingness to be as clear and on target with my art as possible, and see what life brought me. Then the phone rang and someone ordered a six foot statue of John Neumann for a high school. I had never carved such a large work before. Since then, people have been coming to my door, rather than my pursuing projects. Artists are notorious for their egos, and mine is as good as any, but I'm enjoying jumping into the waves as they come into shore and I'm finding myself refreshed."

Bob McGovern picks up his knife. Tchick, ssssk, tchick, sssk, and the chips fall where they may. ■

Coming Up . . . in THE WITNESS

- **Whatever Happened to the Fever of the '60s?** Noted author Malcolm Boyd, Archdeacon Robert C. Chapman, Miriam Pickett, a disillusioned activist, and Dave and Darlene Kalke, enthusiastic activists, examine "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?"

- **How Today's Parish Can Be Resourceful** — Charles Belknap and David Duncan outline suggestions and a methodology. The Episcopal Church has contributed much to urban ministry and it can have an exciting future bringing people into communion and signaling hope, the authors maintain.

- **Eurocommunism** — Economist David Snider discusses implications of the French elections vis a vis Christians and Marxists in Europe.

. . . And Beverly Harrison continues her analysis of abortion from a feminist theologian's viewpoint, discussing the moral status of the fetus, body-right as a moral claim, the moral quality of pro-choice political strategy.

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International Dimensions of Disability

by Connie Myer

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When I was a child growing up in upstate New York in the 1930s, I looked at crippled people with the thought, "Thank God, I wasn't born that way." I especially averted my eyes from the dangling limbs of crippled persons or from anyone who looked "different."

But a dramatic change in my own life has radically altered my view toward the disabled. I am now one of them. Slowly, progressive multiple sclerosis has made my legs stiff and stick-like; my feet point outward as I drag a reluctant body along on Canadian crutches. I've seen some people look with pity when I come into view.

For a while, as I worked full time as a church agency writer despite increasing paralysis and fatigue, I didn't think of myself as "disabled." Then one day a colleague sent me a special invitation to a conference at Riverside Church in New York City on accessibility for the disabled. For the first time I realized I was "one of them." In general, colleagues and friends hadn't mentioned my problem — an attitude I encouraged by not talking much about it myself. But, I thought now, they must think I'm a freak. More positive thoughts quickly dispelled those, and I kept working as long as my energy held out. In October, 1980, however, I retired on disability and since then I've had a lot of time to think about my situation and that of the approximately 450 million (United Nations' statistics) disabled in the world.

The author on a shopping trip on Broadway Avenue.

First of all, we are a remarkably diverse group. We're deaf, blind, mobility impaired, mentally ill or retarded. Some of us were born with our disabilities. Others acquired them through diseases, nutritional deficiencies in childhood, accidents and environmental factors. Some of us don't even show any disability. One of the worst symptons of MS, for example, is chronic fatigue, even exhaustion, at performing the ordinary chores of life.

The United Nations 1981 International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP) necessarily has to cover a very wide waterfront. In fact, one of the UN's goals is to reach an international understanding on the definition of a disabled person.

The UN statistics leave one feeling rather numb. Some 146 million children under the age of 15 are disabled. Eighty percent of the disabled live in the developing countries where less than 1% receive any trained help. By the end of this century, there will be an estimated 600 million disabled people of whom 200 million will be children.

Some health experts say a quarter of a million children lose their eyesight each year due to lack of Vitamin A. This could be solved by a daily handful of green vegetables, or by adding Vitamin

Connie Myer, a free lance writer who lives in Manhattan, taught English for the Church of Uganda (Anglican) in 1968-69.

A to other foods, at a cost of about five cents per person per year.

Ironically, polio is increasing in some Third World countries because children don't get a natural immunity during their first five years due to improved sanitation. Vaccination against polio is necessary, but it's expensive and some traditional societies are reluctant to have immunizations. I remember the skepticism that village Ugandans had about polio vaccine when I taught there in 1969.

In the Third World many disabilities are closely related to poverty and lack of effective curative drugs. Devastating disabling diseases include onchocerciasis, or river blindness, caused by flies which breed in fast-flowing rivers; schistosomiasis (bilharzia) where blood flukes are transmitted to humans by snails and which debilitates its estimated 300 million victims; trypanosomiasis which slowly weakens most people so that they die of other diseases. No successful vaccine has been developed for trachoma which has many children among its 400-500 million cases.

Sadly, little research is being done either in developing or industrialized nations to find cures for these parasitic diseases. Yet the developed nations spend millions for research on cancer, heart disease and arteriosclerosis. Though most Third World and Western nations are paying at least lip service to the International Year with proclamations and conferences, I found no information in a United Nations press kit on plans for more medical research.

Disability problems in the industrialized nations are different and, due to greater wealth, more easily handled. Motor vehicle and work-related accidents are higher. Rheumatoid arthritis, heart disease, multiple sclerosis, even diabetes are among the disabling diseases. Social security organizations and private insurance plans make disability less economically disastrous. Despite these helps, 36% of disabled persons in the United States live in poverty, compared to 20% of the general population.

This fact is one of the bases for action during IYDP by the National Council of Churches. In a list of guidelines for local congregations, the NCC is focusing on transportation, employment and education for and with disabled persons. Churches are urged to set up task forces and to identify a disabled person, find him or her a job and provide a support system for the person during the job-seeking process and for a time after the person is employed.

"The UN statistics leave one feeling rather numb. Some 146 million children under the age of 15 are disabled. Eighty percent of the disabled live in the developing countries where less than 1% receive any trained help. By the end of this century, there will be an estimated 600 million disabled of whom 200 million will be children."

Perhaps I'm biased because I'm too weak to work full or part time, but to me the NCC guidelines smack too much of the capitalist ethic. Jobs are certainly important to one's self-image and sense of worth, but unless they are chosen very carefully, the permanently, severely disabled person in Western society may lose more than he or she gains. If the job is low paying or only part time, it may be less than the disabled person can obtain through social security and then the poverty level incomes of the disabled would be even higher. Also important is the disabled person's family situation. For example, does the mobility impaired person have a spouse or someone else to assist in transportation to work and to purchase food and cook meals? Does the disabled person have dependent children to care for? Can he or she afford to hire baby-sitters or housekeepers?

Transportation is closely tied to employment for the blind and mobility impaired person. When I was no longer able to use public buses to go to work, I found I had to pay $30 or more weekly to arrange special taxi pick-up service to drive me 12 blocks to and from my home to my office. And that was three years ago when taxi fares in New York City were much cheaper. For wheelchair-bound persons, cost of transport in ambulettes may exceed what a job pays.

The civil rights legislation of the U.S. Department of Transportation requires bus and rail systems which receive federal aid to become accessible to disabled people over the next 10 to 30 years. But there's major opposition because of cost, and the Reagan administration has indicated it may not enforce the guidelines. The guidelines overlook disabled persons in small towns and rural areas where there is no public transit. What can be done for these people? Private, specially equipped vans or automobiles are available but expensive.

In cities, even if buses and subways were completely accessible to wheelchairs, stations and stops still may be several blocks away and difficult to reach in bad weather. Even in cities with extensive transit systems, the disabled person may have to get off several blocks from his or her eventual destination. For all these reasons I believe that special door-to-door van or cab services are best for the severely disabled. Low cost, by appointment pickups would be more convenient and less costly to society than putting elevators in every subway and wheelchair lifts in every bus.

The education part of the NCC guidelines means getting non-disabled

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and disabled persons together for an exchange of ideas. This may lead to "mainstreaming," that is, enabling disabled persons to participate in all church activities, as much as possible. The statement notes that it may be better in some cases to sponsor special classes where persons with similar learning handicaps are grouped. For example, some congregations are experimenting with ecumenical church school classes for mentally retarded youngsters.

For mobility handicapped persons, church accessibility is a key issue. I can't climb the steps anymore to attend my late 19th century designed United Methodist Church in Manhattan. The steps are too steep for a ramp and the congregation can't afford an elevator for access to the basement rest rooms and social hall. I've had to look for a new church that's more "on the level." Some United Methodist and other congregations are doing a great deal in accessibility projects, though, and this is not much of a problem in areas of the United States where church buildings are newer. It can be solved with a bit of imagination and some money.

Most of the mainline denominations are doing something about IYDP, even if only to name a task force and to pass a resolution. The Lutheran churches are particularly active. The American Lutheran Church wants to employ more qualified handicapped persons at its national offices. It is developing puppet shows to help teach Sunday school children about disabilities. It is setting up district committees to focus on ministries with the handicapped. The Lutheran Church in America is having conferences which include disabled adults and youths. Educational ministry coordinators are being trained to accommodate disabled persons in their classes.

Connie Myer mails an article to a publisher.

Despite the danger of "compassion fatigue" with so many international years, world crises and the conservative trend in the U.S., Ima Jean Kidd, director of special learning needs for the NCC, says church response to IYDP has been excellent. "We've been even busier with this than with the International Year of the Child," she reported. "People are calling in and ordering materials. Judicatories and councils of churches, too."

Whether IYDP remains just a symbolic gesture empty of real meaning depends upon full participation of us — the disabled — in making its somewhat grandiose goals a bit closer to achievement. We can work in both church and society by pulling ourselves up by our own crutches, so to speak. Some of us can participate more than others. But we can all aim to improve the quality of our lives here in the United States — whether it's by making transportation accessible, by providing hearing aides or other devices for church services, or fighting to be sure the states retain handicapped children education if the Reagan block grant budget proposals are passed.

As world citizens, we, with other action groups, can fight for economic aid increases to developing countries rather than for military aid as in El Salvador. We can push for more medical research into the causes of disabling diseases everywhere in the world. And, finally, we can take pride in who and what we are. All of our contributions may not be measurable in the job marketplace. Maybe our best gifts lie in being good listeners and good advocates, sensitive to the needs and cares of others.

In the long run, if we don't have respect for ourselves and our abilities, who else will? ■

Credits

Cover: Robert McGovern, adapted by Beth Seka; p. 6, Jane Jackson photo, Ken Stein; photos p. 2, 7, 8, Mary Lou Suhor; photos p. 9, John Taylor, World Council of Churches, Geneva; graphics pp. 10-13, Robert F. McGovern; photos p. 14, 16, John C. Goodwin, United Methodist Board of Global Missions; back cover, Joan Dinkelspiel.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Episcopalians Interested in Shareholder Responsibility

FROM: THE WITNESS

A Shareholder Rights Conference for those interested in social responsibility in investments will take place Oct. 16-17 at St. Thomas' Church, Whitemarsh, Pa. for the First, Second and Third Provinces of the Episcopal Church.

Sponsors of the Conference include the Committee on Social Responsibility of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, six bishops, St. Thomas Church, and the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Bishop of New York, will deliver the keynote address.

For a brochure and registration form, write to St. Thomas Church, Whitemarsh, Ft. Washington, Pa. 19034.

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Reflections on the Passion While Undergoing Surgery

by Margaret Arms

"My soul is very sorrowful, even to death; remain here and watch with me . . . If it be possible let this cup pass from me."

Were you frightened, scared that night in Gethsemene?
Scared. As I am on the eve of the surgeon's knife?
Of what, Jesus? Pain? Fear? . . .
that maybe God had asked,
Risked too much? That when the hails harbingered hell
You would fail?

* * *

Ms. Arms? I need to go over the surgical procedure and risks with you. You understand that there is no guarantee that we will be able to restore your hearing? And you do understand that sometimes this cholesteatoma grows on the facial nerves, the brain and occasionally the spinal column so that those are all at risk? But you also understand that happens only rarely when it has been present and undetected for a long time. Oh. Yours may have been present since childhood? Well . . . You'd know if it were on your brain. That's really just a statistical possibility.

Dear God. Remain with me, here. Watch over me. I've been on the wrong side of statistics so often that it is more than a possibility to me. Sometimes I get headaches and don't remember dates or people's names or words or . . . "Yes doctor. I'll sign the consent form. I know. Without surgery statistical possibility becomes reality. Slowly, ever so slowly, over the years I'd be a vegetable."

"If it be possible let this cup pass from me. Still, Not my will, but thine."

I'm frightened, Doctor.
I'm scared, Father.
I'm a coward, God. Help me.
So we go. You to Caiaphas; I to O.R. #3.
If it be possible let this cup pass . . .

In the courts they bickered: What is the charge, where is the wrong? I find no crime — still, if you want him, take him. And Peter, your Rock, said he never knew You.

In O.R. #3 they bickered: Where will Dr. G. be? I don't want the tubes going that way. I need her head here, my microscope there. The nurses can't be there — I need the instruments over there, not here. A hand on my shoulder: "It's O.K. We go through this every time."

"I thirst."

Nailed there. Dying, but not yet.
More to bear, in the bare pounding sun.
I thirst — for what? Water? Death? Life?
But they gave you vinegar and hyssop.
Sour wine. An act of mercy or mockery?
Please God, in all the mocking, hating, killing — Let
That have been one small act of mercy.
Now, I thirst.
Nothing to drink since midnight.
Mouth a sandstorm without the sand.
Tongue thick, an Elephant's
Trunk. Morphine. Edges dull, colors blur:
No pain, just fuzz and
Through the haze, raw fear.
I thirst.

"My God, My God why hast thou forsaken me?"

Did you mean it? Was it a cry from the depths of your aloneness, too?
Did you really feel the ultimate aloneness of humanity?
Was it really real?

Ms. Arms? Are you ready for a little nap now?

Sodium pentothol shoots into the I.V. Solution.
I am alone. Now. With my body; my fear
and the trickle
of drugs.
But. Rising from my center
A connection, a comfort.
Something to do with Golgotha and Me.
That in taking Separateness to Yourself,
You render mine no more.
Aloneness/Separateness
Become communion, community.
And remembered words filter through the shroud of drugs:
"For lo, I am with you. Always."

"It is finished. Into thy hands I commit my spirit."

The worst has come: God has been killed, murdered by a senseless mob. It is done. They did it.
We do it. Again and again. Each time
- we send infant formula to third world mothers who do not/cannot prepare and keep the formula properly.
- we trim national/church/

Margaret Arms, vice-president of the Episcopal Women's Caucus, edits the EWC quarterly, RUACH. She reflects above on her recent ear operation.

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family budget by cutting funds for programs designed to help the poor, hungry, alienated and disenfranchised of our world/country/church/family.

- we allow the medical profession to prescribe more tranquilizers/mood alterers/pain killers because the doctor is too busy/uncaring/scared/threatened to listen to the pain and loneliness of his patients.
- we expand our national/family defense budget to develop dubious missile systems which may/may not/probably won't work/be obsolete or buy another "little gun" to keep by our bed or another lock for our window/door/silver chest/jewelry box.
- we objectify ourselves, your created ones, creation; You.

Making All
Irrelevant
Objects to
victimize/use/abuse/mock/ridicule/batter/brutalize/rape/ravage/ignore/discount
Until we, ourselves,
Become
Other.
And we kill You as surely as did
that
mob
In Jerusalem those many years
gone.
For You, the agony ends.
Or
Does it just begin as You live to
take each
Gethsemene anew . . .
each awful
senseless
negation
of Yourself, Your Creation?
Gethsemene carried you to
Golgotha.
Yet Golgotha
led to another Garden and an
empty tomb. Yours.

It's over Margaret. They wheeled you out of surgery at the same time as the space shuttle landed. It wasn't as bad as we thought it might be. You're going to be fine. We built you a new ear and everything's O.K.

I drift in and out of sleep.
In between, I see the face of my husband, grinning, as he repeats the doctor's words: "You're going to be O.K."
And holding my husband's hand seems to be the most important thing in the whole world.
Just
to
hold . . .
It's over . . .

But the retching, vomiting, spewing forth the emptiness of my empty stomach begins and goes on and on and on and on . .
My God, I thought we were finished!
A shot, nausea recedes. I sleep.
Into thy hands . . .

Morning comes, a new day.
Upheavals of yesterday, stilled.
Nausea gone — a few sips of water.
Calm.
Going home depends on keeping breakfast down.
First, the priest with communion.
PANIC: I've had no solid food.
Might throw up on the wafer — surely a sacrilege! Perhaps a piece of toast first . . .

"And he took bread, and when he had given thanks he broke it and gave it to them saying, 'This is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.' "

Suddenly it seems fitting.
Essential, that my first
Solid food be the Host,
The Broken Body.
I have come from my own Golgotha
But the Tomb is already empty.
aloneness already shared,
fear carried;
My Golgotha an Easter before it
Ever began.
This is my Body . . .
Thank you Lord, Thank you, and Amen. ■

Hospital Notes

Will.
Will Stout.
What are you doing here?
You, who have dressed yourself in coat
And cap — fine old galoshes too —
You know the wind blows gales today;
Your garment is in season.

I first wondered: have you just come in
Or are you going out?

But this is the third time today
You have stopped to gaze at me
And ask: Are you my sister?

Goosey, goosey gander
Whither dost thou wander
Up the hall and down the hall
Asking for your sister

Ah, Will, you don't like it here
Anymore than I.
But here we are: my mark invisible
By comparison.

On your back is a wide stripe of surgical tape.
It says: *I am Will Stout.*
I belong on the fourth floor East.
That must be the reason everyone is smiling.

How fitting strange for both of us, Will.
By God, I know us now.
We come straight from the gong show.

Oh, Will, let me walk with you
Out the door of this institution.
We could go out in the wind
And play on the lawn.
No one would know I am your sister.
No one would know I came to take you home.

But that would not be fair, Will.
Fourth floor East needs you.
Without you, fourth floor East does not
Exist. You make it Real.

I waited long enough.
Someone else took him there
While I was writing.
That's why I write.

Don't ask me where he came from
Or where he has gone.

Only know, Will was here
Looking for his sister.

— Sara L. Morrison

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 2*

Tales of Canterbury

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert A. K. Runcie, has gone from San Francisco. We trotted out the best people, the finest music and delicious receptions. It was a joyful triumphant visit.

At Good Samaritan Church in the Mission District, Runcie was happy all races and ethnic groups could mix it up in Christian worship. All ethnics were especially invited to show up. One told me he was invited to the service for one reason only — his teeth.

At Grace Cathedral he made us chuckle with an ethnic slur about a Puerto Rican wrestler from Boston named Bonzo. He then went on to tell us we needed a God big enough to encompass the world's problems.

A picket line circled around outside the Cathedral on Taylor Street. A green casket was carried by six people. American, Irish and El Salvadoran flags were held aloft by the serious, silent demonstrators concerned with political prisoners around the world. What a great gesture if the Archbishop would have joined the line for a go-round or two. One priest told me he'd have joined the line but his job is in the diocesan budget.

In the Cathedral was one bishop who had been thrown out of South Africa for his anti-apartheid stand. Another bishop present ordained the first woman Deacon in the Episcopal Church in 1965. The Archbishop of Canterbury, whose local dioceses refuse to ordain women, spoke to neither of these issues of human rights.

The Archbishop's sermon referred to God the Father and God the Son, sound enough theological ideas. But what happened to the feminine as part of divinity? This dimension of theological debate was passed over in a diocese that has pioneered in rights of women.

As I sat in the Cathedral I thought of a performance I saw there many years ago of Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral.* Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was killed because he opposed the established status quo. This Archbishop seems so real, so fragile and elegant. He is a spokesman for law and order wanting to change things by keeping everything the same.

On the other hand it was great to have two women read the lessons and some women acolytes carry things. Runcie smiled warmly, touched children and obviously enjoyed himself processing the aisles. It was moving to see so many people joined in a sense of Anglican and Christian unity. People played, laughed, drank and ate in the park after the service. A great opportunity was missed. A pleasant day was had.

I wonder what the casket-carrying pickets thought?

The Rev. Robert W. Cromey
San Francisco, Cal.

Love Reaching Out

I am a retired Catholic priest of the Roman Community of Christ. Health has put me on the limited sidelines. It is a cross I bear joyfully with Jesus forsaken, as all pain is his and mine.

Six Anglican priests and one deacon to be ordained soon are dear brothers of mine. They are in England. We spent a month together in a school of spiritual formation in Frascati, Italy. We lived in unity and mutual love. We respected each other's religious traditions. They shared in our celebration of Mass in Italian and we celebrated with them in their beautiful Anglican liturgy — renewed form — in English. We only shared the Eucharist in our own liturgies. We accepted this pain of separation to obey our respective church authorities; at the same time it was a prayer that one day we would be one. As a result, I feel close to my Episcopal brothers and sisters in the United States. My 22 years of service in the Air Force opened me to all religions and cultures. I sensed in them a common denomination of love that united us. I enjoy THE WITNESS. It reaches out to others' needs. It hears the cry of the abandoned. It is a magazine of love reaching out.

The Rev. Bill Ludlum
N. Arlington, N.J.

Continued from back cover

with love and hope. With their help, we recovered and together we did Eucharist in the street in front of Brown's Chapel, with Bishop Myers as president. It was the most moving ecumenical service. I have ever been a part of in a ministry which goes back 33 years, and a life which spans more than that.

I appeal to all Kim's friends and supporters in honor of his ministry in Church and World — do what you can in your churches and communities to assure the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act! If Kim were here today, I could hear him preach to us: "Let's go to work and pass the Equal Rights Amendment before June of 1982." Until the women of our church and synagogues and nation have equality with men, Kim's ministry and ours are not anywhere near faithful enough for us to claim to be followers of the Lord and brothers and sisters to each other. Our gains in the realm of equal rights for women have been impressive in some quarters, but there still remains a great deal to be done. Initially, Bishop Myers opposed the ordination of women; however, he changed his mind and became a supporter and believer. His humanity and deep sense of justice prevailed in this issue as in others.

He felt and knew the weaknesses which all of us feel in our lives, among these being his personal struggle with alcoholism. But because he knew himself to be dependent upon the grace of God more than upon addiction to this habit, he emerged victorious from the struggle, thereby offering hope to all of us who loved him.

The extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution would be the most fitting memorial to Bishop Myers that I can think of. Let us, who loved him, pick up his burden and continue the struggle for Human Rights. ■

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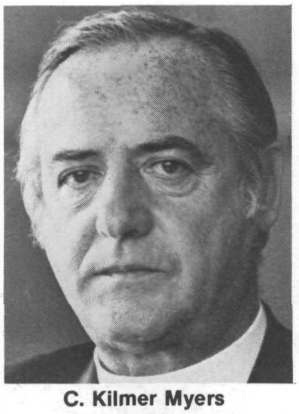

C. Kilmer Myers
1916 - 1981

In Memory of Kim

by Carl Russell Sayers

I remember hearing him preach to a congregation of poor people — Whites, Blacks and Hispanics — as well as a scattering of General Seminary faculty and students at St. Peter's, one of the inner city parishes cheek-by-jowl with the General Theological Seminary in New York City. The time was the Fall of 1947, and I had recently arrived in the Episcopal Church (from the Reformed Church in America, and one year in its oldest seminary), to assume my place as a student at General, the Episcopal Church's oldest seminary.

He sounded, as always, like Jesus and the Prophets, in his uncompromising advocacy of the poor. I remember his phrase: "Christ suffers crucifixion again and again in the poor of this city." It was a phrase which he was to repeat under different circumstances in cities like Jersey City, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Selma and San Francisco. He was a true son of the old Church of England Anglo-Catholic priests who labored and fought and died in the slum parishes of London in the last century and in this one. I remember him telling me one time, "Carl, if you are a Catholic, you can be anything else you want to be in this world."

Now he is part of the Communion of Saints, and I would like to be among the first to petition our National Liturgical Commission to strike a Collect, Epistle and Gospel for him among the distinguished personalities of the 20th century church luminaries. His name was Chauncie Kilmer Myers, and he was layperson, deacon, priest, bishop and friend.

While I hope some day for his own Collect, Epistle and Gospel, it is of far more importance that we who would seek to honor his memory roll up our sleeves and go to battle (if necessary) for the cause of Human Rights, to which he gave of himself and his full ministry without ever holding back. That cause at this moment is in danger. Congress and the President will shortly be considering the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act which has expired. It is for this Act that Kim Myers and 400 other Episcopalians and Anglicans from Canada marched with their brothers and sisters of other churches and synagogues in Selma and Montgomery in March of 1965. For this cause, Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminarian, and Viola Liuzzo, the wife of a Detroit labor leader, gave their lives.

Never will I forget the scene in Selma when Kim Myers led the 400 of us to the road barriers set up by Sheriff Jim Clark and his deputies. At the request of the then Episcopal Bishop of Alabama, Bishop Carpenter, our way was barred from entering our own church, St. Paul's, Selma, and we were refused permission to celebrate Eucharist on the day of the famous march. Kim spoke lovingly and gently to the Sheriff and invited him and his deputies to join us in celebrating Holy Communion in the parish church. The Sheriff's answer was a taunt, "You shall not pass because your own Episcopal Bishop has disallowed this service." We all were, in effect, excommunicated by one of our chief pastors. For long and dispirited moments, we wandered aimlessly with broken hearts.

Then, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and all sorts and conditions of persons surrounded us Episcopalians

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The Rev. Carl Russell Sayers is rector of St. Stephen's Church, Troy, Mich.

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VOL. 64 NO. 9 SEPTEMBER, 1981

THE WITNESS

Uniting Evangelism and Social Action

Arthur E. Walmsley
Neil Braxton Gibson
Julius Del Pino
Julio Torres

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LETTERS

Of Tears, Vomit & Hell

Just who is Mark Harris and where was he when those Arab leaders urged Palestinian Arabs to flee their homes and not accept the UN partition which also established the modern state of Israel? (See "Palestine: Issues and Questions," June WITNESS.)

His article sounds so sincere but to me it smacks of those crocodile tears associated with the fear of where oil (especially Middle East and/or "Arab" oil) will come from.

I could not read his "vomit" long enough to notice if he also mentioned those Jews who, after many centuries or thousands of years, were driven out of their homes in Arab lands.

My anger is not toward Arabs as such; if anything it is directed against those so-called Christians who, although claiming to be "the New Israel", in their attitudes, actions and imperialism, are **really the same old Rome. Any relationship to the beliefs and behavior** of Jesus is strictly the work of someone's imagination and a justification of injustice as ususal. It is just this sort of trash that brings out the particularism in me and makes it possible for me to tell alleged Christians to go straight to hell.

Joyce Ann Franz
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Terrorism Tactical?

In his generally helpful article on the Palestinians, the Rev. Mark Harris makes one statement which is, to me at least, arresting. "Terrorism is a tactical matter." The impact is not much lessened by Harris' further exposition of the problem. While it may be a tactical matter to those who use it, terrorism should raise problems for all to whom ethical questions are real questions. Terrorism means the grouping of the relatively innocent with the relatively guilty, and thus ignoring the distinction between blowing up a police station in occupied territory and blowing up a market-place full of shopping housewives. Hence, any instrumentalist attitude toward it is, I think, truly pernicious.

Harris does well to point out that the Palestinians are more the victims of terrorism than its perpetrators and that the bombs of the Great Powers can also be pinned with that label. Nevertheless, *tu quoque* is an impermissible argument in ethics. Furthermore, when definitions become broad enough they lose their meaning and their moral impact.

Geoffrey W. White
Berkeley, Cal.

Christian Role Suspect

Since when have Christians earned the right to "protect" Judaism? Obviously, Mark Harris has no conception of the profound — and traditional — spiritual longings which form the substratum of Zionism. Moreover, to think of Christians setting themselves up as judges in a dispute between the two communities for which they have traditionally had most contempt and hostility, is, frankly, an outrage.

Rev. Harris does have some truths to tell us; unfortunately, they are mostly half-truths. For example, he speaks, quite rightly, of the Palestinians as a national community, a people demanding recognition. But it was not always so. Until well into the 20th century, such an identity would have been difficult to imagine, if only because the geographic region known as Palestine had not yet been defined as a political or ethnic territory. My point is not to brush aside the very real sense of Palestinian peoplehood which has emerged and, quite rightly, demands recognition, but only to guard against the polemic that results from reading the present into the past.

What's true of the Palestinians is true of the Israelis. The Jewish sense of peoplehood is very ancient. The national consciousness of the Israelis is a modern phenomenon, as is that of the Palestinians. This present reality is what truly matters, not whose ancestors came first.

Since the question of history has been raised however, we should at least try to discuss it, giving due consideration to documentation. In 1947, it was the Jews — not the Arabs — who were willing to share the land. The Arabs, or at least, the Arab states, were unwilling to share the land. They wanted it all. Their hope was to destroy Israel. They lost. And the war has continued ever since.

Rev. Harris notes of the Palestinians that "So badly do they want to return home . . . that negotiations and compromise can take place concerning the establishment of a separate Palestinian state whose relations with Israel might well include more and more interchange and commerce, with less friction and armed conflict . . ." I can only applaud the sentiment expressed; at the same time, I must deplore its naivete. Where can he possibly have gotten the idea that such a mentality is prevalent among the Palestinians? From the PLO? Their stated aim is to obliterate the State of Israel and replace it with their own state.

If Christians insist on being part of this conflict — and it seems highly unlikely that they will, or can, refrain from doing so — then I would suggest that their most appropriate role would be in the realm of prayer, not partisan politics.

Paul Nathanson
Vancouver, B.C.

Mark Harris Responds

To Ms. Franz: It is not clear that Arab leaders did urge Palestinians to flee. Information exists to indicate quite the opposite: that Palestinians fled in large part because of Zionist fear tactics. Palestinian Arabs were not consulted in determining their fate. Arab state delegates to the UN walked out of the meeting that voted for partition, but even they did not represent Palestinian Arabs or dictate their actions. It appears that Palestinians fled because of the attacks

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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

Some readers have been curious about THE WITNESS editorials, since we have not carried authors' names following the redesigning of the editorial page this summer. We decided at that time that editorial topics and content would be agreed upon by the editors listed on the masthead, with one responsible for the actual writing. Hence, the May and July editorials were written by Richard W. Gillett; the June editorial by Mary Lou Suhor, and the August by Robert L. DeWitt. Hugh White will produce the October piece. This month we offer a guest editorial in the form of a poem by Mary Jane Brewster of Portland, Ore.

Signs of the Times

Under the gaze of a televised world,
at a cost of two million dollars,
the Prince of Wales married his Princess,
who was properly dressed
for the once-in-a-century occasion
in a secretly designed ivory silk taffeta gown
trailing a 25-foot train.

The Hollywood groomed President of the United States
delegated his wife to attend.
Attired in an exclusive peach ensemble
of unmentioned price,
she presented the royal couple
with the President's wedding gift,
a cut glass bowl worth some $10,000
of taxpayers' money.

Elsewhere in what remains
of the once-impregnable British Empire,
two more dedicated young men,
having refused food for over 65 days
in the cause of justice for their comrades,
slipped closer to death
in a North Ireland prison;
and the trapped black and white inhabitants
of Liverpool's Toxteth slum
demonstrated their desperation
in yet another night of violence

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Evangelism, Social Action Can Unite in New Way

by Arthur E. Walmsley

We are a people whose history began with a call of Yahweh to Abram and Sarah and their household. It was a call to covenant, a call to journey. It was to be marked by Shalom, God's peace, which would govern and shape their lives. Later, in the time of Moses, the great sign or sacrament of Yahweh's blessing would be a "passing over," their deliverance from bondage to new life.

Inheritors of that covenant and witnesses to a new one, called by the same creator God, we are marked by a passing over, delivered not only from human bondage but from death itself. We are the people called by God, purchased by the blood of Christ, signed by his cross, empowered with his spirit, sent to be his pilgrim people in the world, to witness to his Shalom, that peace of God which passes human understanding.

When the community of this new covenant came into being, it was described, quite simply, as "the new way" or "the way." The Graeco-Roman world was confounded by these strange people who began acting and talking with extraordinary confidence. It would not be accurate to say that they were people with a mission. In fact, they would put it the other way around: God who has a mission for the world has joined us to it!

To be part of the "new way" is to know oneself as a person overtaken by God's Spirit, and thrust into the world to proclaim that God is Lord of the world.

Throughout history, there are glimpses, intimations of the Spirit's power to grasp and change not only individual lives but whole peoples and nations. Let me share a fragment of the letter written by Sister Maura Clarke earlier this year. She was one of the four Roman Catholic missionaries

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The Rt. Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley is Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese of Connecticut.

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murdered in El Salvador:

"What is happening here is impossible — but happening. The endurance of the poor and their faith through this terrible pain is constantly pulling me to a deeper faith. My fear of death is being challenged constantly as children, lovely little girls, and old people are being shot and some cut up with machetes and bodies thrown by the road and people prohibited from burying them. I want to stay on now . . . I am beginning to see death in a new way . . . for all these precious men, women, and children struggling or laying down their lives as victims, it is surely a passageway to life . . . our loving Father can't possibly have other than a new life of which we have little glimpses which will be full — total joy and oneness."

What this woman's testimony makes clear is that what is unique about "the way" is that it is a transforming life. Those who are overtaken by the spirit of God are those who, following the command of Jesus, imitate him.

Evangelism is not something the church does, like putting on potluck suppers. Membership in the church, leadership in the ordained ministry in the church, indeed the very life of the church is the effort to follow the example of our Lord, in word and action. Our task is not to point to ourselves as evangelizers or even to the church as the sign or sacrament of God's presence in the world. Rather it is by word and act to point to Jesus who is the Lord. But that witness, in this age as indeed through the last 20 centuries, is often a risky and precarious course of action. In one of his last sermons in El Salvador before his assassination, Archbishop Oscar Romero said:

"Christ invites us not to fear persecution because — believe me brothers and sisters — he or she who is committed to the poor must run the same fate as the poor. And in El Salvador we know what the fate of the poor signifies — to disappear, to be tortured, to be captive, and to be found dead."

In this witness, there can be no simple distinction between what the church has traditionally called "evangelism" or "evangelization" and "the social ministry of the church." The similarities between the first centuries of the Christian era and our own time are striking. To be a Christian means, in more rather than fewer places, to stand against the values of a society inceasingly dominated by violence and the fear of it. What holds faith together in such times is a capacity to enter into the agony of the world's people, and such an action begins and ends in prayer. There is a necessary sense in which those whose initial experience of Christian faith may have grown out of a conversion experience, and those whose point of entry into faith has been an identification with the world's suffering, find a common ground. That commonality falls in our extraordinary dependence upon the power of God's Spirit to overcome the *fear* that is in us.

Until recent times, it has been difficult for Episcopalians to carry on serious discussion about evangelism. Our track record in proclaiming the Gospel is, to say the least, spotty.

There is a built-in ambivalence in Anglicanism, arising from the close tie in the Church of England to the state. It can safely be said that it was not until this century, and truly not until the independence of provinces in countries formerly under the colonial domination of Great Britain or economic dependence on this country, that Anglicanism has begun to develop anything like an international shape. To go to East or West Africa today is to encounter expressions of our heritage which are authentically Anglican in piety and order, and simultaneously non-Western.

But the suspicion remains strong in this country, no matter how much we may protest otherwise, that we are not a church for all people, that we have no serious missionary strategy, either domestically or overseas, and that unlike churches of an American frontier spirituality, we are not serious about evangelism. What I think is required of us is a *major* reordering of our life. Why does not the Episcopal Church truly flourish among Spanish-speaking peoples, as do the churches of a pentecostal ethos? Why have we not raised up indigenous ministries of and by poor people in the center cities or in rural areas?

That, to be sure, is not a new issue before us. In 1853, William Augustus Muhlenberg addressed a famous "Memorial" to the General Convention, intended to make the Protestant Episcopal Church on the one hand something more than a church "only for the rich" and on the other, an instrument of Christian unity in America. The document raised the question of whether the church

"with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public worship, her traditional customs and usages, is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and in this age."

I submit that the agonies through which we have gone in the last 25 years — to wit, the end of our domination of overseas jurisdictions in the Philippines, Brazil, Japan, China, and increasingly in Latin America; our involvement in the social struggles of our time, epitomized by the civil rights debates of the 1960s and General Convention Special Program; the renewal of our liturgy and the acceptance of a new Prayer Book; the ordination of women to the priesthood; and the emergence of an evangelical or charismatic movement within the

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Episcopal Church — all these are a coming to fruition of the questions posed by Muhlenberg about our identity as a church for the American people a full century and a third ago.

It is worth noting that Muhlenberg experimented, with great ingenuity, about urban ministry, formed the first religious sisterhood in the American Church, introduced a weekly Eucharist in a time of great liturgical polarization, established St. Luke's Hospital and that complex of social services on Staten Island called St. Johnland, abolished pew rentals when that was the norm, pioneered a statement of ecumenical principles which is substantially the basis for the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral and later Anglican involvement and leadership in the ecumenical movement, organized a parish day school, a parish unemployment fund, trips to the country for poor city children. And all this on the basis of a very Pauline, very Reformation insistence on the doctrine of grace. Who said, "We can't do it?"

The identity of the Episcopal Church is at stake, as never before. Our time of testing, far from representing God's abandonment of us, may simply be taken as a sign that those whom God loves, God chastens. But it is important that we position ourselves quite precisely as who we are in the mainstream of traditional Christianity. There is no meaningful distinction or separation between declaring in word the name of the Lord and declaring in act that God's followers are sent as servants of the world's poor. The whole religious scene in America is in flux. There is a genuine religious hunger among the American people. It is time to cast off our preoccupation with those internal struggles on secondary matters and lift up the nature of the Anglican heritage for what it is. I propose that this includes at least the following seven points and I offer in them a description of a diocese which I believe to be serious about the task of serving the way faithfully in the contemporary American scene.

1. The bishop. A bishop is to lead the Church of God. A bishop must have the ability to take a world-wide and catholic view, to sympathize with many attitudes, but to give a lead for the primacy of the Word and for the Mission, the *missio dei.* Again and again, this will mean the assurance to the people of the diocese and all its institutions and parishes, that though words are slippery and though the church is up against it, especially in the great cities of the world, we are not left to die. As the report of the Urban Bishops' hearings made clear, the Jesus Christ pattern is the one to which we bishops must aspire, to hearten fellow Christians, so that they may continue to say their prayers, be themselves, and get on with it.

2. The clergy. It will take a 180 degree turn for us to accept a standard of clergy solidarity and collegiality, but that is what the church lacks and the church needs. Bishops, clergy, and lay people have the obligation and the Biblical sanction for *expecting* this of each other. The spontaneous expansion of the church in the early centuries happened because of the trust of those in authority that the Holy Spirit would raise up and empower leadership. We should expect no less. Urban ministry is not a project to be individualized by the few on behalf of the many — what is needed is a joining together of rich and poor, suburbs and city, in a disciplined commitment on behalf of the whole church.

3. Diocesan strategy. Every diocese needs a plan of mission strategy. But are we once again going to draw a false and Biblically-unsound wall between those who preach and those who act, between evangelism and social service, between the call of God to each of us to commit ourselves in faith and the demand of a righteous Judge that nations, and races, and economic systems must answer to a standard of justice, compassion, concern for the poor, the outcast and the stranger? In short, do we recognize the inner and outer dimensions of the Lord's Shalom?

The kind of mission strategy I am talking about calls for common cause between those whose enthusiasm is for evangelism and church renewal and those whose passion is for the poor, disfranchised, and the multicultural community such as is blossoming in Los Angeles. When I say mission strategy, I mean one with an irreducible floor under it. As a start, an absolute moratorium on the closing of churches, in urban areas or anywhere else, except where the physical environment no longer has people living nearby. Better, we should have a commitment in each place to open new churches to serve areas we have abandoned, and to raise up indigenous congregations where there are Spanish-speaking and Asian peoples moving in. There are techniques to learn about the stabilization of congregations. One simple rule of thumb: when a church is in trouble, don't reduce its ministry to a part-time one!

But, "Where shall we find the financial support for such an effort?" I cannot believe that has ever been a serious issue for the church at any moment in her history when the fires of renewal burned in her life. A church with the passion I have described, a church with the vision of leadership, a church with a careful and realistic strategy for mission and evangelism will not be abandoned by the Lord. Nor by the people.

4. Serious adult education and recruitment for ministries, lay and ordained. The number of adults presenting themselves for confirmation or reception into the Episcopal Church is significantly on the upswing, as are the raw figures for baptism and confirmation. The interest in

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thoughtful, disciplined adult Christian education is widespread.

It is important that the Episcopal Church claim that middle ground which is ours: a theologically conservative and Biblically rooted tradition, one which has a high respect for human learning, one which stands for active and committed involvement by its people in the life of society and of the state. We are not a sect. We are not the counter-culture. We are a reformed catholic people, holding in tension traditional values and the need to be sensitive to those who are not in the mainstream of American cultural life. That is an adult faith, and it deserves the best presentation we can give it. And, parenthetically, it calls us to stop being apologetic or defensive about those on our fringes who cannot accept that we are about our Father's business in all of this.

5. Service of the poor. The prophetic tradition of the Old Covenant thunders against persecution of the needy, and the Psalms show perplexity at the success of the ungodly and the misfortune of the godly. In fact, the phrase "the poor" acquires a religious significance in Old Testament literature, and may almost be equated with "the godly" — the *hasidim* — the humble, hardworking, pious folk who look to God for redemption, as against the idle rich and the powerful who trust in themselves.

Jesus' teaching clearly grows out of that tradition; to serve the needs of the hungry, the poor, and the outcast is to serve him. It is instructive that in the eras of great missionary expansion by the church, the effort to convert peoples to Christ has been accompanied by the founding of schools, hospitals, and a range of social services and no arbitrary distinction drawn between the effort to proclaim Christ through word and sacrament, and to live out the implications of the new way in loving service, particularly of those treated as most vulnerable by a particular society: lepers, old people, children, the sick, aliens and strangers to a culture.

The Mystery of Faith

Christ has died.
Crucified, hopeless, rejected,
insulted, scandalized, taunted.
Christ has risen.
Crowned, hallowed, resurrected,
instituted, sacralized, triumphant.

Cunning we think ourselves,
happy for what we are.
Restless. We drive ourselves.
Interestingly, we're not sure where.
Sophisticated beyond our
theology, we apparently forget . . .
Christ will come again.

— Keith Raske

In the contemporary scene, in which whole segments of populations are marginalized by economic forces, war, and persecution, the church is increasingly summoned to stand as the advocate for the poor — in El Salvador, Brazil, South Africa and Poland, to mention widely different examples. In our own situation, there is no escaping the demand that our witness to Christ calls for the same commitment. In an era when political trends in the nation would cut back services to the poor, the church must both be ready to assume more direct responsibility herself in filling the gaps which are being created, and willing to stand up publicly as the champion of those who are most victimized, at home and abroad, by the rampant escalation of the arms race.

6. Forging a new ecumenism. Whenever Anglicans get together, we have a way of talking as though we were the whole church. The fact is that all the Christians in the world represent less than a third of the world's population, and the projections are that between now and the end of the century that will drop to 20% or 25%. Anglicans are but one family of Christians within the larger household. The growth of understanding among Christians in the 20th century has been phenomenal. It is important in everything that we do, particularly our ministry and witness in the city, to forge those linkages with other Christians which will begin at the very practical level of shared facilities, shared ministries. shared funding, and in that effort discover the practical ways in which God is calling us to leave behind the accumulated baggage of our separation.

7. Prayer in the Spirit. That which authenticates the Christian, which validates us, which motivates us, which ultimately judges us can only be, if we are of God, the Holy Spirit. A Christian community must, in the end, trust the matter to God. We have nearly consumed ourselves in our fretfulness over the ordination of women. It is time we left the matter in God's hands, and got on with other things. I personally believe that history will vindicate the decision to proceed which was made in Minneapolis. But God will take our decision and use it in any case, and our continued wallowing in self-doubts or apology for our action is nothing but faithlessness.

I mean that not as political statement but as a call to prayer. Let us take what we have, and what we are, and offer that to God as the best we have to give at a moment in time, in all its richness, in its diversity, even in its contradictions. Let us ask God to cast out that party spirit, that stiffnecked partisanship which, throughout our history, has somehow prevented us from trusting God to make us the inclusive and truly American expression of Catholic Christianity which yet remains our opportunity. ■

CREDITS

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Short Formula For a Resourceful Parish

by Charles Belknap & David Duncan

The technological metropolis is being developed all over the world. Our own metropolis — which extends 60 miles from downtown Los Angeles — has the largest economy of any on the Pacific Basin (Tokyo and Yokahama together may be bigger, in economic terms). These new urban constructions provide new ways to be civilized; they are as important as the development of ancient walled cities in the Near East or Greek city-states or Renaissance princely cities. It is an exciting time to be alive!

Our Episcopal tradition has had great success in that earlier urban setting, the 19th century industrial city. Our polity of mission and parish churches was creatively used to represent the American Dream: Tiffany-gothic parishes on the hills as symbols of responsible American success, and subsidized missions on the waterfront as aid in the pilgrimage toward an American "promised land." While we participated in many 19th century evils, especially racial discrimination, we did a lot of good. The Episcopal Church and its people had power.

Now in the 20th century technological metropolis, our tradition is called to find new, creative adaptations of our polity. We are, ironically, exiles in the promised land. This is God's judgment and God's good gift. Once again, in new ways, we can signal hope for the coming Kingdom. The resourceful parish community may be a useful form of ministry and mission, so that parish membership will be important to people's life histories. While co-creating resources, each local church can be the focus for conversion of metropolitan lives and conditions of life, through the sacraments and works of Christian love.

The Urban Setting

Urban means metropolitan, and our metropolis includes most of Orange County, the San Fernando Valley, the cities and environs of San Bernardino, Riverside, Oxnard, etc. But not every square mile of that huge territory would normally be called urban. Indeed, a map of urban areas would be a patchwork quilt and not very helpful. Instead, urban may be defined by *conditions of life.*

Some of the conditions which define urban are population density, cultural and ethnic exclusions, industrial ecological damage, the separation of residential areas by class, and high rates of crime. We also point to positive conditions: cultural resources, opportunities for new livelihoods, universities, etc. One image of the coming Kingdom is of a city: the New Jerusalem.

In short, the urban setting is of huge geographical extent, through which certain conditions of life are rapidly and generally appearing.

As each locale is caught up in metropolitan developments, it may lose the capacity to direct its own way of life. For example, many small municipalities contract with county government for fire and police services. This system offers practical advantages, but it signals some loss of self-determination or power in the local community.

Power in the sense of self-determination means the capacity to make a difference to one's individual, family, or community life history, in terms of education, livelihood, housing, culture, safety, nutrition, etc. Power in this sense is neither partisan nor ideological; it is a familiar capacity to act effectively for the course of one's history.

Clearly we all have limits on our capacity to choose our values. The narrower the limits, the less power we have. Very narrow limits, pressing in on one's choices of education, housing, etc. define oppression. Power and oppression are opposed.

The narrowing of limits on a community's self-determination is an underlying characteristic, throughout the metropolis, of those negative conditions we often call urban. Crowding, crime, the public education crisis, health problems, are symptoms of powerlessness — not so much *individual* powerlessness (for many of us still direct our futures to a large extent), but *community* powerlessness, evident with respect to public education, personal safety, environmental quality, drug traffic, etc. There is a deepening continuum of powerlessness experienced by all metropolitan communities. Moreover, community effectiveness in achieving its values sooner or later shapes individual lives. Thus the theme of resourceful parish communities (described below) is for all those locales throughout the metropolis where power is an issue and especially for communities where powerlessness has become oppression.

The Goal

The goal appropriate to our metropolitan setting is a parish polity which fits the new "city limits": certain conditions of life and the issue of power

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The above is a position paper developed by a group of clergy in Deanery Six of the Diocese of Los Angeles, and put into form by the Rev. Charles Belknap, priest-in-charge of Holy Family Mission, North Hollywood, Cal., and the Rev. David Duncan, urban missioner.

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(community and personal self-determination). This polity may be called a resourceful parish community: the local focus for transformation of metropolitan lives and conditions of life.

Specifically, six things resourceful parish communities would do are:

1. Ever and always give thanks and break bread, advancing the full sacramental life of our Anglican tradition;

2. Get to know their metropolitan environments, listening to their people and sharing their hopes;

3. Develop the power which actually creates new resources, i.e. the housing, schools, credit unions, arts workshops, farmers' markets, etc. which can provide the local church with institutional viability and its community with renewed livelihoods;

4. Discover the means for ongoing congregational change as metropolitan locales evolve and as culture itself changes through genetic research, mass media persuasions, international mass migrations, etc.;

5. Evangelize by offering hospitality; we ourselves are guests at the Lord's table, we can offer our churches and homes to *all* Jesus' honored guests in explicit invitation to communion.

6. Cultivate the arts, for "urban" has always meant sophisticated or urbane, and metropolitan ministry may well be filled with beauty and artistic excitement.

The Means

The means of resourceful parish community can be summarized in a short formula:

Gospel & Sacraments
+
Emergency Service
Community Organizing
& Economic Development
+
Evangelism or Hospitality
Equals
Resourceful Parish Community

Service, organizing, and development are a progression, linked by stewardship. To spend some resources providing emergency service is a necessary part of parish life. The offering of food, clothing, counseling, etc. enables others to have a greater capacity to chose their life histories. But to create further resources, to co-create with the Spirit, is the stewardship of the resourceful servant who returned the master's talents and more. (*Luke 19:11-27*) This co-creation has two aspects.

First, ecumenical community organizing aims at the achievement of power in that community — the capacity to make effective choices for Christian values in ordinary life. Issues taken up by an organization are all examples of self-determination, of people making a difference on *their* terms to *their* life histories. Emergency needs become community goals.

Second, economic development moves beyond organizing for values to the creation of resources expressing those values, especially in that economic sphere which is so much a part of our culture. A resourceful parish community builds the financial, housing, nutritional, cultural, and production opportunities through which the community can set the course of its own history.

No one parish, much less one priest, can do organizing and economic development alone. Resourceful parish communities are necessarily ecumenically linked and facilitate lay ministry. Through the co-creation of livelihoods, Christians will be finding their vocations in direct connection with parish worship and charity.

Evangelism or hospitality is also a matter of power — the power of the Spirit. This is not "tacked on" to service, organizing, and development. Rather, evangelism is the bridge over which people move into the parish congregation while new resources are being created and as part of that process. The active offering of hospitality means explicit invitation to communion; it actually occurs in the co-creation of resources by which people make effective choices about their life histories, especially the choice of life over death; the choice for our Lord. Therefore, resourceful parish communities are spiritually intense. Life histories take a different turn — we are reborn — when the Spirit comes and we become resourceful stewards, building bridges to the church. At the practical level, the victory of new life won by our resurrected Lord cannot be separated from local victories of communities for their new lives. ■

Resources

The Diocese of Newark and its Department of Missions has developed a policy statement on urban parish revitalization. As the Diocese seeks urban parishes for renewal, it applies several criteria spelled out in the document. Those who would like to read about the diocese's two-year experience with the revitalization process can write for the statement to the Ven. James H. Gambrill, Vicar General, Cathedral House, 24 Rector St., Newark, N.J. 07102.

THE WITNESS magazine carried related articles on the urban church in February: "The Urban Church," "Choosing Between Two Gods," by Charles Belknap; and a series of articles on "The Urban Apocalypse" by Bishops John Burt, Otis Charles, John Spong, Paul Moore, John Krumm and Ted Scott in the March and April issues, with responses in the June issue by the Revs. James Lewis, Martha Blacklock, Joseph Pelham, Gib Winter, and Sister Helen Volkomener.

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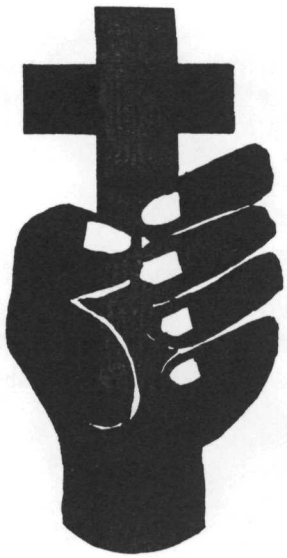

Is This Ministry?

by Nell Braxton Gibson

I am a Black woman, a wife, mother, homemaker. I have fought for human rights all my life. I volunteer my time as a member of the Board of Theological Education, the Episcopal Commission of Black Ministries and the Berkeley Board of Trustees at Yale Divinity School. I have served on the Episcopal Consortium for Theological Education in the Northeast (ECTENE), ISTEM (Inter Seminary Theological Education for Ministry) and the Bishop's Committee on Minority Unrest. I have been a vestry member, Sunday School teacher, parish secretary, GFS (Society for Girls) leader and camp counselor. I have counseled and taught seminary students, sung in church choirs, been active in Canterbury, and done hard physical labor building classrooms and a chapel in the African bush of Tanzania. I've tested Fair Housing Laws in California, registered Black voters, picketed and been jailed in Georgia. I grew up in the South and spent my formative years living in Mississippi.

I am a Christian.

Sometimes when people (who know I don't work at a paid 9 to 5 job) ask me what I do, I tell them I am an unordained minister. They don't always believe me. Maybe it's because I don't always believe myself. Ministry is a difficult business which can leave one with many self doubts and feelings of inadequacy. Lay ministry is harder in many ways than ordained because it isn't always recognized.

There are times when no one asks me what I do and times when I go about the business of living without much thought of God or ministry. Like the day I left my sick 10-year old son home alone so I could attend a meeting. I promised I'd return as soon as I could and bring him a special hamburger lunch treat. But I ran into a friend on my way home and she was in tears, so I called home, explained why I'd be late and bought *her* lunch. She told me her ex-husband was late with the child support payment, her lover was leaving her for another woman, there was an eviction notice on her front door and her children needed shoes. We talked of many things that day — our families, our responsibilities, our aging parents, our getting older. Toward the end of lunch we found ourselves singing the praises of Black women; women who have supported their men, nurtured their children — just hung in there and survived. We talked about the burden laid on us always to be strong, and how hard it was to live up to that image. We acknowledged that there are times when we want to be taken care of, held, loved and understood. We admitted to having cried during these times and then come out on top again, stronger and more determined than ever. I left her feeling a new surge of life.

I took Bert III his special hamburger treat then played backgammon with him. When 8-year-old Erika came home from school I drove her to track practice and worked on a book I am writing while she and her teammates got ready for the Colgate Women's Games. After track practice I drove several of the girls home and picked up my husband's suit at the cleaners for his forthcoming

Nell Braxton Gibson lives in Manhattan. The Black Ministries Office of the Episcopal Church is planning to use this piece as part of its position papers, "The Black Church's Agenda for the '80s," to be published at a future date.

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business trip. Then I went home to prepare dinner, stopping to help Erika with homework. I gave young Bert another dose of medicine and ironed a week's supply of shirts for Bert's trip. Within minutes he came through the front door dejected and tired. He is Financial Vice-President of a non-profit organization and that day he'd discovered his projected budget was $1 million over. His staff had to work overtime and he was going to have to work during the weekend. His boss was out of town and he would have to call her to break the news. After unleashing all his angry feelings, he turned to me accusingly and asked if I had forgotten to pick up his suit. I put my arms around him, told him I hadn't forgotten and suggested he change his clothes while I made two gin and tonics and played our favorite Chuck Mangione album.

I don't know a great deal about balancing budgets but I do know what administrative changes might help prevent a situation like that from recurring, so I suggested some. He agreed and by the end of the evening he had figured how to cut the deficit in half. He felt that with a good night's sleep he'd probably be able to present to the Board, figures close to his originally projected budget.

Several days later I was off to the mountains with the ISTEM seminary students for a retreat. I led a group exercise on racism which proved devastating to the Black and Hispanic students because of the attitudes expressed by many of their White colleagues. Heated discussions and verbal attacks left everyone upset. We came together after dinner again to wrestle with the problems. We ended the night with prayer but without having resolved the issues. Several of us poured drinks, others played ping pong, went for walks or sat around and talked. The other Black staff member and I asked a couple of students to join us in a game of bid whist. In the middle of the game a Black male student used the word, "priestess" to describe one of the female students. Tempers were still running high, and she lashed out at him calling him a "closet sexist." He became defensive and verbally fought back — yelling about what society had done to him as a Black man and of all seminary had done to him by demanding an education which alienated him from his own people. He talked about the White minister he worked for who was continually saying he was aggressive, impatient, arrogant and too anxious to express the Black point of view. Tears welled in his eyes when he told how he had tried to commit suicide two years before. As he talked I took both his hands in mine and when he had finished I said, "I've been there." He was astonished! I told him I'd felt the same pain, known the same hurt, cried the same tears for all the same reasons. I had lived through it and he would too.

A few months later I found myself at a Board meeting asking whether or not the accounting firm we had chosen had any Blacks or women working as accountants, whether our donors were also supporting apartheid in South Africa, and why there were so few Blacks entering seminary. At another Board meeting a priest whom I love and care about got up and walked out in the middle of a report. I worried about him all the way home. When I had a few minutes I called to ask if everything was all right. He told me he'd been going through a painful divorce and was feeling low. He was the second priest I'd talked with in less than a year who was struggling through a divorce. I let both of them know of my deep concern, and told each I'd be praying for him.

In a book called *Monday's Ministries,* Nelvin Vos says that ministry is performed in the struggles of human life; that those struggles include:

Living with a hassle
Caring, no matter what the cost
Responding, with no strings attached
Seeing others' needs
Being vulnerable
Being open
Perceiving suffering
Responding nonverbally

Our tradition as Blacks is to "tell the story." That is why I find illustrations better than any other means of sharing my ministry. I know Christ works through me, healing my brokenness as he helps me heal others. I know I am sustained through prayers as God helps me comfort and support others through prayer. I know I need the love and support of those around me in order to carry out my ministry and that support and love come from the people I serve most — my family and friends.

Two weeks after I underwent major surgery, the friend I took to lunch came to clean my home. She also cooked dinner for my family and kept me company while her own children ate at their home alone. She said she did it because she did not have money to buy me flowers or candy. My daughter, who taught me "The Rock" and the "Patty Duke," urged me to swallow my pride at her father's office party and get out on the dance floor to show them what she had taught me. She reminded me that I'm always telling her she must overcome her shyness and that I had to overcome mine too. My son took me to Central Park and helped me field baseballs so that I wouldn't be embarrassed by missing easy pop-ups when I pitched for his Saturday ball game. My husband leaves love notes pinned to my pillow when he goes away on trips, reaches out to me with understanding when I am discouraged and strongly supports my independence by encouraging me to be my own person, do my own thing, live my life fully. That is how they minister to me.

The true meaning of ministry is service. The meaning of *laos* is people. I am a lay minister because I am one of the people who serves. ■

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The Black Church in the '80s:

A Call to Rebellion . . . and the Cross

by Julius E. Del Pino

To contemplate the future of the Black Church in America is fully to understand its origins; to comprehend the tenets upon which it was established; to recognize its centrality to the black experience. The progress of black people in this country from the era of slavery — the period from which the black religious consciousness had its origins — is a chronicle of pathos, despair, courage, loyalty, defeat and triumph inextricably woven into the fabric of a people bound together by distinct physical characteristics, common cultural heritage and an oppression virtually unequalled in human history.

The early Englishmen's view was that the Africans' religious condition distinguished them as "heathen" by English standards and accounted for an antipathy toward converting black people which persisted for more than a century. This attitude was further fostered by the puritanical notion of depravity of humankind and the selectivity of salvation. Paradoxically, the concept of racial superiority drew much strength from Christian doctrine. This stance toward blacks was gradually replaced with the more universalist Christian view that all should be given spiritual care while on earth, and that conversion finally be made a priority for all. The resultant imposition of religious ideas upon social practice had the effect of blacks entering churches in increasing numbers — some gaining reputations as preachers and claiming, along with some of their white counterparts, that the word of God declared all people brothers and sisters and that Christian theology demanded love, justice and equality.

In light of the historical facts, let us examine these decrees two centuries later. Let us assess where we have been, detect where we are and, finally, determine where we are going.

The black community, historically, has leaned heavily upon the church as that institution, peculiarly independent, which establishes its mores, determines its life styles, formulates its opinions and articulates its societal needs. How does the church measure up, then, in raising the moral consciousness of a country which is politicized to the point where its citizens are more concerned about matters of the economy, military strength and the national image than about programs and services designed to meet the basic human needs of America's poor and powerless? Has the voice of the Black Church been raised when the so-called "Moral Majority" of

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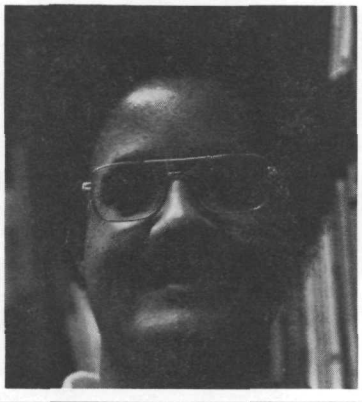

this nation is allowed to forsake Christian social principles for limited self-interest? How sinister is it when a religious conglomerate can cite pressing moral issues that do not recognize poverty and hunger as Christian concerns and goes unchallenged?

Some political analysts evaluate the results of the recent national election as a nostalgic wish to return to a time that was. This very desire makes it critical for black Christian leadership to seize upon the opportunity to develop a Christian strategy for living meaningfully in the midst of chaos. No generation has lived free from problems and suffering; and ours will be no exception. Jesus promised to be with us and for us despite tribulation. From the world, we may expect sorrow, anxiety and danger, but God's presence gives us vision, compassion and hope.

The racial violence that befell Miami, Altanta and several other cities has resulted in renewed efforts by black pastors to cooperate in the attempt to "heal dissension and promote the interests of ghetto dwellers in most big cities." As the late Dr. Martin Luther King so sagely predicted, "the more there are riots, the more repressive action will take place, and the more we face the danger of a Right-wing takeover and eventually a fascist society."

Salvation from such an end comes from God's grace as revealed in the life, death and resurrection of Christ, and we experience that grace manifested in the yearning and courage to be whole. God is active in history to convict us of and free us from the shackles of apathy, greed and complacency. Our role as black religious leaders in the '80s is to stimulate the church to move toward the reality of a ministry to and in the world "with" all of God's people, and particularly people of color and poor people, exhorting the church not only to put its own house in order but to confront oppression in all dimensions

of human activity.

The costly, over-crowded, substandard housing facilities available to the poor of this nation are, and will continue to be, the breeding ground for violence and racial unrest. Poverty and second class citizenship result in the development of a permanent underclass. As black people continue to surge into urban areas, choosing the squalor of the city to the more familiar rural life, there will be no abatement of the problem.

In the eyes of the white majority, violent crime has become synonomous with "ethnic minorities" and has revitalized extremist groups whose sole reason for being is to promote hatred and repression. The Ku Klux Klan has gained new respectability by replacing hoods with three piece suits and ties, and is becoming increasingly successful in recruiting new members through its opposition to such issues as school busing, loss of political power by the white population and welfare. In some areas, this group has offered to provide arms to "good white citizens" recommending that they begin a campaign of shooting young gang members in order to "handle the problem." In other communities, "hate lines" have been established, on which there are recorded messages encouraging "white pride and solidarity" and delivering slanderous comments about various ethnic groups. The phrase "reverse discrimination" is another ploy on the part of many whites to perpetuate their own warped sense of identity.

In circumstances such as these, we must not luxuriate in religious piety. Our belief is costly and our faith high risk. It is not enough to proclaim the Gospel, the church must bear tangible witness to it. Human dignity and integrity are at stake — their preservation must be inviolate! The church must not be absent from the struggles of the poor, blessing entrenched power and ignoring issues of economic justice.

Black religious leadership has no alternative other than to make a relentless effort to regain its influence among those for whom hope has ceased to exist. Leadership must bring purpose in uncertain times; it must gather the people of God into meaningful worship; and it must seek to transcend the divisions of the church and the world in ways which transform and renew the spirit of those people who have eyes to see but have chosen not to because of political favors and false promises.

Church leaders must remain vigilant, determined and well informed on crucial issues. A Carnegie Institute study in 1979 determined that we "are in danger of developing a permanent underclass" by virtue of what is becoming a dual system of education for the poor and the non-poor. Twenty-six years after the landmark Supreme Court decision of 1954, the question of "separate but equal" is still being debated while generations of black youth continue to be deprived of equal educational opportunity and other benefits which may guarantee them possibilities for human development. John Hope Franklin in his book *From Slavery to Freedom* suggests "that the treatment of the Negro is America's

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outstanding denial of its own profession of faith in the equality of (humankind)."

Stereotypes, including beliefs that blacks are biologically inferior to whites and are ignorant, dirty, lazy, pleasure-seeking and sexually loose still prevail and must be counteracted unceasingly by a strong and unified protest in order to assure that black people might have the opportunity to develop a self-concept in which there is esteem and fullness of life. Frequently, racial ethnic minority groups accept the views of them held by dominant groups, especially when they have occupied a low status for generations and see no prospect of equality.

Today, black women are perceived and related to as objects of pleasure and ornaments of beauty by black men as well as white men. Indeed, this is an indication of the pervasiveness of sexism and the tragedy of the adoption of white values and attitudes by the black community. In the name of God, the black church takes a so-called "untenable" and irreconcilable stance in relation to women. Many declare, as do our white brothers, that "we need women in ministry but our congregations are not ready to accept them." "We need time to prepare laity for such risks and challenges." "There are not enough good appointments for black men much less for black women." And so the rationales continue to be echoed across the church without realizing that these same pronouncements have been and still are said by whites to denounce and deprive black men of alternatives and options within the church. For black religious leadership to be passively accepting of these attitudes is, by default, to be in concurrence.

Is it any wonder that so many are wandering without meaning and direction? The American Dream has deteriorated into a life void of feeling, congeniality and authentic appreciation of human worth and dignity. It has become a life where the cost of a product, size and quantity are the values which are prized by culture. These same values define and to no small degree determine how the black religious experience is interpreted and communicated in an age where forms of indigenous religion are being abated and ignored.

The church, and more particularly the Black Church in the United States, must deal as candidly as it knows how with its responsibility to the poor and the oppressed. It cannot depend on, and neither should it expect, whites to design and develop strategy for alleviating poverty and depressed conditions in the black community — the past has taught us that! Increasingly, the Black Church is being questioned and challenged by its own constituents as well as by those who have chosen to leave. There can only be one understanding of faith in the Black Church if it is genuinely to promote justice and mercy for God's people. The Black Church cannot gather in the name of Jesus when its leaders in reality cling to politics, pious traditions and exalted titles, as a way of promoting and advocating their self-interests.

Now that some blacks have reached a plateau of acceptability, influence and affluence within the church it becomes increasingly difficult and risky for them to confront the drift of the church. Instead of criticizing dogma which is oppressive to a large portion of the human population, we seek too often our own positions of authority with the elite. Instead of scrutinizing basic assumptions of the church which place a few at the top and masses at the bottom of the hierarchy, we exhaust ourselves struggling to get a few more to the top.

Once again, as in the Old Testament account, we, the women and men of God, are called to lead the "Exodus" — to be the prophetic voice of this nation and to call our church and the world into accountability. We must decry social, economic and spiritual repression; we must actively denounce those elements in our world which tend to promote violence and hatred; we must stand at the vanguard in observable and unequivocal support for justice and human rights for all persons. The church must live its faith and stand prepared to serve the people of God now! Time is not on our side. Church leaders cannot afford to pretend that they do not have power. Silence implies that we assent to things as they are. The salvific mission of the church in the world must be actualized with a profound sense of integrity.

In the words of William Howard, president of the National Council of Churches of Christ, (see THE WITNESS, April 1980):

> *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.*
>
> *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?*

Our challenge is actively to confront a socio-economic system, as well as a religious-philosophical system, which keeps poor people, and more particularly, people of color, impoverished, dependent and inundated with despair. Let the 1980s find us rebellious in the name of the One who lived, died, and lives again. Let us be remembered more for the judgements that we make in Christ's name than for those we fail to make! Let us be remembered more for the battles we lose than for those we refuse to fight! ■

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Face to Face With a Crucified People

by Julio Torres

This summer I went to Nicaragua to visit the largest Salvadoran refugee camp in the country in Leon, a provincial city 90 kilometers west of Managua. The camp is named after the martyred Archbishop of El Salvador, Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

My request to share the life of the refugees in the camp for several days baffled the authorities, but perhaps because I am a Salvadoran, they acquiesced. I was given a small room in a barracks which also housed a small clinic, a kindergarten, two elementary grades, and an adult literacy class. From the beginning, I clarified my role as not only that of a journalist, but also that of a person preparing for the ministry.

The first evening, Mariano, the acting administrator, assembled a group to participate in a "Celebration of the Word." He had impressed me immediately as a bright and dynamic young man in charge of camp business and of stimulating the people. The camp had approximately 300 refugees, most of whom are *campesinos* (of peasant background). But there were others from middle and lower middle urban classes as well. Those participating in the Celebration were all *campesinos*. They read from the Scriptures, commented on them with great insight and wisdom, applied them to their real life situations, and finished with prayer. While attending that celebration, I felt I was present at a ritual making history in Latin America.

The recent interest in the Western Hemisphere in Base Communities *(Comunidades de Base)* has inspired many to take a closer look at the way these communities are instituted among the poor and frequently illiterate population. In them, the people through prayer and reflection on the Scriptures begin to form bonds and identify and find solutions to common problems. In a relatively short time in Latin America, these communities have become a force for change and improvement of the lives of the poor. In fact, persecution of the participants in base communities is growing and leaders are often arrested and subjected to torture. Sometimes they "disappear". Watching Mariano and the others reading and commenting on the Word with such insight made me realize why the Base Communities suffer repression. They function as instruments of liberation and "conscientization" (becoming conscious of one's oppression). Such activities attempting to meet the needs of the majority of the people in Latin America are labeled "subversive" and repressed.

That night, before falling asleep, I heard gentle voices of the elementary school children singing the Sandinista hymn, "Onward as we struggle against the Yankee, enemy of humanity." Was this indoctrination? Was this blind anti-Americanism? Or, is it the only way these people can see the policies of a

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government which has co-operated to drive them from their land, forcing them to seek asylum in other countries?

Before going to Leon, I had spoken with Placido, a Spanish priest who told me about some Roman Catholic religious women who worked at the camp. I met Sister Gladys and Sister Odilia during their customary rounds of visitation. They belong to the Little Sisters of Charles de Foucald, a religious order inspired by the life of the French holy man who lived in the Sahara sharing the life of the Nomads. Their spirituality consists primarily in sharing the life of the poor wherever they are.

Sister Gladys is a Salvadoran and Sister Odilia is from France. They conduct sewing classes, prepare young people for teaching Christian doctrine, mediate disputes between families and most of all, try to be present as friends to everybody. They lead a life of prayer amidst the people.

My second day at the camp, a group of people volunteered to tell their stories. We sat with the tape recorder, under the shadow of a big tree. Several men and women, some of them widows, spoke. They were very consistent about one aspect: They had fled their land and homes because of persecution by the Salvadoran Army. Older men and women cried as they told me how their relatives had been tortured and killed, dying horrible deaths. Bodies were left as bait, and were sometimes seen rotting and eaten by dogs, since any attempt by families to rescue their beloved for proper burial is punishable by death. Sometimes their emotions so overwhelmed them during the telling of these stories they were unable to continue.

Men told how military operations were carried out. Entire villages would be surrounded by combined military and paramilitary forces then attacked, with indiscriminate killing of men, women, and children — all civilians. Additional military outposts were often established to carry out periodical military operations against the people. I was reminded of Jesuit theologian Jon Sobrino's words, "This is not just repression; we are facing the extermination of an entire people."

I was astounded by the incomprehensible capacity for sadism exhibited by the torturers, themselves mostly *campesinos*. I could not but ponder the mystery of evil revealed by the cruelty some humans perform on their fellow humans — the forces that are at work in such iniquity and destruction. Chopped limbs, genitals and breasts; gouged eyes; crushed testicles, rape followed by impaling and dismemberment. I was face to face with a crucified people. That night, my heart physically ached in pain that had enveloped me as I listened to the agony they related. It was a time of most painful, authentic prayer, *"From the depths I cry to you, O Lord"* — from the depths of the misery of the world incarnated in the suffering of my sisters and brothers.

The next few days I spent in more informal dialog and in participating in the daily and weekly activities of the camp. I began to realize that these people were already anticipating, in a way, the type of life they hoped to live once our country is liberated. Nicaragua offers them peace and security and a space where they can carry out constructive activities and prepare for the anxiously awaited return to the homeland. All of the refugees with whom I talked appreciated and were thankful for Nicaraguan hospitality. But they were all waiting to go back to El Salvador as soon as the military dictatorship falls — the only condition that can permit their return. They are not economic, but political refugees.

The refugees for the most part are industrious people, who suffer from not being able to find jobs. They were anxiously waiting to be hired during the approaching cotton harvest. Nevertheless, they are busy at the camp — a place which bustles with activity all day long. The refugees did complain about some middle class "senoritos" (those considered well-to-do) whom they referred to as parasites, who did

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not want to get dirty and cooperate with camp work. While I was there, the refugees were busy planting trees for shade, building new latrines and school benches, teaching literacy classes, catechism, or helping with the kindergarten. Others tended a small garden. There was also time for sports and practicing and playing soccer with local Nicaraguan teams.

Young people also take part in the life of the camp. I was invited to attend the rehearsal of a play which they called a "sociodrama." When I said that I had been in theater, they asked that I contribute ideas, which I did. The play was a love story between a guerrilla woman and a National Guardsman. The theme was love triumphant over deception and evil. Their dramatic talent was considerable, and it was a fullfilling, constructive afternoon. What a difference, I thought from the bored consumer-oriented teenagers I have met in the United States.

Another unexpected surprise was to find an old friend who was serving as a volunteer physician in the camp. Ricardo and I had been close friends and neighbors. One day I just came upon him in front of the dispensary. We shared memories and news about mutual friends. That night I was hit by the reality that my country was torn apart by a war caused by the greed of a few and orchestrated by those in power in the United States. To quote the eloquent Archbishop Romero, "The cause of evil here is the oligarchy, a small nucleus of families who do not care about the hunger of the people . . . to maintain and increase their margin of profits, they repress the people."

During the few days I spent at the refugee camp it was evident to me that the refugees were already living a new life and anticipating a new society. They were striving to create a "new person", dispossessed of egotism and self-centeredness. Their Christian orientation was alive in their hospitality, their concern, and the love

with which they related. Visits from priests who identified with the people were significant to them, but they were not dependent upon the priests. There was a clarity about their own priesthood and of the necessity to carry on by themselves.

It was the finest example of empowerment I have ever witnessed. Here, I saw the work of many dedicated priests and religious men and women who opted for teaching the people how to assume leadership roles and how to carry on themselves instead of remaining dependent on the hierarchy as advocates and ministrators of ecclesiastical goods and services. The people *are* the new church in Latin America. And they are a beacon for the people of all nations. Their community spirit and effort to build solidarity and cooperation is a living paradigm and parable of the new order they are awaiting. It is a living out of their hope.

They made another message clear to me before I left. Since I lived in the United States, they wanted me to tell the people how important it is that the U.S. Government stop helping the military in El Salvador. Their knowledge of the solidarity movement in the United States was not extensive; they really did not know how much support they had from people there. Yet they knew it was not enough. I felt charged with a responsibility, with a task. "Please tell them," the refugees said to me. "Tell them what we have gone through and that they have to stop it."

I felt very sad when it came time to leave. While it was possible to stay longer, I did not want to be an additional burden to them. They were feeding me with their best food, and taking care of me with great generosity. There are shortages to be sure, but the camp at Leon is also a sterling example of the solidarity of the Nicaraguan revolution, which in spite of shortages, manages to share what it has with the Salvadoran brothers and sisters in need. Above all, the refugee camp is living proof of the spirit of a people determined to create something new by transforming the oppression, violence and pain into a reality of sharing, cooperation and peace. ■

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Part 2

Theology of Pro-Choice: A Feminist Perspective

by Beverly Wildung Harrison

The greatest *strategic* problem of pro-choice advocates is the widespread assumption that "pro-lifers" have a monopoly on moral factors which ought to enter into decisions about abortion. "Moral legitimacy" seems to adhere to *their* position in part because traditionalists have an array of religio-moral terminology at their command which the sometimes more secular proponents of choice lack. But those who would displace women's power of choice by the power of the state and/or the medical profession do not deserve the aura of moral sanctity. However, we must do our homework if we are to dispel this myth of moral superiority. I want to reiterate that professional Christian ethicists and moral philosophers give support to the so-called "pro-life" side of the debate not merely by equating fetal or prenatal life with human personhood in a simplistic way, but also by failing seriously to rethink the issue in an appropriate historical context. (See July WITNESS.)

What we need to remember is that even in Roman Catholic natural law ethics, the definition of the status of fetal life has shifted over time and that the status of prenatal life involves a moral judgment, not a scientific one. The question is properly posed this way: What status are we morally wise to predicate to prenatal human life, given that the fetus is not yet a fully existent human being? Those raised under natural law have been required for the last 90 years to believe that a human being exists from conception, when the ovum and sperm merge. This answer from *one* tradition has had far wider impact on our culture than most people recognize. However, other Christians come from traditions that do not offer (and could not offer, given their conception of the structure of the church as moral community) a definitive answer to this question.

Even so, some contemporary Protestant medical ethicists, fascinated by the recent discoveries in genetics (DNA, etc.) have all but sacralized the moment in which the genetic code is implanted as the moment of "humanization" — which leaves them close to the traditional Roman position. Protestant male theologians have long let their enthrallment with science lead to a sacralization of specific exciting scientific discoveries, usually to the detriment of theological and moral clarity. (*Moral* here is defined as that which makes for the self-respect and well-being of human persons and their environment.) In any case, I would like to make two responses to the claim that the fetus in early stages of development is a human life or, more dubiously, a human person.

(1) Whatever one's judgment about the moral status of the fetus, it cannot be argued that it deserves greater moral standing in analysis than does the pregnant woman. This matter of assessing the value of prenatal life is where morally sensitive people will make differing judgments. What I cannot believe is that any morally sensitive person would fail to value the woman's full existent life less than they value the life of a fetus. Most women can become pregnant and carry fetal life to term many, many times in their lifetimes. The distinctly human power is not our biological capacity to bear children, but our power actively to love, to nurture, to care for each other and to shape each other's existence in cultural and social interaction. To equate a biological process with full normative humanity is

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crass biological reductionism, and such reductionism is never practiced in religious ethics except where women's lives and well-being are involved.

(2) A second point is that even though prenatal life, as it moves toward biological individuation of human form, has value, the equation of abortion with murder is always dubious. And, the equation of abortion with homicide — the killing of human life — should be carefully weighed. We should also remember that we live in a world where men extend other men wide moral range in relationship to justifiable homicide. For example, the just war tradition has legitimated widespread forms of killing in war, and Christian ethicists have often extended great latitude to rulers and those in power in making choices about killing human beings. Would that such moralists would extend equal benefit of a doubt to any woman facing life-crushing psychological and political-economic resources to support her childbearing! Men, daily, make life-determining decisions concerning radiation, for example, which affects the well-being of the fetus, and our society expresses no significant opposition, even when such decisions do widespread genetic damage. When we argue for a woman's right to choose an abortion, moral outrage rises.

The so-called "pro-life" position also gains support by invoking the general principle of "respect for human life" as foundational to its morality in a way that suggests that the pro-choice advocates are unprincipled. I have already noted that pro-choice advocates have every right to claim the same moral principle, and that this debate, like most debates that are morally acrimonious, is in no sense about basic moral principles. I do not believe that there is any clearcut conflict of principle in this very deep, very bitter controversy.

It needs to be stressed that we all have an absolute obligation to honor any moral principle that seems, after rational deliberation, to be sound. This is the one "absolutism" appropriate to ethics. However, there are often several moral principles relevant to a decision and many ways to relate a given principle. But for most Right-to-Lifers, only one principle has moral standing in this argument. Admitting only one principle to one's process of moral reasoning means that a range of other moral values is slighted. Right-to-Lifers are also moral absolutists in the sense that they will admit only one possible meaning or application of the principle they invoke. Both of these types of absolutism obscure moral debate and lead to less, not more, rational deliberation. The principle of respect for human life is one that we should all honor, but we must also recognize that this principle often comes into conflict with other valid moral principles in the process of making real, live-world decisions. Understood in an adequate way, this principle can be restated to mean that we should treat what falls under a reasonable definition of human life as having sanctity or intrinsic moral value. But even when this is clear, other principles are needed to help us choose between two intrinsic values; i.e., between prenatal life and the pregnant woman's life.

"If we are to be a society genuinely concerned both to enhance women's well-being and to minimize the necessity of abortions, thereby avoiding the danger of becoming 'an abortion culture,' what kind of a society must we become?"

Another general moral principle from which we cannot exempt our actions is the principle of justice, or right relations between persons and between groups of persons and communities. Another relevant principle is respect for all that supports human life; i.e., the natural environment. As any person knows who thinks deeply about morality, moral conflicts, as often as not, are due not to ignoring moral principles, but to the fact that different principles lead to conflicting implications for action or are selectively related to decisions.

One further proviso on this issue of principles in moral reasoning: there are several distinct theories among religious ethicists and moral philosophers as to what the function of principles ought to be. One group believes that moral principles are for the purpose of terminating the process of moral reasoning. Hence, if I tell you always to "respect human life," I am telling you to stop reflection. By contrast, others believe that it is better to refer to principles (broad, generalized moral criteria) than to use mere rules (narrow, specific moral instruction); that principles can function to open up our processes of reasoning rather than closing them. A major difference in the moral debate on abortion then, is that some believe that to invoke the principle of respect for human life settles the matter, stops debate and precludes the single, simple act of abortion. By contrast, many of us believe that the breadth of the principle opens us up to reconsider what the essential moral quality of human life is all about.

Two other concerns related to our efforts to make a strong moral case for women's right to procreative choice need to be touched upon.

The first has to do with the problems the Christian tradition creates when we try to make clear why women's right to control their bodies is an urgent and substantive moral claim. One of Christianity's greatest weaknesses is neglect of respect for the physical body. Tragically, women, more than men, are expected in Christian teaching never to take their own well-being as a moral consideration. I want to stress then, that we have no moral tradition in Christianity which starts with body-

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space, or body-right, as a basic condition of moral relations. Hence, many Christian ethicists simply do not get the point when we speak of women's right to bodily integrity. They seem to think that such talk is a disguise for women to plead self-indulgence.

We must articulate our view that body-right is a basic moral claim and also remind our hearers that there is no analogy among other human activities to women's procreative power. Pregnancy is a unique human experience. In any social relation, body-space must be respected or nothing deeply human or moral can be created. The social institutions most similar to compulsory pregnancy in their moral violations of body-space are chattel slavery or peonage. These institutions distort the moral relations of the community and deform that community over time. (Witness racism in the U.S.) Coercion of women, through enforced sterilization or enforced pregnancy, has great distortive potential, and cuts to the heart of our capacity for moral social relations in much the same way. As we should recognize, given our violence-prone society, people learn violence at an early age when women's lives are violated!

Even so, we must be careful when we make the case for our right to bodily integrity, not to confuse right with mere liberties. To claim that we have a moral right to procreative choice does not mean that we believe that women can exercise that right free of all moral claims from the community. For example, we need to teach girl children that childbearing is not a purely capricious, individualistic matter, and we need to challenge the assumption that a woman who enjoys motherhood should always have as many children as she and her mate wish, regardless of the consequences upon the community. Population self-control is a moral issue, though more so in high-consuming, affluent societies like our own than in nations where a modest, simple and less wasteful life-style obtains.

A final point which needs to be mentioned is the need, as we work politically for a pro-choice social policy, to avoid the use of morally objectionable arguments to mobilize support for our side of the issue. One can get a lot of political mileage in U.S. society by using covert racist and classist appeals ("abortion lowers the cost of welfare roles or reduces illegitimacy," or "paying for abortions saves the tax payers money in the long run"). Sometimes it is argued that good politics is more important than good morality and that one should use whatever arguments work to gain

political support. I do not believe that these "crassly utilitarian" arguments turn out, in the long run, to be good politics — for they are costly to our sense of polis and of community. But even if they were effective in the short run, I am doubly sure that on the issue of the right to choose abortion, good morality doth a good political struggle make. I believe, deeply, that moral right is on the side of the struggle for the freedom and self-respect of women, especially poor and non-white women, and on the side of developing social policy which assures that every child born can be certain to be a wanted child. Issues of justice are those that deserve the deepest moral caretaking as we develop a political strategy.

Only when people see that they cannot prohibit safe, legal, elective surgical abortion without violating the conditions of well-being for the vast majority of women, especially those most socially vulnerable because of historic patterns of oppression, will the effort to impose a selective, abstract "morality of the sanctity of human life" upon all of us cease. This is a moral battle par excellence, and whenever we forget that we make it harder to reach that group most important to the cause of procreative choice — those women who have never suffered from childbearing pressures, who have not yet put this issue into a larger historical context, and who reverence women's historical commitment to childbearing. We will surely not reach them with pragmatic appeals to the taxpayer's wallet! To be sure, we cannot let such women go unchallenged as they support ruling-class ideology that the state should control procreation. But they will not change their politics until they see that pro-choice is grounded in a deeper, tougher, more caring moral vision than the political option they now endorse.

Most people fail to understand that in ethics we need, provisionally, to separate our reflection on the morality of specific acts from questions about how we express our moral values within social institutions (i.e. social policy). When we do that, the "morality of abortion" appears in a very different light. Focusing attention away from the single act of abortion to the larger historical context enables us to make clear where we most differ from the "pro-lifers"; i.e., in our total scepticism that a state-enforced anti-abortion policy could ever have the intended "pro-life" consequences they claim.

We must always insist that the objective social conditions which make women, and children already born, highly vulnerable can only be worsened by a social policy of compulsory

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pregnancy. However one judges the moral quality of the individual act of abortion (and here, differences among us exist) it is still necessary to distinguish between how one judges the act of abortion morally and what one believes a society-wide policy on abortion should be. We must not let those who have moral scruples against the personal act ignore the fact that a just social policy must include active concern for enhancement of women's well-being and for policies which would in fact make abortions less necessary. To anathematize abortion when the social and material conditions for control of pro-creation do not exist is to "blame the victim," not to address the deep dilemmas of female existence in this society.

Even so, there is no reason for those of us who celebrate pro-creative choice as a great moral good to pretend that abortion is ever a very desirable means of expressing that choice. I know of no one on the pro-choice side who has confused the desirability of the availability of abortion with the celebration of the act itself. We all have every reason to hope that safer, more reliable means of contraception may be found. Furthermore, we should be emphatic that our social policy demands include higher standards of health care for women and children, better prenatal care, reduction of unnecessary surgery on women's reproductive systems, increased research to improve contraception, etc. Nor should we draw back from criticizing a health-care delivery system which exploits women. The abortion industry thrives on the profitability of abortion, but women are not to blame for that.

A feminist pro-life position is a position which demands social conditions that support women's full, self-respecting right to procreative choice, including the right not to be sterilized against their wills, the right to choose abortion as a birth-control means of last resort, and the right to a pre-natal and post-natal health care system which will reduce infant mortality and infant and maternal illness, and which will also reduce the now widespread trauma of having to deliver one's babies in a rigid, impersonal, health care system.

The so-called "pro-lifers" do best politically when we allow them to keep the discussion narrowly focused on the morality of the act of abortion and on the status of the fetus. We do best politically when we make the deep-level connections between the full context of this issue in women's lives, including a society's dubious patterns of justice for women.

Here as elsewhere it is well to remember that it has been traditional Catholic natural law ethics which has most stressed a distinction between the morality of an individual act on the one hand and the policies which produce the optional moral social order on the other. The strength of this position is probably reflected in that even now most polls show that slightly more Catholics than Protestants believe it unwise for the state to attempt to regulate abortion. In the past, Catholics, more than Protestants, have been wary of using the state as an instrument of moral crusade. Tragically, by taking an untypical approach on this issue, the Roman Catholic hierarchy may be risking the loss of the deepest wisdom of their ethical tradition precisely by failing to acknowledge a distinction between their moral teaching on abortion and what is a desirable social policy to minimize abortion, as well as overemphasizing this issue to the neglect of other social justice concerns.

If we are to be a society genuinely concerned both to enhance women's well-being and to minimize the necessity of abortions, thereby avoiding the danger over time of becoming "an abortion culture," what kind of a society must we become? It is here that the moral clarity of the feminist analysis becomes most obvious.

How may we reduce the number of abortions due to contraceptive failure? By placing greater emphasis on medical research in this area, by requiring that producers of contraceptives behave more responsibly, and by developing patterns of institutional life which place as much emphasis on male responsibility for procreation and long term care and nurturance of children as on female responsibility.

How may we reduce the number of abortions due to childish ignorance about sexuality among girl children or adult women and their mates? By adopting a widespread program of sex education, and by supporting institutional policies which teach male and female children alike that girls are as fully capable as boys of enjoying sex and that both must share moral responsibility for avoiding pregnancy except when they have decided, as a deliberative moral act, to have a child.

How would we reduce the necessity of abortion due to sexual violence against women in and out of marriage? By challenging vicious male-generated myths that women exist primarily to meet the sexual needs of men; that women are "by nature" those who are "really fulfilled" only through their procreative powers. We would teach feminist history, as the truthful history of the race, stressing that historic patterns of patriarchy were morally wrong and that a humane or moral society would be a fully non-sexist society.

The technological developments which may reduce the need for abortions are not entirely within our control, but the socio-moral ethos which makes abortion frequent is within our power to change. And we would begin to create such conditions by adopting a thorough-going feminist program for society. Nothing less, I submit, expresses genuine "respect for *all* human life." ■

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 2*
on the villages of Deir Yassin on April 2, 1948 and the earlier attacks on Al-Sheikh and Sa'sa' in January and February of that year, and the continuing conflict with Zionists filled them with terror and fear for their lives.

About the Jews who were driven out of their homes in Arab lands: At the time of partition there were about 400,000 Jews in Palestine, about one-third of the population. In 1881 there were only about 25,000. In 50 years the Jewish population rose by 375,000. Most of these were immigrants and their children. The pressure on the land of this many immigrants was indeed part of the problem of Palestine. But they were not indigenous Palestinians. Those who left Arab territory went to Israel where they were citizens.

I am a Christian, and assume that requires me to be open to those who I am told are my enemies as well as to those thought to be friends.

I was interested in the question Mr. White raises: How *can* we extend the hand of friendship to those who are known to use terror tactics? After the bombing of Beirut this July we might ask the same question of Israel. What I tried to indicate in the article is this: The charge of terrorism, founded or unfounded, is not sufficient grounds for denying the validity of the supposed "enemy's" claims for justice. In that sense, terrorism is a tactic — desperate, to be sure — to cause one to take notice. Too often, of course, we take notice only of the rage. The article proposed that we look beyond the rage to the source of injustice.

Tu quoque is perhaps inadmissible as an argument in ethics, but I am not trying to condone the wrong. Mr. White is correct: Terrorism is never in itself a good. It is always a means, a tactic, whose ultimate value is veiled behind the immediate horror. God, I wish it were over.

To Paul Nathanson: I don't contend that Christians have the right to protect Judaism. That *would* be condescending. I wrote that I am supportive of the effort to protect Judaism from the excesses of a secular and European movement. It is partially the fact that we Western, European peoples have been clearly oppressive to Jews that makes the attraction of a Jewish State so great. I am suggesting that Western Christians have been caught up in the ideology of Zionism as a way out of our collective guilt. I consider that a great wrong. Christians, too, sometimes identify *place* and God's Kingdom as one and the same. The radical right and its worship of America is as wrong as the "substratum" of Zionism which I believe misuses the true spiritual longings of the Jewish people as a justification for any and all actions of the State of Israel.

I don't read the present into the past. In the near present we observe the rapid growth of immigrant European settlers in Palestine and see that injustice was in the making. The decision to found the State of Israel, a state that has become more and more theocratic, was made with no regard for the wishes of the non-immigrant peoples of Palestine.

And who, in modern Israel, will be driven into the sea? All persons, including Christians, followers of Islam, or non-Orthodox Jews who think that a democratic state ought to stand respectful of, but cowering before, no particular religious doctrines.

Mr. Nathanson suggests prayer rather than partisan politics. What makes him think that prayer that cries for justice is not partisan? Or that political action that serves justice is not prayer in the full flower of its being said and answered? Mr. Nathanson thinks I am partisan to the Palestinians and the PLO. He is wrong. I am partisan for something too little seen in Palestine or elsewhere. I am for the establishment of societies free and at peace, and for reconciliation.

The Rev. Mark Harris
Newark, Del.

Sexism Fundamental

The March issue of THE WITNESS arrived the same week that five young black men raped a black woman, a white male had raped seven elderly women, I received a letter from a white woman raped by a white man and attended a prayer service for the rape and murder of the women in El Salvador. One does not need great perceptive or analytical skills to conclude that *sexism is more important and more fundamental than other forms of oppression.*

Rape is the logical conclusion of sexism and as long as those men oppressed by racism rape their own women, and the women of the oppressed; as long as those men oppressed by classism rape their own women, and the women of the oppressed; the intrinsic evil of sexism becomes very fundamental!

Perhaps the revolution is that we women will free ourselves from the chains of sexism. Here's to breaking the evil chains.

Rosalie Muschal-Reinhardt
Fairport, N.Y.

Liked March Issue

We subscribe to THE WITNESS in order to be aware of how the "other half" thinks. As active Episcopalians, presently in a small rural parish, we find the manner of expressing many of the ideas espoused quite irritating. However, we found the excerpts of comments by Bishops Burt, Charles and Spong as presented in your March issue to be outstanding.

Irving S. Heath
Ft. Morgan, Col.

From Episcopal Church

My first issue of THE WITNESS arrived yesterday noon and I have spent two hours since lunch today reading, thinking, and rejoicing. What a joy this magazine is going to be! I didn't know how I was going to get back "in touch" with current worldwide Christian thinking and devotional reading and Bible study.

The April issue is manna. And I didn't dream it would come from the Episcopal Church!

Katherine M. Hasbrouck
UCC & Society of Friends
Norfolk, Conn.

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Worker Critiques

After reading your April issue, especially the letters column, I must comment, first, on the plant closure letter by Claude Spilman, Jr. and the response by Richard Gillett: I'm a recently laid off auto worker. Prior to that I worked as a machinist and in textile plants as a weaver and loomfixer. I also was quite active in three trade unions (both on the floor as shop steward and also on negotiating teams for contracts).

Also, I've survived two plant closures where I lost jobs because of some decision in a corporate board room. I well remember how during one of these moves, we were asked to up productivity which we did to the satisfaction of management, and still the plant closed. My most recent lay-off was due to a "consolidation" of three other plants to a location some 80 miles away.

Gillett makes the point that labor has stressed more and more "bread and butter" issues in their negotiating, and the rank and file keep demanding them over more democratic work conditions in the plants. Many a time within union halls I was booed down for pushing for modifications of plant rules rather than going back to work as soon as the pay raise and fringe benefits were gained. This took place in contract after contract in the auto industry until some of the local shop rules were so bad that two strikes were called. When these injustices were rectified, it was amazing how management took the credit for how humanely the work force was being treated. But we were forced out on strike to get this humane treatment. And how many battles did we have to fight with our own rank and file who were willing just to settle for bread and butter raises.

Secondly, from the time I was a child (I'm now 59) I've read scriptures. My interests are more geared toward social action in theological discussions. So when I read Donald L. Adams' letter and his interpretation of *Romans 1:28* with regard to homosexuality, I had to double check this passage. I did not get the harsh interpretation Mr. Adams got. On the subject of homosexuality, I've read four books — two completely anti and two more compassionate. Also, after six years in the Marines and all these years in industrial plants, having seen the harsh treatment of homosexuals by society (including the church) I wonder just how my brothers and sisters in Christ can continue to be part of this treatment and try to justify themselves through scriptures, no less.

Robert Keosian
Hawthorne, N.J.

Getting Better

Your magazine is getting better each month. I read and re-read every issue — then give it to someone else to enjoy. Thank you for your continued excellence.

Ann P. McElroy
Cupertino, Cal.

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 3*

during which a man was crushed
beneath the wheels of a police van.

On the other side of the Atlantic
the U.S. announced it will send arms
to the repressive regime of Guatemala,
where another priest met death yesterday
at the hands of right-wing execution squads;
Fathers Daniel and Philip Berrigan
and other peace activist members of the Plowshares Eight
received jail sentences for damaging equipment
in their effort to shut down a nuclear missile plant;
the Welfare Department of Siskiyou County, California
announced that it would henceforth refuse aid
to any destitute person or unemployed worker
who declined to join the military;
and the President twisted a speech
to cruelly mislead retired Americans
into trusting that their Social Security benefits
will not be cut.

Like the court of Marie Antoinette,
will the British Tories and the American Moral Majority
"Let them eat cake"
while the world burns?

— Mary Jane Brewster

Shareholder Conference Oct. 16-17

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Bishop of New York, will deliver the keynote address entitled "The Faithful Steward" at the Conference on Shareholder Responsibility at St. Thomas Church, Whitemarsh in suburban Philadelphia, beginning Oct. 16.

The two day conference will bring together Episcopalians from Provinces I, II, and III to consider their investment portfolios in the light of Christian commitment and witness. Guests and observers have been invited from other parts of the country as well.

Workshops will be presented on plant closings, energy, transnational corporations, militarism, infant formula, and alternate investments. Chairing the event is Mary Jane Baker of Philadelphia, who is a board member of the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility.

Sponsors of the event include the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, the Committee on Social Responsibility of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, and Bishops Robert Appleyard of Pittsburgh; Robert Atkinson, West Virginia; John Spong, Newark; Lyman Ogilby and Brooke Mosley, Pennsylvania; William Clark, Delaware, and Moore of New York.

Descriptive brochures and registration forms can be obtained from St. Thomas Church, Whitemarsh, Ft. Washington, PA 19034.

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1980, 172 pp., $6.95
Deepens understanding of the present crisis—inflation, unemployment, the danger of war. Moves beyond historical critique of capitalism to explore other alternatives. Raises questions for Christian activists: Can we reclaim our radical heritage? How do we confront political and religious ideology? Seven in-depth sessions for group study and action.

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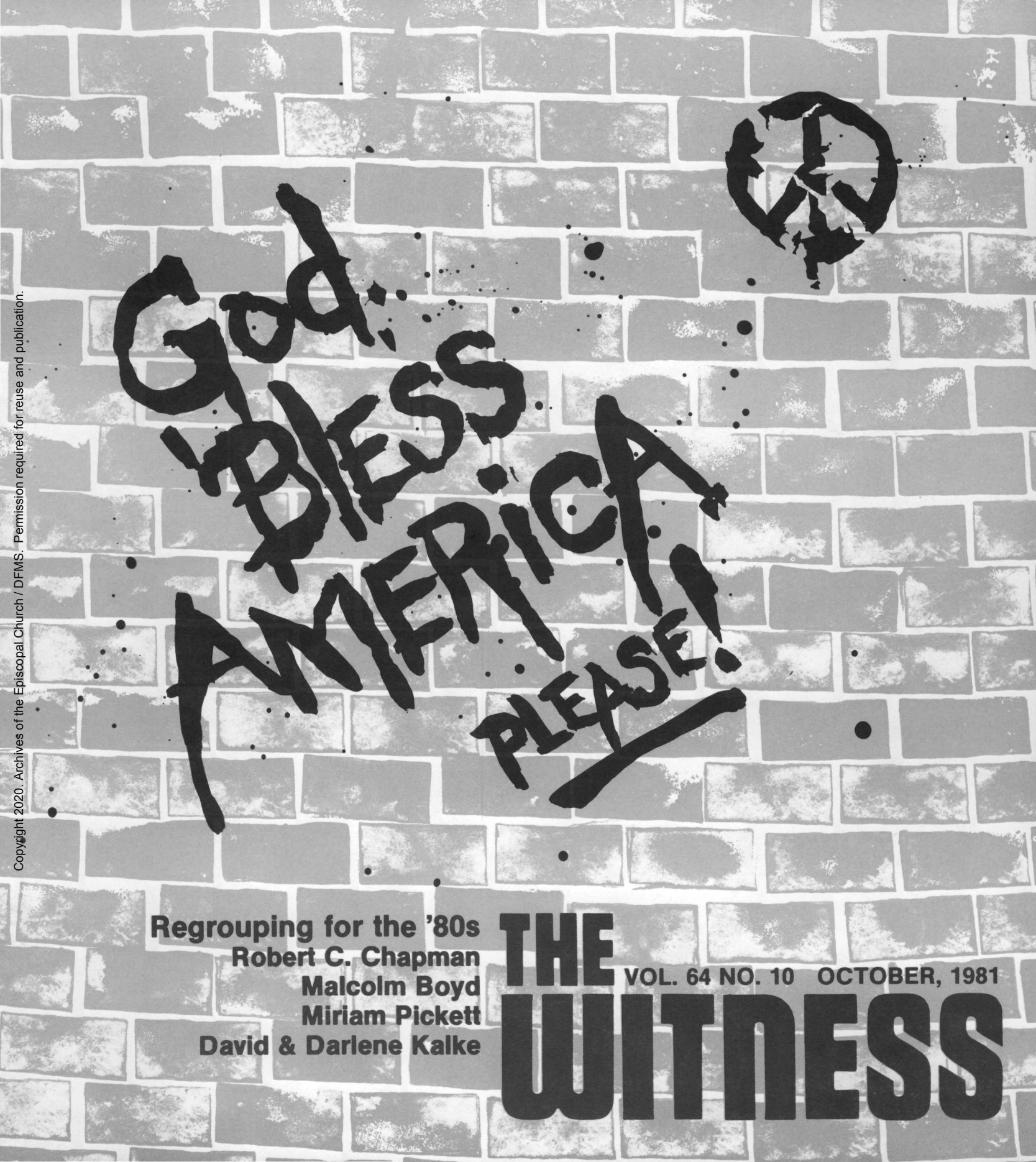

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Regrouping for the '80s
Robert C. Chapman
Malcolm Boyd
Miriam Pickett
David & Darlene Kalke

THE WITNESS
VOL. 64 NO. 10 OCTOBER, 1981

LETTERS

Piccard Links People

Thank you so much for Dad's article in the July WITNESS on Jeannette Piccard. I lived with Jeannette and Jean (I think there was some slip-up on the spelling of his name in the article) for almost six months in the spring of 1953. This was a very important time in my life and they played a significant role in it. This was also the time that I directed Jeannette in a memorable production of Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* in which she played the old nurse, Marina. She gave a moving performance. In short, the article links very important people in my life and I'm delighted to have it.

Robert W. Corrigan, Dean
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
School of Fine Arts
Milwaukee, Wisc.

(Dean Corrigan's Dad is The Rt. Rev. Daniel J. Corrigan, whose article "Holy Dying" appeared among our July memorials to Jeannette Piccard. — Eds.)

Rare Spiritual Biography

My youngest daughter now has become a postulant under Bishop Coburn. Her decision to send me THE WITNESS and subsequently, my own subscription to your magazine, led to perusal of the spiritual biography in July regarding Jeannette Piccard, whom I never met. A rare set of essays and poetry!

The Rev. Fessenden A. Nichols
North Conway, N.H.

Moved by Exchange

Recently I realized that I had put off responding to a renewal notice once too often and that I had undoubtedly received my last issue of THE WITNESS. Then the July issue came. What a special gift that issue was for me. And like God's grace it came totally unearned.

I was moved by much that I read, but most especially by the exchange between Bishop Anderson and the Rev. Alla Bozarth-Campbell on the chancel steps at the Rev. Canon Jeannette Piccard's funeral. Thank you.

The Rev. Louise L. Kingston
Princeton, N.J.

(The "exchange" referred to above is worth repeating — from the Rev. Alla Bozarth-Campbell's moving description of the funeral: "I began to leave the chancel steps from where I led the Prayers of the People. As he came out to proclaim the Greeting of Peace, Bishop Anderson said softly, 'Don't go. Stay by my side and hold my hand.' Dear Bishop, you do not know how much your words meant to me, and would have meant to Jeannette, for what you asked just then is all we ever meant to do." — Eds.)

Radwaste Solutions

Nuclear waste — dispose of it this way, dispose of it that way, it doesn't matter, it's *still* extremely dangerous. (See Larry Medsker's "Radwaste: Lethal Legacy," July WITNESS). One thing would help more than any of the suggestions, though: *Don't make any more of it!* But nobody will consider it. As a P.S., love and kisses to Abbie Jane Wells for her delightful "solution" in that same issue.

Dom Peter Hartman, O.M.
Pulaski, Wisc.

Re Shareholders Struggle

In a Letter to the Editor in the May issue, Richard Antle asks why the churches which own stock in the multinationals are not "getting together and voting their shares for managements of corporations that promote social welfare?"

In some instances they *are.* An ecumenical group of Dow stockholders, including Catholics, Disciples of Christ, and Baptists, introduced a shareholders' resolution for two years in a row, trying to force Dow to suspend production of 2,4,5-T until an independent panel of scientists could clear it of the charges that the chemical causes cancer, miscarriages, etc. The first year the proposal got 5% of the vote, barely enough to squeak onto this year's agenda. This was after Dow made a huge effort to block the resolution, and was forced to include it by a ruling of the SEC.

This year the resolution didn't even get 5%. It was a modest and reasonable proposal, but Dow managed to portray the group as a bunch of wild-eyed fanatics. The sad thing is that we never heard anything about it on the evening news.

Michele Bartlett
Champaign, Ill.

Critiques Ahistorical

Anne Steele's letter critiquing "democratic socialism" (May WITNESS) draws conclusions in a framework of an ahistorical approach that provides no adequate point of departure for further discussion.

Holding up as she does, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Sri Lanka as models of capitalist development in underdeveloped countries is a weak case. The first two are really city-states that serve as financial centers for international exchange, export enclaves for particular industries and sources of cheap labor for Western industries (often those having just closed plants in the U.S.). Furthermore, the government of Hong Kong is noted for its complete lack of expenditures on even minimal public services (schools, hospitals, housing, sewage, etc.) As for Sri Lanka, its new "turn to the right" is only a few years old and thus not yet ripe for final judgement. However, it has eliminated rice subsidies for many and reduced them for others, all the while failing to generate much in the way of new jobs through its investment policies.

India is hardly a "doggedly socialist" nation. Neither its present land tenure system nor its rural financial structure

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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

New Time, New Action

The Moral Majority and the "New Right" have mobilized straight across the nation a continuing and growing threat to human and civil rights. Those of us who are in opposition need to come out of hiding and act with confidence.

Not since the days of Joe McCarthy, the House Un-American Activities Committee and Richard Nixon have the forces of reaction held more power in America than they will hold in the months, perhaps years, immediately ahead. Their agenda for the nation is fully developed and very clear.

They intend, with reference to foreign relations, to: finance the Pentagon lavishly in order to mount a massive nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union; stop American pressure for human rights in South Africa, Latin America and elsewhere; seize opportunities to promote a "tough guy" U.S. image as in the recent decision to produce the obscene neutron bomb.

They intend, with reference to our national life, to:

- strengthen the already strong hand of large corporations by reducing the "windfall profits tax" on giant oil companies, abolishing the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, relaxing the enforcement of environmental standards and obfuscating collective bargaining rights through legislation;
- arrest the development of our democratic tradition by:

1) allowing the Voting Rights Act to lapse

2) re-establishing Congressional committees on "un-American activities"

3) defeating the proposed Equal Rights Amendment

4) promoting a Constitutional Amendment to ban all abortions for women

5) cutting a wide range of social programs, hitherto accepted, for the elderly and the needy.

There is no item on the agenda listed above that does not impede or emasculate the advances made on

Continued on page 7

God Bless America Please!

by Robert C. Chapman

My life as a priest and civil rights activist goes back 29 years. I am sure that the sermons and addresses that I have been called upon to make as a priest near a couple of thousand, and the addresses for civil rights number into the hundreds. In the past, I approached their preparation with eagerness and a sense of elan. But my enthusiasm is missing today. The Civil Rights Movement is as dead as a doornail — something high school students read about in social studies courses, if they read about it at all.

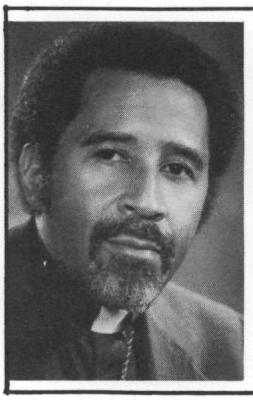
But in the civil rights days of old, I was fired with hope and with expectation, because I identified with the "dream" of that master speechmaker and latter-day Prince of Peace, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Besides, Jim Crow laws were dropping like flies: Autherine Lucy had entered the University of Alabama; James Meredith had entered Ole Miss, and Congress was passing those civil rights laws.

In those days, when I heard Kate Smith sing, "God Bless America," I wanted to shout "Amen!" (Being Episcopalian, I murmured it, almost inaudibly to myself, of course.) But that hope is not there now:

- Today there is twice as much public school segregation — North and South — as there was in the '60s.
- Today there is twice as much unemployment for black and hispanic male teenagers as there was in the '60s.
- Today the Ku Klux Klan has open, para-military training for young white children.
- Today the bodies of 28 blacks can be counted, all murdered in Atlanta.

I suffer the feeling of a vast emptiness where my stomach and viscera ought to be, because the guts have been torn out of everything that so many Americans fought for, marched for, pleaded for, bled for, got jailed, beaten and slain for.

Today, when I hear Kate Smith — or anyone else — sing, "God Bless America," I want to snap back with: "What *for*?" And even while I shudder



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at what I see, I know that "We ain't seen nothin' yet!" Because Ronald Reagan rode into 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue straight from Death Valley, and he means to show not only black people but all poor people what "Death Valley Days" can really be.

A little rhyme has been circulating among black people ever since there were 13 colonies and some slaves:

If you're white, you're all right;
If you're brown, stick around;
If you're black, git back!

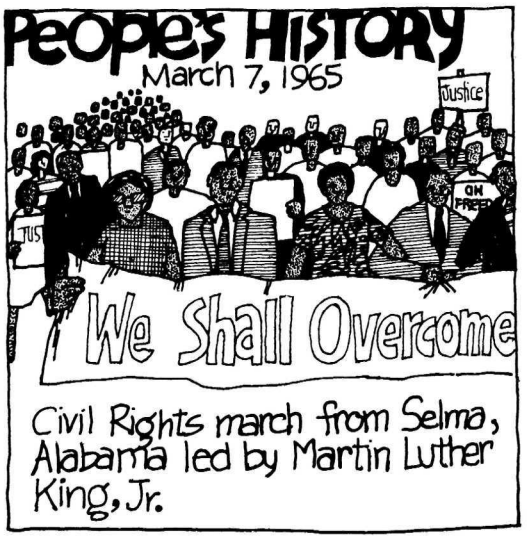
It has always been tragically and cruelly true for black people in America. But the new President has a social program that edits the last line. It replaces the word *black,* with the word *poor.*

Our multi-millionaire President, who has, by his program, announced himself to be the guardian of the purses of the wealthy, would grind the faces of the poor into the very gravel of the hot and arid valley:

Make them bereft of access to legal services;
Stop offering them opportunities to be trained with job skills;
Make them pay more for their subsidized housing;
Cut down their food stamps;
Decrease their access to health care services;
Cut down their Social Security benefits.

What is truly important to the national psyche of the United States of today is that we have more horses and more chariots than Pharoah, with all of his vanity, ever had! The purpose of all this armor and vain might, apparently, is to be in a position to assure that the rich keep what they have — at *all* costs! In the face of this inhumane and morally ugly national posture, what we get from the vociferously noble Patrick Moynihans and Bill Bradleys of this world is emasculated acquiescence.

I look for some faint — even false — hope in the America in which we live today.



Civil Rights march from Selma, Alabama led by Martin Luther King, Jr.

Yes, I think I would be willing to pick up a false hope, and play, "let's pretend," for America, for a while. But, I can't even find a *false* hope in this ominous day.

I look in one direction, and I find that Secretary of Education T. H. Bell won't push lawsuits to get integration through busing. I look in another direction, and I find Secretary of Agriculture John R. Block, threatening to "use food as a weapon in international relations." Dear God above, the man said he would use FOOD as a weapon!

I make an about-face, and I catch Jeane Kirkpatrick fraternizing with South African military officers, while a Louisiana judge defies a Federal Court Order to send three white girls to an integrated high school. And a Manhattan judge admits that a white, college-attending defendant "deserves" to go to jail for tearing up a summons for allowing his unleashed dog to relieve itself in a public park and punching the black policeman who was serving the summons, and sicking his Doberman pinscher on the cop — but he refuses to send the defendant to jail because, "given his race, his slight build, and his mannerisms, he would not last 10 minutes in there before being raped, and sodomized, and brutalized in ways so heinous as to stagger the imagination."

What we need to plead is: *"God, Bless America — Please!"*

I try to wake up from this present nightmare. And I sit down, gasping, and asking myself: "How did we ever come to this madman's end?"

I am an American. That's not America's fault, or mine. It's simply a fact. But I take a deep, lung-filling breath. And I do it again — and again — and, slowly, an enforced calm begins to cool and quiet my tortured soul. I am leaning back in my easy chair, now, eyes closed, and breathing deeply, calmly — and the question dances lightly in the air: "How did we ever come to this madman's end?" An answer begins to emerge.

When I was a child growing up in Brooklyn, in the '30s, times were hard, because we were coming out of what was then called the Great Depression. The presence of six children in our family made it tougher. My dad's hospitalization and his slow recuperation made it even more difficult. What I did not know in those early '30s, but what I grew to learn as that decade moved on, is that the rich color of our skins required payments impossible to complete, in America.

When I was about 10 years old, my father began to take my older brother and me to his monthly NAACP meetings. There, as I would sit in dutiful silence, I began to be exposed to corporate black anger, at the adult male level. Frequently, words such as "lynch-mob," "segregation," "racism," "Jim Crow" were mentioned. And, always, the words came forth in angry tones. I could not have analyzed it at the time, but I sensed that the anger was not a controlled anger. It was more a pitiful, powerless anger-of-frustration. The men, I think, knew, too, but none ever spoke of it as such.

Here were grown men, more significantly, *Christian* men. But for some reason, they dared not mention,

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even to each other, their sensation of powerlessness. I believe that that fact contains an explosive kernel of truth. We don't like to admit that we are powerless. Powerlessness is perceived as one of the most dehumanizing of states. It demolishes self-respect. So we hardly admit it to ourselves — and, surely we avoid mention of the word, when we are in the company of others — especially when the fear is that they, too, are powerless, and *know* it!

I think if members of a group are cornered into confessing powerlessness to each other, that group is then forced to confront it in one of two ways: accept it, and be thenceforth servile, or stand up and raise the literal Armageddon against the forces that would render them powerless.

It was not conceivable to those black men in Brooklyn in the '30s that they could really accept the risk of acknowledging their powerlessness. So they learned to run from that confrontation with life. They spoke — and therefore I learned to do the same — as though they believed, indeed, as though they knew, that their corporate anger could lead to actions that would eliminate racism. They were "marching onward." That's how they planned.

My father, in his idealism and enthusiasm for the "better day" for "Negroes," wrote and published a poem, entitled, "The Negro Is on the March." It probably had 10 or 12 short verses, but I used to think of it as having 30 or 40. As the budding child actor in the family, I had to memorize the poem and recite it at the monthly gatherings. I still remember the first verse — which became my first lesson in Black History:

"From Boston-town, with Crispus Attucks,
To Gettysburg, and Appomattox,
He fought and bled for liberty,
And when they told him he was free
He started on his march!"

Despite the pain revealed in the vocabulary, there was something "up-beat" in the tenor of the NAACP meetings. In retrospect, I think it was a false beat, but it was up-beat. Every meeting began with a lengthy prayer, followed by the lusty singing of what they called "The Negro National Anthem." Although the words to that great song grew to hold a more and more profound meaning for me, still, from my earliest youth, I puzzled over the location of that "Negro Nation" to which the song's title seemed to make such obvious reference. But the song was "up-beat." Whether I see it now as justified or not, it was leaning toward the optimistic side of life:

"Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won."

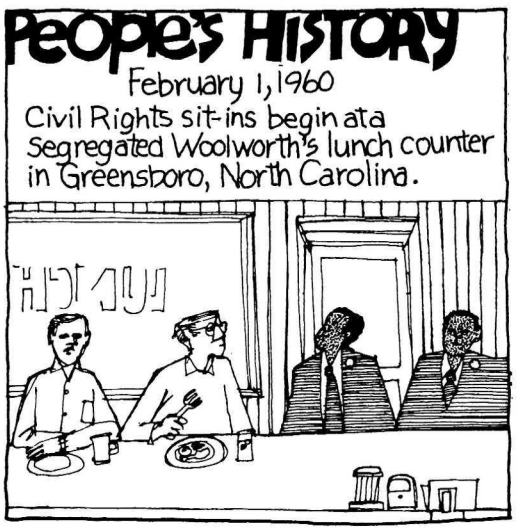
The song was God-centered, and, at the same time, it implied love for America: *"God of our weary years,"* the next verse began, and it ended:

"Shadowed beneath thy hand,
May we forever stand,
True to our God,
True to our native land."

So at an early age I was full of a number of ambivalences and confusions of which I was not then aware, but which affected my thinking and my feelings about myself, about my people, and about my country.

I grew up believing that I *should* sing, "God Bless America." I grew up laughing at pictures of ring-in-nose Africans, who were pictured in my junior high school geography book. I grew up with Tarzan and the Lone Ranger as my heroes — even though Tarzan was the supreme symbol of European superiority over Africa and Africans, and even though the Lone Ranger named his Indian friend "Fool" — which is what "Tonto" means, in Spanish.

I was not just a person; I was a "Negro." Being a "Negro" meant segregation, it meant lynching, it meant Jim Crow and racism and it meant many other scary things. Negroes were



"on the march, toward victory." Negroes fought in Boston-town, and in Appomattox, but they had their own national anthem. I knew, also, that the victory that had to be fought for and won was to be fought for here, at home, in America. And I knew, too, that God wanted me to be "true to my native land." I just couldn't unscramble all of the intermixed pieces. I am not even sure that I can do it today. One thing was never to be doubted. I should always sing, "God Bless America," and I should always be "true to (my) native land."

I grew up singing "God Bless America," even though I was rejected from the glee club of my mainly white high school, without audition, at the same time that I was baritone soloist in my all-black Episcopal Church's choir. All of this is not only nonsense. To our everlasting shame, it is *non-Christian!*

If "Negro," by this country's functional (as against its academic) definition meant something less than a fully-accredited human being — and it *did* — and it *does* — then it was against *God* that the majority population categorized us as such, and it was against *God* that we acquiesced, powerlessly, to that appellation. As a young Christian, I needed to be taught

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by adult Christians — both black and white — that this nation, in its treatment of blacks, was sinning against God and humankind — and was to be resisted in its sinfulness.

As a young Christian, I should never have been taught by Christians to be "true to my native land" when all honor and candor declared the truth that my "native land" was being *un*true to my God! The moral gap between the two is as broad as the moral gap between worshipping the Lord God-in-Christ and throwing a pinch of salt on Caesar's altar. But we have always insisted that our followers perform that contradiction — as though it were impossible to love God if one defines his or her nation as being in sin.

That is precisely how we have come to this madman's end! We have insisted on riding the backs of two horses, each running in different directions. When we actually went in the same direction, that was fine. But when, more frequently, nation and God did not point us in the same direction, we went with nation. And we have done it so often, that it's easy to do now.

Sure, the United States can be the strongest nation on the face of God's earth. And it may worship dollar bills and be insensitive to human need. But this is *God's* earth, still. And even though we may "kick against the pricks," this nation is in *God's* hands — not in the President's hands.

The message will hardly ever be written on the walls of Congress or the White House more clearly. This is a time for reading those walls. And God wants committed *Christian* response. In the long run — though we may silence many voices of the prophets — in the long run, the Almighty God will emerge victorious, "from sea to shining sea." The United States has no more control over the power of our risen Christ than did the Egypt of the Pharoahs, or the Rome of the Caesars.

Christians have no choice in this country. We must teach Christ as we have never taught Christ before. And, specifically, we must teach that the Christ who loved and served the poor and the down-trodden, will have a fierce and holy anger against a nation that despitefully uses the poor and the powerless. Today, that will surely make the misdirected, who would call themselves patriots, rise up to vilify, imprison, or even assassinate us.

But we were called to be "fools for Christ." It is impossible to do that when everyone proclaims, and *lives* by Christ. Therefore, we live in a day that gives profuse opportunity to those who hear his call. We must be repossessed by the Spirit of Christ. In that Spirit, the soul of this nation may be saved. There is no other way in which it can be saved from its present spiritual folly.

The Pentagon won't save it.

Anti-Red paranoia won't save it.

Oil magnates won't save it.

God can, and will save this nation — if Christians demonstrate their love, above all else — and at whatever risk!

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 3*

racism, poverty and peace over the past 20 years. To be on the side of justice over against the forces of reaction will require courage and clear thinking. The Gospel is always addressed to the time in which we live, and is the Word of a God who loves the poor and demands justice.

We must become involved anew in this struggle for justice. Many Christians have separated themselves from public affairs to a place of retreat and privacy with like-minded friends. It is time to break out of hiding and become involved with those "strangers who are in need." We do not have to be in need ourselves to serve those who are. We can associate directly with organizations and groups which represent the poor and oppressed.

We must advocate those public policies that will advance human rights. We must take our perspectives to local churches and secular groups in our communities, to denominations and to political bodies. Our opposition to racism, sexism, class discrimination and imperialism must be made explicit in all that we advocate.

Two conditions — fear and guilt — immobilize many people. Fear is manifested when people see themselves as inferior in numbers and status. Guilt comes from people's thinking that they do not deserve what they have in possessions or advantage.

Theologian Dorothea Soelle sees the middle class, especially, afflicted by fear and guilt. "The danger of this is that it binds us in endless wavering. Kierkegaard criticized this type of existence as the infinite reflection which hinders a person from making a decision and taking a stand," she said.

The fact is, all things in existence are connected and interdependent. We have nothing to fear nor to be guilty about if we are accountable and responsible to the human family for our thinking and actions.

As opposed to the "Religious New Right," we are persuaded that no one can speak for God. However, we are obliged through our faith in Jesus Christ to be, as he was, in all circumstances for the poor, the oppressed, for justice and peace.

This is a time for new involvement, new reflection, new action. (*H. C. W. and the editors*). ■

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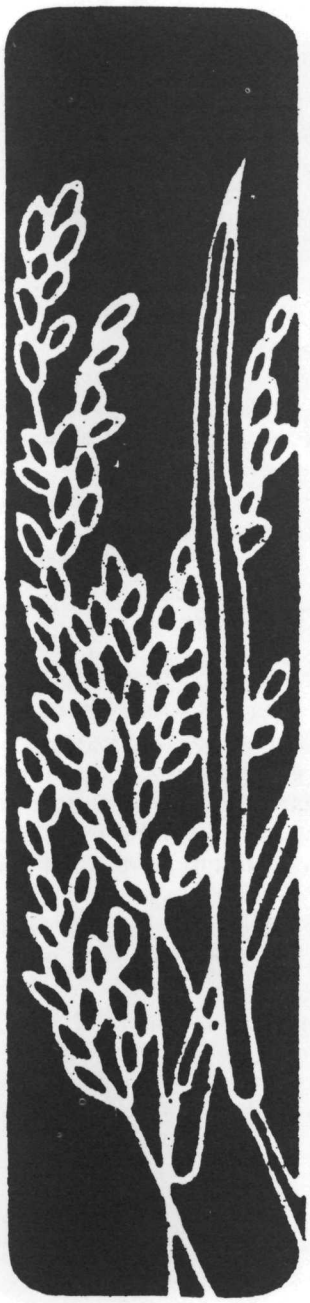
Challenge of the '80s

Changing Negatives Into Positives

by Malcolm Boyd



My friend, Alex Haley, popularized the examination of "roots." For many of us, our convictions and responses today have their roots in events, great and small, of the '60s.

Human beneath my armor image-trappings as "the rebel priest," I found myself in Newport, R.I., one weekend in the late '60s to read prayers from *Are You Running With Me, Jesus?* at the Jazz Festival, accompanied by guitarist Charlie Byrd.

One of my loveliest recollections of that turbulent decade has its origin in an invitation I received during my Newport stint to be the guest of Hugh D. Auchincloss at Bailey's Beach. Presumably I would not even meet my host; the invitation was a courtesy arranged by friends.

On the designated day I occupied a cabana belonging to Auchincloss, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis' step-father, at the exclusive beach club. I had sunned and swam, and was relaxing inside the cabana while reading a book, when Auchincloss suddenly walked in.

He struck me as being an extremely formidable man, a near contemporary clone of the legendary J. P. Morgan. He evidently tolerated little nonsense and knew his own mind.

Without making a prefatory remark or small-talk to soften the bluntness, he blurted out "Why don't you write some prayers for stockbrokers?"

I looked sharply at him. My initial reaction was to say something like "I thought most prayers in the Episcopal Church *had* been written for stockbrokers." An eye for an eye. A deep bow to the Establishment-on-its-knees.

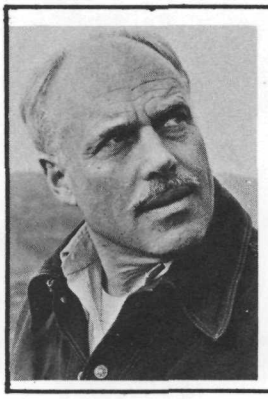
But he looked tame, and I thought a bit sad, under his lion's mane as drag.

I smiled instead and said "It's one of the things I intend to do." After which he guffawed and wheezed, busied himself with the *Wall Street Journal* or a towel, and in a few moments was gone.

Auchincloss had probably encountered my image that same year in the pages of the *New York Times Magazine.* An article entitled "And Now Even Prayers Are Pop" had said: "(Boyd) is an angry man and his prayers are written in a jarringly modern language because he says he feels 'there is something phony about praying to God in Old English.' "

Oh, well. How intense all of us seemed to be in the '60s. Idealism percolated like coffee. We had civil rights, the Peace Corps, demonstrations against war at the Pentagon, assassinations-on-TV followed by mass outpourings of passionate feelings, black consciousness pointing the way toward feminist and gay aspirations, and it seemed the last suicidal hurrah of primitive American nationalism.

Everything seemed bigger than life. In Dallas to speak at a conference in



Malcolm Boyd is a poet, critic, social commentator and Episcopal priest who lives in Los Angeles. He is the author of 20 books including *Are You Running With Me, Jesus?, As I Live and Breathe, Take Off the Masks,* and the recent *Look Back in Joy.*

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1967, I awoke to find myself on the front page of the *Morning News:* "The Rev. Malcolm Boyd, the controversial priest-laureate for today's 'hip' generation, turned Wednesday morning's session of the National Council of Churches education conference into a shouting match."

However, this was nothing compared to what happened the next day when I casually referred to the existence of an "Underground Church," describing it as a movement characterized by zeal for unity and social concerns.

You would have thought the Red Sea parted. Dutch television was on the phone (yes, there were language difficulties) requesting an immediate interview; news magazines vied with newspapers for full details. The enthusiastic panic which greeted the announcement might have momentarily eclipsed the Second Coming if its time had come.

All in all, it was hard to sort out events in the '60s. They kept hitting our collective consciousness like unexpected explosions. There was little or no perspective, and virtually no shading.

The Cuban missile crisis had already scared most of us nearly to death. I remember walking around New York City on its eventful climactic day, wondering if this was to be my last. Heady stuff for Americans who had long lived as the world's gods. Experiencing stabbing pains of anxiety, now we had a glimpse of our mortality.

There was a youthful, fantasy, golden, god-like aura about John F. Kennedy. As members of a nation, we wept bitter tears when he was entombed. Yet not for a moment did we doubt that his mission would continue, and find its vessel in us.

Life published a special issue that heralded "The Take-Over Generation — Its Breakthrough in Government, Science, Space, Business, Education, Religion and the Arts." The magazine selected "One Hundred of the Most Important Young Men and Women in the United States." What cheek, what *chutzpah.* It was an era of a legion of new Caesars.

This made the '20s with its Charleston and bootleggers a faded glittering footnote. The "take-over" elite included — let's see — Theodore Sorensen, Leontyne Price, John Updike, Thomas Eagleton, Lukas Foss, John Lindsay, Daniel Inouye, Harold Prince, William Sloane Coffin, Martin E. Marty — and me. Oh, wow.

"Any young American who aspires to join these movers and shakers can find an inspiring model somewhere here," said *Life.* "The 100 had to meet a rigid set of criteria: 1) tough, self-imposed standards of individual excellence; 2) a

zest for hard work; 3) a dedication to something larger than private success; 4) the courage to act against old problems; 5) the boldness to try out new ideas; 6) a hard-bitten, undaunted hopefulness about man."

"Man." *Life* would say "humanity" today, or else "people," and also include more women on its list. But the idea of the *Life* special issue was an uplifting one, meant to inspire people and move them to social action. I sincerely felt that our generation would turn America around, taking monumental, giant strides to eradicate racism. The "dream" of peace seemed a viable goal.

Nonviolence was the key.

I had encountered it in a compelling way during preparations for a 1961 Prayer Pilgrimage-Freedom Ride in which 27 black and white Episcopal priests, including myself, participated. We were members of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Martin Luther King, Jr., sent an aide to instruct us in nonviolence as a philosophy, not just a technique. To my astonishment I learned that nonviolence should affect every aspect of our lives. This included, for example, the way in which one picked up a telephone and responded to a caller.

It remains my conviction that nonviolence would have changed the course of American civilization and history, if it had been tried. The fact that it wasn't haunts me more than anything else I've experienced as an American, as a member of my generation.

My silly, childish, Sunday School, Hollywood view of the world was smashed and transformed by the racism and human violence I encountered during the years of the Civil Rights Movement. I saw white U.S. counterparts of "good Germans" bristling with hate, causing untold harm to others who were black.

The most profound experience I had — perhaps in my whoe life — took place one summer in rural Mississippi, Alabama and Arkansas. I lived and worked with three young black men of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

A white person in the company of blacks, at that time and in that place, meant "outside agitator," despite the fact one had responded to the Macedonian call of Martin Luther King, Jr. White society saw me as worse than a "nigger." Blacks were not, as a rule, about to trust a visitor from outer space with white skin. So, I was isolated existentially. The word does seem to fit here.

My learning experience was traumatic, for I had been insulated all my life from knowledge of how most black poor people lived in America. And, now I was living *like* them. Because our effort to increase black

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voter registration was meant to change conditions that we found unjust and inhumane, it was opposed by extaordinary violence on the part of the white Establishment.

Friends of mine were shot to death. Others were beaten, terrified, deprived of home and work, their lives overwhelmed by terror. The heart of darkness is not an attractive thing to behold. Standing in active opposition to its evil, I was not so much courageous as — what? Obstinate? A "born again" opponent of a tyrannical status quo?

I tried to follow and serve Christ. In the foot washing, the service of others, which has always been recognized as a traditional form of discipleship, one perceives, and serves, Christ in others. This is simply an extension of the meaning of the incarnation. And, Christ identified himself with the poor, the outcast. Surely, this addresses those "theologians" of our day who call loudly for *less* "social action" and *more* "spirituality."

The struggle of the '60s took its toll in my life. I had understood human sin theologically, but it was awfully hard to take it out of comfortable academe and deal with it in chilling life-or-death terms. I had so many close calls with violence, it became a wonder to me that my life was spared. However, my mind, soul and body were not. They were scarred.

The close encounters with racism seriously isolated me from other people I knew who were scarcely able to imagine this precise kind of experience, let alone deal with its implications and revelations, its fury and dread. How could I easily move back from a world of abject poverty, police brutality, a double-standard in "law and order," and gun shots fired through glass windows from speeding cars — into a seeming never-never land of choreographed polite manners, rote materialism, trivialized cultural religion, unswerving allegiance to convention, and locked closets

containing unmentionable subjects like racism?

Trying to make the move, I stumbled repeatedly. I wondered: Whom could one trust? How could one respect an outer facade of values that seemed to be a visible contradiction of inner truth?

I came out of the situation with far more hope, and much less optimism than before. God who did not stop the human-packed trains moving toward Auschwitz is God whom I came to know intimately in moments of dire crisis. I knew God to be alive and well, and present, *and yet* respecting human free will by not performing movie miracles on demand.

Years later in the '80s, this would help me to understand the 1978 tragedy of Jonestown and relate it to other events.

Jonestown is so logical.

The expectations of the Rev. Jim Jones were apparently fueled by his rage at the injustices of the human condition, partial understanding of Marxism, and an increasing apocalyptic vision. "I have seen by divine revelation the total annihilation of this country . . . we will be the only survivors."

Jones, like Richard Nixon, taped hour upon hour for posterity. The tapes and their transcripts are a nightmare, sad long days' journeys into awful nights, with irony itself embedded in a chaos of ambiguities. Odell Rhodes, an eyewitness who escaped, has described the "constant psychodrama, the close, heavy atmosphere of depression." Jones established a highly sophisticated concentration camp in the guise of a liberated commune. He was an atheist who claimed to be a Christian clergyman as well as a Communist. "The best testimony we can make is to leave this goddamn world," he told his doomed followers.

What went wrong in the aborted utopia? A survivor, Larry Layton, has addressed himself to the question. "First, discipline became so austere that people were afraid to speak their minds. Second, religious states of mind and politics don't mix well . . . Third, power corrupts absolutely." A liberal, impassioned leader — one who genuinely cared about suffering people. — lost his faith but kept the "Christian connection" as a secular means to achieve media and political exposure, raise money, and establish a power base. He became a megalomaniac and a despot. Finally, when he clearly found life intolerable, and had made it so for everybody around him ("I am the only God you've ever seen," he shouted on one of his tapes), he engineered the mass suicide/murder of 913 adults and children.

It is the sheer logicality of Jonestown that is so chilling. Unbridled rage at injustices *plus* a mix of ideology *plus* a merely passionate response to overpowering events (over which one seems to have no control) *plus* a sudden heightening of intolerable tensions *equals* Jonestown. It is, of course, not at all a singular event in a remote part of a distant place called Guyana. Jonestown is legion. It is in the very bloodstream of human experience in the '80s.

As 1984/"1984" draws closer, one ponders many aspects of it.

So, I was touched by the prophetic words of Jacobo Timerman, the Argentinian editor and publisher who was imprisoned and tortured for 30

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months before being deported to Israel.

Speaking of "a struggle between civilization and barbarism," he offered chapter and verse for his description of the "mechanism of terror and violence." He recalled that as his torturers applied electric shocks to his body, they clapped their hands and shouted "Jew! Clipped prick! Jew! Clipped prick! Jew!"

The Jew becomes intolerable. And, the black. One who is "different." The gay, the lesbian. One who symbolizes or represents diversity. "The totalitarian mind obsessively needs the world to be clear-cut and orderly," Timerman has warned. "Any subtlety, contradiction, or complexity upsets and confuses this notion and becomes intolerable." One who questions, or epitomizes a question, also becomes intolerable, as well as one who dissents, or whose persecution prompts dissent. Rigid nationalism is abetted by its counterpart and willing servant, fundamentalist religion.

We *can* change negatives into positives.

We *can* voluntarily give up the ritual sacrifice of scapegoats.

We *can* look unflinchingly at the barbarism in ourselves instead of identifying it as 3,000 miles away.

We *can* try ceaselessly to provide alternatives for hopelessness, which finds inevitable expression in exploding rage about a dead-end human condition. *Change* the condition.

We *can* say a firm "No" to demagogues-with-demons, passionate electronic hucksters with packaged apocalyptic visions, and smiling haters who hawk simplistic slogans as gospels, even as they arrogantly betray God's truth. ■

Plowshares 8 Update

Four of the Plowshares 8 remained in jail and the other four were out on bail as Sept. 9 marked the first anniversary of their entering a GE plant in Pennsylvania and beating on missile nosecones with hammers.

In prison as THE WITNESS went to press were Phil Berrigan in Camp Hill, Pa.; John Schuchardt, in Pittsburgh; and the Rev. Carl Kabat, O.M.I., and Elmer Maas in Graterford, Pa. On bail were the Rev. Dan Berrigan, S.J.; Molly Rush, Sister Anne Montgomery and Dean Hammer.

For their protest against nuclear weaponry, the Berrigans, Kabat and Schuchardt drew sentences from Judge Samuel W. Salus of 3 to 10 years with 10 years probation; Rush, 2 to 5 years with 5 years probation; and Montgomery, Hammer and Mass, 1½ to 5 years with 5 years probation.

Liz McAlister, who founded Jonah House in Baltimore with Phil Berrigan and six others, said that "most outrageous was the judge's articulation of his preference for sentencing: to send them to serve in a leper colony in Puerto Rico or to send them to demonstrate in Moscow so they might get a taste of Siberian death camps."

Ironically, Kabat once worked in a leper colony. Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark said of the sentencing, "It was a moral outrage."

From Jonah House, Liz McAlister asked, "Please keep the eight and all of us in your prayers. And together let's try to carry on with the important work of witness against the nuclear madness and with the most legal and legitimate behavior possible today — resistance to the madness." McAlister and Phil Berrigan are expecting their third child in October.

Jonah House houses a community of nonviolent resisters and hosts visitors whose commitment is mostly focused against nuclear weapons. As Sept. 9 marked the first anniversary of the GE action, peace activists planned other resistance acts to continue, rather than to commemorate, the witness of the Plowshares 8.

Those interested in non-violent resistance may write for further information to Jonah House, 1933 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21217.

Resource

A booklet, *The Plowshares 8,* contains material on the Plowshares action and trial and is available for $2 and 50¢ postage from Plowshares 8 Support Committee, 168 W. 100th St., New York, N.Y. 10025.

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Where Have All the Flower Children Gone?

by Miriam Pickett

In 1978 my daughter's elementary school PTA held a fund-raising carnival. Parents were asked to participate by volunteering to run the booths and create crafts to sell. Since I have never been good with my hands, I volunteered to take charge of refreshments.

I remember standing in the booth, selling hot dogs and punch, mulling over the changes in my life in the 10 years since I had married. A decade before, I had been campaigning for the election of Eugene McCarthy to the presidency. I was attending demonstrations and forming moral values that I believed were going to be with me always. I was about to be married and while I knew that eventually I would have children, I had no way of knowing that that would mean a softening of my political stance and compromising of my values.

At the school carnival, I began to wonder if it was inevitable that my life had to be so apolitical, so caught up in personal economic concerns. Was this what happened to all the children of the '60s?

For two years since, I have been trying to understand how the concerned generation of the '60s had become the mindless, self-centered middle class of the '80s. And more importantly how had I become part of it? To get closer to the answer, I began a long and emotional self-examination that culminated in my political reawakening.

The process took me back to my childhood. I am a first generation American. My mother arrived in this country in 1923 at the age of 16. Like many Russian Jews, her father was an ardent socialist, totally opposed to the Communists. For my mother's family, America was indeed the promised land. She instilled in me a great love of country. But her patriotism was not a blind and unthinking acceptance. Early on I knew that poor people, blacks in particular, were discriminated against. I knew that women were second-class citizens and that there was a great deal of inequity in our economic system. I was brought up to respect people as individuals. My parents were Stevenson Democrats — generally pro-labor, progressive people. I still hold many opinions that I first heard from them at the dinner table.

My involvement in politics began in the early '60s. I was a teenager, ready for a cause, and it was logical that it would be civil rights. For as long as I can remember I had been taught that blacks and Jews were inexorably linked and that when blacks were beaten, it wasn't far in the future when Jews would be beaten. Therefore, went the wisdom, not only was it the right thing to do, it was in our self-interest to campaign for civil rights. I went a few steps further and quickly became emotionally involved, and "We Shall Overcome" became a way of life.

It was a logical extension of my commitment to civil rights, that almost as soon as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was passed in 1964, I became anti-war. I attended my first demonstration in 1965. It was a

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Miriam Pickett is a free lance writer whose very first article appeared on the Op-Ed Page of the *New York Times*. This is her second article.

Women's Strike For Peace March on the Pentagon. As we stood in the cold chanting "Thou Shalt Not Kill," I began crying, unable to stop. The words went through my heart as sharp as a knife blade. "Thou Shalt Not Kill!" From that moment on I was totally committed to ending the war in Vietnam. I went to teach-ins, handed out leaflets, wrote letters and became engrossed in anti-war work.

During this heavy political involvement, I did find time to be young. I listened to the Beatles and folk music; I discovered Mencken, Hesse and Mann. I smoked pot, but having a strong sense of self-preservation, I never went into heavy drugs. I wore beautiful hand painted clothes, gorgeous handmade jewelry. My hair was long and I wore it pulled back by a single barrette. I loved to feel it on my back. I spent a lot of time watching obscure foreign films.

I was proud of the creative talents of people my age. I admired the skilled crafts-people who were beginning their own cultural revolution. I naively believed that all young people were linked to each other by virtue of mutual concern for the welfare of humankind. I really believed that we would reject materialism and join together in remaking our country. I realize now that I totally misread what was happening around me.

In 1968 I really believed that my contemporaries were caring people, concerned with the quality of life, worried enough about the threat of nuclear holocaust that it could never happen. I believed that my generation would never kill animals for their skins, keep children out of school because of race or religious reasons, or willingly allow our government to involve us in any more Vietnams. One of my disappointments has been the realization that most people my age never really considered any of these issues. Then, and now, as always, most people seem to be interested only in satisfying their own personal needs.

I see now how I so easily misunderstood what was happening around me. By the end of the war, most people wanted the United States to withdraw from Vietnam; the style of life that I was living had become the life of middle America. I didn't understand then that people wanted the war to be over not because it was morally wrong, but because they were tired. They adopted much of the counter-culture life style because it was pleasurable; e.g., relaxed sexual mores, soft drugs. As far as racism is concerned, I totally misinterpreted feelings. I am appalled at the strong racist thread that still permeates our society.

"I found myself looking at the women in designer jeans and fur coats, the men with fashionable short haircuts and beautifully tailored suits. They were on the way up the middle-class ladder. I was overcome by despair for myself and for them."

I must say, however, that my own naivete was nothing compared to those who became completely radical and in some cases violent. It was in the early '70s that I began to wonder why I never turned to violence. Perhaps it goes back to my early upbringing that stressed love of country. My rage over Kent State is never ending; but at the time when I was faced with the choice of violence over peaceful demonstration, I chose the latter. We attended the massive demonstration in Washington that was held in protest over the murders at Kent State. One companion who went with my husband and me became involved in a large violent confrontation with the police. He had gone to Washington looking for a violent outlet for his frustration and anger. We, on the other hand, decided that we would leave the United States, live somewhere else. It was no longer possible for us to stay in a country that murdered its children.

We left for Europe in September, 1971. We planned to stay a year. We would look for a new place to live, away from a government that glibly perpetrated atrocities against its own people as well as those of other, poorer, countries. We never expected what happened to us. Almost as soon as we arrived we realized how American we were. In every country we traveled in, we never felt completely comfortable. We stayed in Europe three months, enveloped by homesickness. We returned home disillusioned. Our journey to find ourselves led us straight back to where we began.

Instead of becoming expatriots, we decided that four years was long enough to wait for children. In September, 1972 we had our first child. I don't think we have ever fully adjusted to the reality of children. We never realized that so much of what we had incorporated into our lives had to be jettisoned. We had to change our life-style, give up drugs, cut out late hours, readjust totally.

We had always had a non-traditional marriage. We both cooked, cleaned and worked. Once our baby was born, gradually we assumed the traditional roles of mother and father. When I was pregnant we had opened our own small camera shop with the hopes that when the baby was born, I would stay home with her three days a week and my husband would stay home for three days a week. My mother's death shortly after our daughter's birth, put an end to our plans. My father was extremely ill and we had to move in to care for him. I found myself home with the baby and my father, and my husband became the traditional wage earner.

After leaving my father's home, we found that our lives revolved almost

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totally around our daughter. Our second child was born less than two years later and we had to struggle to keep our marriage and sanity intact. As we lost our joint solitude, our languorous sex and our shared pleasure in books and music, we found solace in our confidence that our children would have a better upbringing than most children of middle-class parents. We would instill them with our values and teach them to be aware of the world around them. We were certain that being parents and sharing the pleasures of child rearing would replace what we had lost as a couple.

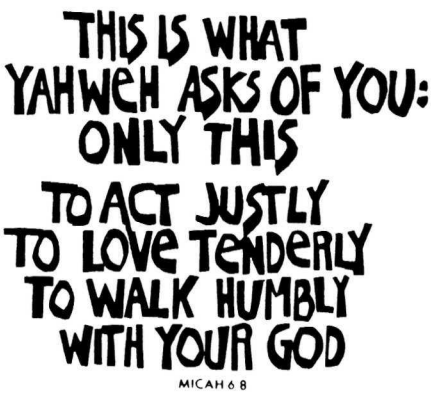
Our five room flat became crowded with baby toys, furniture and clutter. We began looking for a house. In 1976 we purchased our own home. Almost immediately, we began needing *things*. We bought a lawn mower, lawn furniture, a dining room set. Where once we were happy to make do with what we had, it became more and more important to us that our home have a certain "look" about it.

For the first time in years, I began to feel the need for friendship with other women. Now that I was at home I sought out the company of women in similar situations. Having been isolated from women for so many years, I was surprised, once I had friends, that many of them seemed to have spent the turbulent years of the '60s and early '70s preparing for marriage, motherhood and middle-class life. If I tried to bring up the agony of Cambodia, and the U.S. responsibility for what happened there, I was most often ignored. Politics was never discussed. Minorities were referred to in conspiratorial whispers. The husbands were just as vapid as the wives. These men, many in their early 30s, had already become carbon copies of their fathers, running after money, having little to do with their children, concerned only with getting ahead.

I don't want to be too hard on the people I met the first year we were in our house. They had never wanted to be anything more than what they had become. All their formative years they had been taught that the middle-class life was the desirable way to live. They found their American dream in the possessions with which they surrounded themselves.

For three years I spent my days talking about toilet training, children, school, teachers. Gradually, I began changing my own life-style. I began to wear makeup and be concerned with appearances. I began slowly to melt into the uncaring, unfeeling atmosphere of the late '70s. But I always felt that something very important was lacking in my life. Every few months I was enveloped in a stifling emptiness and loneliness. I found it difficult to hide behind my new personna. I began to wean myself away from those I found exceptionally bigoted or grasping. I decided that I was not influencing them to see the world differently; my association with them was affecting *me* adversely.

I live in a very affluent county in New Jersey. Recently, I was walking through one of the more exclusive shopping malls and I found myself looking at the people around me — the women in designer jeans and fur coats; the men with fashionably short haircuts and beautifully tailored suits. They were on the way up the middle class ladder. I was overcome by despair for myself and for them. These were my contemporaries.



These grown up imitations of each other were the children of the '60s who were going to change the world. I was positive, as my heart was breaking for what might have been, that many of these people had held when they were younger, the same views as I. Somewhere along the way, material things had gotten in the way of their ideals. They had capitulated to the lure of goods.

What happened to us? I really don't know. Is money the culprit? Does having children change our priorities so totally? Has the abysmal economic situation overshadowed all but personal considerations? Or have I been wrong all along? Maybe our parents were right when they said that as soon as we had children of our own we would come around to their way of thinking. Or maybe most of the people my age never wanted anything more than what they have now.

Whatever the reasons, I believe very strongly that there are an awful lot of people like me who are searching for meaning in their lives. When John Lennon was killed I couldn't help but feel that the outpouring of grief was in reality a mourning for that part of us which he represented. He was, for many of us, a spiritual leader, an interpreter of our times. I had hoped that he would help me to better understand what had happened to all of us during the past turbulent years. I had hoped that he would help me cope with my changing role in a changing world. We did all come together for a few quiet moments when we mourned for him. If only there was a way to galvanize and keep together all those people who cared about the world, the quality of life and future generations. If only there was a way to get people interested again in issues other than personal concerns. I refuse to give up hope. If I can be brought back to reality, I believe there are thousands of others who are willing to get back into the real world. ■

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From Conscience to Consciousness

Regrouping for a New Decade

by David and Darlene Kalke

The '60s emerged as turbulent years when students, women and minorities began to articulate their convictions for a new morality through a variety of expressions. Demonstrations, marches, blue jeans, long earrings, head bands, the Beatles, Afros, Black Power and long hair became the cultural symbols of legitimate struggles against the war in Vietnam, against racism and against sexism. Like the prophets of old, the children of the '60s stood arm-in-arm denouncing a system whose moral values were corrupt. Moral arguments challenged the value systems of previous generations.

For some, the cultural symbols were the media for communicating political messages of a larger, deeper nature. For others, the cultural symbols became the message in and of themselves. "Head shops," "the peace sign," and "fine threads" flooded an affluent counter-culture market eager to display the visual aids of a new morality, the new age of Aquarius. While the morality being expresed had similar symbols, the political content or understanding was not always the same. The "movement" included participants who are now Wall Street lawyers, suburban mall shoppers and chain restaurant managers, not to overlook a few female and male pastors/priests of a different vintage. Many of these "weekend marchers" never came to grips with the political and economic issues that mass movements were coming close to articulating in the late '60s.

For some, integration of napalm factories represented an advance. For others the cry "U.S. Out of Vietnam" was silenced with the Vietnamization of the war. And for others still, the styles of the movement were all that mattered. Dashikis, peace medallions and leather bags became the mass line for a new generation of mass consumption. A political analysis that penetrated deep into the exploitation of America's poor and working people was lacking. The popular movements of the '60s represented only a ripple of turmoil — distant enough from the alienated workers to allow them to be organized by conservative forces to beat civil rights workers and peaceniks with American flags in an effort to preserve the "American Way of Life."

The individualism of U.S. society reflected itself in the scattered movements of blacks, women, students and professionals. For the most part, the poor and working class remained

David and Darlene Kalke are co-directors of a specialized ecumenical ministry called the New York CIRCUS. David is a worker-pastor ordained in the Lutheran Church of America, and he and Darlene have lived in Chile and traveled extensively in Central America. Their work in social justice issues brings them in touch with New York's Latin American and undocumented community, and with churchpersons related to them. The Kalkes live in a collective in Manhattan's Upper West Side with 3-year-old daughter, Carina.

marginal to the "movement." The poor and working class provided the "boys" for the front lines. Be they black, Hispanic or other ethnic extraction, the poor and the working class continue to be exploited and continue to be the bulk of persons behind growing statistics of unemployment, malnutrition, inadequate housing. For these persons the "movement" was a rich kids' movement, a movement whose drugs, blue jeans, dashikis and homemade earrings were still too expensive. The few blacks who "made it" hardly satisfy the aspirations of black workers who are worse off today than in the '60s.

The cultural symbols were divorced from the political, economic and social realities of the persons most affected by racism, sexism and the war. The "new morality" remained just that: prophetic statements designed to prick the conscience of a system gearing up for war, a war in Vietnam and a war against the poor (more politely called the war on poverty).

As a couple, we, too, experienced the "down" at the end of the '60s. The Nixon-Agnew-Ford era represented a mediocrity on the public level that cleverly divided the "movement" once again against itself. The self-interest groups re-emerged and we slipped into a period of isolationism and refinement of the cultural symbols. Jeans became denim suits; global awareness replaced international solidarity. The new morality denounced the system, raised the issues on some levels and speeded U.S. disengagement from Vietnam. The "movement" did not, however, provide an alternative political and economic solution to racism, sexism and the war. It provided a counter-culture that has left many of its participants apolitical, suspicious of "new societies," frustrated and cynical.

Those of us in that "movement" with a deeper integration of the symbols (the media) with the political and economic system (the message) have not retreated, but are regrouping for a new decade.

We have seen the forces at work dividing us. We have experienced the frustration and pain of being divided. We know our anguish and disappointment with brothers and sisters who have sold out. For us, moral arguments are no longer enough. Our struggle is not for a new morality. It is for a new political, economic and social system. We cannot be satisfied with prophetic denunciations. No longer can we only be the conscience of a sick society.

We are being called by the poor and exploited of our nation and the world to be a new consciousness. Consumption and life style are a part of the new consciousness. But more important are the patterns of production and the flow of capital from the periphery (i.e. Third World, developing nations) to the center (U.S., Japanese, Western European banking interests) and the way this affects peoples' lives.

While racism and sexism continue to be important for us to denounce, we can only effectively work against them if we can synthesize our analysis to include class exploitation. Racism and sexism are the cultural symptoms of a dominant ruling class which needs to be understood and unmasked. They are the symptoms of a political and economic system in crisis. While it is true that periods of intense economic crises augment racism and sexism, we believe it is also true that racism and sexism cannot be overcome by merely substituting new cultural symbols preaching harmony, peace, love, "Black and White together," and unity. They can only be overcome if their root cause is looked at, discovered and organized against.

We are approaching an era where moral arguments will no longer suffice. Moral arguments appeal to the self-interest and the conscience of the individual within society. We are moving towards a consciousness that takes us back to our Judeo-Christian heritage and challenges us to seek our liberation in the Exodus. The Exodus was a political, economic and social transformation of a people, a nation that altered the balance of power in the ancient world. Yahweh's revelation to the Hebrews was not a new morality nor a new set of cultural values. It was a new covenant, a new way to carry on political, economic and social relationships. God's challenge to the early church was not a new morality, but a challenge to preach the Kingdom of God and to announce a new heaven and a new earth.

The '60s are over. Our political and spiritual leaders have died or have been assassinated by the system's executioners. The torch has indeed been passed and it is a burning torch of hope in struggle for a new society. From conscience to consciousness; from moral persuasion to political solution; from way of life to new life. Our journey this decade, as children of the '60s who now have our own children, is different as we regroup and look at our nation-in-the-world in a critical way. We struggle with a long-range vision that posits not only new cultural symbols, but also new political, economic and social realities.

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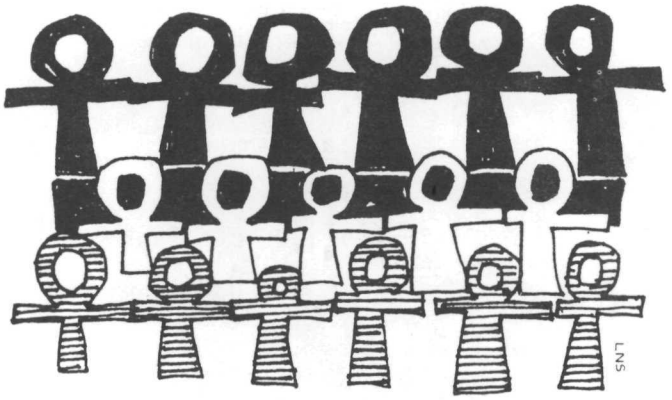

It Happened in Sisterhood

by Caroline Drewes

Here is a small story for your delectation, or your disapproval, or your despair, as the case may be. It concerns sisterhood.

The story is told by a Berkeley free spirit named Louise Lacey, who is a writer and a thinker, a researcher and an experimenter, a composer of exhaustive questionnaires and thus a compiler of significant statistics, a feminist whose particular area of interest at the moment happens to be what is loosely called womantalk — the intimate and intuitive way in which women communicate with one another.

The story:

Frances Peavey was walking on the Stanford campus with a male companion one day when she saw some people gathered in a loose circle around a natural glen. These people, apparently press and scientists, were holding cameras and videotape equipment. In the center of the circle, a male chimpanzee was being introduced to a female chimp shackled on a long chain. The male made grunting "mow, mow, mow" noises. The female whimpered and backed away.

The male grabbed at her chain, pulling her toward him. She pulled back. He hauled her toward him again. She pulled back. He hauled. She pulled. The suspense was building. And Peavey was noticing how expressive the chimps' faces were. She began to feel an agony of sympathy for the female; especially since the crowd of onlookers was predominantly male.

At last the female chimp yanked loose, walked straight to Peavey and took her hand. Then this chimp led her across to the only two other women in the assembly, grasped one of their hands and huddled against them facing the crowd of males.

The two groups stood looking at each other, the larger one in what must have been amazement. Finally the scientists and press representatives got the message and called it a day. They departed "in disgust," taking the chimpanzees their separate ways.

"Talk about biological sisterhood!" exclaimed Peavey, in retrospect still aware of the chimp's rough hand against her palm. Turning to her companion, she spoke of her admiration for the powerful statement made by this animal that had organized her own support group. The companion stared at her blankly. He hadn't noticed. What he had noticed was the conclusion: No action. The male chimp had been unable to have his way with the female. Therefore, nothing had happened.

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 2*

could ever pass for a socialist economy. India's industrial economy has been protected from some forms of external competition through strict trade barriers but the beneficiaries of the barriers are those who represent the owners and managers of India's businesses. These are generally in private hands. If India were on a socialist path, it would not be in its present situation of having a grain surplus even as millions remain hungry.

Ms. Steele and others who promote a free enterprise solution for underdeveloped nations would do well to examine the reasons why these countries are poor in the first place.

When Richard Antle asserts in his criticisms of James Cone (May Letters) that the Marxist socialists of Mozambique drove out the capitalists who could have helped build the country, he is indulging in the repetition of South Africa's rhetoric. After the end of Portuguese mis-rule in Africa, many Portuguese who had become wealthy or at least privileged due to their status as "masters" in colonial systems could not accept the end of their power. And, when they left of their own free will, they sabatoged much of what technical resources existed in a country they had already crippled through centuries of repressive policy.

Balancing freedom and equity, social values and individual rights, production and justice; these are not easy tasks. But they will have to be faced with the light of history, not the distortion of easy ideological answers.

The Rev. Stephen Commins
Santa Monica, Cal.

Boon in Exams

As I looked through my collection of WITNESS magazines recently, I recalled how helpful they were to me in taking the General Ordination Exam. The examiners were succinct in praising my knowledge of church and society.

Louise Forrest
Arlington, Mass.

No Redeeming Value

In the few months that I have received your magazine it has come to my attention that perhaps you are more interested in promoting a political line (i.e., socialism), than in spreading the Gospel of Christ.

As a Christian and an American citizen, I cannot help but feel that your magazine supports ideas that are contrary not only to the teachings of **Christ, but also to the law of the land, the Constitution of the United States of** America. As a police officer and an officer in the Marine Corps Reserve, I have taken oaths to support and defend that Constitution.

In my humble opinion your magazine has no redeeming social value; unless

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— Charles August

Women Behind Walls

Sisters, is conspiracy our crime,
that song of dolphins who tell each other danger
across oceans of silence?
Our knowing hammered to the heart mute and bloody.
Every woman who does not shut up is guilty.
Every silence unremarkable as a dark lagoon. Dangerous.

One by one we're seized:
the colored ones who show meanness at their primal deal;
welfare shuffles the deck, the hand is predictable as hunger.
They call these thieves who bounce food checks at Jewel and A&P.
This gathering of mothers,
like wounded blackbirds in cages for a year without trial.
The state "places" their children
like the dumping of soiled laundry.
The white ones rot like decayed teeth
in the stink of mental wards.
Their breath was bad, their floors weren't waxed,
their husbands' collars were grey, grey.
These turn state's evidence against themselves;
like frightened animals they sense violence
rising like a Kansas twister, then they give away their minds.

Ancient justice is the blind scorekeeper:
"She's not a real woman, she's a whore,
she's not a good momma, lock her up, she's crazy."
Who judges us condemns themselves.
Our freedom is your only way out.
On the underground railroad
you can ride with us or you become the jailer.
Harriet Tubman never lost one of those entrusted to her.
Neither will we.

— Renny Golden

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one places social value on promoting discord and disunity in our country and worse yet in our church. Please cancel my subscription.

Michael P. Flynn
Grand Rapids, Mich.

Pleasure to Renew

It gives me pleasure to renew my subscription to THE WITNESS. In an ever increasing conservatism, the magazine is a breath of fresh air! One slight point — do at times have a bit of humor; the danger of taking ourselves too seriously is as bad as the danger of not taking ourselves seriously enough.

Ruth Fiesel
Merion, Pa.

Kuhn, Brewster Favorites

While I always find THE WITNESS challenging and thought-provoking, the May issue was outstanding. Being dedicated to the Gray Panther goals, I admit I read the Maggie Kuhn article first, but I also read the entire issue at one sitting which is rather unusual for me. I found myself going back time after time to Mary Jane Brewster's "Dedication." I would like to print this in our Yamhill County Gray Panther Newsletter.

I am also enclosing $2 for copies of your issues on Christian Alternatives to Business as Usual and on Hispanics. I still find it difficult to believe the position our government took on the UN after Nestle's boycott for all these years. I have often intended to express my appreciation for your courage and open-mindedness in challenging readers to look at so many issues we who call ourselves Christians too often try to ignore. Thank you and carry on!

Magdalene R. Lobo
Amity, Ore.

Wants to Educate

Enclosed is $6 for a year's subscription (I am over 65 and on limited income) and $6 for five copies of the April WITNESS. The articles on the Plowshares 8, El Salvador, and Robert DeWitt's editorial, "Life and Death Struggle" are so good that I want to use them to educate a few people in charge of our affairs in Washington.

Forrest E. Coburn
Doylestown, Pa.

Credits

Cover, p. 4, Beth Seka; pp. 6, 10, Peg Averill, LNS; p. 8, *Rocinante,* Quixote Center newsletter; p. 9, *Movement,* Student Christian journal; pp. 12, 15 Rini Templeton; p. 16, Vicky Reeves; p. 17, LNS.

Helpful to Urban Work

I want to thank you for the excellent series on the "urban apocalypse." I feel that the series might be of considerable use to a task force I chair — a United Methodist group working to develop an urban strategy for our church in the southeast. Please send me 10 copies each of the March, April, and June issues.

Thank you for the outstanding job you are doing on lifting up the social concern of the church. May God continue to bless you and lead you in your exciting ministry.

Mark R. Sills
Greensboro, N.C.

Special Offer: give the Witness for Christmas

3-for-1 price

"The only gift is a portion of thyself," said Ralph Waldo Emerson — so get thee to a checkbook and give a portion of thyself to two friends for Christmas, during thy WITNESS special Christmas three-for-one offer.

Yea, verily, the current New Right and Moral Majority hast placed the political and moral climate in jeopardy, so thou shouldst act forthwith to order THE WITNESS, which confronts these matters forthrightly.

Thou shalt not regret it and thy friends will be touched at thy altruism, not to mention thy good taste, in providing provocative reading about the social mission of the church throughout the coming year. Thou canst use handy gift envelope enclosed, and a gift card shalt be sent in thy name. Bless thee.

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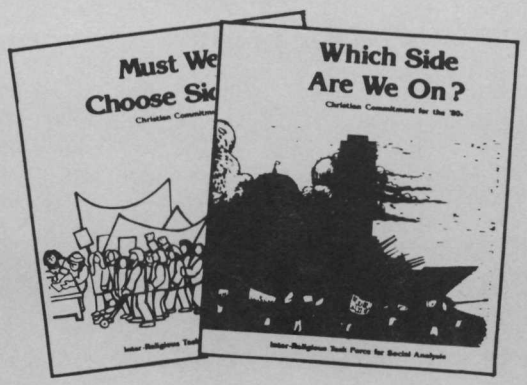
Christian Commitment for the 80's

Study/Action Guides for Social Change



Must We Choose Sides?

1979, 127 pp., $5.95
Explores the role of working people in our economic system. Investigates harsh realities of everyday life. Who owns America? Who pays the price? Six comprehensive sessions help readers examine class background and the myths of capitalism. Group exercises probe individual experience and insight; apply tools of social analysis while engaging in theological reflection.

Which Side Are We On?

1980, 172 pp., $6.95
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THE WITNESS VOL. 64, NO. 11 NOVEMBER, 1981

Capital and Labor In the Silicon Age
Barbara Ehrenreich
Robert Appleyard
A. Sivanandan
David Snider

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"What does labor want?... We want more school houses and less jails, more books and less guns, more learning and less vice, more leisure and less greed, more justice and less revenge."

Samuel Gompers-1893

LETTERS

Voice of Reason

I think that the posture of THE WITNESS is edifying, and aware, and necessary — exactly like a breath of fresh air in a musty, hot room. In these days of media hype and public relations machinations, and with an administration that is fully expected to be more interested in profits than people, in autocratic power than in democratic participation, and in frightening with la bete rouge than in encouraging planetary fraternalization, THE WITNESS can be a voice of reason, of love, of requisite variety, of change, and an example and encouragement to all in this nation who yearn for a community bonded in love rather than in fear.

I suspect, in the criminal justice area, we will witness a return to clarion calls for stricter laws, unleashed police, tougher judges, longer sentences, and similar familiar panaceas. We need voices that will point out that crime and disorder form a barometer of national health; that perhaps, in the big picture, a community or a nation would be better served if the national posture were one of love and sharing and concern for neighborhood organization, education, nutrition, housing, and a healthy environment for everyone.

If this nation could isolate and neutralize and ostracize the violent and predatory people — whether they be in ghetto, Bel Air, police department, barrio, penthouse, pentagon, or city hall — and if this nation could honor and reward and set forth as representatives the peace keepers, the Good Samaritans, the people of heart and compassion, it would be a different planet indeed. And this society could be recognizable as Judeo-Christian.

Sooner than we like, we may have to choose — like those four Christian women in El Salvador — to cast our lot with the "least brethren." I hope that the Spirit will give us courage; I believe that it will be a dandy affair — "them that holds four aces and the Joker seldom throws in their hand!"

Prof. A. C. Germann
Dept. of Criminal Justice
California State University
Long Beach, Cal.

Special to the Family

The Senior Contributing Editor spoiled us by signing his editorials. The unsigned editorials may be good journalism, but it leaves a sense of loss, and may be shaky theology. The Word comes incarnate in flesh and blood, in a person — named, known, loved. In a journalistic sense, a magazine certainly can have unsigned editorials. But THE WITNESS is not just another journal. It is special to the family. I hope I can get you to rethink unsigned editorials.

W. Benjamin Holmes
Philadelphia, Pa.

(As we indicated in the September issue, all WITNESS editors collaborate on editorial topics and content, although only one takes responsibility for the actual writing. Our compromise solution to the problem above is to list the latter's initials at the end, "and the editors," in the future. This month's editorial was a joint effort of all the editors. — Eds.)

'Remove My Name'

Please remove my name from your mailing list. I believe that we receive guidance from our Sunday services and weekly prayers. I believe that Democrats, Republicans, Socialists etc. can become active in our society as their prayers for guidance tell them. But I do not believe in using our Episcopal Church publications to tell us who to support or what to boycott. Separation of church and state is a sound policy. Politics and religion should not be mixed on Sundays — or weekdays. Our parish has lost members because those on the vestry disagree about welfare, nuclear power, El Salvador, Iran, ERA, abortion etc. etc. etc.

Mrs. Frank A. Janes
Edina, Minn.

Sustaining Influence

Just a note along with my renewal to thank you for your helpful magazine. It is one of the things I use to sustain myself month after month, along with supportive friends and colleagues. It is a source of useful information, innovative ideas, and basic religion all of which adds strength on an ongoing basis. It helps make what might have been impossible, possible, in my own life and in the lives of those I touch within my family, my community and my place of employment. Please keep it coming!

Ellen S. Zimmermann
Pleasant Ridge, Mich.

Churches Fail Disabled

I was heartened to learn from Connie Myer that the problems of the disabled in this country are "different, and due to greater wealth, more easily handled" than is the case in Third World countries. (See "Power to the Disabled," August WITNESS.) Utilizing the criterion for discerning authentic Spirit from pseudo-spirit, as suggested by the editorial in that issue (that is, looking for evidence of justice and solidarity), I would like to raise the following questions for the churches' consideration.

The National Council of Churches declares that the mainline churches have been "busier with this than with the International Year of the Child." Spirit or pseudo-spirit? The Lutheran Church in America (of which I am a member) voted last year at its National Convention to exclude from medical insurance coverage those clergy and church workers who have adopted, or foster, handicapped children. The philosophy and praxis of cost-effectiveness evidenced by the LCA reflects an example of non-inclusion and lack of access that is not easily mitigated by evasive preoccupation with church ramps, elevators and sound systems.

Authentic Spirit or pseudo-spirit? Over 500,000 children in this country reside in foster care. Of these,

Continued on page 20

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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

Solidarity Day

Where Stands the Church?

The majority of people in the United States and across the world are in a scramble to decide where their basic interests are best served economically, politically and religiously. That almost desperate search has to do with the essentials for sustaining life in a human way: Food, housing, jobs, health care, education, energy, and peace.

The frightening fact is that for increasing numbers the choices are limited and many have *no* alternatives. A vivid manifestation of this was the recent demonstration of organized labor and its allies — Solidarity Day in Washington, D.C. on Sept. 19. The turnout and mix of people was a surprise to the organizers, media and public-at-large: A quarter of a million people marched — more than in Martin Luther King's great 1963 March on Washington.

*National Park Service estimates of the crowd con*sidered the following: 4,200 buses were on the scene (including every available charter bus east of the Mississippi); seven trains had carried a total of 8,750; 50,000 came by car or local transport from the Greater Washington area, and most unions had brought delegations from coast to coast. State, County and Municipal Workers (AFSCME) sent the largest delegation — 60,000 — almost a third of them from New York City alone. The AFL-CIO and affiliates also picked up a $65,000 tab so *all riders* could travel free on Washington's subway system that day, not only to make it easier to get to the rally, but to cushion the impact of the throng on citizens of the city.

To ranks of organized labor were joined leaders and members of groups representing women, blacks, Hispanics, gays, and various community organizations, as well as youth, the elderly, and the disabled. Some, heretofore antagonistic, were reconciled: "We were marching next to gays and women and peace activists and we found it an enjoyable experience, not a turnoff," said a hard hat from Madison, Wisc.

Another feature of the march was that a significant

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MNCs Exploit Women On Global Assembly Line

by Barbara Ehrenreich

In Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, Anna M. rises at 5 a.m. to make tortillas for her three children before taking a two-hour bus trip to work at the new U.S.-owned ***maquiladora.*** *Her children will spend the day in a neighbor's one-room home, along with four of her neighbor's children. Her husband, frustrated at being unable to find work, left for the United States six months ago. At the factory, Anna makes $48 a week — stitching brassieres to be sold in the United States.*

* * *

In Penang, Malaysia, Julie V. rubs her eyes and looks up from the microscope through which she bonds tiny gold wires to a silicon chip destined to end up inside a pocket calculator. At 21, she cannot see as well as she could when she first came to work at Motorola, two years ago. If she ends up having to wear glasses, as most of the "older" girls do, she knows that no one from her own village will want to marry her.

As Americans, we are unlikely ever to meet women like Anna or Julie. We may wonder about them, in the back of our minds, when we glance at the labels on our clothes — Made in Korea (or Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mexico). But more and more of the products we use — from sun glasses to semiconductors, prescription drugs to wind-up toys — are made in the Third World, by women like these.

The emergence of a massive, Third World, female industrial workforce is something which has happened only in the last 15 or 20 years. Traditionally, the industrialized countries specialized in manufacturing, drawing on the less developed countries only for raw materials and agricultural products. But in the 1960s, U.S. corporations began to spin off fragments of the manufacturing process to previously non-industrial, Third World countries. The new semiconductor technology helped make this possible: Executives in New York can now maintain daily communications with their "off shore" factory in, say, Bangkok. And economic considerations made it seem almost necessary: In a highly competitive industry (such as electronics) a company can't afford to pay workers in Massachusetts $5 an hour for work that can be done in the Philippines for as little as $5 a day.

The result, according to analysts of world economic trends, is a new international division of labor: A global assembly line stretching from New York (or Chicago or Palo Alto) down from the border to Central America and along the long coastline of Southeast Asia. Corporate control and high technology processes remain in the home country: Labor intensive assembly processes are spun off to the Southern hemisphere.

What is happening at the remote ends of the global assembly line goes much deeper than phrases like "new international division of labor" can convey. The cultures which American multinational firms are turning to for cheap labor are, for the most part, tradition-oriented and patriarchal. They are Roman Catholic or, more

Barbara Ehrenreich, a feminist journalist, is co-author of *For Her Own Good* (Anchor, 1979). She also co-authored, with Annette Fuentes, a more extensive treatment of the above in an article entitled "Life on the Global Assembly Line" in *Ms.* magazine, January, 1981. Ms. Ehrenreich serves on the Board of the Nationwide Women's Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

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often, Moslem. Yet it is the *women* of these cultures who are drawn into the new factories, with their intimidating technology and links to the glamorous urban centers of the world. As a Malaysian government bulletin, directed at foreign investors, says:

> The manual dexterity of the Oriental female is famous the world over. Her hands are small and she works fast with extreme care . . . Who, therefore, could be better qualified by nature and inheritance to contribute to the efficiency of a bench-assembly production line than the Oriental girl?

Some 90% of the assembly workers in the global assembly line are women, mostly young and unmarried, often the first in generations to be, in any sense, on their own.

These women in the global workforce are living out conflicts every bit as intense as those experienced by women workers in the "first world's" industrial revolution. On the one hand, employment can mean independence from authoritarian family structures and a glimpse of "liberated" Western lifestyles. In American-owned Southeast Asian electronics plants, management even encourages Western-style sexual objectification by sponsoring beauty contests and cosmetics classes. Not surprisingly, local men are frequently resentful of the factories and the women who work in them. In some areas of Asia, the mere fact of having worked in a factory is enough to brand a woman as "bad" and unmarriageable.

But in return for a wage and whatever measure of independence it offers, women in the multinational corporations' off-shore plants face hazardous and repressive working conditions. In some cases, they are required to live in rigidly supervised, barrack-like company housing. Organized protest is risky and sometimes even illegal, yet there have been frequent strikes (for example, in the Korean textile industry) and even a factory take-over. In Malaysia, women electronics workers have a unique and acceptably "feminine" way of protesting speed-ups — outbreaks of mass hysteria.

"Multinational Corporations (MNCs) have deliberately targeted women for exploitation. If feminism is going to mean anything to women all over the world, it's going to have to find new ways to resist corporate power internationally."

Another problem for women employed overseas is that management actually encourages a high turnover of workers. A management consultant to U.S. multinationals states why: "When seniority rises, wages rise," he said. He explained that it is cheaper to train a fresh supply of teenagers than to pay experienced women higher wages. "Older" women, aged 23 or 24, are likely to be laid off and not rehired.

Based on fragmentary data from several sources, the multinational corporations may already have used up (cast off) as many as 6 million Third World workers — women who are too ill, too old (30 is over the hill in most industries), or too exhausted to be useful. The lucky ones find husbands; others find themselves at the margins of society — as bar girls, "hostesses," or prostitutes.

Ironically, Third World countries benefit little from multinational investment. "The multinationals come into our countries for one thing — cheap labor," a Third World woman in the UN said. If the labor stops being cheap, they move on. How can you call that development? It depends on the people staying poor."

The groups that gain most when the multinationals set up shop are the local entrepreneurs who subcontract to them, the Harvard or Berkeley-educated "technocrats" who become local

"After you've caused inflation and unemployment, it's hard to think of what to cook for dinner."

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management, and government officials who cut red tape for an "agent's fee."

Saralee Hamilton, an AFSC staff organizer of the Women in Global Corporations Conference in Des Moines, believes that "the multinational corporations have deliberately targeted women for exploitation. If feminism is going to mean anything to women all over the world, it's going to have to find new ways to resist corporate power internationally."

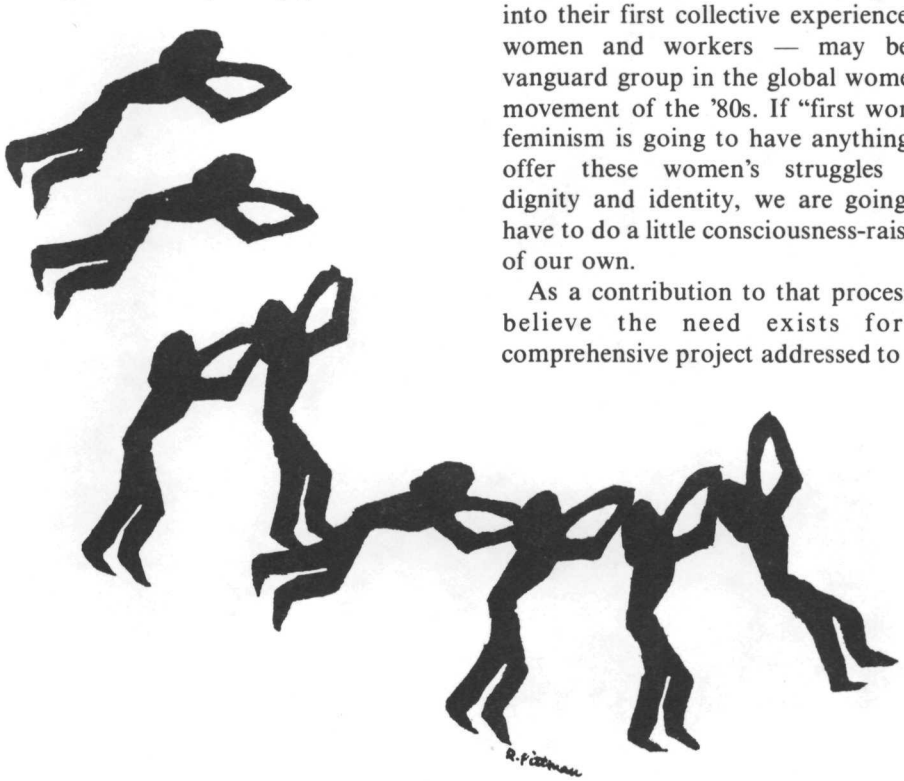
So far there has been little feminist awareness of the emerging Third World female industrial workforce. Yet in an increasingly integrated world economic system our lives are linked with theirs in many ways. First, the off-shore factories they work in are often the run-away factories American women (and men) once worked in. The other side of low wages and dangerous conditions in Singapore or Tijuana is unemployment here, and jobs will continue to run away as long as extreme poverty guarantees a low-paid, docile workforce in the Third World. Second, the kinds of conditions faced by women in multinational corporations' off-shore plants are not too different from what some women workers face *within* the United States. In New York's Chinatown or East Los Angeles, thousands of undocumented women workers do light assembly work or sew garments in illegal sweatshops. If the economy continues to stagnate, more and more American women — already underpaid and un-unionized — can expect to work under conditions approaching those in the Third World's off-shore factories.

But in a larger, political sense, too, our lives are linked. Issues like coercive population control, contraceptive dumping and the infant formula scandal have underscored the need for a truly international women's movement — and one which will not be confined to elite contacts or government-defined agendas. The growing Third World female workforce — thrown together into their first collective experience as women and workers — may be a vanguard group in the global women's movement of the '80s. If "first world" feminism is going to have anything to offer these women's struggles for dignity and identity, we are going to have to do a little consciousness-raising of our own.

As a contribution to that process, I believe the need exists for a comprehensive project addressed to the issue of women and multinational corporations. It should be geographically comprehensive, because the subject by its nature is global, and it should combine both support work and U.S.-directed educational aspects. Such a project could include:

- Resource development: Amassing the presently scattered information on women and MNCs, and the preparation of pamphlets or fact sheets on particular issues.
- Preparation of an educational "program" (speakers, films) for use with women's groups, church groups etc.
- Networking: Bringing together, physically or otherwise, activists or researchers around the world. Ultimately, one goal would be to bring together working women who are affected by MNCs in different parts of the world, e.g., Motorola employees from California and Malaysia.
- Providing information to Third World women, for example, on hazardous products being sold in their countries, or on workplace hazards they face. As emphasized by a Filippina participant at the recent conference in Des Moines, people in the United States have the advantage of access to information which is totally unavailable in many Third World countries.
- Providing support to Third World women who are adversely affected by MNCs, through boycotts, stockholders' pressure, or other tactics.
- Working with U.S. unions to push for global enforcement of health and safety standards.

One way or another, it is important that a U.S.-based project on women and MNCs happen soon! ■



Resource

AFSC Women's Newsletter. This Newsletter contains a Women and Global Corporations Section in each issue. Suggested contribution a sliding scale of $5 to $10, depending on donor's finances. Write to Nationwide Women's Program, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.

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Imperialism In the Silicon Age

by A. Sivanandan

One epoch does not lead tidily into another. Each epoch carries with it a burden of the past — an idea perhaps, a set of values, even bits and pieces of an outmoded economic and political system. And the longer and more durable the previous epoch the more halting is the emergence of the new.

What has caused the new industrial revolution and brought about a qualitative leap in the level of the productive forces is the silicon chip or, more accurately, the computer-on-a-chip, known as the microprocessor. (You have already seen them at work in your digital watch and your pocket calculator.)

The ancestry of the microprocessor need not concern us here, except to note that it derives from the electronic transistor, invented by American scientists in 1947 — which in turn led to the semi-conductor industry in 1952-53, and in 1963 to the integrated circuit industry. Integrated circuits meant that various electronic elements such as transistors, resistors, diodes, etc., could all be combined on a tiny chip of semi-conductor silicon, which in the form of sand is the world's most common element next to oxygen. But if industrially the new techology has been in existence for a short time, it is only in the last seven that it has really taken off. The period of its development is important because it is not unconnected with the postwar changes in the international division of production and of labor and the corresponding movements and operations of the multinational corporations.

The microprocessor is to the new industrial revolution what steam and electricity were to the old — except that where steam and electric power replaced human muscle, microelectronics replaces the brain. That, quite simply, is the measure of its achievement. Consequently, there is virtually no field in manufacturing, the utilities, the service industries, or commerce that is not affected by the new technology. Microprocessors are already in use in the control of power stations, textile mills, telephone-switching systems, office-heating, and typesetting, as well as in repetitive and mechanical tasks such as spraying, welding, etc., in the car industry. Fiat, for instance, has a television commercial which boasts that its cars are "designed by computers, silenced by lasers, and hand-built by robots" — to the strains of Figaro's aria (from Rossini). Volkswagen designs and sells its own robots for spot welding and handling body panels between presses.

Robots, besides, can be re-programmed for different tasks more easily than personnel can be re-trained. And because microprocessors can be re-programmed, automated assembly techniques could be introduced into areas hitherto immune to automation, such as batch production (which incidentally constitutes 70% of the production in British manufacturing). From this has grown the idea of linking together a group of machines to form an unmanned manufacturing system, which could produce anything from diesel engines to machine tools and even aeroengines. And once the design of the unmanned factory has been standardized, entire factories could be produced on a production line based on a standard design. The Japanese are close to achieving the "universal factory."

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A few examples from other areas of life will give some idea of the pervasiveness of microelectronics. In retail trade, for instance, the electronic cash register, in addition to performing its normal chores, monitors the stock level by keeping tabs on what has been sold at all the terminals and relays that information to computers in the warehouse, which then automatically move the necessary stocks to the shop. A further lineup between computerized checkouts at stores and computerized bank accounts will soon do away with cash transactions, directly debiting the customer's account and crediting the store's. Other refinements such as keeping a check on the speed and efficiency of employees have also grown out of such computerization — in Denmark, for instance (but it has been resisted by the workers).

There are chips in everything you buy — cookers, washing machines, toasters, vacuum cleaners, clocks, toys, sewing machines, motor vehicles — replacing standard parts and facilitating repair: you take out one chip and put in another. One silicon chip in an electronic sewing machine, for example, replaces 350 standard parts.

But it is in the service sector, particularly in the matter of producing, handling, storing, and transmitting information, that silicon technology has had its greatest impact. Up to now automation has not seriously affected office work which, while accounting for 75% of the costs in this sector (and about half the operating costs of corporations), is also the least productive, thereby depressing the overall rate of productivity. One of the chief reasons for this is that office work is divided into several tasks (typing, filing, processing, retrieving, transmitting, and so forth) which are really interconnected.

The new technology not only automates these tasks but integrates them. For example, the word processor — consisting of a keyboard, a visual display unit, a storage memory unit, and a print-out — enables one typist to do the work of four while at the same time reducing the skill he or she needs. Different visual display units (VDUs) can then be linked to the company's mainframe computer, to other computers within the country (via computer network systems), and even to those in other countries through satellite communication — all of which makes possible the electronic mail and the electronic funds transfer (EFT) which would dispense with cash completely.

What this link-up between the office, the computer, and telecommunications means is the "convergence" of previously separate industries. "Convergence" is defined by the Butler Cox Foundation as "the process by which these three industries are coming to depend on a single technology. They are becoming, to all intents and purposes, three branches of a single industry." But "convergence" to you and me spells the convergence of corporations, horizontal (and vertical) integration, monopoly. A "convergence" of Bell telephones and IBM computers would take over the world's communication facilities. (Whether the anti-trust laws in America have already been bent to enable such a development I do not know, but it is only a matter of time.)

Underscoring the attributes and applications of the microprocessor is the speed of its advance and the continuing reduction in its costs. Sir Ieuan Maddock, Secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, estimates that "in terms of the gates it can contain, the performance of a single chip has increased ten thousandfold in a period of 15 years." And of its falling cost, he says, "the price of each unit of performance has reduced one hundred-thousandfold since the early 1960s."

"These are not just marginal effects," continues Sir Ieuan, "to be absorbed in a few percent change in the economic indicators — they are deep and widespread and collectively signal a fundamental and irreversible change in the way the industrialized societies will live. . . . Changes of such magnitude and speed have never been experienced before."

The scope of these changes has been dealt with in the growing literature on the subject. But it has mostly been concerned with the prospects of increasing and permanent unemployment, particularly in the service industries and in the field of unskilled manual employment — in both of which blacks and women predominate. A study estimates that 40% of all office work in Germany is suitable for automation — which, viewed from the other side, means a 40% layoff of office workers in the next ten years. The Nora report warns that French banking and insurance industries, which are particularly labor intensive, will lose 30% of their work force by 1990. Unemployment in Britain is expected to rise by about 3 million in that time. Other writers have pointed to a

Reclaiming the Cross

I simply argue that the cross be raised again at the center of the marketplace as well as on the steeple of the church. I am recovering the claim that Jesus was not crucified in a cathedral between two candles, but on a cross between two thieves on the town garbage heap at a crossroad so cosmopolitan that they had to write his title in Hebrew, Latin and Greek . . . at the kind of place where cynics talk smut and thieves curse, and soldiers gamble. That is where he died, and that is what he died about. And that is where church people ought to be, and what church people ought to be about.

— George F. MacLeod
***Network*, PCUM Newsletter**

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polarization in the work force itself — as between a small technological elite on the one hand and a large number of unskilled, unemployable workers, counting among their number those whose craft has become outmoded. Or, as the chairman of the British Oil Corporation, Lord Kearton, puts it: "We have an elite now of a very special kind at the top on which most of mankind depends for its future development and the rest of us are more or less taken along in the direct stream of these elite personnel."

All the remedies that the British Trades Union Congress has been able to suggest are "new technology agreements" between government and union, "continuing payments to redundant workers related to their past earnings," and "opportunities for linking technological change with a reduction in the working week, working year, and working lifetime." The Association of Scientific Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS), whose members are more immediately affected by automation, elevates these remedies into a philosophy which encompasses a changed attitude towards work that would "promote a better balance between working life and personal life," "recurrent education throughout adult life," and a new system of income distribution which in effect will "pay people not to work."

But, in the performance, these are precisely the palliatives that enlightened capitalism offers the working class in the silicon age. Translated into the system's terms, "new technology agreements" mean a continuing social contract between the unions and the government wherein the workers abjure their only power, collective bargaining (and thereby take the politics out of the struggle), and a new culture which divorces work from income (under the guise of life-long education, part-time work, early retirement, etc.) and provides the *raison d'etre* for unemployment. Already the protagonists of the establishment have declared that the Protestant work ethic is outdated (what has work got to do with income?), that leisure should become a major occupation (university departments are already investigating its "potential"), that schooling is not for now but forever.

I am not arguing here against technology or a life of creative leisure. Anything that improves the lot of humanity is to be welcomed. But in capitalist society such improvement redounds to the few at cost to the many. That cost has been heavy for the working class in the center and heavier for the masses in the periphery. What the new industrial revolution predicates is the further degradation of work where, as Harry Braverman so brilliantly predicted, thought is eliminated from the labor process, there is centralized ownership of the means of production, a culture of reified leisure to mediate discontent, and a political system incorporating the state, the multinationals, the trade unions, the bureaucracy, and the media, backed by the forces of "law and order" with microelectronic surveillance at their command. For inasmuch as liberal democracy was the political expression of the old industrial revolution, the corporate state is the necessary expression of the new. The qualitative leap in the productive forces ensnared in capitalist economics demands such an expression.

But nowhere in all the chip literature is there a suggestion of any of this. Nor is there any hint of a suggestion that the new industrial revolution, like the old, has taken off on the backs of the workers in the peripheries — that it is they who will provide the living dole for the unemployed of the West. For the chip produced in the pleasant environs of "Silicon Valley" in California has its circuitry assembled in the toxic factories in Asia.

Initially the industry went to Mexico, but Asia was soon considered cheaper. (Besides, "Santa Clara was only a telex away.") And even within Asia the moves were to cheaper and cheaper areas: from Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore in the 1960s, to Malaysia in 1972, Thailand in 1973, the Philippines and Indonesia in 1974, and soon to Sri Lanka. The manager of a plant in Malaysia explained how profitable these moves had been: One worker working one hour produces enough to pay the wages of 10 workers working one shift plus all the costs of materials and transport.

But the moves the industry makes are not just from country to country but from one batch of workers to another within the country itself. For the nature of the work — the bonding under a microscope of tiny hair-thin wires to circuit boards on wafers of silicon chip half the size of a fingernail — shortens working life. "After three or four years of peering through a microscope," reports Rachael Grossman, "a worker's vision begins to blur so that she can no longer meet the production quota." But if the microscope does not get her the bonding chemicals do. And why "her"? Because they are invariably women.

A global culture, then goes with a global economy, serviced by a global office the size of a walkie-talkie held in your hand — a global assembly line run by global corporations that move from one pool of labor to another, discarding them when done, high technology in the center, low technology in the peripheries — and a polarization of the work force within the center itself (as between the highly skilled and unskilled or deskilled) and as between the center and the peripheries, with qualitatively different rates of exploitation that allow the one to feed off the other: a corporate state maintained by surveillance for the developed countries, authoritarian regimes and gun law for the developing. That is the size of the new world order.

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A Bishop Ponders His Role in Plant Closings

by Robert B. Appleyard

"Shut down." These were the first words I heard on TV as I unpacked my bags during the Episcopal Bishops' Interim Meeting. Then followed a news documentary about a one-industry city in Tennessee. The Anaconda plant was about to be shut down by management to move to another location hundreds of miles away. Two weeks notice was given to the employees, and virtually an entire city was about to be unemployed, with no future.

If this were happening only in one place it would be bad enough. But in some way it is taking place in every single diocese in this church of ours. In the steel industry alone there is a possibility of the destruction of the backbone of Gary, Indiana; South Chicago, Illinois; Birmingham, Alabama; Youngstown, Ohio; Torrance, California, and I can go on and on. By *destruction* I mean the impact on homes, schools, hospitals, families, marriages, jobs, churches, the entire fabric of what you and I accept as Christian society. And I mean at every single level of employment, from top management right down to the most recent and youngest employee.

Shut down. Destroyed. Why? The name of the game I am talking about is productivity, profits. Essentially this means producing a larger volume of goods with minimum expenditure of time, labor, material and energy. And in this process certain plants and jobs become obsolete and wiped out. But there is another side of the coin. Industry today has a great moral obligation — it is to provide jobs, to increase the bottom line of the earnings statement and use some of that money to be poured back into existing plants in terms of research for the future. Industry has an obligation to be an instrument of social progress today. Industry needs to be told that in no uncertain terms and with no apology.

There of course is where lay ministry comes in, in a dynamic way. But this is scary business. One doesn't know all the answers. In fact, I know very few answers in the business world. I have pulled boner after boner. I am still making errors and there is no more demonic temptation than to hear from some Christians, "Stay out of it, bishop. It is absolutely none of your business."

So I had to ask myself why did I get involved in this area of urban crisis? And I can only reply that it grew out of Venture in Mission: "Let the church be involved." That means to study and know the city, the people, and help, do not destroy. Let the church be an educator today. Teach the Gospel imperative for human relations, not cutting off one human being from another. Let the church be advocate, speaking out for those who are the poor, those who are the oppressed. And let not the church be the tool of any economic power, no matter how strong or how large that power. Let the church be friend. Reaffirm the loving Christian values — not selfishness, which leads to death. Let the church be the champion for God's justice and God's mercy, which means freedom, peace and salvation for people who are poor and who are in desperate need.

Now, let's talk about some errors. Let me describe being invited into corporate headquarters. It is a real thrill, especially when the president is a churchman. I thought it was going to be a very personal conversation, and I went all alone. I was greeted by the president of the corporation who had on each side two corporate officers. Not bishop and Christian alone, as I had naively thought. For one hour I was cut up, chewed up, and devoured, and I went out virtually destroyed. From then on I learned that when one meets on these matters with corporate heads, no matter how well one knows them, one goes with someone else. The next time I was invited I went with the finest lawyer in labor matters that I have ever known, and beside him, a Christian ethics professor from one of our universities. The invitations have decreased. But believe me, the respect has increased and the discussions have been on a profound level.

My second error was to try to get my diocese to become involved alone — in isolation. I failed completely here. One needs to work with others. Since, we have formed the Tri-State Conference. John Burt (Bishop of Ohio) was our right arm; Charles Rawlings, a Presbyterian activist was at the very heart of everything. Our Roman Catholic brothers and sisters in Christ joined us, and there was no jealousy in

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The Rt. Rev. Robert B. Appleyard is Bishop of Pittsburgh. The above was edited by Robert L. DeWitt from remarks made by Bishop Appleyard at the 1980 Interim Meeting of the House of Bishops.

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the ranks. I found quite the opposite. People gathered, we shared. Community leaders came into the Conference, management has come into it, labor was always there. And now state and federal government representatives, and environmentalists have joined us. Yes, there are those who carry different identity cards, and some of the cards are sort of red, but the bearers come with only one goal: to make the cities once again a habitation for peace and love and justice.

Let me cite three quotations from those who have been involved. The first from a member of my Standing Committee after I received a letter requesting me either to resign or cease my involvement in the industrial labor crisis. A member of U.S. Steel is on the Standing Committee. When the letter was read by the President of the Standing Committee, the steel man simply stood up and said, "I move that we dismiss the matter immediately. I want a bishop who will dare to speak out on economic and political and social issues, even though I may differ with him." The vote to dismiss the matter was unanimous.

And next from a labor leader, who simply wrote: "In the conflicts of government, labor and management, Bishop, God's church is the only one whom we can actually trust today. Don't desert us."

The last quote comes from a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the U.S. Congress that some of us met with: "The church alone has alerted us to the real facts of the steel crisis."

So I conclude that in this darkening world, perhaps more than at any time before in our long odyssey, the darkness is born of our pretenses of power, our stubborn equation of self-interest with the interests of God. And when God is served by us as bishops, we need to glorify God's Creation, fulfill God's vision for the people, and do it because we know God gives us the strength. ■

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 3*

proportion of marchers were conservative working people who voted for Ronald Reagan hoping to preserve what they already had. Their taxes, utility and food bills continue to escalate. They no longer have job security and fear what is coming.

"We will not sit idly by while the bare necessities of life are taken from the needy and given to the greedy," thundered Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the NAACP and a speaker for the event. "We're saying to those who have $1,000 boots while our children have no shoes, 'No! We won't take that!' " The crowd roared back, "Right on!"

Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, asked the President to restore not only budget cuts, "but our faith in America. We cannot be proud of a Congress that chisels the poor, the handicapped, the old; we cannot be proud of a nation that says a little bit of cancer in the workplace is all right if it's cost effective. We cannot be proud of a nation that plunges the families of 12,000 PATCO strikers into bankruptcy and despair."

Black participation was formidable, especially on the speakers' platform and in the streets. Interestingly, politicans — congressional representatives, mayors, governors — were not invited to speak.

Another feature of the march was that it gave union leadership the opportunity to eyeball its membership while marching alongside, not merely viewing it from posh offices in skyscrapers. Labor had not rallied in this way since the years of the great depression, reflecting George Meany's aversion to this type of demonstration.

It can be said that a similar opportunity, that is, to become familiar with the economic needs of its people and to join their struggle on the streets — was bypassed by the institutional church. Mainline religious communities were absent in the march, except for small delegations representing Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Unitarian Universalists, and Religion and Labor. To be sure, *the Church* was there — Christians marching in great numbers with their locals, their civil rights groups, etc. But the institutional church has not seen labor's struggle as a place of convergence with its own concerns, in the same way, for example, that it inserted itself into the 1969 anti-war moratorium.

In these critical times, the churches in the United States have opted for the status quo, quite obviously so in the case of the Moral Majority. Frequently religious communities are dependent on the status quo for maintaining their institutions in a contracting economy.

But we have clearly moved into a new period — a period where masses of people are changing their minds and taking sides. The broad, middle, permissive way is increasingly less viable. The status quo, economically, politically and religiously, has become the enemy. It is a time for new direction and new leadership in the churches and in the society. Many obstacles remain to be surmounted, but Solidarity Day, 1981, could be the beginning of a new alliance in the United States, not only to maintain, but to advance human and civil rights in the body politic.

— The Editors

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To My Wife — A Moral Majority Reject

by Bob Askew

(This is an open letter to the person I have been married to for 23 years. I have chosen to make it open because I am angry and tired of hearing such groups as the Moral Majority and the Praise The Lord (PTL) Club put her down because she is a woman. I want them to know there are great and loving women, Christian women, who do not fit their theological and philosophical position.)

Dear Betsy:

Sentimental tradition says I should begin this letter with: *My Dear Loving Wife.* The "dear" and the "loving" and the "wife" are true, but the "my" reduces you to something I own, an object, a piece of chattel. So I've simply used "Betsy" as it expresses your personhood and separateness. You are a partner, an equal.

When I listen to the philosophy of the Moral Majority and other such groups and measure you against their standards, I must admit I married a failure. When I look at the standards of Jesus Our Lord, standards of being loving, being merciful, of being forgiving, of self-sacrifice, I made a wise choice when I asked you to marry me.

No, you have never been a home-bound wife and mother, minding the house and the kids. According to the Moral Majority philosophy you have been most ungodly and unscriptural. But from the depths of my soul I thank you for helping meet the mortgage payments, contributing to putting food on the table, for helping me make sure the kids had shoes and clothes. I've seen you exhausted, but you never stopped loving. You know, the kids over the years have accused you of being a lot of things, but they never have said you didn't love them.

You have never been submissive, subservient and obedient to me. St. Paul's teachings on women has always unleashed your irritation. According to the Moral Majority teachings you are un-Christian and condemned. But for me, thank you for reading me the riot act and telling me what a stupid ass I was being when others were afraid to confront me. You loved me enough to be assertive, to be defensive, to conjole and threaten in order to get me to do what was best for myself.

As the kids grew and things did not go the way of our dreams and plans, and we had to do some things that ripped our soul to shreds — oh, those were the moments, when we clung desperately to each other, with tears eroding our faces, and from the center of our existence we screamed to Christ Jesus to help us and to direct us. Those were the moments of real love, the moments full of expression of our personhood. Not as male. Not as female. But as persons, standing naked before God in our humanness.

Many times I've seen you put the kids and me in second place and teach us that others had needs greater than our own. According to the Moral Majority philosophy you were a disobedient wife, a neglectful mother, and contributed to the mess the world is in today. But what they can never experience was the joy and pride that engulfed me the night 280 teenagers, all drug users and delinquents (some were also homosexuals) stood and sang to you "What I Did For Love." As I held you in

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my arms and felt your body shake with sobs of joy for the tribute being paid to you, I held Christ and knew that by our love, our love for each other, our love for all those hard-headed, stubborn kids standing before us, that people would know we were His disciples. No, you haven't contributed to the mess of the world. The world is richer for your being there.

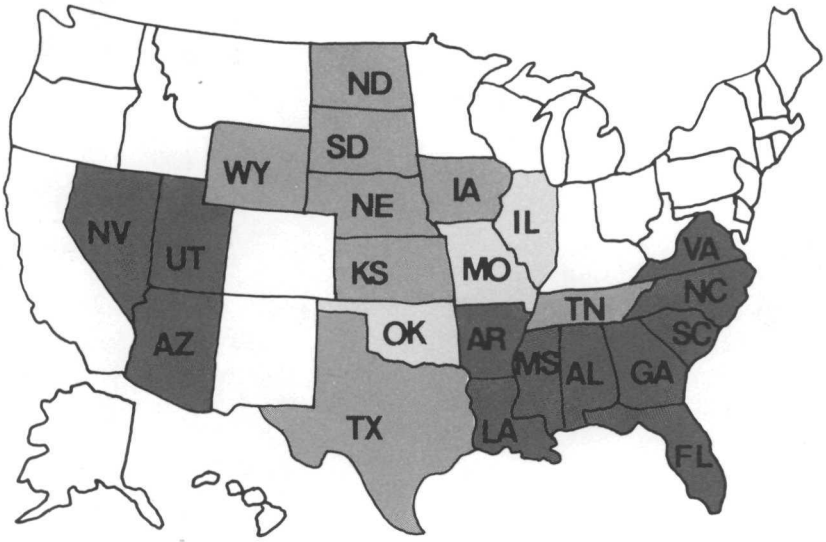
At times our marriage has been pure hell. At times it has been absolute heaven. But no matter what the extreme or the routine humdrum there has always been love. Even when you have been so angry with me my death would have been my just reward, I never doubted that you loved me.

No, you've never been the ideal Moral Majority definition of a wife. But you have been the person that Jesus set you free to be. You have loved as He loved you. You have been human, very human. Often times radically human.

There is much more I could say, but you know the whole story of our lives together. We have lived that story. So here I sit on this hill. Alone! I'm hungry and I have to go fix my own supper. You should have been here to greet me when I came home from the office. You should have had my supper fixed and ready to sit adoringly at my feet and tell me what a great, swell and wonderful person I am. But where are you? Sitting at the piano with one of those kids you think you might influence and saying "Start over from the beginning. Let the music touch your soul. Feel the music. Feel its beauty. And one, and two, and three. And one, and two, and three."

And one: I see the Christ in your life. And two: Never stop trying to be totally human. And three: I love you dearly.

Bob



Legend

DARK — Unratified ERA states, and states with Right-to-Work Laws.
MEDIUM — States which have ratified the ERA but also have Right-to-Work Laws.
LIGHT — Unratified ERA states, without Right-to-Work Laws.

The opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment is the opposition to labor, civil rights, a decent environment, and social progress. And for the same reason. Money. Have you ever looked at a map of the unratified ERA states and the so-called right-to-work states and realize that they are just about one and the same? And it is *no coincidence.*

As we are united for common goals of collective bargaining (remember union women make 30% more than unorganized women); pay equity (I salute the lawsuit and strike of AFSCME who is proving labors' goals are women's goals); extension of the Voting Rights Act; stopping of Reagan economics which would cut Social Security (remember women are two thirds of the Social Security recipients and 85% of those are at the minimum benefit); cut public education; cut food stamps, AFDC, school lunch — Do I need to say more?

— Ellie Smeal, NOW President
at Solidarity Day 1981

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Eurocommunism Puzzles U.S. Leadership

by David Snider

"*Another* place that I never heard of just went communist!" This expression came from a puzzled little white man, Ziggy, sitting in front of his TV in a 1980 cartoon by Tom Wilson. But in May, 1981, *France* voted in a socialist, Francois Mitterand, as president for seven years. *The Economist* reported that 90% of those who voted communist in the first round of the presidential elections voted for Mitterand in the final election.

If Ziggy was still watching his TV, he might have a new cry: "People we thought were our friends just elected a socialist president, and the communists voted for him too!" Had Ziggy read *Le Monde,* he may have been shocked that it celebrated Mitterand's election in an editorial titled "Victory for Democracy." It called Mitterand's election a triumph "of the entire Left," and also a triumph of all those who, fed up with a government bankrupt of ideas, yearned for a change. The election was "the defeat of a social and economic policy which people had felt to be both unfair and ineffective."

U.S. President Ronald Reagan's response was less enthusiastic. He congratulated Mitterand and then expressed concern that members of the French Communist Party might be invited to join Mitterand's cabinet.

One week after the French election, President Reagan, speaking at Notre Dame University, contrasted his vision of the truths that make up U.S. civilization with those he sees in communism: "The years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The West will not contain communism, it will transcend communism. We will not bother to denounce it, we'll dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written." A month later President Reagan said in his news conference that "communism is an aberration. It's not a normal way of living for human beings, and I think we are seeing the first beginning cracks, the beginning of the end."

It is illuminating to set these words of President Reagan alongside a paragraph from President Francois Mitterand's inaugural address: "It is natural for a great nation to have great ambitions. In today's world, can there be a loftier duty for our country than to achieve a new alliance between socialism and liberty, a more noble ambition than to offer it to tomorrow's world?"

How can we make sense of these two presidential positions? More pointedly, how could the President of the United States insist that the "last pages" of

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communist history were "even now being written" in the same week that he had expressed concern that the French President would appoint communists in his cabinet?

And if communism is on its way out, how does one interpret the fact that 30% of the members of Italy's parliament are communists? Or that in 1978 the mayor and 36 of 60 members of Bologna's city council were Communist Party members? These realities of French and Italian politics suggest that some European voters believe communism offers "a normal way of living for human beings."

President Reagan's view of the nature and future of communism is significant, not only because of the power of his office, but also because so many other U.S. voters share his views. But missing from the President's view is any reference to *Eurocommunism,* a type of communism different from Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban models of communism.

"Eurocommunism stakes its future on the double assertion that it is Marxist *and* it is democratic, arguing that this is the original position of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels." So declares Carl Marzani in his new book, *The Promise of Eurocommunism.* Much of Marzani's account of Eurocommunism is based on his interviews with opponents and advocates of Eurocommunism in major European cities from 1977 to 1979. A U.S. citizen and an independent Marxist, Marzani points out that when the communist parties in France, Italy, and Spain decided that both economic *and* political democracy were essential to socialism, conflict with Soviet leadership was inevitable. According to Marzani, their challenge to Soviet authority covered three decades and is marked by four major events:

- The first took place in 1948 when Joseph Stalin expelled Josip Tito from the Cominform over the issue of Yugoslavia's national independence from Russia. That Tito survived and that Yugoslavia survived as an independent communist nation were crucial developments.
- A second major event was initiated by Nikita Khrushchev's '56 report to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union documenting the ruthlessness and terrorism of Stalin. On the way home from the Moscow meeting Italian delegate Vittorio Vidali wrote in his diary: "Here and now we see passing out of history the concept of a leading nation, a model party, and guiding individuals. It is well that all this should end. At least this much will be of use: we shall begin to think with our own heads, to say what we really believe, to learn to say no." "To think with our own heads," says Marzani, became a cornerstone of Eurocommu nism.
- The third independence event came when Mao Tse-tung asserted China's national authority and rejected Soviet claims to complete authority in the communist world. By February, 1964, the USSR and the Chinese were split irreparably. In the struggle between the USSR and the Chinese, Italy joined the Yugoslavs in open defiance of the Soviet Union.
- The fourth independence event, the July, 1976, Berlin Conference of the Pan-European Communist Parties, was shaped decisively by occurrences years ahead of its opening. In August, 1968, the Soviet army invaded Czechoslovakia. In unprecedented action the Italian, French, and Spanish Communist Parties condemned the invasion and were joined by several other parties. In 1969 the parties of China, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, North Korea, Albania, and the Netherlands refused to attend a Soviet-led international conference of communist parties. At the conference the Italian Communist Party led the opposition to the Soviet Union and refused to sign the final conference declaration because the Soviet Union rejected a statement allowing alternate models of socialism.

The Italian, French, and Spanish Communist Parties grew closer. In 1971 they denounced Moscow's trial of Jews who wanted to leave Russia, and in 1973 they criticized the USSR's refusal to publish Alexander Solzhenitsyn's works.

The July, 1976, Berlin Conference of the Pan-European Communist Parties marked the end of Soviet dominance of Western European communism. The degree to which the Soviets capitulated, says Marzani, is indicated in that the conference's final document did not contain four tenets of Marxist orthodoxy which the USSR once had been able to impose: it did not affirm Marxism-Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarian internationalism, or struggle against anti-Sovietism.

Coming Up . . . in THE WITNESS

• A group of church women in Los Angeles have been attracting national attention by being arrested in demonstrations around Immigration and Naturalization Service headquarters, seeking political asylum for Salvadoran refugees. Read about them in the next WITNESS.

• Jack Woodard, longtime peace activist, says that symbolic demonstrations are losing their power to affect public policy. He suggests that social activists must pay more attention to strategies in the future to achieve goals, and outlines some suggestions . . . in THE WITNESS.

• Hospital chaplain Chuck Meyer tells why he believes the church is failing — practically, theologically and sacramentally — to help people plan for their own deaths and the deaths of relatives, and suggests a way out of the dilemma.

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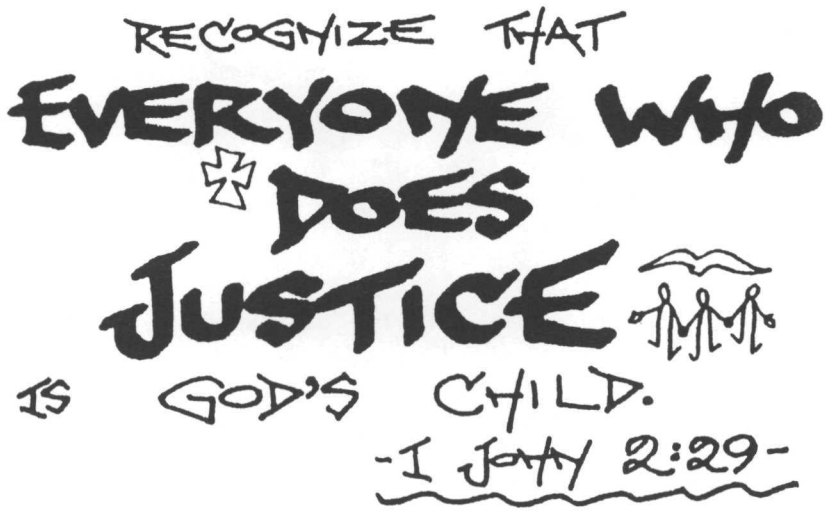
Decisive in the conference were speeches of Spanish communist leader Santiago Carrillo, Italian Party leader Enrico Berlinguer, and the French Party's Georges Marchais. They insisted that socialism, freedom, and democracy are interdependent and clearly rejected Soviet orthodoxy. Carillo declared, "Once Moscow was our Rome, but no more." It is necessary "to accept once and for all the diversity of our movement, and to renounce any attempt to intrigue against it." Central to Eurocommunism's rejection of Soviet authority is the conviction that each nation must move toward socialism in relation to its own history and needs. This affirmation of nationalism is at the heart of Eurocommunism.

With their assertion of independence at this conference, Western European communist parties established Eurocommunism "as a major current in Marxist development, on a par with Leninism and Maoism."

I was surprised to find in Marzani's book the story of the Catholic Church's contributions to the development of Eurocommunism.

In June, 1979, Pope John Paul II flew to Poland just before the Italian national elections. On the plane he told a reporter, "Catholics who vote communist are still Catholics and their choice may be coherent with the principles of faith and morals." Marzani interprets this comment as a sign that John Paul II, though anti-communist and theologically conservative, is open to change, fiercely committed to social justice, and a realist.

In Poland the huge crowds greeting the pope testified to the church's power, and, according to Marzani, the pope "behaved amiably and, on departing, kissed the Polish prime minister. The televised kiss conferred a much-needed legitimacy to a grateful government."



Within a year the Polish Church obtained important concessions from the communist government.

John Paul II bestowed a similar legitimacy on French and Italian communist leaders. The *New York Times* of June 1, 1980, carried a front-page picture of the pope in Paris shaking hands with Communist Party leader Georges Marchais. When the pope returned to Rome, Italian television showed him shaking hands with the communist deputy mayor — a week before municipal elections. Marzani regards these media events as having a powerful message: "His holiness does not shake hands with the Devil's disciples or kiss the Antichrist, so the message was clear: Communists are acceptable people."

Pope John Paul II's public embrace of communists as people expresses the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, called by Pope John XXIII in 1961, and his encyclical *Pacem in Terris*. That encyclical helped defuse the Cold War and opened the door for Catholic dialogue with Marxists. Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Gaudium et Spes* reaffirmed the commitment to dialogue. Pope John Paul II's recent encyclical, *Laborem Exercens,* "On Human Work," moved the Catholic Church's relations with Marxism to a strikingly new foundation by introducing "into Papal discourse a framework of concepts and logic strikingly akin to Marxism," according to Paul G. Schervish's *In These Times* analysis. This sort of openness to Marxism is a significant departure from the Vatican stance at the end of World War II.

The Italian Communist Party had publicly sought a common action program with the Vatican since 1945, but it was rebuffed by anticommunist Pope Pius XII. Long-time Party leader Palmiro Togliatti initiated a resolution at the 10th Congress of the Party in 1962 that marked a substantial advance in the communists' understanding of religion: "We must understand that deep desire for a socialist society not only can exist in those of religious faith, but may be stimulated by a tormented religious conscience confronting the stark problems of the contemporary world." For the first time a communist party had abandoned the claim that religion can be only the "opium of the people" and recovered another dimension of Marx's position. This new evaluation of religion by communists made it easier for many Catholics and

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Italian Communist Party members to relate to each other.

The openness of Popes John XXIII, Paul VI, and John Paul II is a sign that the Catholic Church hierarchy is distancing itself from capitalism, Marzani argues. He says the church is not becoming socialist or even anticapitalist. However, he believes "the church has decided that the capitalist system is slowly sinking and the church has no intention of going down with it." And he regards the church's openness to communism as a major contribution to the development of Eurocommunism.

If Marzani is correct in his assessment of the Catholic Church's responses to communism, it appears that many Catholics would not agree with President Reagan that the West "will transcend communism" and "dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written."

The hope of President Reagan and others that the "last pages" of communist history "are even now being written" can be supported by one interpretation of how the French voted. In the first round of the Presidential election the French Communist Party (PCF) suffered its worst electoral defeat in 50 years. PCF Party leader and presidential candidate Georges Marchais received only 15.3 % of the vote. Until then the PCF regularly had received from 20 to 25% of the electoral vote since 1945. Diana Johnstone, French correspondent for the Chicago-based newspaper *In These Times,* called the PCF's loss of a quarter of its electorate "a grave historic setback."

One way to interpret these communist losses is to regard them as a sign that the French people have turned from former capitalist President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, against the communists, and for the socialists. Since U.S. foreign policy often has been designed to separate socialists from communists in France and Italy, the French electoral shift might be taken by some U.S. policy-makers as a sign that their policy is succeeding. President Reagan's congratulations to socialist President-elect Mitterand and his expression of "concern" that Mitterand might include communists in his government were consistent with such a policy.

But a different interpretation of the election comes from Diana Johnstone. Many PCF members have decided that the Marchais leadership's pro-Soviet stance and resistance to democracy within the PCF are unacceptable. The new norms of Eurocommunism call for a new type of leadership, and many party members are determined to use the April electoral disaster to throw out the Marchais line and Marchais with it, according to Johnstone.

If President Reagan was referring to the French Communist Party's electoral loss when he announced that the "last pages" of the history of communism are now being written, his analysis is open to question. Diana Johnstone's analysis provides a persuasive alternative interpretation: The last pages of Georges Marchais' type of leadership of the PCF are now being written; however, the PCF still has power to apply significant pressure if Mitterand begins to veer to the political right. It seems likely, too, that a post-Marchais PCF leadership will again enter into coalitions with popular movements that are for socialism but unbound to any party. Some of them left the PCF for the Socialist Party. Their option of returning to the PCF — if it does move to a more Eurocommunist leadership and style — will enable these popular movements to exercise substantial power in relation to each party. The PCF losses may come to be regarded as the occasion for a leadership change that makes it more powerful during the Mitterand Presidency than it was in the 1981 elections.

It appears that France will oppose President Reagan's policies on arms escalation, relations with Russia, and economic aid or military actions supporting right-wing, pro-Western and anti-communist dictatorial regimes in Africa, the Middle East, and Southwest Asia. Diana Johnstone says, "the socialist victory in France deprives the Reagan administration of its number one imperial sidekick for third-world police operations and confronts it instead with a major rival pole of attraction inside the Western World." The recent El Salvador policy adopted by France and Mexico is the type of challenge to Reagan policies that is likely to be repeated by other U.S. allies.

Many of us in the United States are likely to find ourselves opposing Reagan foreign policies and supporting those of French socialists and communists. How the government and other sectors of the United States relate to France's new left government and to us is among the future's unknowns — a bit scary but promising and hopeful, too.

I fantasize myself sitting before the TV news in a new cartoon with Ziggy. We watch reports of new French international and domestic policies for the 1980s. We wonder what will be the U.S. government's response. And we wonder how these events will affect us personally and politically. Will we face a new era of McCarthyism? Or will the French people's action contribute to a more critical examination of U.S. policies that will help us to be part of a movement that sets limits on U.S. oppression abroad? Will the new left government in France offer a new image of socialism that we may find helpful in our struggle to build a base for socialism in the United States?

When I return from my fantasy to the summer of 1981, one of my conclusions is that the French people appear to have elected a president whose policies will limit President Reagan's oppressive international policy. What a nice surprise in an era of bad gifts born of the Reagan victory! ■

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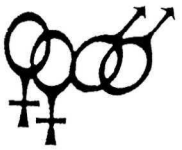
White Candles at the Ramrod



by John Preston

In Memoriam

The events described in this article took place one year ago this month when Ronald Crumpley fired "about 10 or 11" shots at three men on a street in Greenwich Village. Two were wounded. Crumpley proceeded to the nearby Ramrod, a gay bar, and spewed bullets into men standing outside. Joig Wenz, 21, and Vernon Kroenig, 32, were killed, and four were wounded. Crumpley was judged to be suffering from a dangerous mental disorder and is currently being treated at Mid-Hudson Psychiatric Center in New Hampton. John Preston wrote this piece shortly after the shootings.

I had thought about calling Richard and asking him for a date after he got off work. If I had, it would have been easy for him to talk me into walking down to Christopher Street to get a slice of pizza. If I had, I would be in the hospital with multiple gunshot wounds. Richard is.

Instead I went to dinner with some other friends. If the conversation hadn't gone on for so long I probably would have gone to the *Ramrod* for a beer. If I had, I would have stood and talked to Little Dutch. If I had, I would be dead now. Little Dutch is.

On November 19, 1980 Ronald Crumpley, a 38-year-old ex-Transit Police Officer, shot eight people in New York's Greenwich Village. Two of them died. One of the two remained unidentified for quite a while. Crumpley did it, he told police and reporters, because he hates homosexuals. There's some lack of clarity about his motivations. What we do know is that he hates us — enough to kill us. And we know he is not the only one.

* * * * *

A group of us stood waiting for Richard to return from the X-ray room. We were to be his first visitors. When they wheeled him back to his bed he smiled at us. It was the first of many times that I wanted to cry.

I didn't, not out of some misplaced macho self-image, but because we were trying to put on a good show for him. We didn't know whether or not the unnamed dead man was his friend.

For 24 hours the spectre of the unidentified body hung over gay New York. Everyone had anxiously read the first editions of the *Post* to discover the names of the victims. But one murdered man remained unidentified. He became the Unknown Soldier of the day.

Telephones rang all over Manhattan as friends and lovers called one another and sighed with relief to hear the voice on the other end of the wire. "Thank God it wasn't you."

We stood in the hospital room and hid the newspaper from Richard. We kept the conversation focused on him and his wounds and his pain. We weren't sure of his condition and didn't want to bring in any emotional turmoil. Finally, someone located his friend in the next ward. The relief was immense. We arranged for the two men to be in beds side by side and set up the beginning of a flood of flowers.

Through all the mundanities of making someone who is in great pain as comfortable as possible, I watched Richard and I knew that it could have been me in that bed. Anger raged inside me.

Richard had been shot on the street two blocks from the *Ramrod.* While Richard was walking from work to get his pizza, Crumpley stopped his own mission and got out of his father's late model Cadillac. He drew a pistol and shot Richard and his friend with a burst of the automatic weapon. He would later tell police that he did it because they looked "so faggoty."

* * * * *

Richard was not allowed to eat solid food. I sat on the bed and fed him a cup of gelatin with a wooden stick, the only utensil the underbudgeted medical center could provide. As I slipped little portions of jello into his mouth I thought about his wounded body on the bed. I wanted to cry with rage at the thought that some bigot who hated faggots would violate it.

Because he was on the street and not in a gay bar Richard hadn't understood why he was shot. At first he thought it was the random act of an insane person — the kind of nightmare New Yorkers live with after every scare headline of the *Post.* I tried to explain to him that it wasn't so. There had been a reason. He was a faggot. He couldn't comprehend it.

After Crumpley had shot Richard, he drove the Cadillac to the front of the *Ramrod,* one of the most popular gay bars in the city. Its location on the main west side thoroughfare had evidently led him to pick it for his purposes. It enraged him, according to one police

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officer, to have to watch all those faggots on the street when he drove by with his wife and child.

The people in the *Ramrod* paid no attention to the black man in a three piece suit walking up to the bar. He had shot two people on the street. It looked as though the three of them were playing a game. Since gunfire isn't at all like the audio effects we've grown accustomed to on television, no one recognized the sound.

Then, he walked back to the Cadillac and took out a Uzi machine gun. The Uzi is one of the most deadly weapons in any modern arsenal. It was designed by the Israelis as the ultimate close combat automatic rifle. It looks like a toy. It doesn't have the wooden stock that we associate with a deadly weapon — only a small metal frame. To those patrons in the bar who noticed him it was just a continuation of the game.

He crouched on the sidewalk and took careful aim at Little Dutch, the doorman who sat in the window, his usual spot. In a matter of seconds more than 75 rounds of bullets crashed through the windows of the bar, killing two men and wounding two more. That the list of victims wasn't longer is a miracle.

For some unknown reason there were two FBI agents working undercover in the neighborhood. They led the chase that would eventually capture Crumpley across town. In the police station he posed for photographs that would appear on the cover of a late edition of the *Post*. At a press conference he told reporters how much he hated faggots.

* * * * *

When someone close to you is seriously wounded and you stand by the hospital bed and know there is utterly nothing you can do about the pain, the sense of impotence is enraging. I kept asking Richard what I could do. "My lips are chapped," he finally admitted. I went to the nursing station and got a cup of mineral oil. St. Vincent's Hospital is so short on funds they no longer stock Chap Stick.

I rubbed the oil on Richard's lips with my fingers, relieved that I had found something I could do to comfort him.

Other people came to see him. After hours waiting and hours visiting I left. I went home and talked on the telephone. "No, I wasn't one of the ones shot." "No, I don't know who the other dead man is."

Then I took my camera and went over to Sheridan Square for the first of two rallies. The unnamed man had finalized the recognition that we had all been shot. The only reason it wasn't us was an ironic accident of timing.

The crowd marched the length of Christopher Street. The Village had been turned into an armed camp by scores of police cars. They knew they were dealing with something intense and could sense the anger. I overheard one cop tell a marshall: "Where do you want to go? Just tell us. You want City Hall? You got it. You want the precinct house? You got it. Just tell us. We'll make way for you."

But everyone wanted to go to the *Ramrod*. The sides of the streets were lit by rows of candles. Almost every store had placed some memorial in their windows. The bars were closed. The crowd sang "We Shall Overcome."

At the *Ramrod*, bullet wounds showed through the cracks in the plate glass. A wreath was on the door. Blood was on the sidewalk. Speeches. Shouts of anger and cries for revenge filled the night air. I was deadened by the fatigue that follows tension and dread.

A second demonstration was forming at Sheridan Square. Another, larger march down Christopher. The pain of the moment intensified. The Gay Community Marching Band led the way. A solitary drum beating a muffled half step funeral march.

I went through the whole thing again. The songs, a sea of white candles for the innocent dead and wounded. Back to the *Ramrod*. And now the crowd, over 2,000, sang "Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory." The bugler intensified the pain with "Taps." Candles were left, one by one, at the door of the *Ramrod*.

Theoretical discussion about the existence of a gay community became irrelevant that day. The Gay Nurses Alliance provided special care for the wounded. The Metropolitan Community Church worked with the Red Cross to find the families of the dead and wounded. People just appeared on the street and were there to mourn. A moment of solidarity in the midst of the unfriendly city.

There are too many parallels to San Francisco and Harvey Milk's assasination. Richard and Little Dutch are not public figures, but to gay New York they are important. And the insanity of another ex-police officer has been turned on us. And we know, as San Franciscans knew, it was not a single man's insanity. It was a city's insanity. We are the hated.

That night of the shooting and the night of the mourning have produced a cohesive sense to gay New York that never existed before. It includes a fierce determination for justice. We wait with the same intense, solid knowledge that San Franciscans had that the murder of a faggot will not be a grave enough offense to the community to bring a murder sentence. We anticipate the utter ridiculousness of the insanity clause in our laws. If a man is capable of firing a Uzi machine gun into the window of a packed bar and feels no remorse, he must be insane. He is not responsible for his acts. That is what they are getting ready to tell us.

And when they do say that, we will finally have a politically organized gay community in New York. We will become the radicals that some have wanted us to be. We will take care of our own. And we will be ready to carry new white candles if we must. ■

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 2*

approximately 40% are disabled. Hopefully, their foster parents are not LCA clergy or church workers.

The Reagan administration has *already* made severe cuts to programs that have effectively and efficiently empowered a traditionally powerless minority group, disabled persons. Block grant funding pits one group of disabled persons against another, as each scrambles for a crumb from the table. The more able are forced to disassociate themselves from the less able in order to maintain a modicum of dignity and self-respect as self-sufficient individuals. And the churches' response? More discussion of ramps.

Authentic Spirit or pseudo-spirit? The Myer article assures us that social security benefits in this country make disability less economically disastrous. May we have a show of hands from the disabled persons in this country who lost their *absolutely essential* S.S.I. benefits the day they went to work?

Authentic Spirit or pseudo-spirit? Our churches are very much caught up with a superficial sociology of access. One third of a page is devoted to transportation. We are told, nevertheless, to be of good cheer: the churches have run conferences "which include disabled adults and youth," AND — for the children, puppet shows for Sunday School in order to teach children about disabilities.

We are not addressing the deeper issues of lack of access. We are not evidencing authentic Spirit in terms of justice and solidarity. Lack of access to human intimacy, lack of access to live in human dignity, lack of access to one's own sexuality, to community, the lack of access to existing legal recourse, the lack of access to serious advocacy which will insure that the hard-won rights to education and treatment will not be repealed by the "no entitlements" policies of David Stockman, et al., — *these* are the true issues with respect to access.

Can we re-examine the existence of church-owned segregated homes/schools for disabled persons and begin to envision intentional communities where disabled and non-disabled persons live together? Can we engage in substantive theological reflection on our mutual brokenness? Can we reflect on the churches' relationship to disabled persons from the perspective of a liberation theology, one which understands salvation as something that occurs in the midst of oppression? Can we admit that even now, in this Year, the churches often perpetrate some of that oppression? Can we embody justice and solidarity in actions that reflect an incarnational theology — learning from disabled persons to overcome the fear of our own bodies, a fear that we skillfully repress and deny? Can we allow ourselves to be truly *touched* by disabled persons?

The special issue of THE WITNESS has come and gone. Disabled persons do not disappear. When we have finished being "busy" with this Year, some of them may wonder what the churches really did for disabled persons. But, thankfully, they can be wheeled up the ramps of churches to hear the Good News of salvation, of social justice and solidarity. If, by that time, they have the right to appear in public.

Jane P. McNally, Ph.D.
Dept. of Special Education
Boston University
Boston, Mass.

Christmas Features

- **Theologian William Stringfellow will present a Christmas meditation in the December WITNESS . . . and Robert L. DeWitt will produce the Christmas editorial.**

Myer Responds

Jane McNally scores some good points, but I still maintain that industrialized nations' social security and welfare systems, even with inequities, make the lives of their disabled citizens far easier than people in those nations which have no benefits at all.

Connie Myer
New York, N.Y.

Five Months Before IRS

I understand that most WITNESS readers will be getting the current issue on the 15th of the month. That's just five months before April 15, 1982, when 100,000 of us taxpayers can refuse to pay $300 million into the war-making machine.

Get ready for that day, folks. Psych yourselves up and join us for this new and scary venture. Contact other resisters whom you can support and who will support you by writing to Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, 44 Bellhaven Road, Bellport, N.Y. 11713. (516-286-8825).

Dan Lawrence
South Lancaster, Mass.

Dancing In The Gay Bars

What if a parishoner saw me enter?
What if the gossip should start?
Bad enough to be in any bar,
let alone that bar.
Could they understand when I said
that a friend invited me,
and so I came,
not to condemn or condone,
not with collar or lapel cross,
but as a friend.

And what if he should want to dance —
and I do like to dance —
and have danced with men:
with a friend a la Zorba
but not there
folk dances with men
but not there
at parties with the safely straight
but not there.

What would you do, Lord?
If Zaccheus ran a gay disco,
would you visit his place?
You, who ate with all,
would you dance?

Lord, I do not understand them,
but some are friends.
In a place of laughter,
talk, and touching,
loneliness and pain,
may your grace and peace abound.
May I, not understanding,
still go there.
Lord of all our lives,
grant me the grace to dance.

— Tom Goodhue

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Great Disappointment

THE WITNESS is a great disappointment and completely out of line and should be discontinued.

Harold A. Wood
San Francisco, Cal.

Sing Praises

You continue to inspire, with your strength, and your courage, and your consistent concern for the truth and for those who are deprived. We sing your praises to all who dare listen!

Virginia S. Meloney
Claremont, N.H.

Racial Justice Shelved

"What is *your* congregation doing in behalf of racial justice and opportunity in our neighborhood?" For the past few weeks I have been visiting clergy of various denominations, asking this question. It has been a revealing experience.

The Northwest Area Council is an organization founded upon concern for equality, justice, and opportunity for minority groups in this 99% white area of greater Columbus (Ohio.) As the only retired (Episcopal) clergyman on the Board of Directors I was asked to interview the clergy of this area to discover what each congregation is doing in behalf of racial justice, and to discuss how we might work together for this concern.

To date I have seen 19 pastors of the following churches; Roman Catholic, Episcopal, Community, Methodist, Lutheran, Christian, Church of Christ, Church of God, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, and Pentecostal. First of all, every one of these fellows gave me a concerned hearing. They agreed that there is an urgent theological imperative here and that our attitude toward blacks is the crucial litmus test of our Christianity in this community.

All admitted that they were doing very little in the way of an aggressive pro-

Prison Worker's Plea for Native American

Every issue of THE WITNESS leaves me feeling joyful, happy that there are people doing political work from a place of a strong awareness of love, community, and grace. Your August issue on power to the disabled was especially inspiring. The article on Bishop Myers reminded me that my own political organizing began in the Episcopal Church in California, where James Pike and Kilmer Myers were my bishops. Pretty lucky, huh?

I have been working on a defense committee for over two years. I chose this particular case because it included so many important issues: the death penalty, Native American religious freedom, our treatment of prisoners, our treatment of poor people in the courts. The man for whom the defense committee is working, James Simmons, is a man of incredible faith. His faith has made it possible for him to remain whole and strong in the face of torture, of spending over two years in a boxcar cell, of not being allowed to celebrate his religion, of having a noose hang over him.

Jimi's brother George hung himself in his cell last winter, when he finally could not maintain his humanness under prison conditions. He decided that suicide was his only road to freedom. George had tried to kill himself the day before he died, and had requested psychiatric help, which was refused. The prison did not put a suicide watch on him. Jimi was a few cells down from George when he died. His first knowledge of his brother's death was during the morning count when he heard a guard yell, "We got one hanging in here." Jimi wasn't allowed to participate in the Native American religious ceremonies inside the prison in honor of his brother. I think of the citizen outrage if Episcopal prisoners weren't allowed to participate in Holy Communion.

There is a long history of desecration and destruction of Native American religious objects by the guards. Jimi isn't allowed to have his medicine stick with him, which is similar to a Christian being refused the comfort of having a cross. During his trial George Simmons was prevented from seeing a Native American religious counselor despite the fact that we have a court order authorizing such visits. Can you imagine being on trial for your life, and not being allowed to see a priest?

I am proud that it was a Catholic chaplain at the prison who finally blew the whistle on the brutality and beatings that the guards were practicing on the prisoners.

What I am not proud of is the silence of Christians when the religious freedom of Native Americans in prison is violated. Many Christians seem to feel that Native American religion isn't really religion, that Sweat Lodges, eagle feathers, sage are not religious objects and do not deserve the same respect we demand of those things that are holy to us.

I have come to believe that when Christ told us to visit prisoners, he wasn't just saying this because the prisoners needed our assistance, but because knowing prisoners makes us more whole. If Christ were alive today, being tortured in prison, Christians would do anything to be able to visit Him. Well, as the Bible says, Christ is in prison today, and He is being tortured. I think that your readers would be benefited by visiting Jimi Simmons through your magazine, and through knowing something about Native American religion.

Karen Rudolph
Seattle, Wash.

THE WITNESS plans an issue on Native Americans in the future; meanwhile those interested in the case of James Simmons, a Muckleshoot/Rogue Indian, can write Karen Rudolph at the Simmons Brothers Defense Committee, 1818 20th, #105, Seattle, WA 98122.

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gram. They all preach on the subject occasionally and all asserted that black persons would be welcome in their churches. Few had built a discussion of the Christian attitude toward racism into their educational curriculum. Most claimed that they don't see what practical, progressive steps they can take at present.

Most were vaguely aware of the existence of the Northwest Area Council but were not personally involved. They thought its existence was valuable if for nothing more than a symbol of racial concern in our community. I informed them that NWAC decided to concentrate on Equal Opportunity Housing as the best strategy for the present. They accepted this move and promised to publish our periodic messages in their parish bulletins and to use our Board members as resource persons.

I went forth on this project with some anxiety — unsure as to what reception I would get. My general conclusion? Racial justice and racial opportunity is a theological imperative recognized by the great majority of pastors as valid — but it has been shelved because of its difficult ramifications and its dangerous implications.

The Rev. Eldred Johnston
Columbus, Ohio

Controversial, Offensive

Kindly remove my name from your mailing list as I do not wish to be receiving any additional issues of THE WITNESS. You said it would be controversial, and it *is.* As a matter of fact it offends me greatly. I do *not* subscribe to your choice of editorial content nor *any* of your writers. In my mind, your publication does not deserve association with our Anglican Church.

Richard H. Steinmetz
Camp Hill, Pa.

CREDITS

Cover, map p. 13, and back cover, Beth Seka; p. 5, from *TransNational Brief*, Sydney, Australia; p. 6, *Off Our Backs.*

Reason to Hope

Enclosed is $6.95 for *Which Side Are We On?* I received *Must We Choose Sides?* as a bonus for subscribing to THE WITNESS and it looks fantastic! Keep up the good work — you give me reason to hope!

Beth Bastasch
Aptos, Cal.

Wants Inclusion

While the Episcopal Church Publishing Company's Board was meeting in Pittsburgh in June, I was attending an ancient ceremony, the crowning of a prince of the church. There was stirring music, brass, organ and choir, all well-trained, glorious color, scarlet stoles, scarlet carnations highlighted for television coverage. The very air throbbed with anticipation and emotion and excitement.

I wanted to cry. In the crowd I felt very alone and I wondered if God were laughing.

At the altar there was one woman; there were a few girl acolytes. The only black was there because he is the Deputy Registrar of the Episcopal Church. In the congregation there was one woman presenter. A black man read the Old Testament lesson. There was a woman litanist and a woman read the consents of the Standing Committee. I had the feeling that token outreach had been made. The blacks were conspicuous by their absence. The only ray of hope was the number of female postulants in the procession.

Because the Presbyterian Church next door was also used to house the large crowd, it became symbolic of the divisions of our hierarchical church: the recognized, spouses of clergy, and those in power were seated at the Cathedral. The lesser folk, deputies, alternates, vestry people of lesser parishes, watched the medieval pageantry on closed circuit TV at the Presbyterian church.

The choreographer snapped his fingers and gestured like a drill sargent of inexperienced troops to move the procession out in correct order.

The congregation looked, to me, like 2/3 women, 1/3 men on their knees at the feet of the colorfully clad men on stage. The new bishop in his scarlet and gold looked the very image of a bishop, straight, tall, white-haired, strong voiced.

The women in the new bishop's family were the bearers of the elements and they wore white gloves, presumably to keep fingerprints off the silver vessels. The male priests at the altar did not have to wear white gloves as they handled the vessels.

It was a stirring, colorful pageant. However, when I, a laywoman, am dragged to my surprise to be ordained priest and then bishop, I want my cathedral to be a football stadium. Then all the people can be invited. I want only two bishops to put their hands on my head until there can be a goodly mix of male and female. I want my black friends to be there to celebrate with me, to take full part with me. I want my women friends to be full participants. I want color, good music, enthusiastic singing. I want no heralding of the great high priest. I want inclusion because Christ is in us all.

Portia Johnson
University and City Ministries
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Patience

I am not a child to be told
Shh, quiet, listen
Let your Elders speak for you.
They know what's best . . . these Men of God.
Stand in their shadows
lest you be caught in the warming sun.
Patience is your better virtue.
Wait for centuries . . . your time will come.
Do not raise up warrior daughters
to do battle with the system.
Men desire cuddly women . . .
warm and simple creatures
who will always know their place.
Patience is your better virtue.
Men grow strong, churches stronger
standing on the breasts of women,
Reaching toward a male-faced God.
Raging angels sweep from heaven
proclaiming in a sweet-toned song
Patience is your better virtue.

— Marianne Kelly

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Seeks Assistance

A sub-group of the Worship Commission of Christ Episcopal Church, including the rector, has been exploring what can be done to make the language of liturgy and Scriptures more inclusive for all those who use and hear it in public worship.

We have most consistently worked with the weekly lectionary readings, and have made the main focus of our work the references to humanity, so that, where it is impossible to widen the meaning of the words "men," "sons," and "brothers" by changing them to include all people, we have done so.

We would like to know of other Episcopal parish groups working along these lines and would welcome hearing from you.

Kay Ruckman
Christ Episcopal Church
Oberlin, Ohio 44074

Magazine Disruptive

You have a fan at Twenty-Third Publications! Congratulations on the courage you show in the feature articles. Please tell Robert DeWitt that I find the magazine very disruptive — because I have to stop whatever I'm doing when it comes in order to be sure to read all of it each time. Keep up the good work. We are grateful for your presence.

Pat Kluepfel, Editor
Future Focus
Mystic, Conn.

Never Got Around

I've been meaning to subscribe to THE WITNESS since it was first published, but never got around to it. Now I know what I've been missing. Check enclosed.

Georgia V. Kirkpatrick
Busy, Ky.

Stimulating Reading

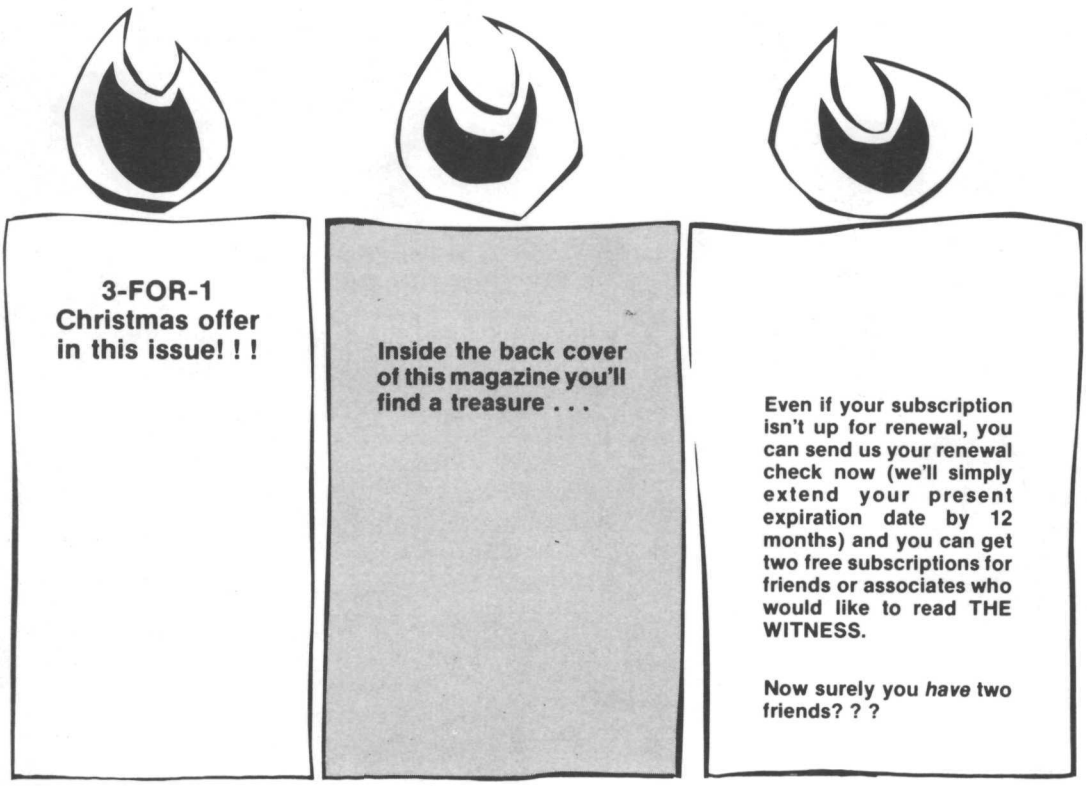
I have found THE WITNESS stimulating reading. I am particulary impressed by your editorial policy in favor of human rights, anti-militarism and forthright Christian commitments in global affairs. Yours is a challenging and spiritually inspiring review that carries to readers the Gospel message that we need to light the way of Christians today.

Bro. Armand E. Guillet, S.C.
Woonsocket, R.I.

Essential to Being

I have had to cut back on many worthwhile magazines, but THE WITNESS is too essential to my very being. It constantly affirms my priorities and gives me strength for my convictions and sets me right when I become subjective.

The Rev. J. L. F. Slee
Seattle, Wash.



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At Last, a Moral Majority Survival Kit

"Look, Jerry Falwell, stop playing you-know-who!"

A PRESS PROFILE ON THE NEW RELIGIOUS RIGHT AT A SPECIAL PRICE FOR READERS OF THE WITNESS

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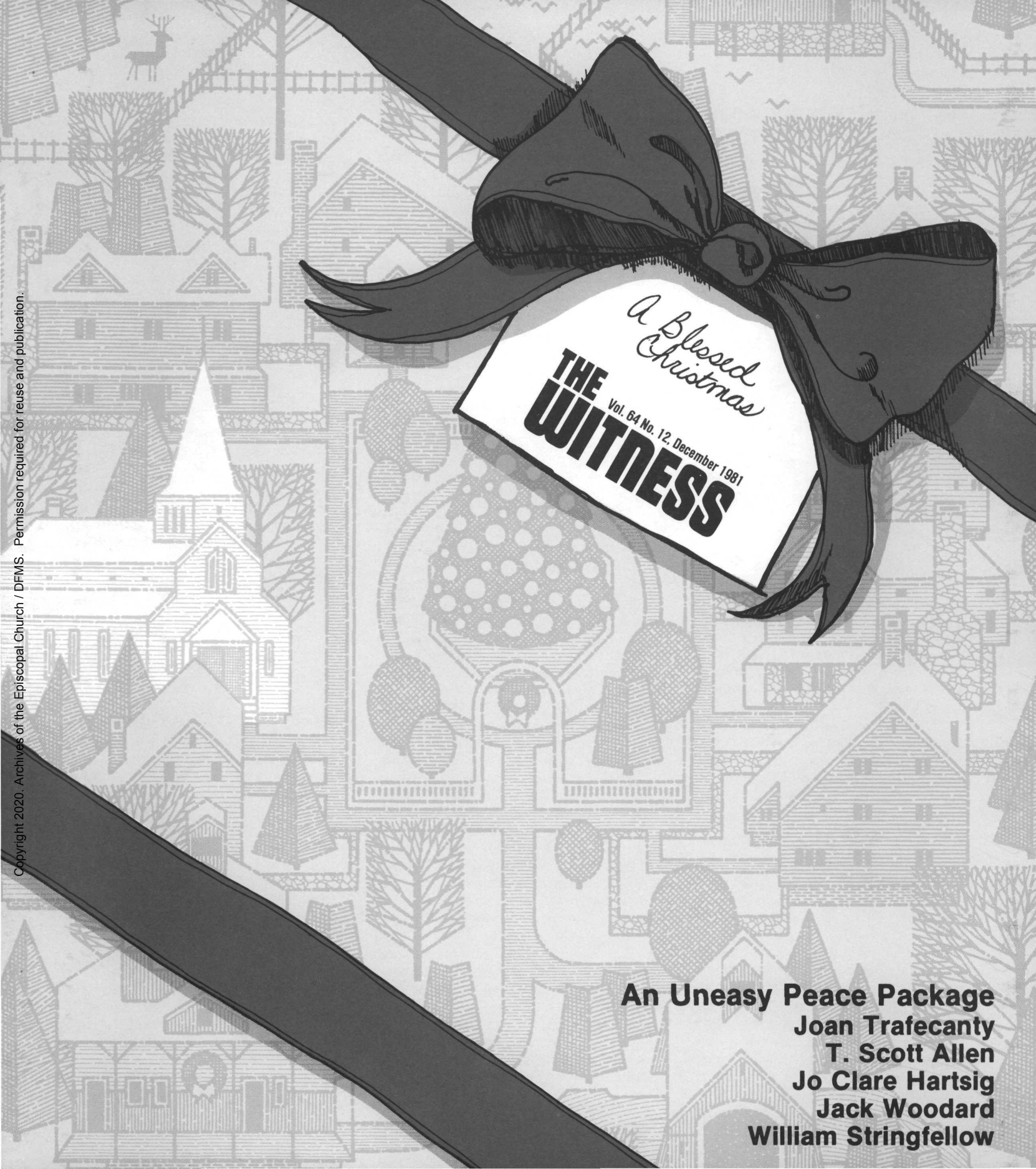

An Uneasy Peace Package
Joan Trafecanty
T. Scott Allen
Jo Clare Hartsig
Jack Woodard
William Stringfellow

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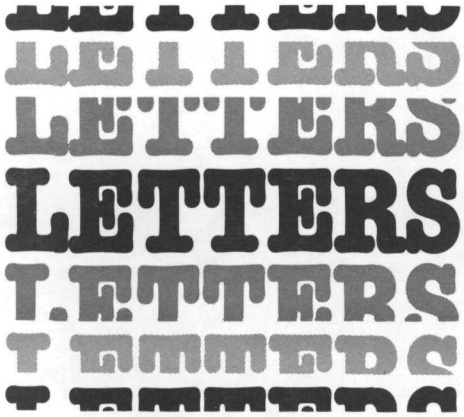

Heartened by Call

We were heartened to see Bishop Arthur Walmsley's call for a major reordering of Episcopal Church life to develop a serious mission strategy — especially among the poor in urban and rural areas. (See "Evangelism, Social Action Can Unite in New Way," September WITNESS.)

We, too, are more and more convinced about the need for evangelism and social ministry to come closer together. Courageous witness in our day — as always — involves both. The time has indeed come to worry less about what makes them distinct from each other and to work harder at serving the poor and sharing with them in the new life in Jesus Christ.

The Rev. Arlin J. Rothauge
The Rev. A. Wayne Schwab
Evangelism and Renewal Staff
Episcopal Church Center
New York, N.Y.

Motive Was Happiness

I feel I must take exception to THE WITNESS editorial in the September issue. Perhaps you are right in suggesting that the gift to Prince Charles and Lady Diana was a needless expenditure of tax money. But how does it compare with the millions that are spent in supplying all kinds of military aid to highly questionable regimes across the world? In one case it is a relatively small expenditure for purely happiness-giving motives, in the other the avowed purpose is to kill and destroy.

The remark "two more dedicated young men, having refused food . . . in the cause of justice for their comrades . . ." sems completely unjust. These criminals in Irish jails are there because they have all participated in the destruction and killing of entirely innocent people. So why should they be treated as "political prisoners," whose only crime was to disagree with a ruling faction? Surely it is the same kind of reasoning which encourages the judiciary to impose such light sentences that "punishment" ceases to be a deterrent to crime. I cannot think that justice calls for convicted murderers to be just slapped on the wrist.

Harry A. Dunn
Brandon, Man.
Canada

Trendy Social Religion

There is a sort of frantic, almost "trendy," social religion expressed in your September guest editorial poem, "Signs of the Times." So what is Lady Di supposed to wear at her wedding — sackcloth? Would this be a real "celebration," to use the modern jargon?

What the author fails to realize is that there is no intrinsic connection between the $2 million paid to enable Britain to celebrate the marriage of the Magic Couple, and the misguided idiots starving themselves to death in prison in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, doesn't the author realize that the source of that $2 million, much of it from the purses of the royal family itself, is also the source of countless amounts of money given in the aid of the poor, the social outcasts, and others who have no one to love them or to care for them? Princess Alexandra herself personally funded hundreds of "good works" in Britain.

As for the IRA people starving themselves to death in Northern Ireland, I suffer with them, as I suffer with anyone who agonizes because of his or her conscience. But my sympathies are with Britain, not with the misguided folk who are causing pain and havoc in Northern Ireland. I *know* Ireland, and I *know* the situation "up North." I have visited there. I have talked with people on both sides of the line, and it is patently obvious to anyone who takes the time to look at the situation that the IRA terrorists are not equatable with sane and sober Roman Catholic people who are working for the union of the two Irelands. Furthermore, not every movement for social justice is necessarily a just movement, for it is sometimes the case that a bag of mixed motives is involved, and some of the mixed motives in *this* bag come not from love of Ireland and for its unity, but out of an intense and unreasoned hatred for Britain.

So, Lady Di and Prince Charles, rejoice and be merry. We think you're grand, and we don't give a damn if your wedding cost a fortune. We know that the purse that provided that money takes care of many of the needs of the people of Britain. If the Commonwealth, and many Americans, want to have a bash in your honor, more power to all of us who are still blessed with a sense of humor and whose blood courses a little more wildly at the sight of all that glorious ANGLICAN (hip-hip-hooray!) splendor in dear old St. Paul's, London, which still remains my "most favorite" cathedral in the world!

The Rev. George A. John Porthan
Peru, Ind.

Brewster Responds

My guest editorial, like many of the poems I have written during the past two years, was an attempt to sound a warning — to encourage, motivate (or perhaps disturb) those readers who are in a position to influence the increasingly ominous course of events in our country and the world.

While I don't doubt that the British royal family donates generously to charity, the *system* which continues to perpetuate a tradition allowing a privileged minority to live in luxury while thousands of unemployed citizens live in misery remains unjust and un-Christian. While I don't argue that some Irish prisoners may be guilty of killing one or more individuals nor seek to justify these actions, I also must

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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

Waiting With Hope

Jesus the Christ slipped into history on that first Christmas unannounced. But God's coming into the midst of God's people was in accord with the hope, the faith, the expectation of generations of those nurtured by the proclamations of the prophets. The prophets had spoken forth in behalf of God, insisting that justice and mercy are the essential foundation of society, and that those qualities bear the relentless endorsement of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the God of creation, the God of history. The coming of the Christ, quiet though the birth, was like the ultimate clap of thunder, a blinding bolt of cosmic lightning, which declared: "I mean it." The coming illuminated starkly the purposes of God, affirmed the teachings of the prophets, and brought new hope to a beleaguered humankind.

Yet, even with this new assurance, we have found ourselves still waiting, as have prior generations, for the fulfillment of our hopes for justice and mercy. Those before us waited for the coming of the King. We wait for the coming of the Kingdom.

Waiting is one of the basic human postures. Sometimes it becomes an obsession, when eager anticipation or unbearable desperation make the present seem intolerable in the light of the hoped-for time to come. And let it never be thought that waiting is easy. An empty stomach, an ill-clad body, unemployed skills, racial or sexual prejudice, these are all unmitigated human tragedies which cry out against God and humankind alike. So it is also with an outraged conscience, which regards the way things should be and the way things are, and seethes with resentment.

Yet, this is the way it is. What can be said about this kind of waiting? First, Christmas reminds us that when his disciples first recognized Jesus as the Messiah, Jesus' first response was to tell them that the Son of Man had to undergo great sufferings, and that anyone who wishes to be a follower of his must leave self behind. Day after day one must take up the cross. As with the Lord, so with the disciples. We, his disciples

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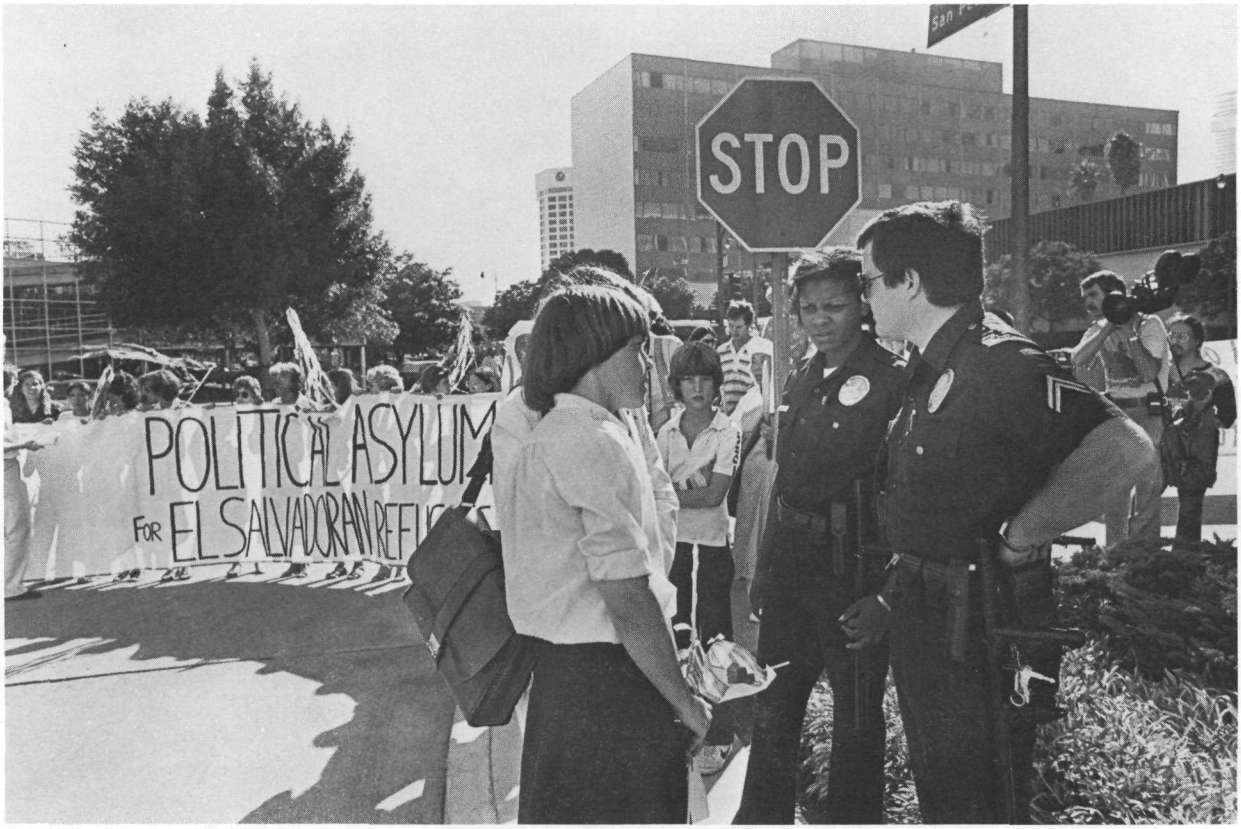

The Rev. Alice Callaghan, Episcopal deacon, explains the women's protest to Los Angeles police.

Women Take on INS

Eleven church women were arrested in Los Angeles Sept. 9 while holding a banner across the driveway of the Immigration and Naturalization Service headquarters, demanding "Political Asylum for El Salvadoran Refugees." It was their third attempt in two months to stop the deportation of refugees back to El Salvador. Most of the women were middle-aged and had never been arrested before, and their action attracted national attention.

Many of the refugees being returned to El Salvador are on "hit lists" of the military, and deportation can mean certain death. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has sent a message to the United States that it may be responsible for thousands of deaths because of these mass deportations.

It has also been pointed out that many of the refugees are harassed by INS officials into signing cards agreeing to deportation, when they know little of the legal process of appeal available to them.

Three of the Los Angeles women who are protesting these policies were interviewed for THE WITNESS by Joan Trafecanty, assistant in the Church and Society West office and editor of the Los Angeles Catholic Worker newspaper, *The Catholic Agitator*. The three are:

- The Rev. Alice Callaghan, an Episcopal deacon who will be ordained in January. She is an associate in ministry at All Saints Episcopal Church, Pasadena.
- Cynthia Anderson, an Emergency Assistance Coordinator at Lutheran Social Services, Los Angeles. She helped found *El Rescate* (The Rescue) to provide legal assistance and emergency aid to refugees.
- Sister Paulita Bernuy, a Roman Catholic sister for 31 years. She works as a psycho-therapist in a counseling center at a Catholic parish in Glendale.

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Civil Disobedience Targets Salvadoran Deportations

Ms. Trafecanty: Could one of you describe a little about the three actions that your group has done so far?

Ms. Anderson: Well, the first action took place because people in Pasadena at All Saints Church were aware of the detention center in Pasadena that holds women and children for deportation, and they really wanted to do something. We got together and decided that we'd go down in front of the driveway there and block the vans coming in and out. We'd say no — no business that day. You're not taking anyone to the airport and no one's coming in. We were there all day and we were never arrested. They didn't call the police to say that we were trespassing, so we just stayed. In the meantime, the Salvadorans in the building were cheering us and dropping little notes down, "Can't you please help me get out?" "What can you do for me? My name is . . . " We were glad to show them that we were supporting them and trying to be of some assistance.

The next action involved actually blocking the driveway downtown in Los Angeles at the Immigration Service where the vans leave for the airport around 3 P.M. every day. We were standing there forming a life-line with our banner and a van just went right through our ranks, after the Immigration Service guards shoved some of the women to the ground and pushed them aside. So when we were planning the third action, we thought, "Well, the van got through but still they didn't want to arrest us, so we're going to go back and do it again." And at that point, during the last action, they did arrest and handcuff us.

Ms. Trafecanty: Would each of you tell how you personally became concerned about the deportation of Salvadorans?

Ms. Anderson: My own interest started because we had a lot of Salvadoran refugees coming into the agency where I work, and they're not eligible for any public benefits. We tried to help them as best we could with food and clothing, but it just wasn't enough. They often talked about their legal problems and their fear of deportation. Then the project *El Rescate* started with the purpose of doing legal assistance and emergency services for refugees, and ever since then, it's just been blossoming. We've been getting more and more volunteers and interested Lutherans helping with that project. After launching *El Rescate,* we as concerned church people would go down to the deportation hearings and watch as judges set high bails on refugees. They would be detained and then they couldn't get out. People would call the project and ask for legal assistance and we would go

Women block van taking Salvadoran refugees to airport.

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down to the Immigration Service to help them and they would have disappeared. So I got frustrated and I thought, while we're doing the legal advocacy for the refugees, we really need to do something more to highlight these gross violations of their rights.

Sr. Paulita: I think the idea of doing something about the problems of El Salvador has been brewing inside of me since 1976 when I trained to give retreats. I was with the Jesuits in Detroit. They had missionaries in El Salvador and it was a very critical time for them. I was there for six weeks and we prayed for the missionaries daily. My interest started there. It was in my semi-consciousness.

A person in my house shared with me that she had decided to do the action. The El Salvador question was weighing on me, but all I would do is think "How terrible!" and "Someone ought to do something about that." So when she said she was going, I thought, there's no better time to step out, in spite of my terrible fear. I'd never done anything like that nor had I seriously thought of doing anything like it. I know that this came from a much deeper part of me and I stepped forward in great fear, but in trust too.

Ms. Callaghan: I spent six months in London while preparing for my ordination as a deacon. I increasingly read a lot there about what was occurring in El Salvador. The English Parliament has been very strong in its opposition to U.S. involvement in El Salvador. As soon as I returned, one of the first things I became aware of was the detention center in Pasadena. So I called together a group of people who I thought might be interested in doing something about El Salvador, and one of the people I contacted was Cynthia. We're not really a group. We're just a gathering of women who go from action to action. All of us individually are plugged into various groups organized around the El Salvador issue. Our intention was not to duplicate any of the programs, but there was one hole that wasn't being filled and that was the media coverage. Probably more than any other issue that I've been involved in, there is broad sympathy for our cause, but it's passive sympathy. So our object was to move that passive sympathy into action.

Ms. Trafecanty: So you're saying that one of the primary objectives of your civil disobedience was to attract attention to the problem, and one way to attract attention was through the media?

Ms. Callaghan: Right. To put it before people. And by doing it as a group of church women. We did everything we could to minimize any perception of us as a group of '60s hippies, because I think people have become immuned to that kind of media barrage. The shock value of women doing it was effective. People began to say, "What is it that's going on that a group of middle-aged women would actually go down and be arrested?"

Ms. Trafecanty: Have any of you ever done civil disobedience before?

Sr. Paulita: I've never done civil disobedience. I really don't like to say that I do civil disobedience. I'm more for obedience, partly because of the training that I've had and because I'm a law-abiding person and believe in authority, although in some ways that's a little restricting. But I do believe in obedience, and so I don't like to say I'm doing civil disobedience. I'd like to say I'm bringing my whole person where my convictions are and saying something in a very radical way. If it happens to be civil disobedience, I'm sorry, but I have to stand for a greater value than the civil at this time. I don't like to be thought of as rebellious because I don't think that I am, as a person.

Ms. Anderson: Except for Alice and one other person, none of the women in our group has ever done civil disobedience before. A lot of the women expressed fear and uneasiness about being arrested. I didn't experience that fear. For me, it was something that came pretty naturally. I was excited about doing it.

Ms. Trafecanty: I've been arrested several times myself for civil disobedience against the arms race, so I know that it really gets serious, especially when you have to appear in court. I spent several days in Sybil Brand Institute, the county jail for women. That's when you begin to realize that you've put yourself in a position where you don't have power over what's going to happen next. Have you thought about going to jail and would you be willing to?

Ms. Anderson: When we went around the room during one of our meetings and all the women talked about their fears, that was their biggest fear — being in a position where they didn't feel they had any power. For me, I've never seen it that way, because I feel that when you're in a situation like that — you're in jail — you always get to talk to people. You can talk to your jailers or the people in the court about why you're doing this. For me, it's not a question of losing power or control over my life, it's another opportunity to speak out. So I don't have any fear about going to jail and as we continue these actions, I'm sure some of us are going to have to do some time in jail.

Sr. Paulita: When I chose to do this, I had to foresee all the possibilities — really, I'm a very serious person by personality — and I had to accept all the worst possibilities. That's why it was such a decisive step in my life. I had been re-reading part of an article by Jon Sobrino, a Jesuit who teaches in the El Salvador University, and he speaks of the church standing with the poor. It's a very dangerous option.

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What happens to the poor is that often they are killed, and he said that church members have to be willing to stand with the poor to the point of being killed. That was too much for me when I read it, but it stayed inside of me and did its work. I know that article was decisive. *(See March WITNESS.)*

Ms. Trafecanty: One of the things that I've discovered is that there are a lot of poor people in jail.

Sr. Paulita: Yes, and it's the powerless who are the most poor and that's why we stand for these El Salvadoran refugees who are "illegal." Yes, I have thought of jail. I don't know if I'll have the strength to go through with it, but I'm a praying person and if God wants me to stand for something, God will give me the strength.

Ms. Callaghan: There's no question that each of us has made the decision that going to jail is the risk we're taking. We probably will go to jail at some point. Up to now, we have managed to avoid jail. When we were arrested during the third action, the police could not bring themselves to send these 11 women to Sybil Brand Jail. They preferred any rationale to let us out the front door. So far, no charges have been filed. Certainly, at some point in time, our luck is going to run out.

Ms. Trafecanty: Being a middle-aged woman myself, I find it very stressful to be arrested for civil disobedience and I've made a promise to myself that I won't do it more than once a year. Do you think this is going to become a problem for women in your group — that once or twice is all they can physically and emotionally stand?

Ms. Callaghan: Our agenda is to do at least one action a month. For many of us that's going to be too anxiety-producing, too stressful. Our intention is to replenish so that at any given time we have at least a good handful of women. What's been helpful is that we haven't needed large numbers and I think that's true in general of civil disobedience. In fact, it's often more unwieldy to deal with a large group. What you need instead of a large group is one that is different so that you attract the press, and the action needs to be imaginative. Who you are and what you do are far more significant than numbers. The first time we did this, we were six women. That's all. This last action when we were actually arrested, we were only 11 women. Yet we managed to attract national coverage. But even having said that, obviously what we hope is that eventually people will go down to those driveways every day and say no to what's going on.

Ms. Trafecanty: In your estimation, how many Salvadorans are being deported?

Ms. Anderson: We think there are at least 150, if not more, being put on the bus to the airport every week.

Ms. Trafecanty: Is Los Angeles the only point where Salvadorans are being deported?

Ms. Callaghan: L.A. is the largest Salvadoran refugee camp. It is estimated that there are close to 200,000 Salvadorans in the L.A. area. However, all across the U.S. southern border, Salvadorans are crossing. But it's clearly an L.A. issue in that this is the major community of Salvadorans.

Ms. Trafecanty: Do any of you have any personal knowledge of what happens to people who are deported to El Salvador?

Ms. Anderson: I do from working in the legal clinic where we're helping with people's political asylum claims — they're establishing their right to asylum which means they talk about everything that's happened to them in their country and what they've seen. You know, you always read these stories in the newspaper second-hand. You read about heads being chopped off, bodies in graves full of 50 people with their throats cut, just gross atrocities. Then when you hear the story first-hand from someone who has just come from El Salvador, it's overwhelming. I think it would behoove everyone to have a first-hand experience with a refugee and then they'd truly be motivated to help.

Ms. Trafecanty: There seems to be only women in your group. Is that a conscious decision?

Ms. Anderson: We've had a lot of men call us and ask to join our action. We say, "Please support us and come out when we do our demonstrations and stand on the side, but we want to keep it all women." And the reason for that is it's attracted so much attention. We feel that our group needs to have an identity and that identity is church women.

Ms. Trafecanty: Do you feel that the actions you've taken

Continued on page 18

20 Women in Protest

Too late to be reported in the body of this article, another protest action was staged by 20 women, including the three women interviewed above, at a luncheon given by the World Affairs Council Oct. 15 at the Los Angeles Hilton Hotel.

The Ambassador from El Salvador was scheduled to address the Council, asking for more U.S. aid to his government. At the time he was introduced, the women stood and held up large photographs depicting some of the atrocities that have occurred in El Salvador. They remained standing during the Ambassador's talk, in silent witness. The protest was reported in the daily press.

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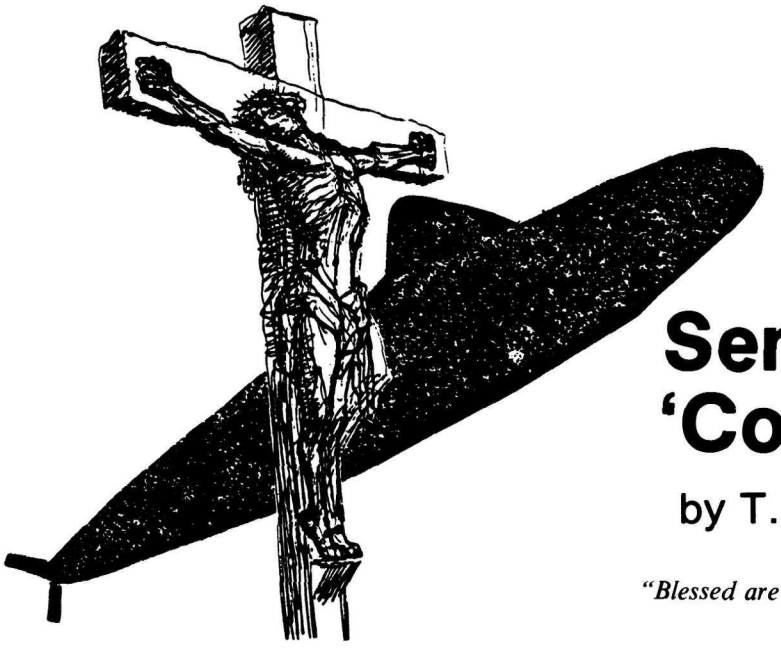

Seminarians Protest 'Corpus Christi' Sub

by T. Scott Allen & Jo Clare Hartsig

"Blessed are the peacemakers."
(Matt. 5:9)

To make peace in the world today requires us to be disorderly. The "order" is not in support of peace. The Reagan administration encourages the stockpiling of weapons at the expense of the poor and at the expense of all our futures. To be responsible to the Biblical command to feed the hungry and be advocates for the widowed and orphaned we must expose the powers that be for ignoring the needs of our people.

In this spirit, 11 students from the Yale Divinity School were charged with disorderly conduct while praying in front of the Administration Building at Electric Boat shipyard in Groton, Ct. during the launching and "christening" of a fast-attack nuclear submarine called U.S.S. Corpus Christi. Many Christian groups from around the state gathered with other peace groups for a teach-in scheduled to coincide with the launch. Church related groups expressed outrage at the naming of a weapon after the Body of Christ. Corpus Christi is, of course, a city in Texas. Like all of the fast-attacks, this one was named after a port city. There is ironic humor here since nuclear strategies have become those of "city-targeting." Moreover, the U.S.S. Corpus Christi is scheduled to be commissioned on *Christmas Eve,* 1982.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, military systems and projects have been "deified" with theological language. This is not surprising since it seems that as a nation we base our security, our very salvation, on weapons that create limitless destruction. The scientists who created the first bomb were aware of this. The test site in Nevada where nuclear weapons were first exploded is called Trinity. Henry Stimson, then Secretary of War, believed that these weapons were not only military in purpose but gave us "a new relationship to the universe." The administration understood then the impact such weapons would have on the way we are forced to live.

Our action in Groton was the result of carefully thought out reflection over a long period of time. Our motivation was to point out the blasphemy of "christening" a weapon the Body of Christ. Many of us were uncertain of

"If a minister has been exposed to peace issues during seminary, she or he will be more inclined to incorporate this at the parish level."

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our commitment to civil disobedience, but our fear of arrest was superceded by the realities of nuclear weapons and the demands of the Gospel. We decided to carry out a liturgy to be in clear counterpoint to the ceremony inside the gates of Electric Boat. We ended the liturgy by christening one another as peacemakers. Eleven of us then walked to the gates of the Administration Building, each carrying a large photograph representing the Body of Christ in suffering, hope, and resistance. We were gathered with Martin Luther King Jr., Dorothy Day, Oscar Romero, Adolfo Perez Esquivel, a Hiroshima survivor, Angela Davis, Thomas Merton, a child in Auschwitz, the imprisoned, the poor, and the oppressed. We chose to "re-member" the Body of Christ in this fashion, realizing the risk.

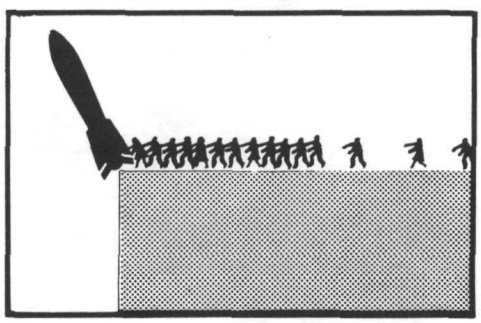
Earlier in the day, human blood had been poured over a cross at the very same gates. Friends from New Haven, Norwich, Storrs, and Chicago were immediately arrested. As we knelt in prayer after they had been taken away, an Electric Boat worker meticulously scrubbed the blood away from every crack and surface of the sidewalk. As the bloody water cascaded down the street, we were reminded of the scene of Pilate washing his hands of the blood of Christ.

Our witness took place at the same spot, reminding the powers that be at General Dynamics (the parent company of Electric Boat) that they could not so easily wash away their involvement in the crucifixion of the living Body of Christ. We, too, were soon arrested for disorderly conduct.

As we were "escorted" into the police van, we began to sing "Rejoice in the Lord Always." Inside the dark van a momentary silence was broken by the crowd outside carrying on our song. We smiled at one another and began to sing, heartened by the community around us and the spirit among us. We were ready to be processed by the Groton police.

What are divinity school students doing risking arrest during the week between Easter and finals (certainly the busiest time of year for seminarians)? Our witness was directed at the corporate structure of Electric Boat but it was also directed at the Yale Divinity School community. There were a large number of students and several faculty members from the school in Groton for the action. We wanted to say that disorderly conduct at a place like Electric Boat was as much a part of our curriculum as any course we had taken in seminary. It was the logical, faithful outcome of studying the Prophets, preaching, working in local parishes, working with community groups, and worshiping together.

And it is only a beginning. The task of peacemaking requires constant disruption and constant reconciliation. It is a process. Although it is unlikely that seminaries will offer courses in civil disobedience or pointers on bail solidarity, the seminary environment is a place for speaking truth to power.



The fact that most of our students work in local churches for practical experience means that they are able to bring social justice concerns to their ministry. In Connecticut this is a challenging task because the state is heavily dependent on Pentagon dollars. General Dynamics, the parent company of Electric Boat, is the top Pentagon contractor in the nation. United Technologies and its subsidiaries, Norden, Pratt and Whitney, and Sikorsky Aircraft are also located in Connecticut. All in all, one out of every 15 jobs in Connecticut is related to the war industry. Speaking out about peace is a challenge; but if it can be done in Connecticut, it can be done anywhere!

Student committees have been organized on campus to educate the community about militarism. This year an ethics course was offered that dealt extensively with problems created by the existence of nuclear weapons. There are opportunities in community worship to bring the themes of peace and the strength of resistance into our prayer lives. Students are able to arrange field placement positions in local peace and justice groups. There are numerous ways to become involved in disarmament issues while at seminary.

The most important aspect of organizing a seminary is that most of the students will someday be working in churches. If a minister has been exposed to peace issues during seminary, she or he will be more inclined to incorporate this someway at the parish level. It is quite possible that a minister may feel called to action by the demands of the Gospel. It is crucial that the church speak out and act to stop the blasphemy and the grim realities of a warmongering nation. There is so little cause for optimism these days but there is no excuse to give up hope. We, the church, are the living Body of Christ. ■

Advent as a Penitential

The word of God came to John the Son of Zechariah in the wilderness; and he went into all the region about the Jordan, preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sin. As it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet.

"The voice of one crying in the wilderness:
Prepare the way of the Lord,
Every valley shall be filled,
and every mountain and hill shall be brought low,
and the crooked shall be made straight,
and the rough ways shall be made smooth;
and all flesh shall see the salvation of God."

He said therefore to the multitudes that came out to be baptized by him, "You brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bear fruits that befit repentance . . ."

And the multitudes asked him, "What then shall we do?" And he answered them, "He who has two coats, let him share with him who has none; and he who has food, let him do likewise."

So, with many other exhortations, he preached good news to the people. But Herod the tetrarch, who had been reproved by him for Herodias, his brother's wife, and for all the evil things that Herod had done, added this to them all, that he shut up John in prison.

Luke 3:2b-8a, 10-11, 18-20

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Season

by William Stringfellow

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We live now, in the United States, in a culture so profoundly pagan that Advent is no longer really noticed, much less observed. The commercial acceleration of seasons, whereby the promotion of Christmas begins even before there is opportunity to enjoy Halloween, is, superficially, a reason for the vanishment of Advent. But a more significant cause is that the churches have become so utterly secularized that they no longer remember the topic of Advent. This situation cannot be blamed merely upon the so-called Moral Majority, or the electronic preachers and talkers, or the other assorted peddlers of religion that so clutter the ethos of this society, any more than it can be said, simplistically, to be mainly the fault of American merchandising and consumerism.

Thus, if I remark about the disappearance of Advent I am not particularly complaining about the vulgarities of the marketplace prior to Christmas, and I am certainly not talking about getting "back to God" or "putting Christ back into Christmas" (phrases which betray skepticism toward the Incarnation). Instead I am concerned with a single, straightforward question: in biblical context, what is the subject of Advent?

Tradition has rendered John the Baptist an Advent figure and, if that be an appropriate connection (I reserve some queries about that), then clues to the meaning of the first coming of Christ may be found in the Baptist's preaching. Listen to John the Baptist:

"Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matthew 3:2) In the Gospel according to Mark, the report is, *"John the baptizer appeared in the wilderness, preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins."* (Mark 1:4) Luke contains a parallel reference. (Luke 3:3). It should not be overlooked, furthermore, that when John the Baptist is imprisoned, Matthew states, *From that time Jesus began to preach, saying, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."* (Matthew 4:17). And later, when Jesus charges his disciples, he tells them: *"And preach as you go, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand.' "* (Matthew 10:7)

For all the greeting card and sermonic rhetoric, I do not think that much rejoicing happens around Christmastime, least of all about the coming of the Lord. There is, I notice, a

lot of holiday frolicking, but that is not the same as rejoicing. In any case, maybe outbursts of either frolicking or rejoicing are premature, if John the Baptist has credibility. He identifies *repentance* as the message and the sentiment of Advent. And, in the texts just cited, that seems to be ratified by Jesus himself.

In context, in the biblical accounts, the repentance of which John the Baptist preaches is no private or individualistic effort, but the disposition of a person is related to the reconciliation of the whole of creation. *"Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."*

The eschatological reference is quite concrete. John the Baptist is warning the rulers of this world, and the principalities and powers as well as common people, of the impending Judgment of the world in the Word of God signaled in the coming of Christ.

There seems to be evidence in the Luke account about John the Baptist that indicates that some of the people and, notably, the ecclesiastical officials, did not comprehend his preaching or, if they did, they did not heed it, or they did not heed it promptly. Yet it is equally edifying that the political authorities, represented as Herod the tetrarch, do understand the political scope of John's admonition of the Judgment enough to imprison John and, subsequently, subject him to terrible interrogation, torture, and decapitation — a typical fate for political prisoners now, as then. That, in such circumstances, Jesus makes John's preaching his own, and instructs his disciples accordingly, foreshadows his own arrest, trial, humiliation and crucifixion, and for that matter, the *Acts of the Apostles.*

The depletion of a contemporary recognition of the radically political character of Advent is in large measure occasioned by the illiteracy of churchfolk about the Second Advent, and in the mainline churches, the persistent quietism of pastors, preachers and teachers about the Second Coming. That topic has been allowed to be preempted and usurped by astrologers, sectarian quacks and multifarious hucksters. Yet it is impossible to apprehend either Advent except through the relationship of both Advents. The pioneer Christians, beleagured as they were because of their insight, knew that the message of both Advents *is* political. That message is that in the coming of Jesus Christ, the nations and the principalities and the rulers of the world are judged in the Word of God. In the Lordship of Christ they are rendered accountable to human life and, indeed, to all created life. Hence, the response of John the Baptist when he is pressed to show the meaning of the repentance he preaches is, *"Bear fruits that befit repentance."*

In another part of the biblical literature traditionally invoked during Advent, the politics of both Advents is emphasized in attributing the recitation of the *Magnificat* to Mary:

"He has put down the mighty from their thrones,
and exalted those of low degree;
He has filled the hungry with good things,
and the rich He has sent empty away." (Luke 1:52-54)

In the first Advent, Christ the Lord comes into the world; in the next Advent, Christ the Lord comes as Judge of the world, and of all the world's thrones and pretenders, sovereignties and dominions, principalities and authorities, presidencies and regimes, in vindication of his Lordship and the reign of the Word of God in history. This is the truth, which the world hates, which biblical people — repentant people — bear and by which they live as the church in the world in the time between the two Advents.

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Dorothy Day: In Memoriam

Keeping the Vision Alive

by Isaac McDaniel

"In our era, the road to holiness necessarily passes through the world of action."

— Dag Hammarskjold

No one destested inflated tributes or burgeoning personality cults more than Dorothy Day. No one would have felt more plainly discomfited by the predictable spate of eulogies which accompanied her death a year ago this autumn. No one was quicker to discount hagiography as a pious exercise in irrelevance. "When they call you a saint," she once warned, "what they really mean to say is that you are not to be taken seriously."

Nov. 29 marked the first anniversary of Dorothy Day's death. How might she have wanted herself to be remembered?

Dorothy's radical way of life and service inevitably confronted people with the vexing question of what it really means to be a Christian. Moreover, Dorothy incarnated the still rather provocative notion that one can indeed become a Christian, even a Roman Catholic, without necessarily acceding to the prevailing claims of the American civil or religious Establishment.

No doubt the most provocative thing about Dorothy Day was the utter (many would have said naive) directness with which she struggled to live out her understanding of the Gospels. She began everything she said and did with the implicit conviction that one person can, indeed, make a difference. Dorothy looked derisively upon every institutional scheme for reforming humankind and instead insisted that all real change comes about through the work and witness of individuals.

In 1933 Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin founded the original Catholic Worker House in Manhattan's Lower East Side to provide food and shelter for a handful of the 13 million men and women who were out of work at the height of the Depression. Today, still located in the Bowery, the Worker Houses continue to nurture daily hordes of hungry and homeless people. At last count, there were 35 such Worker Houses scattered in loose confederation through 25 states. In 1933, Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin also began *The Catholic Worker* paper. It still sells for a penny a copy, nine times a year, and reaches nearly 100,000 subscribers. Dorothy's relentlessly personalist approach sustained her faith in both projects for nearly half-a-century. "Who knows who reads the paper," she would ask, "or who will be influenced by the paper that they, too, will try to see things in the light of faith, in the light of the history of the church, and the history of the poor?"

Those who encountered Dorothy Day, either personally or through her writings, often came away feeling confronted, sometimes even tacitly indicted by Dorothy's own single-minded appropriation of Gospel precepts. The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh once quipped, "Dorothy Day has been comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable all her life." Some were mildly astonished and even heartened by their discovery of Dorothy Day. Emma Goldman, that indomitable anarchist (and no particular friend of Christians) once happened upon a copy of *The Catholic Worker* and responded exuberantly, "I confess it is a new one on me, for I have never heard of Catholics being radical." More often, however, people found themselves caught up short by their first-hand experience of Dorothy Day. John Deedy, the religious author and journalist, spoke for many when he acknowledged: "In my secret psyche, Dorothy Day has always had me on the defensive . . . because I could never live her life or the life of a Catholic Worker. I carry a secret shame for that realization."

Dorothy herself always reacted to such self-conscious displays of contrition with more than a trifle of annoyance. She never consciously demanded that anyone take up her own

Tina Sipula

Dorothy Day, Founder
The Catholic Worker Movement

Brother Isaac McDaniel is a Benedictine monk stationed at St. Meinrad Archabbey, St. Meinrad, Ind. He will be ordained in May.

stark way of life. When Robert Coles once asked her about camp followers, she responded rather vehemently: "I have never expected, I have never wanted everyone to become part of the Catholic Worker family. This is not for everyone — this life, this way of doing things. It would be awful if we started looking down on people who are different, who are called to live lives so different from ours."

Yet if Dorothy didn't mean to bring individual Christians around to her own way of thinking, she had no qualms about taking on what she saw as the moral inertia and waywardness of institutions. Through the decades she eventually became a prophet of sorts, dismissed by most as noble and sweet but hopelessly anarchistic, revered by others for her implacable contempt for most institutional claims upon the individual. Dorothy didn't vote or pay taxes. She was arrested more than a dozen times in her adult life, first in 1917 as a suffragette. Her last incarceration took place in 1973 when, at the age of 75, she helped Cesar Chavez to organize militant farmworkers in California and spent 12 days in jail for picketing on private property. Dorothy encouraged young men to refuse military service during every major war of this century. In the years immediately before the Kennedy era, Dorothy earned the chagrin of more than a few public officials when she ended up in jail for refusing to keep off the New York City streets during local air-raid drills. She always gave the State a run for its money. During the tumultuous '60s the FBI collected a thick portfolio on the Catholic Worker movement, at one point requiring its agents to pore over *The Lives of the Saints* by way of background reading.

Dorothy's attitude towards the *institutional church* turned out to be more ambivalent. A convert to Catholicism, she looked at first glance like something of a conservative. It seemed totally in character that she supported Pope Paul VI's ban on artificial birth control. In the wake of Vatican II, she expressed regret upon hearing that some religious had given up communal prayers. She used to delight in referring to Pope Pius XII — with no ironic inflection in her voice — as "our dear, sweet Holy Father"; and she refused to let the Worker House become a way-station of the underground church during the '60s. "When it comes to the Catholic Church," she once admitted, "I go to the right as far as I can go."

But however traditionalist she might have been, Dorothy displayed no Pavlovian respect for church authority, especially whenever she saw it abused in order to consecrate injustice. She was never afraid to take on local prelates. In 1949 the Catholic Worker House fed and sheltered New York gravediggers

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who were striking against Cardinal Spellman. Dorothy regularly denounced Spellman's alacrity, as vicar of American troops and chief of Catholic chaplains, in sprinkling holy water on American guns, first in Korea and later in Vietnam. When asked what she would do if Cardinal Spellman ordered her to close down *The Catholic Worker,* she replied without a second's hesitation that she would of course obey, though she privately assured her friends that she would re-open the presses within a week in New Jersey.

Dorothy Day left a bold and imperishable mark upon several generations of restless young Americans, many of them non-Catholics. Her friends and proteges included Thomas Merton, Michael Harrington, John Cogley, Philip and Daniel Berrigan, Robert Ellsberg and Abbie Hoffman. When she died last autumn in Maryhouse, a Worker Home for Manhattan's indigent and abandoned women, Abbie Hoffman reflected: "She is the nearest thing this Jewish boy is ever going to get to a saint." Her passing, three weeks after her 83rd birthday, signalled, if not the dwindling of an era, at least the end of an extraordinary personal witness.

Indeed, so formidable and decisive was Dorothy's presence to the spirit of the Catholic Worker that many wondered if the movement could for long outlive her. Early last winter, one of the "shopping bag" ladies who had found shelter at Manhattan's Maryhouse asked fearfully, "Will the house close, now that Miss Day is dead?" It seemed a relevant question, since causes spawned by the inspiration of one or two charismatic individuals so often founder after the eventual deaths of their creators.

How has the Catholic Worker movement fared in the first year since Dorothy's death? Life at Manhattan's two Houses of Hospitality goes on much as before. Last spring one Catholic Worker reported from St. Joseph House, "There is still the soupline, the Friday night meetings, the fourth floor and more so now, I think, questions whose answers we seek in the living."

For Catholic Workers, the search itself continues to take a variety of forms. Last May 1 marked the 48th anniversary of the Catholic Worker movement. The occasion was celebrated with a dinner and evening Mass in the auditorium of Maryhouse and included several hundred people. The next morning, a van full of Catholic Workers set out for Washington, D.C. to take part in the May 3 rally at the Pentagon to protest American foreign policy in El Salvador. Scarcely two weeks earlier, a small cluster of Workers had driven to Groton, Conn. to protest the launching of yet another nuclear submarine, inappropriately christened, "Corpus Christi."

But mostly the life of the Worker movement goes on in less dramatic ways. Evening Vespers is still celebrated nightly in the ramshackle kitchen at St. Joseph House, with "High Vespers" reserved for Sunday evenings, when it is sung around the long serving tables where hundreds are fed throughout the week. Women's clothing is still parceled out on Monday afternoons from 2 to 4 P.M. at Maryhouse. During the summer, vegetables trickled in from the Catholic Worker's Peter Maurin Farm outside of Tivoli, New York. Dan Mauk, former editor of *The Catholic Worker,* wrote in mid-summer: "Often I look around and am amazed, and grateful that it all goes on. For the most part what occurs here is quite ordinary, but what I find unique is the incredible variety of people that manage to live together in relative harmony under one roof." Indeed, the spirit of Dorothy Day seems as palpable and flourishing today in the expressions of her friends and followers as it did a year ago. As an inhabitant of St. Joseph House recently put it, Dorothy's legacy, "contrary to having stopped on Nov. 29, is ever more vibrant in all of us. There is a great sense of responsibility to keep the vision alive." ■

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 3*

today, are still being taught that same lesson. But we should not be surprised. We were told, from the beginning.

Second, waiting means not having, and having, at the same time. So said Paul Tillich commenting on Romans 8:25: "But if we hope for what we do not see, we wait for it with patience." Tillich reflects, "Waiting is not despair. It is the acceptance of our not having, in the power of that which we already have." To be human, to be finite, entails our having to wait. Christmas is the commemoration of the appearance of him who is the embodiment of our hope. It is the validation of the worth of our waiting. It is the strengthening of our capacity to bear with not-having, against the time when our waiting ends, our hope is fulfilled, and our faith is vindicated.

Third, the glory of the story of the Christian mission in history is its record of those who waited in hope, and, strengthened by that hope, took up the tasks of their discipleship. For they knew that the clap of thunder, the blinding flash of lightning which was the coming of Christ, revealed forever the way things are to be and made plain the will of God for the affairs of this world. *(R.L.D. and the editors.)* ■

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The Peace Movement Mere Protest or Real Change?

by Jack Woodard

Ezekiel argued with God about speaking the Word to obviously dead, hopelessly dry bones. But God insisted, and Ezekiel spoke and there was a *rattle* — the first stirring of a resurrection by God's power, certainly not by Ezekiel's. Similarly, social protest always has had a place in Christian understanding of faithfulness.

No matter how utterly hopeless significant change may seem or how overwhelming the power of the military industrial complex may appear, the Word is to be borne to the intersections of light and darkness in the faith that God's power alone is ultimate. Even when we can see no possibility of effect, we are to go anyway. I have had to tell myself this repeatedly while on the way to speak or to participate at demonstrations, especially in this first Reagan year.

But this is not a rationale for failing to use our *minds* as we work at peacemaking and on the side of the most vulnerable ones in our society. God has created us with the capacity to conceive clear objectives for change and to develop sophisticated strategies, founded in the Christian faith, that change is indeed possible by God's will.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was many things, among them a superb strategist. His leadership of the Civil Rights Movement was always concerned with achieving an effect on the conditions and customs being protested.

All those freedom rides and sit-ins and marches and jailings were not isolated rituals carried out with no hope of an end to segregation and exile from the political process. Rather they were part of a careful strategy of major social change with clear, specific objectives and a timetable. Dr. King readily displayed the courage God had given him, but he also used his God-given mind.

Selma was no accident, no ritual. It was researched, planned liturgy, designed to produce the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Sheriff Jim Clark was the winner of a contest he never knew he was in — a contest to determine the most bigoted sheriff in the South (and one lacking the intelligence to avoid becoming a public personification of the evils Dr. King was determined to end). And Jim Clark turned out to be the sheriff in Selma, Alabama. So *Selma* became a household word.

Sheriff Clark unknowingly played out the script Dr. King had written for him to the last jot and tittle on nationwide television. There was a national burst of outrage. And the President and the Congress put the Voting Rights Act through the mill and into law.

Obviously, Dr. King was not afraid to protest or to go to jail. But he was up to and about *change*. He believed in its real possibility by God's power through *strategic* non-violent loving.

The same cannot be said, sadly, of much of the current peace movement. Of course, no Martin Luther King, Jr. has emerged to unify and lead. But it is also true that a preponderance of the movement's actions are ritualistic and merely tactical, not strategic — not coherent with other actions in other times and places. Many of its most active participants courageously go to prison for their symbolic witnesses. Thank God for them and their bearing of the Word to the intersections, like Ezekiel. But their protests, largely, are for a sign, not a change.

It is as though they have conceded the outcome to the militarists and do not believe in the possibility of peace. They protest a national security founded on weaponry and mutually assured destruction, but fail to strategize coherently a nation which would actually practice peace. Meanwhile, many who sympathize, who are fearful of a nuclear holocaust, who are outraged that survival money for the needy is being taken away and either given to the greedy or spent on still more weaponry, hold back because they are not willing to spend time in jail for ritual. This is the principal reason the peace movement so far has failed to involve significant numbers of black people and remains almost entirely white.

Admittedly, peace issues are more vague, harder to focus, than civil rights issues. But the peace movement will not gather new momentum significantly until leaders emerge who believe in the possibility of peace under the sovereignty of God and who thus strategize to achieve it.

Consider the example of the recent efforts against the annual weapons convention of the Air Force Association at the Sheraton Washington Hotel in Washington, D.C. Three years of demonstrations have just been concluded and numbers of people

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The Rev. Jack Woodard, a longtime peace-activist, is rector of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church in Washington, D.C.

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arrested each year. The numbers of people gathered in front of the hotel and of organizations participating have slowly increased and were pretty impressive this Fall. But look what happened to strategy.

The former title, "Campaign Against the Arms Bazaar," was changed this year to, "Campaign to Stop the Arms Bazaar." That was a statement of a clear strategic objective — to cause the convention to close or not to be held again. A coalition of organizations was successfully formed to carry out the campaign. But here's what happened:

- A commitment was made to consensus decision making. This meant that what emerged as tactics would be the lowest common denominator in the coalition which had no defined commonality of faith or philosophy.
- The hotel has three entrances widely separated around the block. The consensus was unwilling to use communications equipment to move civil disobedience teams quickly when security forces shifted traffic from one entrance to another. And some participants were unwilling to be where TV cameras were unlikely to be. So the entire action became focused on one entrance and access to the hotel was only briefly inconvenienced.
- A room was reserved inside the hotel for a team to use as a base for blocking interior entrances to the convention. The coalition consensus decided to cancel the reservation and drop interior action because it did not want to violate the boycott of the hotel. Result: The convention banquet got started pretty much on time and with little attention to the demonstration.
- Another result: It was all just another of countless demonstrations in Washington, so there was no TV coverage of the main civil disobedience, though the Solidarity March the following Saturday was treated by all the media as major national news.

If the movement is serious about *stopping* the weapons convention or even merely stopping its banquet, there is going to have to be more strategy and less consensus. This means more willingness on the part of participants to accept discipline for the sake of effect.

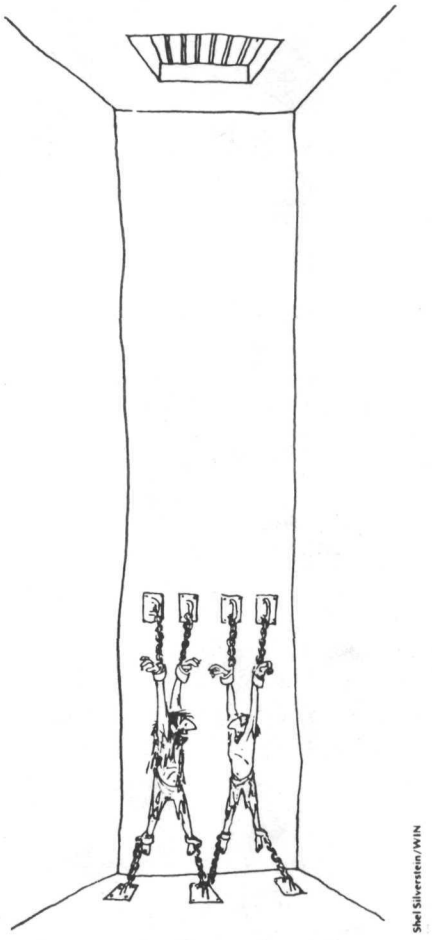
There are other principles which seem to merit consideration by people involved in the peace groups. Public consciousness is most aroused by personification of evil, not by abstraction of it. Dr. King knew that and was willing to use Sheriff Clark to personify the evil of racism. Militarism needs to be personified for the public and this means a coldly calculating process.

Symbolic demonstrations are largely losing their power to affect public policy. They don't make news anymore. Instead, it is going to be necessary to develop specific objectives which will command political attention and demand major media coverage. This has radical implications but it can remain within the bounds of the non-violence ethic.

Coalitions broader than between one-agenda peace groups will be essential. President Reagan may be making the issues of peace and social justice inextricably related. Whether that is so or not, both black and white leadership must rapidly work out negotiated coalitions which are more than merely ad hoc.

Finally, the peace issues must be sharpened. Civil rights was sharpened to a specific act before Congress at a critical stage of the movement. Getting that Act into law became the rallying point around which strategy and mobilization could be developed. The "Abolitionist Covenant" recently published in *Sojourners* is a good start toward specificity, but only a start.

Most crucial of all, peace movement leaders must emerge and be accepted who actually believe in the *possibility* of world peace under the sovereignty of God — not only the *necessity* of it to avoid a nuclear holocaust, but the realistic possibility of it, and who therefore *strategize* on a large scale to achieve it. Together with the spiritual community base from which peace actions must spring, that would seem to be the essential keystone of peacemaking in the Eighties. ■



"Now here's my plan . . ."

Resource

The "New Abolitionist Covenant" is prefaced by a statement of faith and is dedicated to the abolition of nuclear weapons. It is being offered to people in local congregations as a statement to study and pray over as a prelude to their commitment to peacemaking. It is not a statement to sign, but a covenant to be acted upon, and to be dealt with in a community process. Write to Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960 or Pax Christi USA, 3000 N. Mango Av., Chicago, Ill. 60634. Single copies 30¢ each; 10-99, 20¢ each; 100 or more, 10¢ each. Postage included in prepaid orders.

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INS Officers shove women out of the path of the van.

Continued from page 7

so far have been successful? For instance, do you hope that what you are doing will somehow lead to ending the deportation of Salvadorans?

Ms. Anderson: We have to look at these as symbolic actions. We don't think we're going to stop the vans. We know the force of the Immigration Service and the United States government and of Western Air Lines which flies the refugees back to El Salvador.

Sr. Paulita: Personally, I feel like a flea in front of a huge elephant. Not only because of the deportation of Salvadorans, but also because of all the evil that's going on around us. I am sure of success but only because I count on the spiritual power of this kind of thing.

During the second action (it was the first for me), we met with rough immigration officers. It was uncalled for in the United States. I was so terribly afraid that I thought I might die before I would actually stand there. Several of us were going through that. It was so scary. That was our victory — even if the media hadn't shown up, or if nothing had happened, we would have overcome our fears and that was a tremendous step for us. It changed me radically and I don't think I'll ever be the same for being willing to do what I really believe in, in spite of my fears.

I think that when human beings take this kind of stance for their brothers and sisters, that's the greatest spiritual power in the world. It is joined to the power of Jesus Christ. I believe in Jesus Christ and the power of his Resurrection which means the power of good over evil. That's why I can do this. If I believed only in the media coverage, it might fail us all together. When I look at Scripture, there's no comfort. There's a lot of support, but there's no comfort because I keep seeing that Jesus Christ did the very same thing. He put himself out for his brothers and sisters. When we join our efforts to that, it is the greatest power in the world. No one is going to tell me that that's not going to succeed. It is successful right now. ■

Tip of Iceberg

The refugees from El Salvador who are slipping across the U.S. border are only the tip of an iceberg, so to speak. No one has precise figures, but the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has recently estimated that as many as 200,000 have fled to other Latin American countries, including 70,000 to Mexico. Estimates for those in the United States (some recent, some escaping from earlier waves of terror) run at approximately 150,000. When one adds 150,000 made homeless in El Salvador, now either in camps run by the Catholic Church, or wandering, one can reach a figure of 500,000 — more than 10% of a country with a total population of 4,700,000.

If the stories of the Salvadorans in the U.S. can be widely reported, the American people will perhaps begin to wonder what is happening in El Salvador to cause such a movement of people. And, hopefully, they will begin to question the U.S. administration's oversimplified version of a Leftist conspiracy, and try to get the true facts on El Salvador.

— Margaret Bacon
American Friends Service Committee

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 2*

consider that the system they are seeking to change is guilty of destroying thousands and thousands of human lives over hundreds of years.

The ostentatious (if admittedly entertaining) British royal wedding, the death of the hunger strikers in North Ireland (whose people have suffered economic exploitation and political repression for generations), the riots by unemployed youth trapped in the English slums, the Reagan administration's massive escalation of the nuclear arms race at the expense of social programs and its support of repressive regimes around the world — all are threatening signs of the times in which we live that predicate total disaster and unmitigated suffering unless we act *now* to change the course of events.

Mary Jane Brewster
Portland, Ore.

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To Staff, Vestry

THE WITNESS gets better and better. Keep up the good work. Send me 20 copies of the September issue for distribution to my staff and vestry.

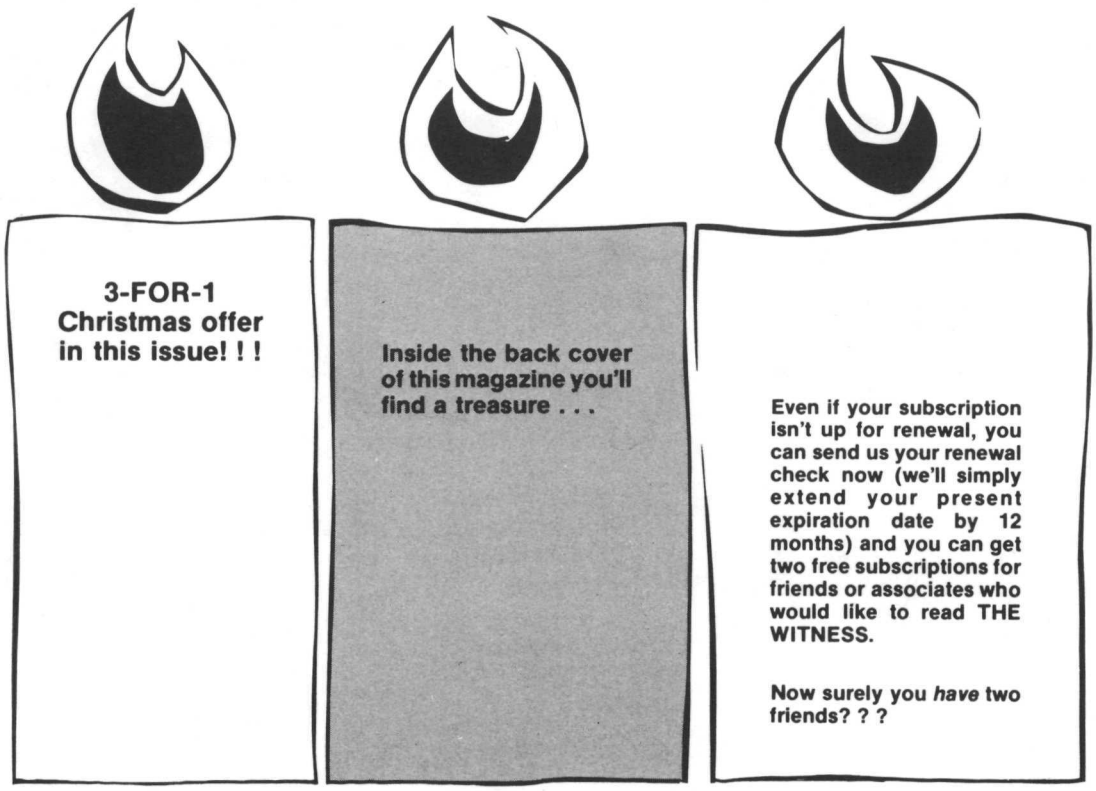
The Rev. Frederick B. Williams
New York, N.Y.

Sensitive Gay Book

Your readers who are concerned about gay people or confused by the issue of homosexuality should be alerted to a sensitive and insightful new book by Brian McNaught. *A Disturbed Peace,* published by Dignity, Inc., is getting a lot of attention in religious circles and is being highly praised by many gay Christians as the *one book* on the market which expresses their feelings. Brian McNaught, who has been a frequent contributor to THE WITNESS, has compiled a beautiful collection of his important essays on faith, coming out, reconciling with one's family, sexual values and being at home in the church. *A Disturbed Peace* is being read by bishops, pastors, parents, social justice proponents and by persons who seek to reconcile their sexual orientation with their spirituality.

Sr. Jeannine Gramick, SSND
New Ways Ministry
Mt. Rainier, Md.

*(**A Disturbed Peace** is available at $5.95, postage included, from Dignity, Inc., 1500 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Brian McNaught's most recent contribution to THE WITNESS was "Welcome Home, Anita Bryant" in the February issue. — Eds.)*



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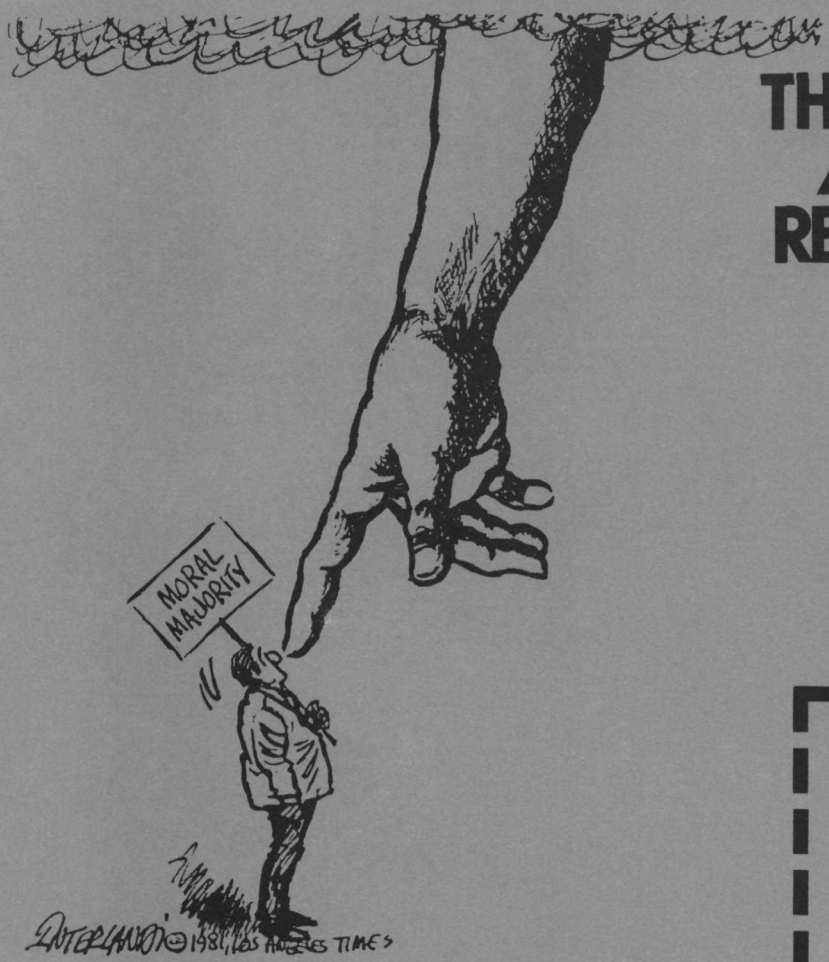
At Last, a Moral Majority Survival Kit



"Look, Jerry Falwell, stop playing you-know-who!"

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